Appendix 17-A

Murray River Coal Project: Desk-based Ethnographic Overview and Traditional Knowledge / Traditional Use Report

HD Mining International Ltd.

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT
Desk-based Ethnographic Overview and Traditional Knowledge / Traditional Use Report

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MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

DESK-BASED ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE / TRADITIONAL USE REPORT

November 2013
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Prepared for:

HD Mining International Ltd.

Prepared by:

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Vancouver, British Columbia

Executive Summary

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Executive Summary

HD Mining International Ltd. (HD Mining) proposes to develop the Murray River Coal Project (the Project) as a 6 million tonne per annum (6 Mtpa) underground metallurgical coal mine. The property is located approximately 12.5 km south of Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia (BC). The Project is located within the Peace River Coalfield, an area with a long history of metallurgical grade coal mining, mainly from open pit mining. HD Mining is proposing to access deeper zones of the coal field (600 to 1,000 m below surface) through underground mining techniques.

To support HD Mining's planning and development of the Project, and to contribute to the environmental assessment (EA) process, environmental and socio-economic baseline studies were initiated by Rescan Environmental Services Ltd. (Rescan). Project-specific studies began in 2010 and have continued through 2013. As appropriate and available, historical data from government sources and neighbouring projects, as well as traditional use/knowledge information, have been compiled and incorporated into analysis.

This report presents an ethnographic overview as well as a cumulative summary of the publically available traditional knowledge (TK) and traditional use (TU) data on the Aboriginal groups in the area surrounding the Project, compiled for the Project to date.

An understanding of the ethnography and ethnohistory of the Aboriginal groups in the area around the Project is necessary in order to conduct a sound assessment of Project's potential effects on their Aboriginal and Treaty rights and other interests, including effects to their current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes.

The objectives of TK/TU studies are to:

- inform baseline studies;
- identify/strengthen rationale for Valued Component (VC) selection;
- identify Aboriginal values relevant to Project;
- characterize traditional uses of the local environment;
- improve project design;
- identify traditional use areas and patterns that may be affected by the Project;
- identify potential effects and determine significance levels; and
- improve mitigation measures.

This study is based on a literature review of publically available ethnographic information for both a local study area (LSA) and regional study area (RSA). The RSA for this study is defined as the area of northeast BC drained by the southern tributaries of the Peace River, while the LSA corresponds to the biophysical RSA used in the wildlife and terrestrial ecology baseline studies conducted for the Project. Topics guiding information collection included 1) cultural setting (history, social organization, family and kinship, spiritualism and ceremony, and language use), 2) traditional economy and subsistence strategies, 3) traditional and current use of lands and resources, and 4) environmental changes affecting land and resource use. The report includes a discussion of cultural and land use patterns that occurred in northeast BC from the pre-contact period through to the modern era.

The Project lies within lands covered by Treaty 8. The Treaty 8 nations addressed in this study include West Moberly First Nations (WMFN), Saulteau First Nations (SFN), McLeod Lake Indian Band (MLIB), Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN), and Horse Lake First Nation (HLFN). WMFN and SFN are members of BC's Treaty 8 Tribal Association (T8TA), while MLIB and BRFN are not. HLFN is a member of the Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta.

Other Aboriginal groups in close to proximity to the Project include As'in'i'wa'chi Ni'Yaw Nation (also known as the Rocky Mountain Cree or Kelly Lake Cree Nation [KLCN]) and the Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society (KLMSS). These groups are not signatories to Treaty 8. KLMSS is a member of the BC Métis Federation.

The Aboriginal groups addressed in this study descend from the Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Cree, Saulteaux[1] and Métis ethnolinguistic groups. Similar social and cultural patterns define these groups; common traits evolved out of the necessity to sustain a lifestyle in the south Peace Region that demanded specific adaptations to climate, resource availability, and the movement of bison, moose and caribou.

Hunting and trapping were central to the economic life of Aboriginal groups inhabiting subarctic northeast BC. Though the most important animal to the subsistence economy was moose, other large game, such as bison, caribou, deer, and bear, were also prized. Fishing in general provided basic food at certain times of the year when large game was difficult to secure. Rich fishing sites were of social importance, for during the ice-free period they permitted concentrations of population when major social activities took place. Plant and berry gathering was an important activity among subarctic groups, and a number of different species were utilized.

Methods and strategies for acquiring subsistence resources have changed with the introduction of new technologies; the modern wage economy has impacted the intensity, location and frequency of hunting, fishing, trapping and plant harvesting activities; and environmental changes since European contact have caused the displacement or extirpation of wildlife species upon which Aboriginal groups once depended. Nevertheless, the use of lands and resources is still a vitally important aspect of Aboriginal communities in northeast BC.

Publically available data indicates that broad sections of the RSA, particularly the area between the Pine and Moberly rivers, were used by these Aboriginal groups for hunting, trapping, fishing and plant gathering. Many of the small lakes in the RSA were used as summer base camps for Aboriginal groups while conducting harvesting activities. The Tumbler Ridge area was identified by many of the Aboriginal groups as a location to hunt moose; medicinal plants were also collected in the area. The Murray River was used for fishing, particularly at Kinuseo Falls. Gwillim Lake was used for fishing and as a summer gathering place for various groups. The southeast corner of the LSA is within the Kelly Lake trapping heartland, and a number of trapping community sites were located there; the area is still used by members of the Kelly Lake Métis for hunting and trapping. Aboriginal trail networks are recorded throughout the LSA and RSA, though few of these have been mapped.

While this report is based on the best publically-available ethnographic information, it remains incomplete as it requires input from the related Aboriginal groups with respect to their current and historical use of the Project area.

[1] "Saulteaux" refer to the ethnolinguistic group to which the Saulteau First Nation belongs.

Acknowledgements

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Acknowledgements

This report was prepared for HD Mining International Ltd. by Rescan Environmental Services Ltd., an ERM Company. Maurice DePaoli (B.A.) summarized and compiled the publicly available ethnographic and ethno-historical documentation. Andrew Robinson (M.Sc.) and Justin Page (Ph.D.) provided technical review of the report. Peer review was provided by Dazawray Landry-Parker (B.A.). The work was managed by Jason Rempel (M.Sc., P.Geo.) and directed by Anne Currie (MPA, BSc.). Any conclusions expressed in this report are Rescan's and do not necessarily reflect the position of the Aboriginal groups included herein. Rescan accepts responsibility for the content of the report.

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MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT
DESK-BASED ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW AND TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE / TRADITIONAL USE REPORT

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Glossary and Abbreviations

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Glossary and Abbreviations

AANDC	Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada
ACCI	Area of Critical Community Interest
Affinal	Related by marriage i.e. in-laws
ATV	All-Terrain Vehicle
Babiche	Thong, thread, or lacings made of rawhide, gut, or sinew
BC	British Columbia
BCEAA	*BC Environmental Assessment Act*
BC EAO	British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office
BCTC	British Columbia Treaty Commission
Bilateral	In the case of ancestry, traced through both the mother's and father's lines
BRFN	Blueberry River First Nations
Cambium	A layer of delicate tissue between the inner bark and wood of a tree. The cambium of some trees is edible.
Castoreum	The yellowish secretion of the castor sac, in combination with the urine, of a beaver, the scent of which is used to mark its territory
CEAA	*Canadian Environmental Assessment Act*, 2012
CEA Agency	Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency
Consanguineal	Related by blood i.e. family/genetic relatives
Cordilleran	In this report, refers to the northern half of interior British Columbia, the western edge of northern Alberta, and the District of Mackenzie of the Northwest Territories. The dominant geographic feature of the Cordillera is the Rocky Mountains.
Cross-cousin	A cousin who is the child of one's mother's brother or one's father's sister
Dane-zaa	Also known as the Beaver ethnolinguistic group
EA	Environmental Assessment
EIS	Environmental Impact Statement
Exogamous	In terms of marriage, outside a specific local group or similar social unit
FN	First Nation(s)
FPCC	First Peoples' Culture Council

ha	Hectare(s)
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HD Mining	HD Mining International Ltd.
HLFN	Horse Lake First Nation
KLCN	As'in'i'wa'chi Ni'Yaw Nation, Rocky Mountain Cree, or Kelly Lake Cree Nation
KLMSS	Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society
km	Kilometre(s)
km^2	Square kilometre(s)
Levirate	Upon the death of a man, the marriage of his widow to his brother
LSA	Local Study Area
MARR	BC Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation
Matrilineal	In terms of ancestry, traced through the mother's line
MLIB	McLeod Lake Indian Band
MNRO	BC Ministry of Natural Resource Operations
Moiety	One of two units in which an ethnographic group is divided on the basis of unilateral descent
Mtpa	Million tonnes per annum
NWC	North West Company
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a Catholic missionary order
Phratry	A grouping of clans or social units within an ethnographic group
PMT	Peace Moberly Tract
Polygyny	The practice of having more than one wife at one time.
Potlach	An aboriginal ceremonial festival at which gifts are generally bestowed on the guests as a show of wealth or in recognition for witnessing or attesting to a particular event.
PRCI	Peace River Coal Inc.
Rescan	Rescan Environmental Services Ltd.
RSA	Regional Study Area
SFN	Saulteau First Nations
Shield	In this report, refers to the Canadian Shield geographic region of Canada, specifically the western boundary of the Shield consisting of the Mackenzie Lowlands and the eastern slopes of the Cordillera.
SOI	Statement of Intent

Sororal	In the case of polygyny, the marrying of sisters to the same man
Sororate	Upon the death of a woman, the marriage of her widower to her sister
Subarctic	In this report, refers to the cultures inhabiting the area immediately below the Arctic circle.
T8TA	Treaty 8 Tribal Association
the Project	HD Mining's proposed Murray River Coal Project
TK	Traditional Knowledge
TMW	Thunder Mountain Wind LP
Totem	A natural object or animate being, as an animal or bird, assumed as the emblem of a clan, family or group
Tsek'ehne	Also known as the Sekani ethnolinguistic group
TU	Traditional Use
VC	Valued Component
UBCIC	Union of BC Indian Chiefs
Uxorilocal	In this report, of or relating to the wife's band or tribe
Virilocal	In this report, of or relating to the husband's band or tribe
WMFN	West Moberly First Nations

1. Introduction

1. Introduction

HD Mining International Ltd. (HD Mining) proposes to develop the Murray River Coal Project (the Project) as a 6 million tonne per annum (6 Mtpa) underground metallurgical coal mine. The property is located approximately 12.5 km south of Tumbler Ridge, British Columbia (BC; Figure 1-1), and consists of 57 coal licences covering an area of 16,024 hectares (ha). The Project is located within the Peace River Coalfield, an area with a long history of metallurgical grade coal mining, mainly from open pit mining. HD Mining is proposing to access deeper zones of the coal field (600 to 1,000 m below surface) through underground mining techniques.

In October 2011, HD Mining submitted an application to the BC Ministry of Energy and Mines and Ministry of Environment, seeking permission to complete a bulk sampling program as part of exploration of the property. In March 2012, HD Mining received approval to conduct a 100,000 tonne bulk sample for the purpose of conducting testing to assist in developing markets for the coal.

Beyond the bulk sample program, in order to develop a full mine at the proposed 6 Mtpa, the Project is subject to both the BC and Canadian environmental assessment (EA) processes. Development of any infrastructure for the full mine is not permitted before the requirements of these processes are met.

To support HD Mining's planning and development of the Project, and to contribute to the EA process, environmental and socio-economic baseline studies were initiated by Rescan Environmental Services Ltd. (Rescan). Project-specific studies began in 2010 and have continued through 2013. As appropriate and available, historical data from government sources and neighbouring projects, as well as traditional use/knowledge information, have been compiled and incorporated into analysis.

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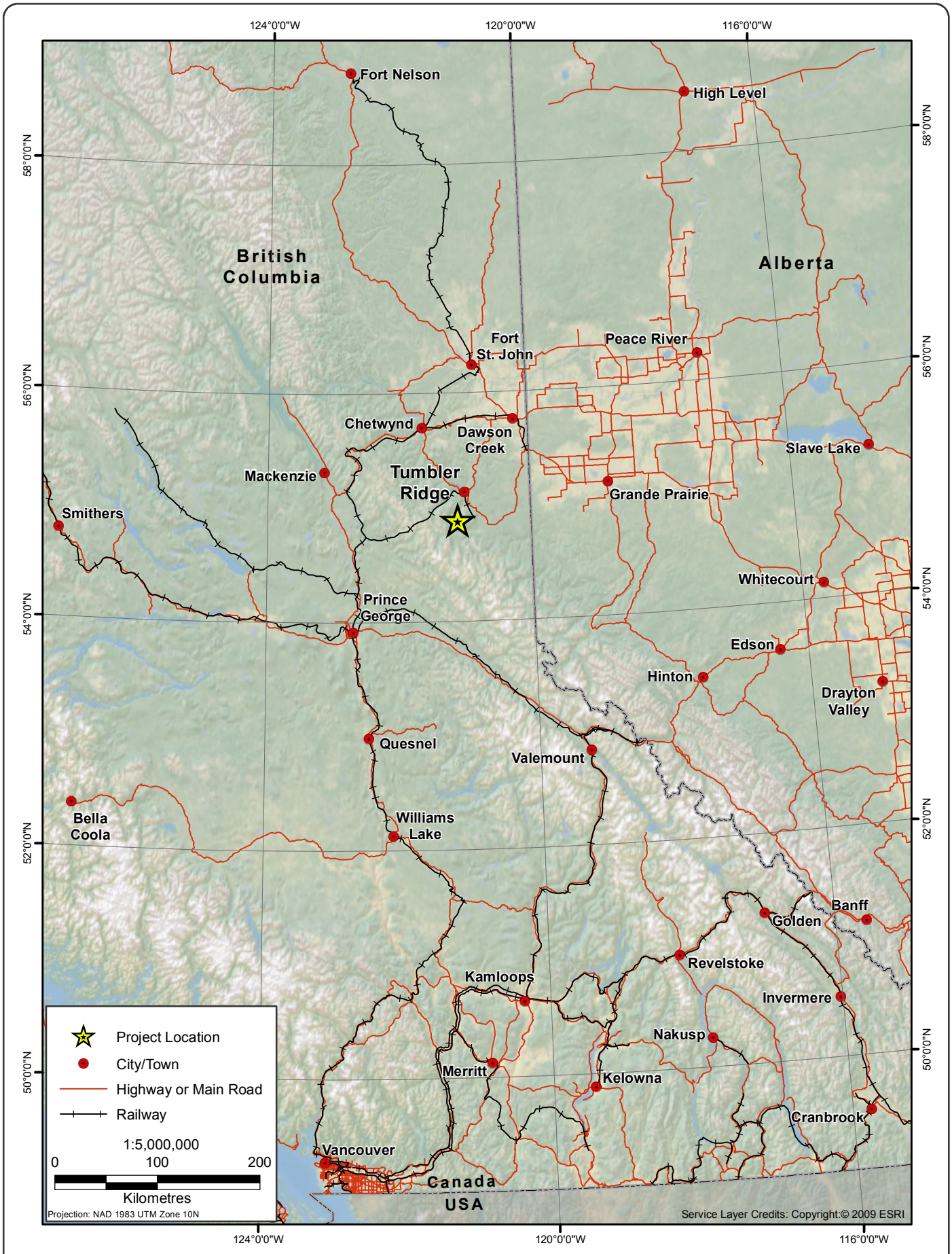

hd Mining | MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Project Location

Figure 1-1

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The following chapters outline the regulatory and policy framework that supports the study (Chapter 2); a description of the methods and rationale used to identify and collect TK/TU data (Chapter 3); the results of data collection (Chapter 4); and a summary that synthesizes the key findings of the TK/TU data collection program (Chapter 5).

2. Regulatory and Policy Framework

2. Regulatory and Policy Framework

The BC Environmental Assessment Office (BC EAO) requires a proponent to identify and report on Aboriginal interests (BC EAO 2010a, 2010b) as part of the EA process. The *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act, 2012* (CEAA 2012), states "Community knowledge and Aboriginal traditional knowledge may be considered in conducting an environmental assessment." Section 5(1)(c) of the Act requires a proponent to assess the environmental effects of a project on "the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes" by Aboriginal groups identified in the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) Guidelines prepared by the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEA Agency) for that project. TK/TU studies can provide important information on Aboriginal interests and can elucidate technical, academic, and indigenous information about the traditional and contemporary use and knowledge of the Project and surrounding areas. The CEA Agency has provided guidelines on the consideration of TK in the EA Process (CEA Agency 2013).

3. Methodology

3. Methodology

3.1 APPROACH

The overall approach for the study involved a literature review and analysis of publically available ethnographic and ethnohistorical information for both the Local Study Area (LSA) and Regional Study Area (RSA).

3.2 LOCAL AND REGIONAL STUDY AREAS

A distinct LSA and RSA were defined for this study (Figure 3.2-1). The RSA for this study is approximately 42,913 km^2 and includes the Rocky Mountain trench and foothills of northeast BC that are drained by the southern tributaries of the Peace River. The RSA was defined to capture the broad traditional migration, travel, and settlement patterns of Aboriginal peoples throughout this region.

The LSA consists of an area of approximately 2,276 km^2 surrounding the Project's Infrastructure Investigation Area. This LSA corresponds to the RSA utilized for the wildlife and terrestrial ecology baseline studies for the Project, as traditional activities are closely tied to the abundance and type of plant and animal species available in a specific area. The LSA is intended to encompass an area beyond which effects of the Project would not be expected.

3.3 INFORMATION COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

A literature search was conducted to identify relevant ethnographic and TK/TU information about the study's Aboriginal groups. Journal articles, books and book chapters, reports, and proceedings, as well as information from government and organization web sites, were reviewed. In addition, recent EA applications pertaining to the south Peace Region were reviewed to extract information relevant to this study[2]. Topics guiding information collection included 1) cultural setting (history, social organization, family and kinship, spiritualism and ceremony, and language use), 2) traditional economy and subsistence strategies, 3) traditional and current use of lands and resources, and 4) environmental changes affecting land and resource use. Based on the results of the review, an analysis and synthesis of the available information was prepared (Section 4).

Early ethnographic studies of northeast BC Aboriginal groups are limited, particularly so in the vicinity of the Project. Adrien Morice, a missionary with the Catholic Oblates of Mary Immaculate (OMI), wrote about the history and Aboriginal cultures of Northern BC (Morice 1895, 1905); Pliny E. Goddard studied the Dane-zaa in the Peace and Hay rivers region in 1913 (Goddard 1916); and Diamond Jenness resided with and observed the Tsek'ehne of Fort Grahame and Fort McLeod in 1924 (Jenness 1937).

[2] Recent EA application reviewed include the Roman Coal Mine (PRCI 2010), the Thunder Mountain Wind Project (TMW 2009), the Wildmare Wind Energy Project (Finavera 2011b), the Mt. Milligan Copper Gold Project (Terrane 2008), and the Site C Clean Energy Project (BC Hydro and Power Authority 2013).

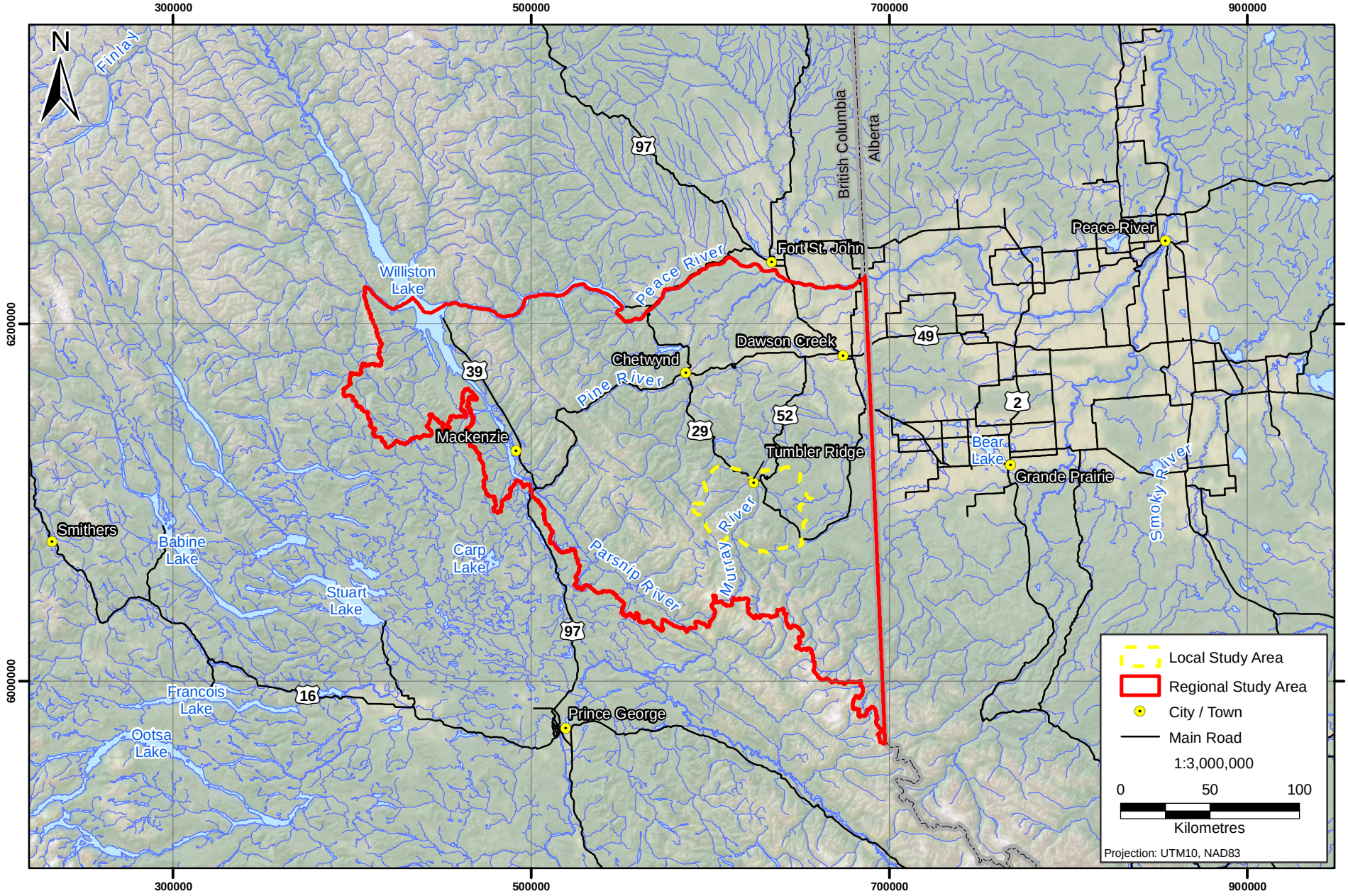

Figure 3.2-1

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Traditional Knowledge and Traditional Use Study Areas

Figure 3.2-1

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More recent studies have also been undertaken. Mandlebaum (1979) produced a comprehensive study on the Plains Cree. Lanoue (Lanoue 1983, 1991; Lanoue and Ferrara 2004) described the socio-political aspects of the Tsek'ehne. Denniston (1981) produced a summary of Tsek'ehne culture, based largely on Jenness' earlier work. Robin Ridington has written extensively on the oral traditions of the Dane-zaa of northeast BC, particularly those near Fort St. John (R. Ridington 1968, 1981, 1988, 1990). Smith (1981) and Darnell (2001) have written summaries on the Western Woods Cree and Plains Cree, respectively. Yvonne Harris wrote a thesis on the effects of the creation of Williston Lake on the Tsek'ehne (Harris 1984). Slobodin (1981) wrote about the characteristics of the Subarctic Métis. Robinson (1983) produced a seminal work on the Kelly Lake Métis.

The Northeast British Columbia Land Use and Occupancy Study was conducted in the late 1970s, as part of the Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings in British Columbia. Results were published by the Union of BC Indian Chiefs (UBCIC 1980). The Brody (1981) and Weinstein (1979) studies connected with this project provide some information on aboriginal land use that encompasses areas both inside and outside the RSA. The data they collected are based on "map biographies", in which informants described their lifetime of land use activities and mapped the outer limits of those activities. Original interview notes and map biographies were not available for review, though Brody (1981) published a number of summary maps that are reproduced in modified form in this report (see Figure 4.6-1).

Aboriginal groups in the Peace Region have recently begun collaborating on or writing their own TK/TU studies, as evidenced by Golder Associates (2009), WMFN (2012), KLCN (2009), Kwarakwante (2007) KLMSS (2010), Bannister (2006), Davis (1993, 2007); and Littlefield et al. (2007). The Site C Clean Energy Project EA application contains ethnographic overviews of the Blueberry River First Nations (Kennedy 2011), Horse Lake First Nation (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012), and Kelly Lake Métis (Davison and Danda 2012).

3.3.1 Data Challenges and Limitations

Historical, ethnographic information from published sources has limitations and should not be considered conclusive or complete, or necessarily reflective of the values, interests, and concerns of Aboriginal groups in the vicinity of the Project. Ethnographic observations were recorded by Euro-Canadians in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries; these observations were largely informed by a western worldview. Moreover, historical and cultural overviews are often broadly scoped, providing information about culture, land use, and travel with relatively few details regarding specific locations within a specific study area. Nevertheless, this work provides important accounts into daily life, social and political structures, and subsistence methods employed by members of the Aboriginal groups addressed in this study.

Data gaps within this study are expected, as community-level interviews have not been conducted with the Aboriginal groups.

4. Results

4. Results

4.1 OVERVIEW OF ABORIGINAL PEOPLES IN NORTHEAST BRITISH COLUMBIA

The Project lies within lands covered by Treaty 8. The Treaty 8 nations addressed in this study include West Moberly First Nations (WMFN), Saulteau First Nations (SFN), McLeod Lake Indian Band (MLIB), Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN), and Horse Lake First Nation (HLFN). WMFN and SFN are members of the Treaty 8 Tribal Association (T8TA), while MLIB and BRFN are not. HLFN is a member of the Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta.

Other Aboriginal groups in close to proximity to the Project are As'in'i'wa'chi Ni'Yaw Nation (also known as the Rocky Mountain Cree or Kelly Lake Cree Nation [KLCN]) and Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society (KLMSS). These groups are not signatories to Treaty 8. KLMSS is affiliated with the BC Métis Federation.

The following sections provide brief overviews of the WMFN, SFN, MLIB, BRFN, HLFN and Kelly Lake Aboriginal groups. Additional socio-economic information on the WMFN, SFN and MLIB communities is included in the Socio-economic Baseline Study for the Project (Rescan 2013).

4.1.1 West Moberly First Nations

WMFN is a historic signatory to Treaty 8 and a member of the T8TA. The WMFN community is located on one 2,033 ha reserve, West Moberly Lake 168A, at the west end of Moberly Lake, approximately 90 km southwest of Fort St. John and 30 km north of Chetwynd (Figure 4.1-1). As at September 2013, the WMFN had a registered population of 270 people - 109 persons living on-reserve and 161 persons off-reserve (AANDC 2013). The 2011 Census reported an on-reserve population of 95, an 86.3% increase from 2006 when only 51 people lived on the reserve (Stats Can 2012e).

WMFN, along with Halfway River First Nation, was formerly part of the Hudson's Hope Band which split in 1977. Nēhiyawēwin (Cree) is now the predominant Aboriginal language in the community, with only one fluent speaker of the historically more prevalent Dane-zaa language (FPCC 2012c). The use of "Nations" in the WMFN name is in recognition of their mixed ancestry.

WMFN is governed by a Chief and four Councillors (one from each of the key family groups), who are elected according to a custom electoral system (AANDC 2013). The Chief is elected by the entire community, while each family determines their own method of selecting their councilor. The Chief does not have a vote in council (EPCOR 2009).

WMFN identifies the Peace River sub-basin as their preferred Treaty territory (WMFN 2012) and a smaller area closer to the West Moberly reserve as an Area of Critical Community Interest (ACCI; Figure 4.1-2). The ACCI is an area of common interest with the SFN (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006). The close proximity of this area to their respective communities allow for the opportunity to carry out cultural activities and enjoy the benefits of hunting, trapping and fishing as assured under Treaty 8.

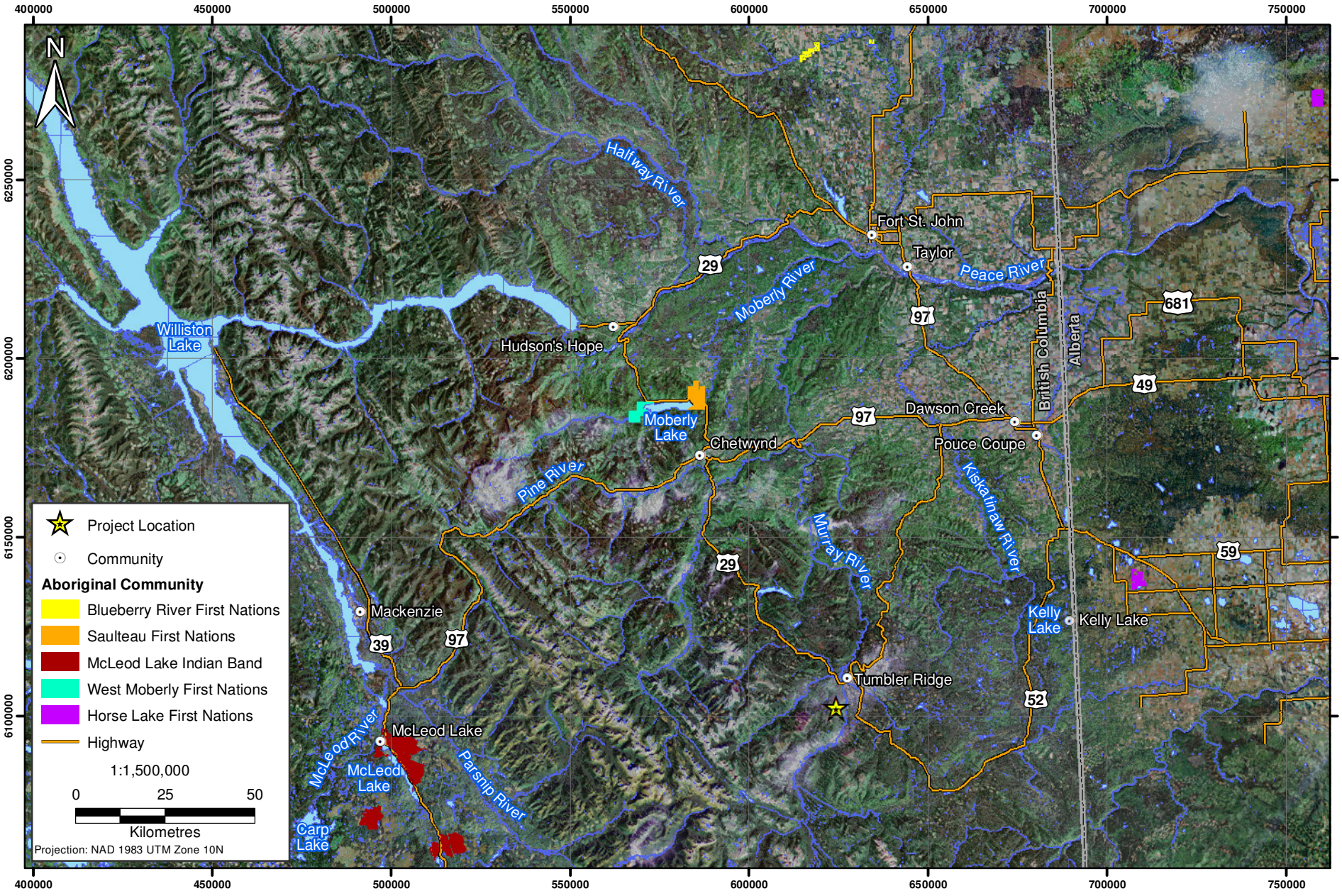


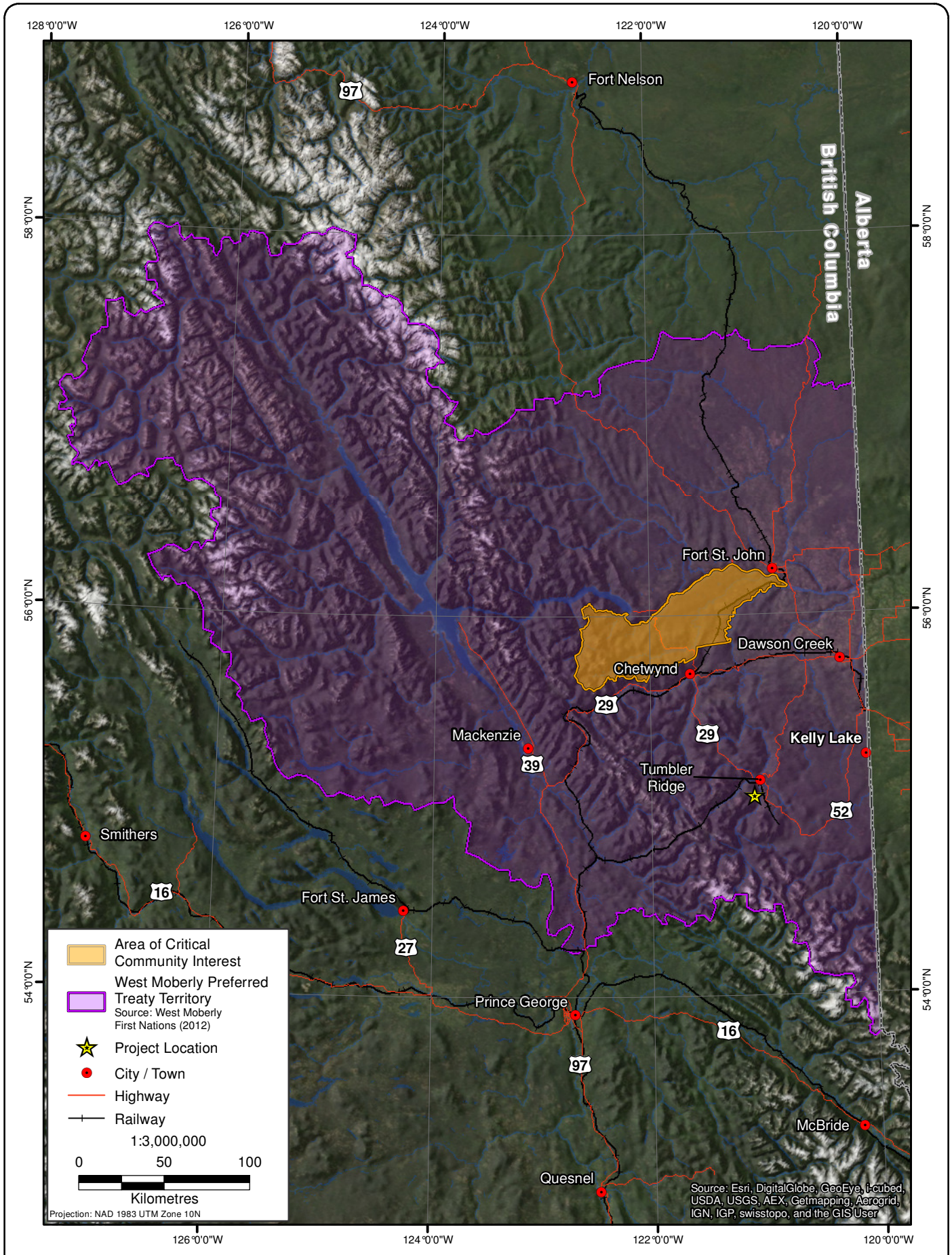
Figure 4.1-1

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Location of Aboriginal Communities Near the Project

Figure 4.1-1

Rescan an ERM company



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West Moberly First Nations Preferred Treaty Territory and Area of Critical Community Interest

Figure 4.1-2

Rescan an ERM company

4.1.2 Saulteau First Nations

SFN is a historic signatory to Treaty 8 and a member of the T8TA. The Saulteau[3] community resides on a 3,025.8 ha reserve (East Moberly Lake 169) located at the east end of Moberly Lake, approximately 25 km north of the town of Chetwynd and approximately 105 km northwest of the Project area (Figure 4.1-1). According to the most recent data available from AANDC (as of January 2010), the SFN had a total registered population of 877 people (MARR n.d.-b). Nesoo Watchie (2011), however, states that in 2011, nearly 1,000 people were enrolled as SFN members. Off-reserve members live in the nearby towns of Chetwynd, Prince George and Fort St. John, as well as further afield in Vancouver and Kamloops. A number of SFN members were also identified as living at Kelly Lake (see Section 4.1.6). According to the 2011 Census, there were 325 people living on East Moberly Lake 169, a 17.8% increase from 2006, when 275 people lived on reserve (Stats Can 2012b).

The oral histories of the SFN indicate their arrival in the area sometime in the late 1800s, following a long northwest migration of Anishnaubemowin (Saulteaux) speaking peoples from southern Manitoba, in search of a location that had been seen in a vision by a respected elder. After many years of travelling, they arrived at Moberly Lake, in the shadow of the Twin Sisters mountains (also known as Beattie Peaks or Klin-se-za), around 1911 (Nesoo Watchie 2011). Since settling at Moberly Lake, the Saulteaux have intermarried with the Dane-zaa and Cree people in the region, and Nēhiyawēwin (Cree) is now the predominant Aboriginal language in the SFN community. The use of "Nations" in their name indicates their mixed ancestry (PRCI 2010).

The SFN's custom electoral system is based on traditional Chief and Headmen governance. The community has a Chief and four Councillors, each of whom represents one of the five founding SFN families. Each family nominates a leader who becomes a Councillor, and then the general membership elects a Chief from among these five family heads. Elections are held every three years (Finavera 2011a).

The SFN have defined a traditional territory within Treaty 8 lands (SFN and BC Hydro 2010); they have described it as extending "well beyond" the boundaries of their reserve, spanning northeastern BC and western Alberta, and containing a wide range of ecosystems, terrain features and resources (Nesoo Watchie 2011). No map of this territory was publically available at the time of writing. They also have a shared interest with the WMFN in the ACCI (see Section 4.1.1 and Figure 4.1-2).

4.1.3 McLeod Lake Indian Band

The main community of MLIB is at McLeod Lake IR1, 145 km north of Prince George and approximately 125 km west of the Project area (Figure 4.1-1). MLIB estimates that their total registered membership is 500, with approximately 100 members living in McLeod Lake (on and off-reserve), and another 150 members living in Mackenzie, Chetwynd and Prince George (MLIB 2012), the remainder living in other communities in British Columbia and elsewhere. AANDC does not provide data on the total registered population of MLIB. According to the 2011 Census, there were 73 people living on McLeod Lake IR 1, a 22.3% decrease from 2006, when 94 people lived on the reserve (Stats Can 2012d).

In contrast to other Treaty 8 First Nations, MLIB only recently adhered to Treaty 8, in April 2000 (MARR n.d.-a). New Indian Reserves were established in the Mackenzie and Bear Lake areas as a provision of the Treaty 8 Adhesion Agreement (Table 4.1-1). In total, the MLIB have 21 reserves totalling 15,957.2 ha (Figure 4.1-1). MLIB is not a member of the T8TA.

[3] "Saulteaux" refers to the ethnolinguistic group to which the the Saulteau First Nations belong.

Table 4.1-1. McLeod Lake Indian Band Reserves

Reserves	Res. #	Hectares	Notes
Arctic Lake	10	2.0	
Blue Lake	24	1.1	
Carp Lake	3	4.9	
Davie Lake	28	1.0	
Finlay Bay	21	1.0	
Hominka	11	2.0	
Kerry Lake East	9	3,323.0	
Kerry Lake West	8	898.0	
Mackenzie	19	8.1	
McIntyre Lake	23	4.0	
McLeod Lake	1	815.2	Primary Reserve for community members together with IR 5.
McLeod Lake	5	8,061.3	Primary Reserve for community members together with IR 1.
Pack River	2	111.7	
Quaw Island	25	1.5	
Sas Mighe Indian	32	26.0	
Tacheeda Lake	14	2.1	
Tom Cook	26	12.0	
War Lake	4	3.3	
Weedon Carp	6	2,674.0	
Weedon Lake	27	4.0	
Weston Bay	20	1.0	

Source: Aboriginal Canada Portal (2012); AANDC (2012)

MLIB is governed under a custom electoral system consisting of a Chief and six Councilors (two on-reserve, two off-reserve, an elder Councillor and a youth Councillor), who are elected every three years (MLIB 2012). In 2004, the Band presented a Statement of Intent (SOI) to Canada and BC to negotiate a self-government agreement on its Indian Reserve lands. The three parties have completed two out of the six stages required under the BC Treaty Commission (BCTC) process (MARR n.d.-a).

MLIB traditional territory, as depicted in their SOI, is approximately 108,000 square kilometres (km^2) (Figure 4.1-3) and is bounded as follows (MLIB, n.d., cited in Golder Associates 2009):

- to the south, the height of land separating the Arctic and Pacific watersheds near Summit Lake;
- to the east, following that height of land to the border of BC and Alberta;
- to the north, following the border to the Peace River, west, following the southern bank of the Peace River to Williston Lake, south, following the western bank of Williston Lake to the western bank of Manson Arm, south, along the west bank of Manson Arm, southwest and west, along the height of land between Manson River and Eklund Creek and Jackfish Creek, southwest; and
- to the west, along the height of land between the Nation River watershed and the Omineca River watershed, south and east along the height of land separating the Arctic and Pacific watersheds to the commencement point.

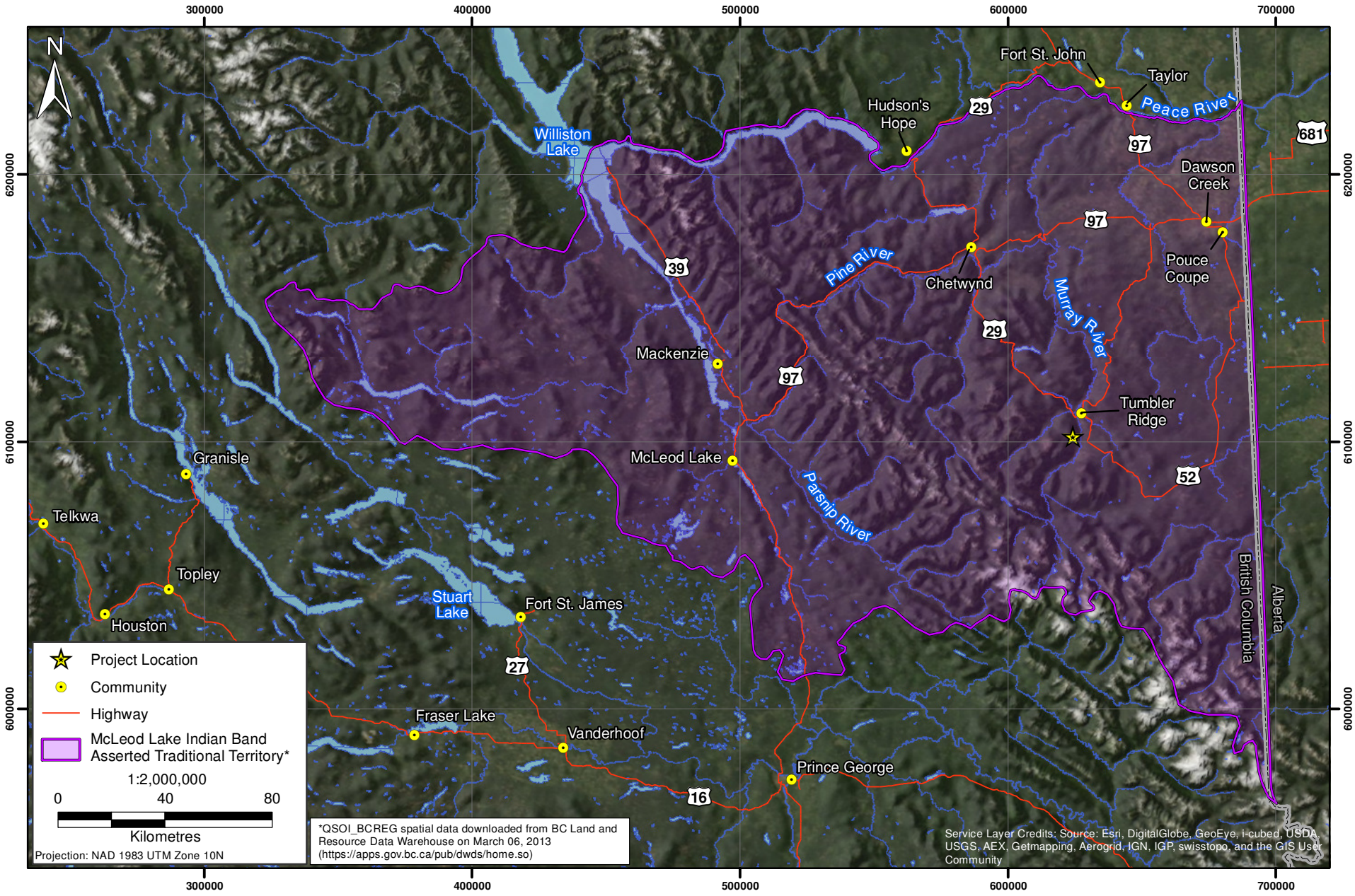

Figure 4.1-3

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McLeod Lake Indian Band Traditional Territory

Figure 4.1-3

Rescan an ERM company

4.1.4 Blueberry River First Nations

BRFN is a historic signatory to Treaty 8, but is not a member of the T8TA. The main community of BRFN at Blueberry River 205 is approximately 80 km northwest of the City of Fort St. John and approximately 180 km north of the Project area (Figure 4.1-1). BRFN has two reserves (Blueberry River 205, and the south half of Beaton River 204) totalling 1,508.8 ha (AANDC 2013).

As of September 2013, BRFN had a registered membership of 471, with 207 members living on their own reserves, 34 members living on other reserves, and 230 members living off-reserve (AANDC 2013). The 2011 Census reported that there were 210 people living on Blueberry River 205, a 12.3% increase from 2006, when 187 people lived on reserve (Stats Can 2012a).

BRFN was historically joined with Doig River First Nation and known as the Fort St. John Indian Band. When the Fort St. John Band dissolved in 1977, BRFN became an independent First Nation (Fasken Martineau 2013).

BRFN has a Chief and four Councillors, and uses the *Indian Act* electoral system (AANDC 2013).

BRFN has defined its traditional territory within the larger Treaty 8 lands (Figure 4.1-4). BRFN territory in British Columbia is depicted as extending approximately from Tumbler Ridge in the south, to the Sikanni Chief River in the north, west to the height of land in the Rocky Mountains, and east to the Alberta border (Kennedy 2011). It extends east into Alberta as far as Grande Prairie to the south and the head of Sikanni Chief River in the north (Bouchard and Kennedy 2011).

4.1.5 Horse Lake First Nation

HLFN is the only Aboriginal group in this study whose main community is situated outside of British Columbia. HLFN is an historic signatory to Treaty 8, and a member of the Western Cree Tribal Council and the Treaty 8 First Nations of Alberta. The main community of Horse Lakes 152B is located 60 km north-northwest of Grande Prairie, Alberta (89 km east-northeast of the Project). HLFN has two reserves (Horse Lakes 152B and Clear Hills 152C), with a total area of 3,099.1 ha (AANDC 2013) .

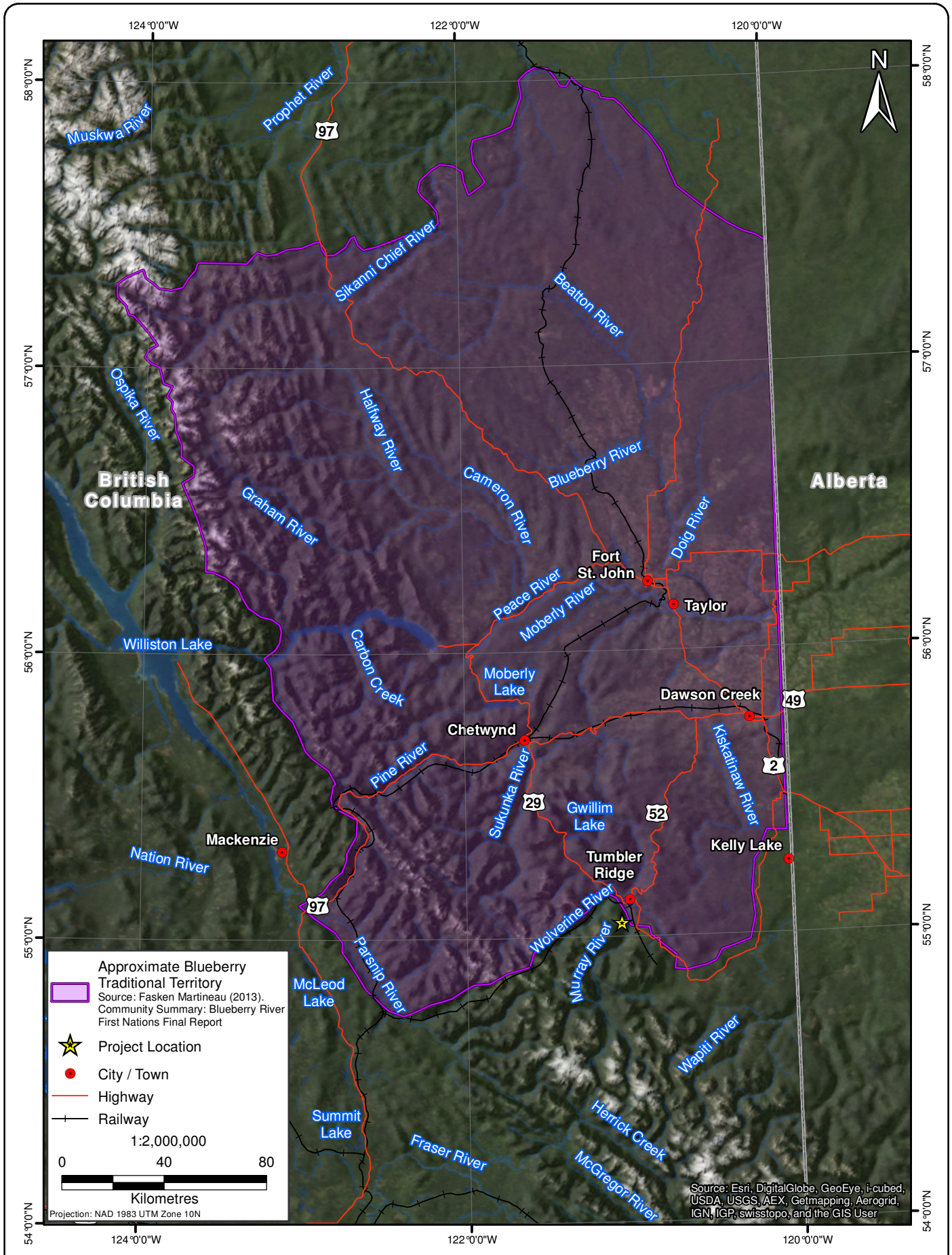
As of September 2013, HLFN had a total registered population of 1,064 people, with 455 members living on HLFN's reserves, 13 members living on other reserves, and 596 members living off-reserve (AANDC 2013). The 2011 Census reported that there were 402 people living on Horse Lakes 152B, a 20% increase from 2006, when 335 people lived on reserve (Stats Can 2012a).

HLFN has a Chief and four Councillors, and uses a custom electoral system (AANDC 2013).

HLFN has defined its traditional territory within the larger Treaty 8 lands (Figure 4.1-5), loosely described as an extensive area in northwest Alberta and northeast BC. The majority of their traditional territory is located between Dawson Creek, BC and Grande Prairie, Alberta, on both sides of the border (Traditions Consulting Services 2013a).

4.1.6 Kelly Lake Communities

Kelly Lake is 56 km southwest of Dawson Creek, British Columbia and 40 km west of Beaverlodge, Alberta. The community is 65 km northeast of the Project area, and is 1.5 km to the west of the BC-Alberta border.



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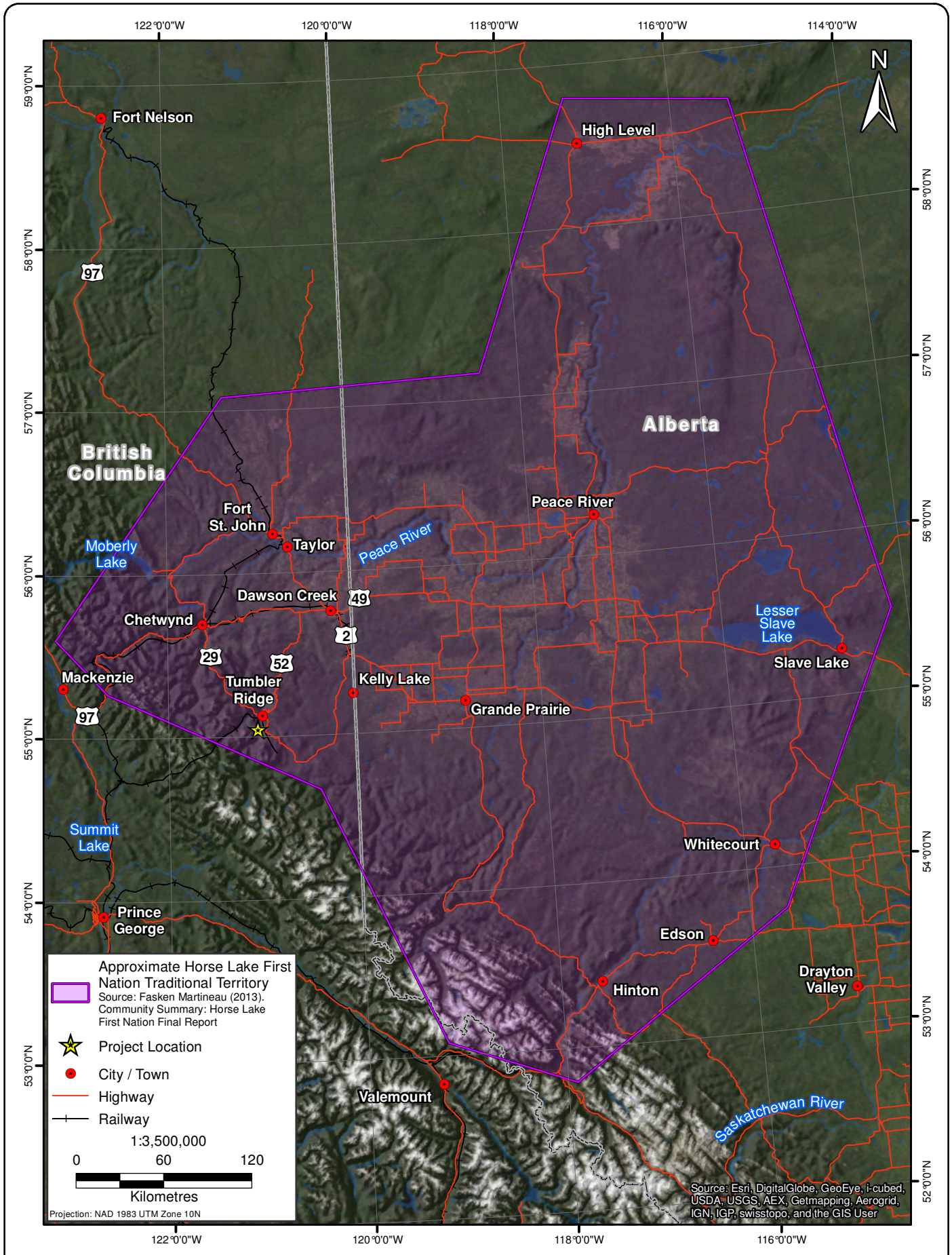
Blueberry River First Nations Traditional Territory

Figure 4.1-4

Rescan an ERM company



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Horse Lake First Nation Traditional Territory

Figure 4.1-5

Rescan an ERM company

Population estimates from within the community notably vary from the Statistics Canada population counts. In 2013, for example, it was estimated there were 125 Cree speaking people living at Kelly Lake (KLCN 2013), while 160 members of the Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society (KLMSS) were reportedly residing in the community in 2010. The 2011 census, however, recorded (in total) 109 people living in Kelly Lake, only one less than in 2006[4] (KLCN 2009; KLMSS 2010; Stats Can 2012c).

4.1.7 Kelly Lake Communities

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Population estimates from within the community notably vary from the Statistics Canada population counts. In 2013, for example, it was estimated there were 125 Cree speaking people living at Kelly Lake (KLCN 2013), while 160 members of the Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society (KLMSS) were reportedly residing in the community in 2010. The 2011 census, however, recorded (in total) 109 people living in Kelly Lake, only one less than in 2006[5] (KLCN 2009; KLMSS 2010; Stats Can 2012c).

The name “Kelly Lake” is thought by some researchers to be a corruption of “Calliou Lake” or “Calihoo Lake”. The surname “Callihoo” and its variants are thought to have Iroquois origins and can be traced back to the original Iroquois settlers in Alberta (Calverley 1980). KLCN (2013) states that the original chief of As’in’i’wa’chi Ni’yaw Nation, Kwarakwante, eventually was known by the surname of Callihoo. Dates for the founding of Kelly Lake vary, ranging between 1824 (Supreme Court of British Columbia 2010) and 1910 (KLMSS 2010).

4.1.7.1 As’in’i’wa’chi Ni’yaw Nation (Rocky Mountain Cree or Kelly Lake Cree Nation)

As’in’i’wa’chi Ni’Yaw Nation (also known as the Rocky Mountain Cree or KLCN) assert they are descended from Iroquois trappers and voyageurs working for the North West Company (NWC), who arrived in the area in the 18th century and intermarried with neighbouring Cree and Dane-zaa peoples. The KLCN self-identify as Cree; they speak the Woods Cree dialect of the Cree language, engage in Cree cultural practices, and hold and value Cree knowledge and beliefs. They govern themselves under a traditional Cree chief and headman system (KLCN 2013). There are ten recognized founding families that make up KLCN, and each of them is represented by a member of that family who is elected from within that family.

KLCN traditional territory is approximately 40,000 km^2 (Figure 4.1-6) and is bounded on the north by the Peace River, on the west by the Rocky Mountains, on the south by the boundary between Treaty 6 and Treaty 8, and on the east in Alberta by the 6th Meridian (Supreme Court of British Columbia 2010), This includes territory in Jasper National Park. The Kelly Lake trapping grounds include the watersheds of the Athabasca, Peace, Smoky, Kiskatinaw, Redwillow, Murray, Belcourt Creek, Sukunka, and Wapiti Rivers (M. Kwarakwante 2007).

The Kelly Lake Cree people were not contacted by the Treaty 8 Commission and consequently did not sign on to Treaty 8. As a result, they are not recognized by AANDC as an Indian Band as defined by the

[4] The discrepancy may be in part due to differences between the Kelly Lake people and Statistics Canada in the definition of community boundaries. Many of the Kelly Lake members may be included within the boundaries of Electoral Area ‘D’, since the Kelly Lake Unincorporated Area was included within the larger Electoral Area in the previous (2006) Census.

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Indian Act (1985), and there are no reserves allotted to them. KLCN filed a Comprehensive Land Claim in 1994 with the Federal Court of Canada, seeking recognition as a First Nation with Aboriginal rights under the *Constitution Act*, 1982, and the ability to adhere to Treaty 8. They also filed a civil claim against the Province of BC in July of 2009, seeking the same recognition (Kwarakwante 2011). At the time of writing, neither Canada nor BC recognizes KLCN as an Aboriginal group under the *Constitution Act*, 1982, nor have the members of the KLCN ever been registered as Indians under the *Indian Act* (1985; Supreme Court of British Columbia 2010).

4.1.7.2 Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society

KLMSS identify themselves as Métis. They assert that they are the only historic Métis community resident in British Columbia; most residents trace their ancestry from the unions of Cree speaking women and French Canadian fur traders who resided in the Red River settlements of Manitoba in the early 1800s. Their ancestors migrated from Red River to Lac St. Anne, Alberta, in search of land on which to settle. A number of families moved on to settle at Flying Shot Lake, located just outside Grande Prairie, Alberta. Some families then moved from Flying Shot Lake to Kelly Lake, known for its good hunting, fishing, and trapping, sometime around 1910. Many of the Kelly Lake Métis are descended from Iroquois as well (Michael Robinson 1983).

The Cree language spoken at Kelly Lake, they assert, is coloured with modifications of words that reveal the community's French ancestry. The community was officially known as Fritton Lake until 1952 when the name changed to Kelly Lake after much petitioning by community members (KLMSS 2010)[6]. Most of the land at Kelly Lake is privately owned and was acquired under the right of pre-emption by the original Métis settlers.

KLMSS traditional territory (Figure 4.1-7) extends from the Continental Divide in the west, to Peace River, Alberta and Lac St. Anne, Alberta in the east, and from the south side of the Peace River in the north to Hinton, Alberta in the south (Davison and Danda 2012).

Many KLMSS members have ancestral and familial ties to BRFN, WMFN and SFN, but maintain their Métis identity (Davison and Danda 2012). KLMSS registered under the *Societies Act* on April 26, 2012 to advocate for their community's Aboriginal rights, and to pursue economic and social benefits of development for the Kelly Lake Métis. It is governed by a set of bylaws and ratified its first constitution in 2006 (Davison and Danda 2012). KLMSS is affiliated with the BC Métis Federation (BC Métis Federation 2012).

4.2 TREATY 8

Treaty 8 lands include northeast BC, much of northern Alberta and northern Saskatchewan, and parts of the Northwest Territories, and totals 840,000 km^2 (84,000,000 ha - see Figure 4.2-1). Treaty 8 was signed on June 21, 1899. Adhesions to this agreement were made on 13 subsequent occasions between 1899 and 1900 (Government of Canada 1966). In 1910, an additional adhesion was made in Fort Nelson, BC. SFN and WMFN were admitted into Treaty 8 in 1914[7] (Madill 1986). MLIB became a modern signatory to Treaty 8 through an adhesion in April 2000. MLIB are now negotiating a self-government agreement independently within the BCTC six-stage treaty process (BCTC n.d.).

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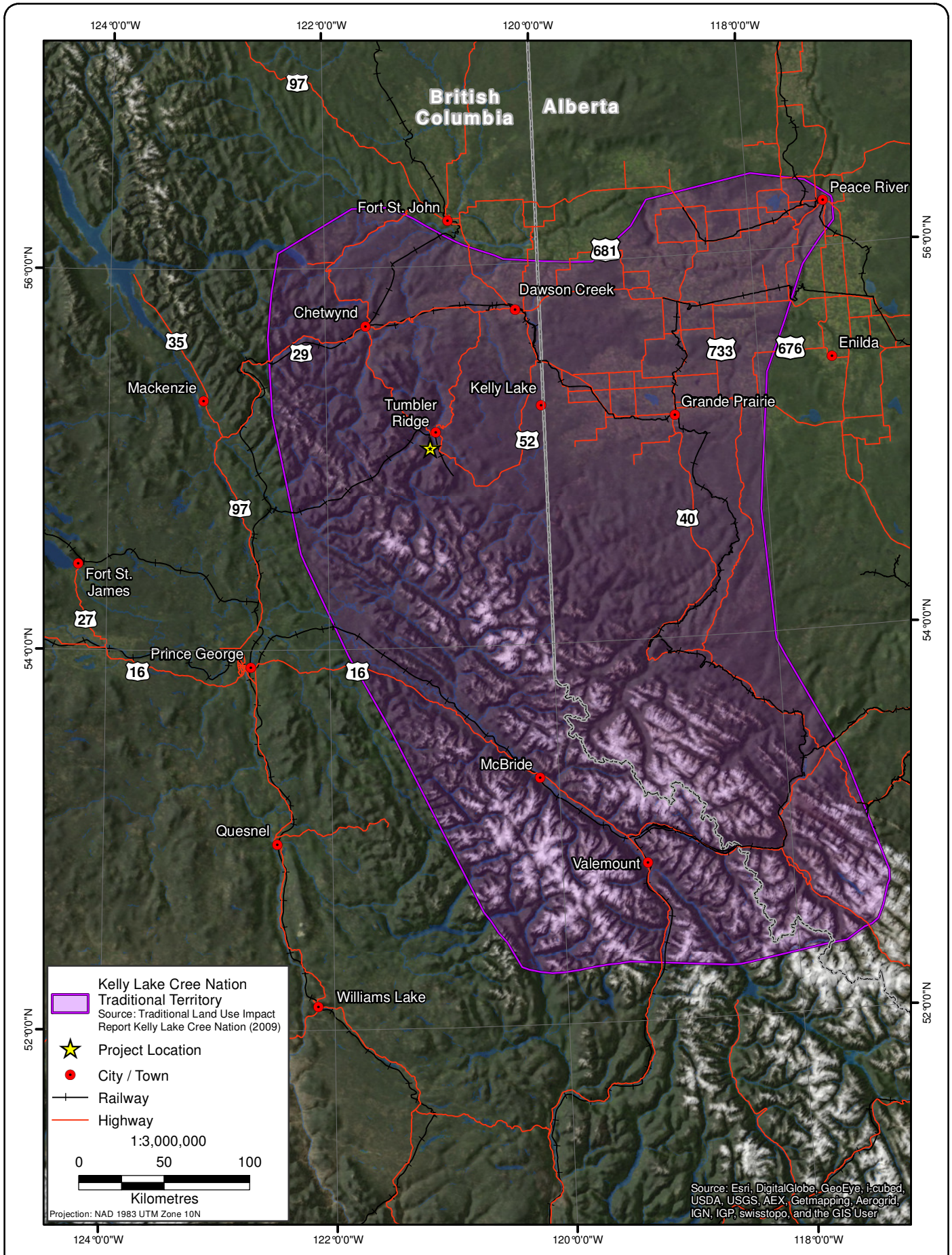
[6] This account differs from that of KLCN who assert "Kelly" is variation of "Callihoo" (see Section 4.1.6.1). The reason for the discrepancy is unclear.

[7] This admission took place at Hudson's Hope, according to local eyewitness accounts. "Admission" is used here rather than "adhesion", since no record of an actual adhesion document (with signatures) has been found. It is unknown who (if anybody) signed Treaty 8 in 1914 for the bands gathered at Hudson's Hope, though the first treaty paylist the following year (1915) shows three headmen for Hudson's Hope Band and one for Moberly Lake (Saulteaux) Band (WMFN 2012).



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Kelly Lake Cree Nation Traditional Territory

Figure 4.1-6

Rescan an ERM company

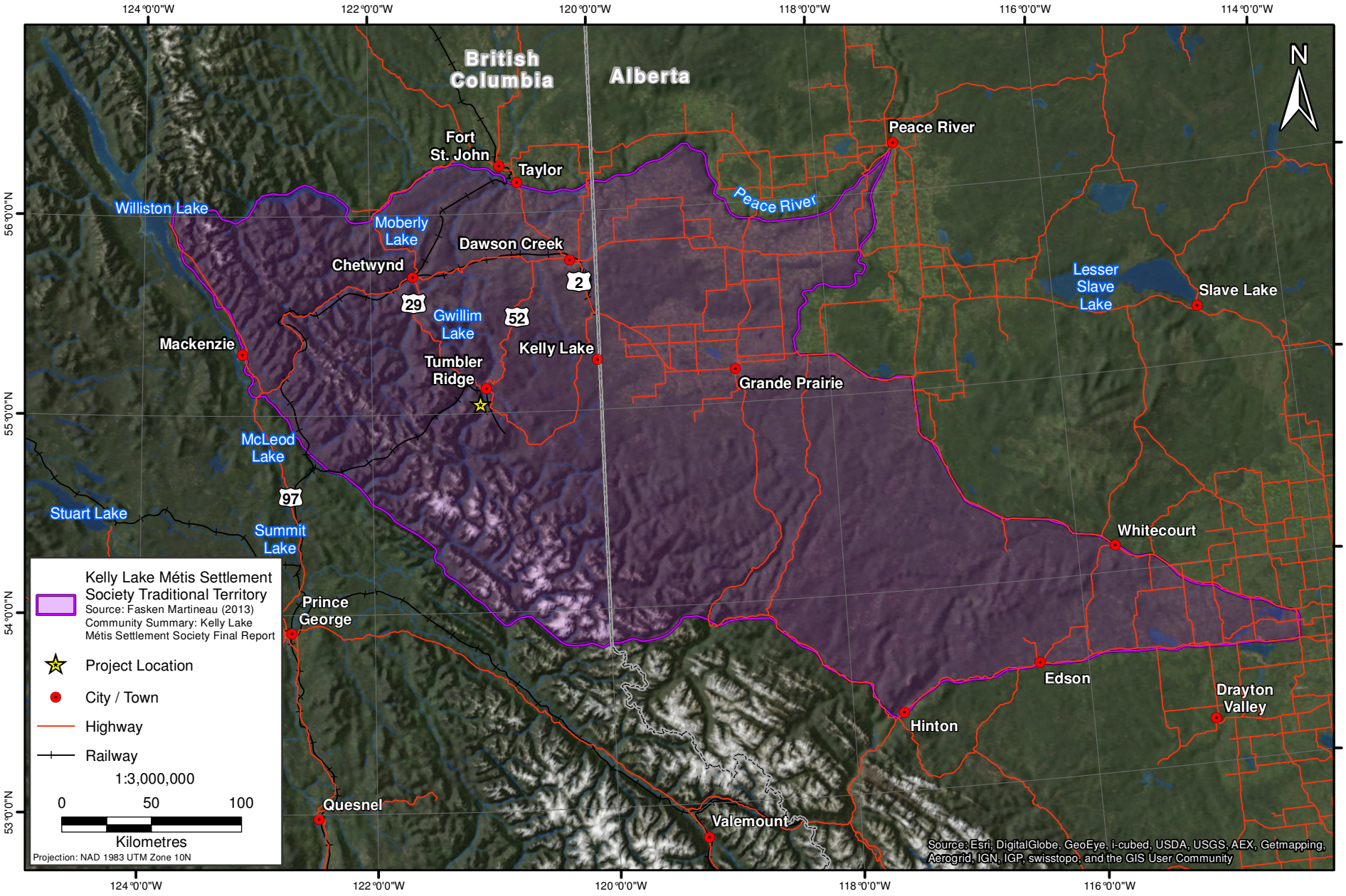

Figure 4.1-7

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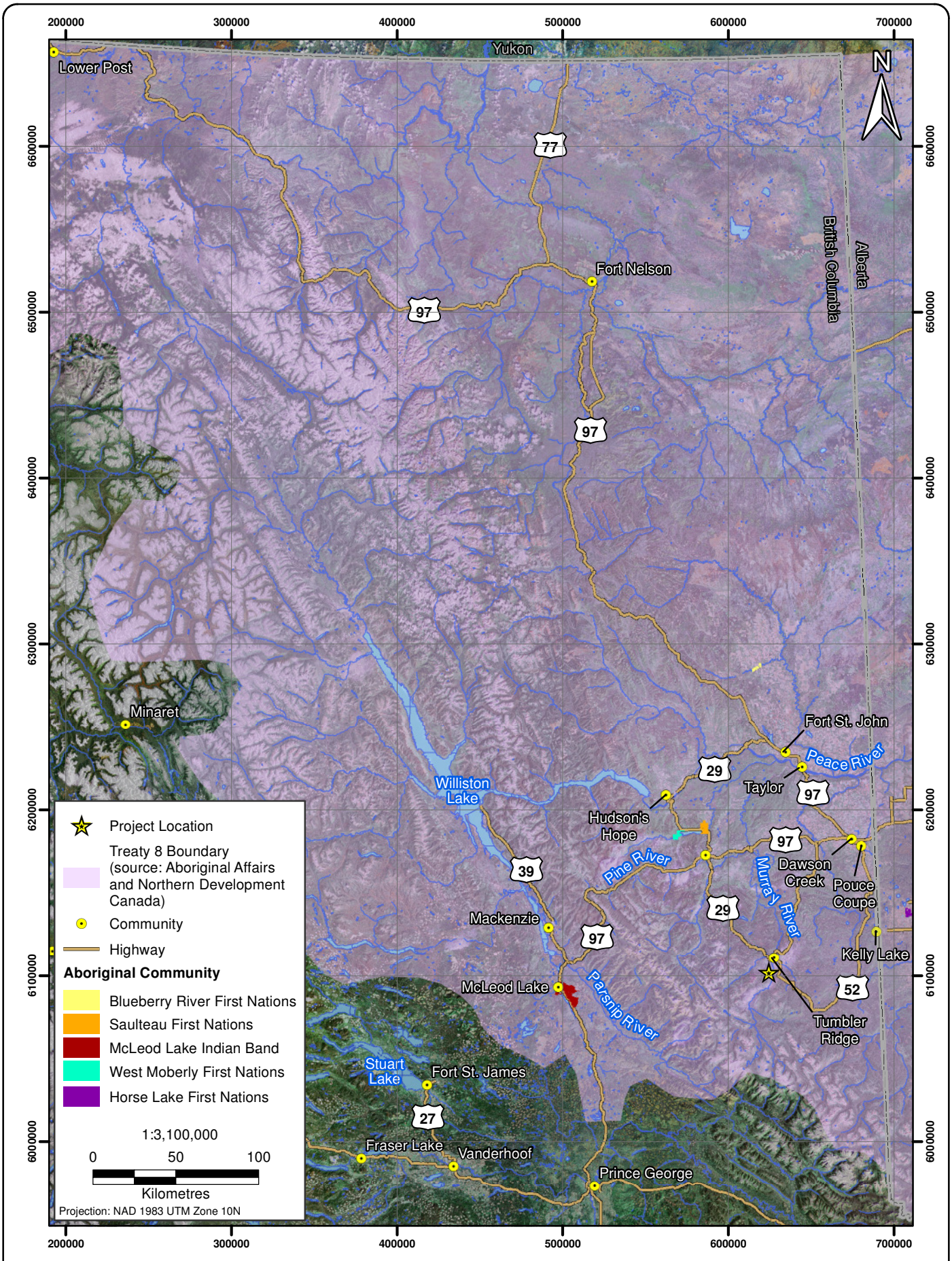
Kelly Lake Métis Settlement Society Traditional Territory

Figure 4.1-7

Rescan an ERM company



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Treaty 8 Boundaries

Figure 4.2-1

Rescan an ERM company

Treaty 8 provides the signatories with the right to carry out their "usual vocations" of hunting, fishing, and trapping within the Treaty 8 area. This right is protected by Section 35 of the *Constitution Act*, 1982, but is subject to the right of the Crown to "take up" lands for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.

Case law has recognized that Treaty 8 was made against the backdrop of oral promises made by the Treaty Commissioners, promises that contemplated a limited interference with hunting, trapping, and fishing practices (BC EAO 2012). As noted by the Supreme Court of Canada in *Mikisew Cree First Nation v. Canada*, for example, while the Crown has the right to "take up" lands covered by Treaty 8, it is nevertheless under an obligation to inform itself of the impact its project will have on the exercise of fishing, hunting and/or trapping rights; to communicate its findings to the potentially affected First Nations; and then attempt to deal with the First Nations in good faith, and with the intention of substantially addressing their concerns (BC EAO 2012). Also, a First Nation's "meaningful right to hunt" is not ascertained on a treaty-wide basis but in relation to the territories over which a First Nation traditionally hunted, fished and trapped, and continues to do so today. The test of whether the Crown has infringed the treaty right is to be analyzed in reference to respective First Nations' traditional territories (BC Hydro and Power Authority 2013).

In *West Moberly First Nations v. British Columbia (Chief Inspector of Mines)*, the court stated that the nature and scope of the treaty right to hunt is to be understood as the parties to the treaty would have understood at the time of signing the treaty. This understanding should be that the treaty guarantees the First Nations the right to continue with the same means of earning a livelihood as existed pre-treaty, and the Crown agreed that the treaty would not lead to "forced interference with their mode of life" (BC EAO 2012).

Submissions provided to BC Hydro Power Authority from various Treaty 8 First Nations for the Site C Clean Energy Project asserted that the rights guaranteed in Treaty 8 are "livelihood rights", and that the Crown promised continuity with respect to those rights. They also asserted that the treaty establishes an ongoing Crown obligation to secure a continued supply of game and fish for the support and subsistence of the First Nations. This implies ongoing Crown duties to protect fish and wildlife populations within Crown lands traditionally used by First Nations as part of their seasonal round, and to protect and safeguard habitat, including water resources, required to maintain a harvestable surplus of fish and wildlife resources (BC Hydro and Power Authority 2013).

4.3 ETHNOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW

This section focuses on documented ethnographic information relevant to MLIB, WMFN, SFN, BRFN, HLFN, and the Kelly Lake communities. The cultural background of these Aboriginal groups is that of the Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Saulteaux, Cree and Métis. Though linguistically and ethnically distinct, they are all classified as Subarctic culture groups[8] in the ethnographic tradition (J. Helm, ed. 1981). Their territories fluctuated between the western slope of the Rocky Mountains, the Rocky Mountain trench, and the headwaters of Peace River down to the Rocky Mountain foothills and the Peace River Plains of Alberta. Similar social and cultural patterns are observed in Subarctic groups in northeast BC; these traits evolved out of the necessity to sustain a lifestyle that demanded specific adaptations to climate, resource availability, and the movement of bison, moose and caribou.

[8] A "culture group" is defined as a collection of peoples with distinct ethno-linguistic identities within a specific geographic area. Peoples within a culture group share one or more cultural traits in common, which is usually the result of adaptation to similar environments. A culture group usually consists of several (often a dozen or more) ethno-linguistic groups, and the boundaries of culture groups can be mapped. In the case of the Subarctic culture group, the region they inhabit is vast and spans from Alaska to Newfoundland and Labrador, from below the tundra/forest boundary in the north to the extent of the boreal forest in the south.

Peace River is known by different names in the Aboriginal languages of the area, including *Unjigah or Unchagah* ("Peace" [Cree]), *Chaw hot-e-na Dez-za* ("Beaver Indian river" [Dane-zaa]), *amiskiwiyiniw sipi* ("Beaver Indian river" [Cree]) (Kennedy 2011), and *Chu'da'datch* ("blue water" [Tsek'ehne]) (A. Ridington 2013). This variety of names is characteristic of the importance of Peace River in the ethnohistory of the area.

Figure 4.3-1 portrays the range of Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Western Woods and Plains Cree ethnographic boundaries circa 1850, as estimated by ethnographers who have studied these groups. The Saulteaux group is not portrayed on this map because they had not yet arrived in the area. No map of the distribution of Métis people in this area during this time period has been located.

4.3.1 Ethnolinguistic Divisions

4.3.1.1 Tsek'ehne

MLIB is part of the Tsek'ehne ethnolinguistic group, along with the Kwadacha First Nation (previously known as the Fort Ware Band), the Tsay Keh Dene (previously known as the Ingenika Indian Band), and the Takla Lake First Nation (an amalgamation of the North Takla Band and the Fort Connelly or Bear Lake Band which occurred in 1959)[9] (Takla Lake First Nation 2008-2013; Sims 2010). The Tsek'ehne are part of the Beaver-Sarcee-Sekani branch of the Athapaskan language family (Denniston 1981). The name "Tsek'ehne" means "people on the rocks [mountains]". Jenness (1937) theorized that Daniel Harmon, a fur trader and early explorer of the area, was the first to use the term for the entire group in 1810. The name came into general use in the first quarter of the 19th century.

The Tsek'ehne are characterized by Denniston (1981) as the Athapaskan inhabitants of the mountainous areas of BC drained by the Finlay and Parsnip branches of the Peace River[10]. In the late 1700s, the ancestors of the modern Tsek'ehne would have spent the late fall to early spring on the east side of the Rocky Mountains and, according to Jenness (1937), their territory extended down the Peace River as far as the present-day town of Peace River, Alberta. By the early 19th century, however, the Tsek'ehne were being forced westward into the mountains by the Dane-zaa (Lamb 1960). Their eastern boundary was pushed back along the Peace River to near Hudson's Hope, BC (Jenness 1937) (see Figure 4.3-1).

Within the historic period, Tsek'ehne socio-territorial alignments have been marked variously by movement, splitting, amalgamation, and regroupings, as well as by intermarriage with other ethnolinguistic groups (Denniston 1981). Jenness (1937) recorded the names and ranges of four Tsek'ehne regional groups of the early 19th century, as recalled in 1924 by the Tsek'ehne of Forts Grahame and McLeod. Translations for the regional group names are provided by Littlefield et al. (2007):

- the *Tsekani* ("rock people" or "mountain people"), who inhabited the region from McLeod Lake south to the height of land and east to the edge of the Prairies;

[9] The latter three, collectively, make up the Tse Keh Nay First Nations, an organization working collaboratively in the Joint Panel review process for the Kemess North mine, as well as in general land and resource management activities. The Tsay Keh Dene are independently involved in treaty negotiations with Canada and BC in the BCTC process, and are currently in Stage 4 of that process. Takla Lake First Nation is represented at the treaty table by the Carrier Sekani Tribal Council and are also currently in Stage 4. Kwadacha First Nation is a member of the Kaska Dene Council. Treaty negotiations with the Kaska Dene Council were suspended in 2003 (MARR n.d.).

[10] Much of this area was inundated by the erection of the WAC Bennett Dam and the creation of Williston Lake (see Section 4.5.4).

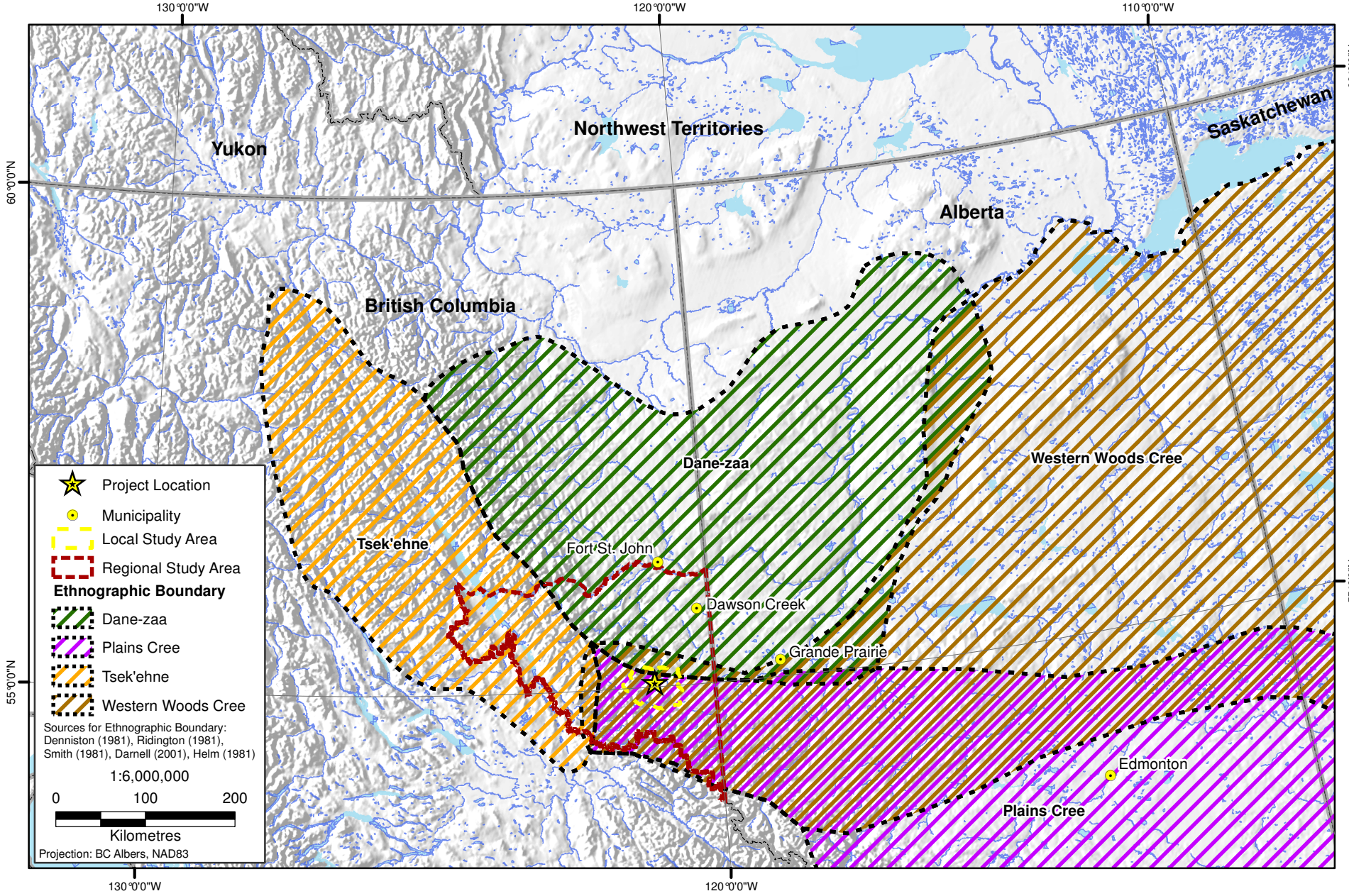

Figure 4.3-1

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Range of the Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Western Woods and Plains Cree Ethnographic Boundaries ca. 1850

Figure 4.3-1

Rescan an ERM company

- the *Yatuwichan* (thought to mean "lake people"), who inhabited the north end of McLeod Lake down the Parsnip River to Rocky Mountain Canyon on the east and westward to the upper Salmon River of the Fraser drainage, and to Carp Lake and the headwaters of the Manson and Nation tributaries of the Parsnip;
- the *Sasuchan* ("people of the black bear"), who inhabited the basin of the Finlay River from the mouth of the Omineca River north and west: Bear and Thutade lakes were in their range; and
- the *Tseloni* ("people of the end of the rock [mountain]"), who occupied the Plateau country between the headwaters of the Finlay and Laird Rivers and around Fort Nelson (Sims 2010); the upper Fox and Kechika (Muddy) Rivers flowed through the centre of their territory.

Most of the *Tseloni* and *Sasuchan* amalgamated when Fort Grahame was established in 1890. The *Yatuwichan* and *Tsekani* also amalgamated, and came to occupy a single village at McLeod Lake (Jenness 1937). Littlefield et al. (2007), however, present a far more fluid linkage between the regional groups than this, showing the eventual formation of the four modern-day First Nations claiming descent from the ethnographic Tsek'ehne (Figure 4.3-2). They also add a fifth Tsek'ehne group, the Tslotana (or T'lotona of Jenness - see Section 4.5.2). The historic developments that produced these First Nations are discussed in further detail in Section 4.5.2.

Two other (possible) Tsek'ehne groups were recorded in the early 1800s. The "Meadow Indians" of 1806, as identified and located by Simon Fraser (Lamb 1960), inhabited the upper reaches of Halfway River. However, Jenness (1937) placed the "Meadow Indians" in a more southerly range that included the Pine and upper Smoky rivers. The "Baucanne" or "Says-thau-dennehs" were designated by Fraser (Lamb 1960) in 1806, based on a report from a First Nations individual that this group was on the upper Fraser River (or the headwaters of the Smoky River[11], according to Jenness). They may have been the survivors of the Tsek'ehne band who, according to Secwepemc (Shuswap) tradition, were attacked and expelled from the lands of the Secwepemc along the North Thompson River[12] (Teit 1909).

Denniston (1981) states that before the Cree influenced the Dane-zaa, the Dane-zaa and Tsek'ehne could have been classed as one people. Daniel Harmon, in 1810, also believed this was the case (Lamb 1957). Jenness (1937) theorized that many centuries ago, the Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa were one people divided into many bands which differed little in language or customs. This was based on his observation of the similarities in their physical appearance, and identical aspects of their language. More cultural differences lie to the west and south where the Tsek'ehne run into the Dakelh (Carrier) and Secwepemc (Denniston 1981).

4.3.1.2 Dane-zaa

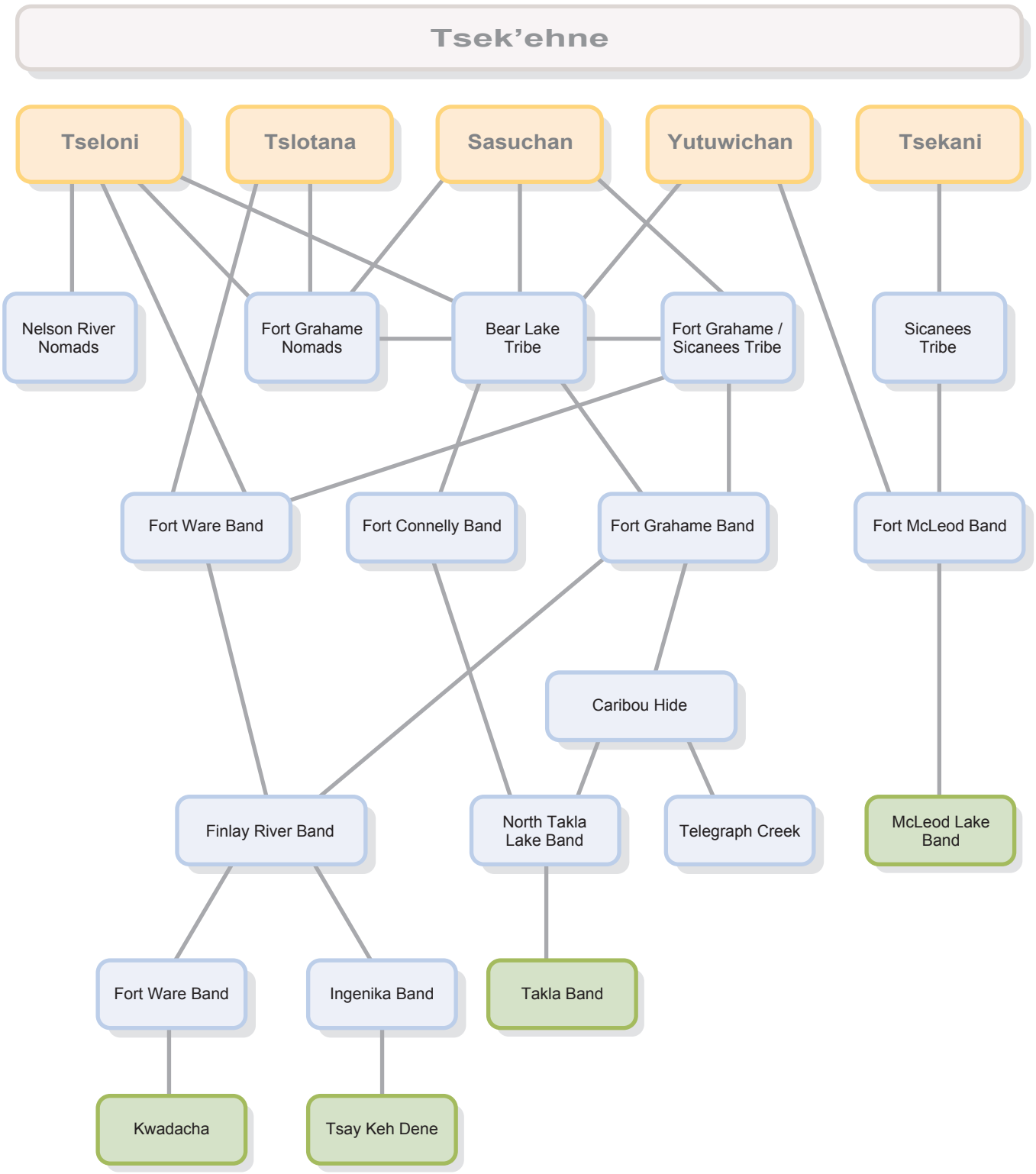
WMFN, SFN, BRFN and HLFN are composed of large numbers of people claiming Dane-zaa descent. Other contemporary First Nations with Dane-zaa ancestry include Doig River First Nation, Halfway River First Nation, and Prophet River First Nation in BC (Kennedy 2011); and Beaver First Nation in Alberta.

[11] "Baucanne" or "boucane" is an obsolete French Canadian word for "smoke". It was applied to the Smoky River after explorers noted the tendency of surficial coal deposits along the river to burn and smoke (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012). Whether the ground spontaneously combusted, or was ignited due to other causes, is unclear.

[12] By the time of Fraser's arrival, however, the KLCN allege that their Iroquois ancestors had already arrived in the Jasper area, at the headwaters of the Smoky River. This could account for why they were differentiated from the other Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa groups by the Aboriginal informant.

Figure 4.3-2

Historic Formation of the First Nations Claiming Tsek'ehne Descent



Source: Littlefield et al. (2007).

The Dane-zaa are Athapaskan-speaking people of the plains and boreal forests of the middle and lower Peace River watershed (R. Ridington 1981). The name "Beaver" had been used to refer to the Dane-zaa since the beginning of historical records, when Peter Pond, a member of the NWC, used the term on his map to refer to at least part of the people labelled "Beaver Indians" in later times. The reference to "beaver" is said to have been derived from the Chipewyan term for Peace River, or from the Chipewyan term for the Beaver people (tsa-ttiné, meaning "dwellers among the beavers")[13] (Kennedy 2011). The Cree refer to the Dane-zaa as *amiskiwiyiniw* ("beaver person").The term Dane-zaa means "real people"- the people with whom one could establish a kinship connection. Among those who recognized one another as Dane-zaa were groups with names containing the element *wədənеʔ* ('people of') or *ne* ('people') (R. Ridington 1981).

Goddard (1916) identified three regional groups of Dane-zaa from the "eastern base of the Rocky Mountains in British Columbia along the Peace River to the falls about forty miles below [Fort] Vermilion [in north-central Alberta]." Those trading at Fort St. John (known as the Tsaᵋt'ū, whom Mackenzie [Lamb 1970] referred to as the "Rocky Mountain Indians") hunted northward to the headwaters of the Liard River and camped as far up the Peace as the North Pine River. When Goddard encountered the Tsaᵋt'ū, they had recently organized into three small bands or *wədənеʔ*, each with a headman or Chief. Those located near Dunvegan, Alberta hunted northward to the headwaters of the Hay River where they often met Dane-zaa peoples from Vermilion, Alberta or Fort St. John, BC. They also occupied considerable territory south of the Peace River. Those near Vermilion, Alberta hunted and trapped westward toward Hay Lake, and north and eastward toward the Caribou Mountains. According to Goddard, there also used to be a large Dane-zaa group living near Peace River Crossing (also in Alberta), but few individuals of this group were still living when Goddard was in the area.

Ridington (1968), in his interviews with the Dane-zaa in the 1960s, was told of 15 distinct, historical *wədənеʔ* groups. Those *wədənеʔ* inhabiting areas close to the Project include:

- the *klue-la* or 'fish people', whom Ridington associated with the BRFN, referring to their earlier association with their camp at Fish Creek, near Fort St. John[14].
- the *kleze-ne*, identified as people who lived south of Peace River around Pouce Coupe and Dawson Creek ca. 1900; and
- the *dodachin*, applied to the Moberly Lake Dane-zaa who were sometimes called the "west end" people, to distinguish them from the Saulteaux, Cree and Iroquois living on the east end of Moberly Lake.

The Dane-zaa extended westward in the post-contact period into the mountains along the Halfway River, and across the height of land into the headwaters of the Liard drainage along the Sikanni Chief, Prophet, and Muskwa rivers (see Figure 4.3-1). In the late 18th century, Algonquian-speaking Cree peoples moved into the Lower and Middle Peace River areas of what was traditionally Dane-zaa territory (R. Ridington 1981- see section 4.5-1).

4.3.1.3 Cree

WMFN, SFN, BRFN and HLFN are also composed of a notable number of people with Cree ancestry. The Cree people living in the Peace Region have been identified as Strongwoods Cree offshoots of the

[13] The likely etymology is that, as the Peace River was abundant in beaver, and the Dane-zaa lived along the Peace River and utilized them (likely extensively), the river was named by the Chipewyan for its distinguishing feature, and the people were named by the Chipewyan for the resource in which they were wealthy.
[14] BRFN are associated with Goddard's Tsaᵋt'ū (see earlier, this section).

Western Woods Cree, who inhabited the forest areas transitional to the prairies and to the Rocky Mountains in the late 18th century (Smith 1981). Mandelbaum (1979), however, groups the Cree of the Peace Region with the Plains Cree whose territory, he stated, extended to the foothills of the Rocky Mountains in Alberta. A review of the academic literature (Goddard 1916; Smith 1981; Darnell 2001) concludes that the boundary between the Western Woods Cree and Plains Cree is very difficult to delineate, due to poor historical records, and due to the disappearance of the Plains buffalo adaptation[15], which defined the Plains Cree culturally in the post-contact period (Figure 4.3-1).

The ancestors of these Cree groups came from the woodland areas between Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, a region associated with Algonquian-speaking groups (Smith 1981). The first noted contact between Europeans and Cree was made by Jesuit priests between 1640 and 1690 (Mandelbaum 1979). The Cree were originally known by the French as Christinaux, and the word "Cree" may have originated from this word. Cree groups in particular developed strong economic ties with fur traders during the growth of the fur trade in Upper Canada in the 1660s, which resulted in an increase in trapping activity, and would eventually influence a westward movement of Cree that were pursuing a shrinking wildlife resource base.

4.3.1.4 Saulteaux

Many SFN members are originally descended from the Saulteaux (or Anishinaabe) ethnographic group. The name "Saulteaux" came from French traders and missionaries who, in the early 17th century, described Ojibwa bands living near the waterfalls on St. Mary's River as Saulteurs, meaning "People of the Falls" (Steinbring 1981). The Saulteaux were historically settled around Lake Superior and Lake Winnipeg, principally in the areas of present-day Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario and northern Michigan. Pressure from, and interaction with, British and French fur traders and American settlers gradually pushed the Saulteaux westward to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Saulteaux in these areas speak the Western Ojibwa variant of the Algonquian language family (Steinbring 1981).

As stated in Section 4.1.2, one group of Saulteaux migrated westward from southern Manitoba in the 1870s. On their journey west, these Saulteaux people intermixed with Cree people of the plains and woodlands, resulting in the adoption of the Cree language among other cultural aspects. Their journey ended at Moberly Lake, coming into the region by way of Jasper Pass and then Monkman Pass, where they settled and later intermarried with the Cree and Dane-zaa who were already living in the area (Ballantyne 1978; FPCC 2012b). They felt that Moberly Lake, backed by the Beattie Peaks (also known as the "Twin Sisters" or Klin-se-za- C. Helm 2001), fit the place shown in their leader's vision, and they settled there. Most SFN members identify with Saulteaux cultural practices and beliefs passed down from their eastern Saulteaux ancestors; however, Cree and Dane-zaa have become the main languages of the present-day Saulteau community, with only a few elders remaining that speak Saulteaux[16] (TMW 2009; Finavera 2011b).

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[15] As the Plains Cree moved westward from their ancestral home around Hudson Bay and Lake Superior, they came into contact with the Assiniboine and Gros Ventre peoples of Saskatchewan and eastern Alberta. These nations had already acquired the horse from Plains groups to the south, and followed bison herds on horseback. The Plains Cree quickly acquired this lifestyle and subsequently took on many of the traits of their Assiniboine and Gros Ventre neighbours. With the virtual disappearance of bison by the 1880s, the nomadic bison hunting lifestyle phased out, and they returned to forest hunting for moose and caribou, in smaller encampments, and to fish again in the lakes and rivers, as they did before they migrated to the Plains. Please refer to Mandelbaum (1979).

[16] It should be noted that, in terms of usage, the proper spelling of the culture and ancestral people is "Saulteaux". However, the name of the First Nation, and the people who live on the east side of Moberly Lake, is "Saulteau", having dropped the 'x' from their name. Reasons for this variation in spelling are unclear.

4.3.1.5 Métis

The word Métis is taken from the French word *métis* (f. *métisse*), meaning "half-breed" or "half caste". Canadian French also has an old variant *métif* (f. *métive*), which appears in the form Michif, used by some Métis presently to designate themselves (Slobodin 1981). Michif is also the name of the Métis language (Métis National Council n.d.).

The Métis are descendants from the union of European (predominantly French and Scottish) men and First Nation women during the 17th and 18th century fur trade. The result was a genesis of a new Aboriginal people with their own cultural identity, settlements, language, and traditions (Métis National Council n.d.).The earliest incarnation of a culturally-distinct people arose along the southwest rim of the Canadian Shield, from the descendants of French or French-Canadian fur-trade workers and their Cree or Ojibwa wives. They began to settle in numbers along the Red River in Manitoba. The Red River Métis were primarily Roman Catholic, and bilingual in French and Cree. As a consequence of being employed in the fur trade/transport system, they moved west and north from the Red River (J. Helm, Rogers, and Smith 1981), settling in the northern parts of the prairie provinces of Canada and in the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories, with some communities extending into the Yukon and Alaska (Slobodin 1981). The Kelly Lake Métis claim to be descendants of the westernmost extension of the Métis who migrated with the fur traders during this period (see Section 4.1.6.2).

A second wave of Métis immigrated into northwestern Canada as refugees following the defeat of Louis Riel and the quelling of the Northwest Rebellion in 1885. The Métis soon adapted to Subarctic modes of subsistence; however, they brought with them the cultural features with which they had long been identified, and these traditions became characteristic of the Métis in the southern Subarctic (Slobodin 1981). Iroquois boatmen (mostly Mohawk), after joining up with the fur-trading companies, eventually assumed a Métis way of life, and their descendants can be found in many of the Métis communities in BC today (Slobodin 1981)[17].

The traits of mobility and sociability made the Métis indispensable as messengers, interpreters, canoemen, boatmen, post hunters/fishers, steamboat deckhands, stevedores and river pilots, many of which are summarized under the more general French term *voyageurs*. Slobodin (1981) refers to their transportation function as "the lifeline of Euro-Canadian penetration into the North as well as the West."

4.3.2 Traditions, Customs and Practices

4.3.2.1 Band Organization

The development of well-defined territories in the Peace Region, whether belonging to bands, smaller groups, or families, was precluded by the peoples' dependence upon nomadic and migratory big game, and by the principle that no one had the right to prohibit others from sustaining themselves. The largest societal group identified in the early historical accounts, the "nation", usually consisted of several regional groups, each inhabiting a particular drainage basin or other major cohesive physiographic unit. Collectively, regional groups shared a sense of common identity, language, and culture; exploited contiguous hunting ranges; and were linked by ties of kinship and marriage (Rogers and Smith 1981).

[17] While the arrival of Iroquois fur trade employees in northeast BC, and their intermixture with Aboriginal groups in the Peace Region, is an important part of the ethnohistory of the area, none of the Aboriginal groups mentioned in this report claim to practice an "Iroquois" way of life; therefore, the ethnolinguistic characteristics of the Iroquois will not be discussed in this report.

Among the Tsek'ehne, regional bands identified with a general territorial range, with constituent subsistence-camping units in the form of local bands and task groups. Territorial groupings appear to have had a focus of identity and membership based on bilateral kinship ties; this allowed maximum individual choice in the exploitation of a difficult environment (Denniston 1981).

Among the Dane-zaa, the regional group or *wədənеʔ* were collections of people sharing common territory, kinship, and dialect. They were not fixed, permanent political or territorial units; rather, they changed composition frequently in adaptation to changes in the availability and distribution of resources. Social groups could be seen as a series of partially overlapping circles within an area bounded by geography, common history, language, and culture.

Dane-zaa local groups tended to formed around an optimal size of 30 people. If a group was too large, a short period of bad luck, illness, cold weather, or a temporary shortage of game could bring the whole group quickly to starvation; if it was too small, it risked overdependence on the health and well-being of only one or two hunters. Groups changed in size easily in response to the availability of resources. In the summer and fall when hunting was good, many people might come together to sing and dance and renew contacts with one another; in the lean season of late winter and early spring, people usually split up into smaller groups that were less vulnerable to sudden starvation (R. Ridington 1981).

The Cree in northeast BC also employed an adaptable form of organization. Local bands, which usually consisted of several related families, constituted the hunting group of the fall, winter, and spring. Local hunting bands came together as a regional band for several months during the summer to the shores of lakes to subsist by fishing and hunting. Membership in the local or regional band varied upon the leaders' abilities, the abundance of game, and other environmental conditions. There is no indication that local or regional bands had explicitly-defined territorial boundaries (Smith 1981).

Robinson (1983), discussing the Métis trapping community of Kelly Lake, states that the trapping region was communally trapped according to "gentlemen's agreements" which were struck at the beginning of each trapping season. Prior to trapline registration, no Kelly Lake trapper conceived of ownership of a specific trapline or even a trapping area. The land and its resources were stewarded according to community decisions taken by the trappers in concert. These men traveled to a central camp and then, by a process of consensus, traveled to individual areas for trapping.

4.3.2.2 Status and Hierarchy

The aboriginal cultures of the Shield and Cordillera Subarctic were basically egalitarian. The value system emphasized generosity, sharing, and hospitality among kin groups and with neighbouring bands; these values were prized due to the uncertainties of life in the Subarctic (McLellan and Denniston 1981; Rogers and Smith 1981).

Leadership was relatively diffuse among the Shield Subarctic peoples and depended on personal qualities such as male hunting proficiency, generosity, demonstrated wisdom and judgment, and possession of supernatural powers. The dispersed population dictated by the environment effectively prevented the development of coercive or complex political institutions. The leader was merely the "first among equals", and important group decisions were based upon consensus (Rogers and Smith 1981).

In the post-contact period, social stratification became more apparent among Aboriginal groups of the Cordillera closest to the source of trade goods (McLellan and Denniston 1981). For example, Tsek'ehne social organization was originally based on bilateral notions of kinship. As they were pushed westward into the Rocky Mountains by the Dane-zaa and Cree, they began to intermarry and have close contact with the Gitxsan and Dakelh (who were important trade intermediaries between the coast and interior)

to the west. Eventually, the Tsek'ehne tried to organize themselves into exogamous matrilineal phratries; they even began to hold potlatches, though in a much reduced scale from the extravagant feasts of their Gitxsan and Dakelh neighbours (Denniston 1981). The Tsek'ehne, in this way, are distinguished from the Dane-zaa and Cree to the east. In all other aspects, however, they resemble the Shield Subarctic rather than Cordilleran Subarctic groups[18].

Neither the fluidity of band composition, nor the presence of coastal-type clans, phratries, or moieties, where found, were conducive to the development of formal offices of political leadership among Cordilleran cultures until after the fur traders created "trading chiefs" (McLellan and Denniston 1981). Each local group among the Tsek'ehne had a leader, who was neither hereditary nor elected, but acquired his position through force of character, skill in hunting, and sane judgment. If he presumed to issue orders, he had no means of enforcing them. At any time a new leader might arise to supersede him, and his influence inevitably waned with advancing years. The only laws were the regulations prescribed by custom, which generally prevented a family from amassing any of the necessities of life at the expense of other families (Jenness 1937).

Among the Cree, a band chief or leader (*okima·w*) attracted followers by his war record, wealth, generosity, and hunting ability. He was less a political leader than a highly respected man. A band could have more than one chief and title was not necessarily hereditary. A decline in a chief's powers led to his replacement or to the dispersal of his band, as the constituent families joined other bands (Smith 1981; Darnell 2001).

4.3.2.3 Family and Kinship

The nuclear family was the fundamental unit of importance among Subarctic groups. However, any nuclear family or segment of a domestic group might leave one local group to join another. The system was extremely flexible, and the sizes of local groups at any particular time varied greatly. Most often, two or three families camped and travelled together. Many more might gather in the fall hunt or for summer fishing (McLellan and Denniston 1981). However, the most frequent family unit were those of a father and son and their families, brothers and their families, or brothers-in-law and their families (Rogers and Smith 1981).

Kinship systems for Subarctic people were bilateral in type and ego-based (i.e., not based on a clan system, which traces descent from a common ancestor or animal), providing a variety of potential consanguineal and affinal relations for the marital pair on which to base temporary, seasonal, or permanent alliances and for cooperative association, mutual assistance, and hospitality (Rogers and Smith 1981).

As stated earlier, the Tsek'ehne used to possess a bilateral kinship system, but after being pushed westward into the Rocky Mountains by the Dane-zaa and Cree, they began to take on concepts of matrilineal phratries possessed by the Gitxsan and Dakelh[19] (Jenness 1937; Denniston 1981).

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[18] The Cordilleran Subarctic peoples are differentiated slightly from those further to the east along the Canadian Shield, as they lived in proximity to, and were in direct contact with, peoples inhabiting the Northwest Coast and the BC Plateau. As the Northwest Coast and Plateau culture groups had access to consistently abundant salmon runs, they were able to reside in semi-permanent or even permanent settlements, and their comparative wealth led to an increased complexity to their social organization over time. Northwest Coast and Plateau groups in northern BC also traced their ancestry through the mother's line, rather than bilaterally as was common among Subarctic groups.

[19] For example, the *keyoh* or "hunting territory" of the Carrier has made its way into the land use system of the Tsek'ehne. The *keyoh* was held by an extended family group, which had rights of both stewardship and ownership, and is passed down from generation to generation through the heads of the extended family (Hudson 1983). It is similar to the *wilp* territory system of the Gitxsan, though not as rigid.

For the Dane-zaa, the basic social and territorial unit is the bilaterally extended family band. A successful extended family band included several brothers and their wives but sometimes also sisters and their husbands; a younger generation of active adults, the sons and daughters of the older generation; their spouses; and a generation of children. When a successful family band continued to thrive for several generations it usually split into several linked groups that reunited when seasonal conditions were favourable (R. Ridington 1981).

SFN have adopted many aspects of kinship from their Cree and Athapaskan neighbours; however, their Saulteaux ancestors once possessed a totemic clan system of kinship. Affiliation with the clan was inherited in the male line and was retained by both sexes for life. The totemic animal does not figure in a clan's mythical ancestry, and there are no taboos surrounding the consumption of the animal for food (Steinbring 1981).

The Métis kinship system is basically the same as the Euro-Canadian one. A household is usually made up of married couple and their minor offspring. However, the Subarctic Métis also operate in terms of Aboriginal kinship patterns when interacting with their kin group in those communities. The characteristics of the life of all Métis, however, are physical mobility and far-ranging social ties. A high proportion of Métis marry outside their communities and reside outside the communities of either spouse (Slobodin 1981).

Marriage

Among Algonquian (Cree and Saulteaux) and Athapaskan (Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa) peoples, marriages were commonly arranged by the parents. Polygyny, usually but not always sororal, was practiced but generally restricted to leaders and good hunters. The sororate and levirate provided for re-marriage of widowed persons. A general pattern of temporary uxorilocal residence after marriage was followed by residence by choice, dependent upon local need but frequently virilocal, at least for some years (Rogers and Smith 1981). Among Cordilleran groups, marriage involved an exchange of gifts between families (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

Among the Tsek'ehne, marriage was prohibited between close relatives on either side. When a man wanted to marry a woman he would propose to her, usually after consulting the father. If her parents approved, the woman set up a brush tent near the residence of her parents, and the man moved in with her. For a year or longer he was obligated to hunt for her father. He was free from this obligation, however, after the birth of his first child. Divorce was a matter of separation, at the will of either partner, but it seldom took place if there were children (Denniston 1981).

For the Dane-zaa, marriage within the band (endogamy) was encouraged as long as it did not grow beyond the size that was ecologically advantageous. It was common for a person's first marriage to be with someone of an older generation. Older men took young girls, often as second or third wives, and young men moved into the ongoing households of widows to provide for them and their children (R. Ridington 1981).

Totemic groups among the Saulteaux were exogamous and followed the rule of band exogamy. Thus, even if other totems were present in a young man's band, he had to marry someone from another totem who was also from another band. Residence after marriage was basically virilocal, but with a period of uxorilocal residence during which time the man served his father-in-law (Steinbring 1981).

Among the Subarctic Cree, bilateral cross-cousin marriage was preferred and was an effective mechanism for maintaining social linkages between small, isolated, widely dispersed groups (Smith 1981). It was not uncommon for friends to betroth children even before birth to solidify an alliance.

A girl could move to the lodge of her husband as early as age 8 or 10, where she was treated with great affection; the marriage was not consummated until she was older. In other cases, a young man would obtain the consent of the girl's father or brother and then visit her with a gift. Her acceptance of the gift indicated consent. Uxorilocal residence after marriage persisted until the birth of the first child, after which the couple usually moved to the camp of the husband. If a man had more than one wife, co-wives referred to each other as "sisters", even if they were not siblings (Smith 1981).

Death, Burial, and Mourning

Among Subarctic groups of the Cordillera, human life was thought to be part of a continuous cycle of life and death. During life a person's immortal spirit was incarnated in an earthly body that was usually, though not always, human. The re-birth of some, but not all, specific individuals was recognized and sometimes deliberately induced through ritual. All groups ritualized birth, puberty, loss of spouse, and death primarily through food taboos and restrictions on ordinary social contacts. The deceased were usually cremated. Although varying somewhat in form, the memorial rite was a prime ceremonial event for most of the Cordilleran tribes. Usually described as a "potlatch", it marked the finish of an individual's current earthly life and his kin group's discharge of all outstanding debts for reciprocal services to him during that life (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

In the 19th century, the Tsek'ehne around Fort McLeod cremated their dead, while burial was performed by those east of the Rocky Mountains. Later, the practice of cremation was discontinued. The body was covered with the brush shelters in which the person had lived their last days, and the localities deserted for a time. Influential persons were placed in coffins of hollowed logs and raised on platforms or in trees. Some were enclosed in the natural hollows of standing trees(Denniston 1981). The dead person's belongings were divided among their family or kin group. Widows and widowers could remarry at will. There was no prescribed period of mourning. For all Tsek'ehne groups, mourning was expressed by loud piercing wails; this generally took place at dawn or dusk, and continued daily for months or even years after the death of a loved one (Jenness 1937).

The Dane-zaa formerly disposed of their dead by placing them in trees or on platforms. The bodies tended to be rolled up in birch-bark before being deposited. Occasionally they were also placed in a small log house built on the ground. Deceased children would sometimes be suspended between two trees in a sling of cloth supported by a board. Mourning customs would involve self-mortification and lamentation. The property of the deceased was destroyed except that which was consigned to the deceased's grave. The women would renew their lamentations at the graves of deceased relatives for many years (Goddard 1916; Lamb 1970).

Immediately after the death of a man among the Western Woods Cree, a rifle was fired within his tent to deter the spirit of the dead from returning. Burial was in a circular or oval grave, in a rectangular mound of earth with wooden stakes to provide the wall or on a scaffold. In each case, the corpse was covered by wood. Personal possessions were included in the interment. The deceased's drum and birch bark vessel were attached to the grave or a nearby tree. Following the burial and loud lamentations, a silent vigil was kept against the return of the deceased's soul for the remainder of the day and through the night. After that night, the name of the deceased could not be mentioned again. The eldest son succeeded his dead father as head of the household (Smith 1981).

4.3.2.4 Spiritualism and Ceremony

Spiritualism was ever-present in the lives of Aboriginal groups in the region, and all Subarctic ethnographic groups typically observed a holistic cosmology in which all phenomena are connected and empowered. Though representations of this worldview varied between culture groups, the general theme of an inter-connected universe was always present. Given the ubiquity and complexity of how spiritual

life tied into the daily practices of Subarctic groups, it is difficult to fully characterize its significance. As such, attention will be given to some of the more distinctive themes in Subarctic spiritualism.

Spirit Powers

Among Cordilleran groups, every person acted privately to come to terms with the world of personified power. A successful hunter had at least one spirit helper and often more (McLellan and Denniston 1981). In Tsek'ehne spiritualism, the human and animal worlds are linked by a mystic bond. Animals possessed special powers that they could grant a seeker through dreams and visions. This "hunting medicine" was sought in quests, especially in puberty, which involved fasting and dreaming in solitude in the wilderness. Hunting medicine was often characterized by songs and amulets associated with the spirit helper (Jenness 1937).

Among the Dane-zaa, each species of animal had its own song that it could give to a person who sought it out. The Dane-zaa word for spiritual power or medicine is *məylneʔ* (translated as "his song"). The same term was used to refer to a person's medicine bundle. Every child was sent into the wilderness to make contact with an animal, spending several days away from his/her people (R. Ridington 1981).

Dreaming was central to the experience of the Dane-zaa. Every person who possessed *məylneʔ* through dreaming also learned that one must not eat certain foods or have contact with certain kinds of activity. Someone whose personal medicine taboos were violated by another was said to become transformed into a giant man-eating animal often portrayed in their legends. Such a person was called *wehčuge*, a cannibal who hunted down and ate its own people like the giant animals before *Saya* changed them into their present form (for further details on the story of *Saya*, please refer to Section 4.3.5.2). The flesh thus eaten turns to ice within the cannibal, and it could only be killed by burning for seven days. Within every person who knew the nature of his medicines, *wehčuge* was always said to be lurking. If a person had begun to undergo transformation from human into *wehčuge* it was still possible to bring him back, by using his own medicine to overcome the strength of the monster (R. Ridington 1981).

Cree and Saulteaux people believed in the existence of a benevolent supreme being known as *kihci-manito·w*. The *maci-manito·w*, or Evil Spirit, was feared and appeased by sacrifices. "Manitous" (spirits) could inhabit all living things, as well as objects and forces of nature. The Windigo (*wi·htiko·w* in Cree, *wi·ntiko·* in Ojibwa), a cannibal with a heart of ice (often a giant), who also possessed humans and caused them to become cannibals, was greatly feared. Individuals thought to be Windigos were killed by the Cree. The Saulteaux believed Windigos could be cured by the ingestion of copious amounts of hot grease (Smith 1981; Steinbring 1981)[20].

Ceremonies and Dance

Among Cordilleran groups, individual skills in singing and dancing were valued. Dancing was lively and often imitative. Men and women performed various round and line dances as well as solos. Musical instruments were drums, beating sticks, clappers, and whistles (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

Tsek'ehne potlatches, which usually occurred in June and July when local groups gathered together, were simple feasts compared to those of the neighbouring Gitxsan and Dakelh. There were no dramatizations of crests, wearing of masks, or singing or dancing. They did, however, have dances and amusements on other occasions, though the style of dancing was not recorded by early explorers and,

[20] The *wi·htiko* of the Cree, *wi·ntiko* of the Saulteaux, and *wehčuge* of the Dane-zaa are thought to be the same entity with similar mythological origins.

by 1924, according to Jenness (1937), had long since been forgotten. The only musical instrument mentioned by Jenness was a drum of stretched caribou skin over a circular wooden hoop and beaten with a stick.

The Dane-zaa people would come together occasionally to sing and dance. The dance was always around a fire following the path of the sun. It might be either outside or within a large temporary dance tipi. Men, women and children danced together, but they were seated around the fire according to age and sex. The songs of the dance were dreamers' songs, brought back from the people in heaven by particular dreamers, but they were also the prayers that animals sang in hard times. In mid-summer several hundred people came to sing and dance, each group setting up a dance lodge and fire. They used these occasions to renew kinship ties (R. Ridington 1981). For the Western Woods Cree, singing and dancing occurred on the occasion of successful hunts and the feasting that followed. Various games were played, particularly games of chance and skill (Smith 1981).

Shamanism

"Shaman" is a term adopted in ethnographic research to describe an individual in a community with supernatural power and a strong connection to spiritual forces. Among Cordilleran groups, shamans were public religious practitioners, who undertook to control spirit powers so as to locate game, change the weather, cure sickness, or perform other marvellous acts. Each shaman had his individualized way of "knowing" aspects of the universe, and had a series of spirit helpers whose aid he might enlist in dreams or who might possess him while he and his audience sang the spirit songs (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

Sickness among the Tsek'ehne was believed to be caused by the wandering away of the soul, a shaman's schemes, or the breaking of a taboo associated with medicine power (Jenness 1937). Shamans were paid to treat illnesses. A shaman sometimes entered a sweathouse where the cause of sickness was revealed to him. He then treated the patient by catching or restoring the soul, or magically extracting a bone or other object from the patient. A shaman's medicine powers were often obtained by dreams and given by animal spirit helpers (Denniston 1981).

The Dane-zaa recognized people with special powers called *načę*, commonly known as "dreamers" Dreamers had the ability to relate what happened in the present to past and future experience through dreaming of future possibilities (R. Ridington 1981; see further below, this section).

Saulteaux shamans performed what was known as the "shaking tent" ritual. The shaman with this capability erected a cylindrical lodge and entered it at night. He would sing and drum to summon his spirit helpers. Their arrival was marked by the swaying of the tent, strange lights, and the appropriate animal cries. The shaman then used his spirit helpers to locate lost objects (and people), and to heal or cure illness. The shaman was engaged for a negotiated fee by a client (Steinbring 1981).

Among the Western Woods Cree, sickness and injury were considered the result of malevolent forces, and shamans were called upon for treatment. Herbal remedies and setting of limbs were supplemented by the shaman's use of spiritual powers, including those summoned in the rituals of the "shaking tent". The sweat lodge was used for both curing and for cleanliness (Smith 1981).

Prophets

Monotheism was first introduced by Euro-Canadian fur traders in the early nineteenth century (see Section 4.5.2). Iroquois and other First Nations in the service of fur traders helped to spread Christianity. A messianic cult, based loosely on the teachings of missionaries in Oregon, arose and spread up the Fraser River, through the Secwepemc to the Dakelh and Gitxsan, and from there to the

Tsek'ehne around 1830. This cult involved trance and "death", a stay with God, and a subsequent return to the living with Christian-influenced teachings and songs. Modifications were made to the older belief in animal spirit helpers, the helpers being replaced by the God of Christianity (Denniston 1981). The shamans/dreamers who adhered to this cult became known as "Prophets". The Prophets held their own services and made drawings of the road to heaven that showed the influence of the "Catholic Ladder", a pictorial catechism used by the missionaries (Jenness 1937).

The location of the graves of Prophets/Dreamers are still known and revered. Of particular importance to the Dane-zaa, for example, is the gravesite of Makenunatane, the man whom they believed established the Dane-zaa Prophet tradition, and for whom the Sikanni Chief River was named. Because of the importance of this tradition in Dane-zaa society, Makenunatane is held in high esteem throughout the area. He is believed to have passed away in the 1880s. Before his death, Makenunatane said that his grave would be a place where people would come and get food when they were starving. Many people thus visit his grave, and sing his last song. His grave is described as being along the Sikanni Chief River, twenty miles west of the Alaska Highway and the Sikanni Chief River crossing (Kennedy 2011).

4.3.2.5 Language Use

English is now the dominant language of Aboriginal groups in the Peace River region. The traditional languages of the Aboriginal communities with expressed interests in the Project area include Tsek'ehne and Dane-Zaa, both part of the Athapaskan language family, as well as Nēhiyawēwin (Cree) and Anishnaubemowin (Saulteaux), both part of the Algonquian family. Michif, the language of the Métis people, is also spoken by Métis people in the region[21].

Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa Aboriginal groups speak a geographical subdivision of the Athapaskan language family, usually referred to as Northern Athapaskan (Krauss and Golla 1981). They occupy a large, continuous area, mostly in the subarctic interior of Alaska and western Canada, but extending south onto the plains to include the Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee) of southern Alberta. There are 23 languages in this subdivision. The dialects of the Dane-zaa, Tsek'ehne, and Kaska, according to linguists, shade into one another without any clear linguistic or social boundaries. Dane-zaa is spoken in two widely separated areas - in the vicinity of Fort St. John, BC (with settlements at Doig, Blueberry, Hudson's Hope, and Prophet River) and in Northern Alberta (with settlements at Horse Lakes, Clear Hills, Boyer River, and Rock Lane). Tsek'ehne is spoken in the Rocky Mountain Trench in settlements at Fort Grahame (Ingenika, now Tsay Keh Dene First Nation), Fort Ware (now Kwadacha First Nation), and McLeod Lake (MLIB- Krauss and Golla 1981).

"Cree" is the name for a group of closely related Algonquian languages and is the most widely spoken Aboriginal language in Canada. The Algonquian language family consists of the Miq'mak, Naskapi, Montagnais, Cree, Chippewa, and Ojibwa (which includes the Saulteaux), and is widespread throughout North America (Rhodes and Todd 1981). The Woodland, Swampy , and Plains Cree each speak a different dialect (the 'th','n', and 'y' dialects respectively- SICC N.d.). SFN members once spoke a dialiect of Ojibwa known as Anishnaubemowin (FPCC 2012b). Very few SFN members now speak the Anishnaubemowin language but rather speak Cree or Dane-zaa (TMW 2009).

Michif, the language of the Métis, is a mixed language (also known as a pidgin or Creole language) that emerged in the 19th century and adopted a consistent character between 1820 and 1840. Michif combines Cree and Métis French (a variety of Canadian French), with some additional borrowing from

[21] As discussed in section 4.1.6.2, the language spoken at Kelly Lake is more likely Cree laced with French Canadian words rather than proper Michif.

English and First Nation languages such as Ojibwa and Assiniboine (Bakker 1997). There are several dialects of Michif, however, with some blending French and/or English with other languages such as Athapaskan, Sioux, or Ojibwa (MMCS 2004).

Numbers of Speakers

In the 2011 Census there were a total of 83,475 Cree, 19,275 Ojibwa, and 20,700 Athapaskan language speakers in Canada. In British Columbia, there were 1,250 Cree speakers, 180 Ojibwa speakers (which includes Anishnaubemowin Saulteaux), and 3,310 Athapaskan speakers (including 305 Beaver [Dane-zaa] and 65 Sekani [Tsek'ehne]) in 2011 (Stats Can 2013)[22]. Regional and local census data on Aboriginal language use is largely unavailable[23].

There were 645 Michif speakers in Canada, and 50 speakers of Michif in BC according to the 2011 Census (Stats Can 2013). The year 2011 was the first Census year in which speakers of Michif were distinctly tracked[24].

Table 4.3-1 summarizes the state of Aboriginal languages among the Aboriginal groups discussed in this report, where available[25], from data acquired between 2009 and 2012. While there are gaps regarding certain languages spoken within these communities, the data shows that less than 10% of members of these Aboriginal groups are fluent in any Aboriginal language. More notable is that less than 6% of any of these groups are actively learning to speak their traditional language.

Table 4.3-1. Aboriginal Language Use among the Aboriginal Groups Discussed in this Study

Community	Language (Year)	Total Population	Fluent Speakers (%)	Understand or Speak Somewhat (%)	Learning Speakers (%)
West Moberly	Dane-zaa (2011)	224	1 (0.4%)	26 (11.6%)	10 (4.5%)
	Nēhiyawēwin (Cree)		--	--	--
Saulteau (East Moberly)	Nēhiyawēwin (Cree) (2012)	877	68 (7.7%)	44 (5.0%)	50(5.7%)
	Anishnaubemowin (Saulteaux)		--	--	--
	Dane-zaa		--	--	--
McLeod Lake	Tsek'ehne (2009)	482	15 (3.1%)	38 (7.9%)	9 (1.9%)
Blueberry River	Dane-zaa (2009)	425	37 (8.7%)	5 (1.2%)	8 (1.9%)
	Nēhiyawēwin (Cree)		--	--	--
Horse Lake	Dane-zaa		--	--	--
Horse Lake	Nēhiyawēwin (Cree)		--	--	--

Note:
-- = Data not available.
Source: FPCC (2012a).

[22] Numbers of speakers referenced in this section are those who identify the language as their "Mother Tongue", defined as "the first language learned at home in childhood and still understood by the individual on May 10, 2011" (Stats Can 2013).
[23] While Community Profiles in the 2011 Census contain statistics on language use, they do not list all languages identified as spoken in a particular community; rather, they group the majority of languages into the category "Other". Numbers for all languages spoken can only be found at the national, provincial, or Census Agglomeration level.
[24] As opposed to being grouped under "Creole" languages in the previous Census.
[25] The First Peoples' Cultural Council (FPCC) is a British Columbia Crown Corporation formed to assist BC First Nations in their efforts to revitalize their languages, arts and cultures. The Métis do not fit within the definition of First Nation in British Columbia. Horse Lake First Nation is located in Alberta.

Legends and Stories

Every Subarctic group of the Cordillera had oral traditions about the nature of the universe and the beings within it. Each told of a trickster-transformer or culture hero[26] who changed the world and its inhabitants to the state in which Aboriginal groups knew it. He often put the heavenly bodies in position, altered geography, exterminated (or reduced in size) giant man-eating animals, and ensured that people would be able to eat, talk, and give birth in human fashion. People believed that animals and a great many other natural phenomena were inhabited by powerful spirits and that dwarves, giants, and other superhuman creatures lived in the world (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

Dane-zaa legends describe how the world took on its form when *ya ḱe ṣədę*, "heaven sitter" (now commonly referred to as "the Creator") drew a cross on the water and sent down various animals to find land. When Muskrat came up with a speck of dirt underneath its fingernails, *ya ḱe ṣədę* placed it (the earth) at the centre of a cross on the water and told it to grow. Many Dane-zaa stories were told about the giant animals that used to live in the world and hunt humans. They talked and lived like people. The central figure in many stories is *Saya* or *Usakindji*, the culture hero who was transformed from Swan. The events of his life reflect, symbolically, the experiences of a person growing up among the nomadic hunting Dane-zaa. In the heroic cycle of stories *Saya* overcame the giant animals and transformed them into the ones now on earth. *Saya* also taught the people many of the essential arts (R. Ridington 1981).

In Cree stories, the *Wesakaychak* (Anglicized as "Whiskey Jack") was a culture hero who was included in numerous tales that describe his discovery or creation of many of the essential elements of life and society, as well as those forming the essential values and ethics of the Cree (Smith 1981). *Nanibush* (or *Nanabozho*) is a quasi-religious figure of importance to the Saulteaux. He is a form of comic hero in stories usually involving violations of taboo and the inevitable punishments he receives for these violations (Steinbring 1981).

Language, cultural values and mores, community history and culture is passed from generation to generation of Métis through storytelling. Prophecy plays an important role in the oral history of Kelly Lake Métis. Stories told by Elders decades ago, based on their observations and experiences, lend credence to phenomena that are observed today, and are used as warnings for subsequent generations[27] (Davison and Danda 2012).

4.4 TRADITIONAL ECONOMY

The traditional economy of the northeast is based on a large variety of animal species. A UBCIC report (1980) recognized 62 species as having had a place in the economy - including eight ungulate species, two bear species, four species of small game, four grouse species, 13 types of furbearers, 13 species of duck, two geese species, one swan species, and 15 species of fish.

Generally, the Aboriginal economy of the northeast has been characterized as a big game/small game/fur mammal economy (UBCIC 1980). Waterfowl play a role, but this varies within the region and between Aboriginal groups. Hunting and trapping were (and in many respects still are) central to the economic life of groups inhabiting northeast BC. Though the most important animal to the subsistence economy was moose, other large game, such as bison, caribou, deer, and bear, were also prized. Other animals were hunted or trapped by Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Cree, Saulteaux, and Métis groups, including

[26] A culture hero is defined as an historical or mythological person or entity that changes the world through invention or discovery. This character is often the most important legendary figure of a people.
[27] It is unclear whether the prophecy used by the Kelly Lake elders is connected with the Prophet movement discussed in Section 4.3.4.3.

mountain sheep and mountain goats, beaver, marmots, hares, porcupines, elk, grouse, ducks, and geese (Denniston 1981; R. Ridington 1981).

The key to the region's hunting system has been its richness in ungulates compared to other regions, both historically and at present. Some of the species, however, are generally limited to particular and very special habitats (such as mountain goat and sheep), and other species (such as caribou), at least presently, have a low productivity in the area. Moose and deer however are broadly distributed throughout the region (UBCIC 1980).

Caribou at one time was relied upon far more as a food source, as it was far more plentiful in the northeast. Mackenzie in his journal notes the caribou ("rein-deer"), once common, had mostly left the country some years earlier, after the local habitat changed (Lamb 1970). How the habitat changed, or how quickly it changed, is unclear.

Fishing may have been a major food source to some groups within the Subarctic, but in general fish provided basic food only at certain times of the year when large game was difficult to secure. Rich fishing sites were of social importance, for during the ice-free period they permitted concentrations of population when major social activities took place (Rogers and Smith 1981).

4.4.1 Annual Cycle

4.4.1.1 Tsek'ehne

The Tsek'ehne were historically a nomadic hunting and gathering people, and commonly pursued game over vast territories. They generally spent the period from about November until mid-summer on the plateaux and Rocky Mountain slopes, running down caribou and moose on the snow and, when the snow had melted, driving them into snares. Large game was plentiful on the eastern side of the mountains from late fall to early spring. About mid-summer, they resorted to the lakes to fish, predominantly on the western side of the mountains. Fishing figured more predominantly in their traditional economy than their Dane-zaa neighbours to the east. (Jenness 1937; Lamb 1957).

Up until the 1960s (before the creation of Williston Lake), many MLIB families followed an annual cycle of land use practices similar to previous generations. Small family groups of various compositions would spend much of the fall, winter, and early spring on traplines. In the summer, band members would congregate at McLeod Lake. From this main village, most people would spread out on the land to hunt, fish and gather plant resources through the summer and early fall. Once winter set in, many people would return to the traplines, where they would trap for furs as well as continue with hunting, fishing and food preservation (Golder Associates 2009).

While immediate relatives often returned to the same trapline year after year, occasionally more distant relatives, or friends from local or neighbouring communities, would join them on the trapline. Hunting, fishing, and plant harvesting activities were even more flexible than trapline use, with different groups of family members and friends utilizing different areas within an overall traditional territory from year to year (Golder Associates 2009).

The traditional seasonal round of MLIB is modified from Terrane (2008) and summarized in Table 4.4-1.

Table 4.4-1. Traditional Seasonal Round of McLeod Lake Indian Band

Period	Typical Annual Cycle
Winter	• Trapping from late fall to spring • Fishing • Hunting and drying or freezing the meat • Traveling with dog sleds and teams of six to eight dogs • Women would set rabbit, squirrel and marten snares
Spring	• Trapping into the spring, • Beaver hunting • Fishing started in earnest • Drying fish and meat; smoking meat for summer use • Picking berries
Summer	• Fishing throughout the summer, drying fish for dogs • Hunting in the summer • Use of mountain areas • Drying fish and meat • Picking berries • Harvesting groundhogs
Fall	• Trapping re-commences; entire family stayed at main cabin, a base for trapping activities • Fishing • Hunting

Source: Terrane (2008)

4.4.1.2 Dane-zaa

The Dane-zaa were traditionally nomadic hunters who lived primarily on bison, moose, beaver, deer, caribou, sheep and goats (R. Ridington 1968). Before 1830, the Dane-zaa hunted bison in the prairies and woodlands adjacent to the Peace River, as well as moose in the muskeg country, woodland caribou in the lower mountain ranges, and sheep and goats in the high mountains. By the early 1830s, the bison populations in Dane-zaa territory were considerably reduced from over hunting. In response, the Dane-zaa shifted their subsistence harvesting to focus almost exclusively on moose as their main source of meat. A few bison were still taken in the later part of the nineteenth century, but since about 1830, moose have been the major source of food (R. Ridington 1968).

Due to the size of the animal, and its relative abundance, moose provides a very efficient return on effort. Mountain goat and caribou likely have a diminished role in the current hunting economy compared to the historic period, as a result of declining populations (Brody 1981).

The historic seasonal round of the Dane-zaa included a fall moose hunt to provision dry meat. Families dispersed to their traplines in the winter, and winter stores were supplemented by available game. Spring included travel to trading posts to trade furs, then participation in an intensive beaver hunt. Smaller hunting groups would usually come together during the summer to sing, dance and renew contacts with one another (Brody 1981; TMW 2009).

Weinstein (1979) states that prior to the 1960s, when horses and wagons still comprised the main mode of transportation for the Dane-zaa, they would take their horses to Montney (north of Peace River, near Fort St. John) to pasture in the late fall. Travel in the winter was with the help of snowshoes and dog teams. The families dispersed to their winter trapping cabins where the hunters worked a line out from the main campsite, packing their furs back to camp with the help of dogs. At Christmas and New Years,

families would congregate for celebrations. Once spring arrived, the trappers assembled their fur bundles and headed to Montney to collect their horses.

Table 4.4-2 shows the typical annual cycle of those First Nations of Dane-zaa descent, modified from Brody (1981).

Table 4.4-2. Traditional Annual Cycle of the Dane-zaa

Period	Typical Annual Cycle
Late Spring- Early Summer	• Congregation of local groups • Trading furs • Hunting bull moose, rabbit, grouse, moulting waterfowl • Fishing
Summer	• Singing and dancing, renewal of kinship ties • Short hunting trips for moose, deer, grouse • Berry picking
Late Summer-Early Fall	• Dry-Meat and Grease Hunt- moose, deer, bear, goose, marmot • Berry picking
Fall	• Dispersing into local groups • Outfitting, horses to winter pasture • Hunting for moose, deer, grouse • Trapping of rabbit, beaver, fine furs • Fishing (if hunting fails)
Winter	• Trading furs • Trapping rabbit and fine furs • Hunting moose, deer and grouse
Spring	• Trade furs and collect horses from winter pasture • Spring Beaver Hunt • Hunting for muskrat, otter, waterfowl, moose, young grouse • Collecting eggs

Source: Brody (1981)

4.4.1.3 Cree

During the summer, for two to three months, a regional band of the Western Woods Cree would congregate on the shores of lakes where abundant fish, supplemented by game and berries, permitted large numbers of people to come together without exhausting their supply of food resources. This was the time of major socializing, reinforcement of social ties, realignment of families, and planning for the winter dispersal. In the late summer or early autumn the local bands began departing by canoe for the winter territory before freeze-up. Hunting was the major activity of early winter: moose and elk were hunted by bow and arrow, while migrating herds of woodland caribou were snared or speared in pounds[28]. The main concentration of trapping activity occurred during November and December, when furs were of the highest quality. In late winter, activities were limited due to severe weather. In the spring, woodland caribou were the object of collective hunting at the time of their spring migration. As

[28] A "pound" for the purposes of this report is a culturally modified earthwork, pile of stones, or brush fence, usually in the shape of a "V" or a semi-circle, into which herd animals (such as caribou) are driven to contain them prior to being dispatched with spears or bows and arrows.

ice broke up on the rivers and lakes, local bands returned to their pre-arranged summer location. Spring was also a time for visiting the fur-trading forts and selling furs (Smith 1981).

KLCN (2009) describe a traditional Cree seasonal round more local to the Rocky Mountain habitat. Trapping season extended from October to May, when animals' furs are the thickest, and when their movements make them most accessible to trappers. Hunting was done year-round, but fishing occurred more in the summer months. Gathering of berries and medicinal plants was also typically done from early to late summer. They would start from the river banks earlier in the year and proceed outward, ending up in the alpine toward September, to compensate for the differing times when plants ripened in each location.

4.4.1.4 Saulteaux

With their eastern woodland and plains background, the Saulteaux had an economy based on a mix of woodland trapping, fishing, and plains bison hunting (TMW 2009). As with the Dane-zaa, moose was and is the mainstay of the hunting economy. SFN also hunted deer, mountain goat and caribou. However, as with the Dane-zaa, declines in wildlife populations likely have led to a diminished role for mountain goat and caribou in the current hunting economy (Weinstein 1979).

Differing from Dane-zaa groups, the Saulteaux were more engaged in fishing, typically harvesting whitefish, pike, lake trout and other fish during the summer months (Weinstein 1979). Traditionally, the seasonal round of SFN included winter hunting (moose, caribou, deer), fishing, and trapping in the Rocky Mountain foothills. Spring included trading furs at Chetwynd or Hudson's Hope, followed by the spring beaver and muskrat hunt. Summer was typically spent around Moberly Lake. The fall included a fairly intensive moose hunt to provision dry meat for the winter. Following the fall moose hunt, families again dispersed to family-held traplines.

4.4.1.5 Métis

The Kelly Lake Métis followed a traditional round that included trapping, hunting, egg collecting, working on local farms or other summer employment, berry picking, pemmican-making, and guide-outfitting (Davison and Danda 2012). Game animals hunted include moose and bear. Species that were trapped include beaver, muskrat, lynx, marten, squirrel, weasel, otter, wolf, fisher, coyote, mink, wolverine, and fox (Davison and Danda 2012). The traditional seasonal round of the Kelly Lake Métis is generally described as follows: Trapping was conducted throughout the fall and winter months, from September to April (ice) break-up, with a week or two spent at home in Kelly Lake for the Christmas season (Michael Robinson 1983; Andrews 1985). Often, trappers would take their wives and families to assist with the work. In April, trappers would return to Kelly Lake for the bear hunt. They would spend summers working for farmers in the region in more recent decades, working in the lumber and oil and gas industries. Preparations for the next trapping season began in the mid-late summer, with picking berries, hunting moose and making pemmican. Dry meat and pemmican produced from the fall hunt provided for the lean period of winter. (Michael Robinson 1983). Additional fresh meat was taken over the winter to supplement the dry meat stocks. Beaver were trapped most of the year, beginning in October and ending in May except when waterways were iced over (Davison and Danda 2012).

4.4.2 Subsistence Strategies and Technologies

4.4.2.1 Hunting and Trapping

The use of wildlife resources in the Peace region over centuries of time allowed Aboriginal groups in the area to understand the behaviour, movement and health of those resources. As stated in the UBCIC (1980) report:

> *"A process of assessing the carrying capacity of particular areas, or inventorying, goes on at all times as part of the seasonal round. People who live off the bush watch animal signs throughout the year. This, with the help of skinning and butchering, gives them a good sense of the status of different animal populations and the general state of health within the populations."*
>
> *Spring is a particularly important time for the inventorying process. For many of the animals it is a period of recovery from the time of low feed at the end of winter. Their condition after the rigors of late winter provides crucial information. On the basis of such information it is possible to assess the prospects for hunting success during the coming season."*

Aboriginal hunters and trappers in the Peace region traditionally adapted to fluctuation in the availability of wildlife by constantly changing their harvesting location (Kennedy 2011). They also tended to avoid the pursuit of scarce species. For example, when the hare population was in the low end of its 8-to-11-year population cycle, hunters generally ignored them as a food animal (UBCIC 1980). Many Aboriginal hunters emphasize the importance of leaving rare species to propagate in the hopes that, in future years, they might have more of those animals areas available for harvest. There are, however, limits to this kind of management, especially when hunger, or competition from outsiders, comes into play.

Large Game

Deadfalls and snares were of primary importance to the Tsek'ehne in the acquisition of large game. Deadfalls were primarily used to capture and kill bears. As for caribou, snares were most effective; forty or fifty snares were often set in a line in passes and caribou driven into them. Snares were also used to take mountain sheep and goats (Morice 1895). Bows and various types of arrows were also used by the Tsek'ehne, the latter being designed for specific kinds of mammals and birds. Spears were also utilized, with a stone-headed lance being used to kill bears. In the winter, moose were driven into deep snow and speared (Rogers and Smith 1981); moose tended to stay in the mountain valleys, around frozen lakes and streams, to avoid the deep snow in the winter, which impeded their movement (Terrane 2008). The Western Woods Cree hunted moose and elk with bow and arrow, while migrating herds of woodland caribou were snared or speared in pounds (Smith 1981).

The Dane-zaa typically harvested bison by driving them into pounds, usually in the autumn when they were in their prime. Caribou were shot and killed (with a bow and arrow, later with a rifle) while crossing streams or lakes. Bears were killed with deadfalls and sometimes shot with arrows. Moose were lured out of hiding using a moose call (Goddard 1916). These moose calls are still used today by members of BRFN. It is funnel-shaped and made from a piece of birch bark, cut and peeled from a living tree and fastened together (Kennedy 2011). Another way BRFN hunters call in a moose is to rub a dried, moose shoulder blade against some willows. The sound produced imitates that of a moose removing the velvet from its antlers by rubbing them against the tree, and is an attraction to the other moose (Kennedy 2011). Moose are found close to the rivers during the spring calving periods. They will then go to an island in the Peace River or into a wetland/muskeg, to keep predators from smelling them (Kennedy 2011).

Small Game

Most small game was trapped. Among the Tsek'ehne, deadfalls were typically used for marmots, small furbearers, and lynx, since these animals could chew through a snare (Kennedy 2011). Many grouse were captured simultaneously by using snares set in brush fences. Snares were also used for waterfowl. Beavers were taken in spring and summer with a castoreum lure, and in winter were caught in babiche nets set in holes cut into the ice near a lodge (Morice 1895). A spear with a barbed bone toggle was

also used for beaver (Denniston 1981). The Tsek'ehne would also kill marmots with sticks after smoking them out of their holes, or by flooding them out by diverting a stream (Jenness 1937).

The Dane-zaa used to catch large hare (or rabbit) with a slip noose stretched in the runways and attached to a spring pole. Hares were plentiful and killed frequently and easily, usually during a moose hunt, to provision hunters while they were tracking moose (Kennedy 2011). The more usual way of taking beaver was to set up a row of poles forming a fence near the entrance to the lodge to prevent their escape. A hole was then chiselled through the top of the beaver lodge, and the animal killed with a spear (Goddard 1916). Beaver were harvested around March or April, while there is still ice in the river, before they got too fat, as beaver fat has a laxative effect (Kennedy 2011). A porcupine was usually dispatched after being flipped onto its back, so that hunter would be safe from its quills. The carcass was then toasted over a fire to remove the quills, and then skinned before cooking. Lynx were and still are consumed for their meat, which is usually smoked before eating (Kennedy 2011).

The Peace River region contains a labyrinth of muskeg and small lakes where wildfowl can be found, and consequently, migrating waterfowl are abundant in the spring and fall during stopovers and were available for easy harvesting. Waterfowl (Canada goose, Mallard, Goldeneye, Merganser) are particularly abundant. Ruffed grouse, sharp-tailed grouse and spruce grouse were also harvested (Kennedy 2011).

4.4.2.2 Fishing

Most streams in Tsek'ehne territory were Arctic drainage streams, devoid of salmon. Fish harvested by the Tsek'ehne were largely whitefish, trout, Dolly Varden, and suckers. However they took any opportunity they could to move into salmon country to exploit the salmon runs, especially at Bear Lake and near Stuart Lake. Dolly Varden is a fish that can be caught year-round. June and July are when burbot are caught as they ascend the river, after the snow melt, when the water is dirty, as they have a fondness for dirty water. Burbot is skinned and filleted before cooking. September is a good time to harvest whitefish (Kennedy 2011).

To catch whitefish, trout, and suckers in lakes and rivers, the Tsek'ehne used three-pronged spears, hooks, and gaff hooks, as well as gill nets and weirs (Denniston 1981). Fish were also speared at night from their canoes by the light of jackpine torches, or through holes in the ice in the winter. Fishing lines were made of sinew, whereas nets were made out of willow bark and nettles (Jenness 1937). Fish were eaten fresh, dried for winter use, and used to feed sled dogs during the winter (Terrane 2008). Goddard (1916) mentions that in times when game failed, Dane-zaa groups went to fish lakes that were south and east of Peace River (including Lesser Slave Lake); according to their stories, these lakes were also visited by Cree people. In the winter, fish were taken with a hook and line through a hole in the ice. In the spring, weirs were constructed to obstruct certain fish migrations. Fish were also taken with seines stretched in a river where there was an eddy. The bottom of the net was weighted with stones and the top supported with floats. For the Western Woods Cree, fish were speared as well as caught by angling (Smith 1981).

Kennedy (2011) records an innovative technique recalled by a BRFN member for capturing suckers. A gunny sack was placed in a shallow stream, and then the suckers were spooked to swim into the sack. Once the sack was full of fish, it was hauled from the stream, and the suckers were either dried or eaten fresh.

4.4.2.3 Plant and Berry Gathering

Early ethnographers did not extensively record the use of plants among northern groups, since it was assumed they relied mostly on hunting for their subsistence. Goddard (1916), for example, states that the vegetable food of the Dane-zaa was limited to "chokecherries, Saskatoon, and other berries, and

probably a few roots", which were "dried in the sun and stored for winter use". He also makes reference to the Dane-zaa eating the bark (cambium) of certain trees, though he does not state which species were utilized. Jenness (1937) notes that blueberries and Saskatoon berries grew along the river banks and in burnt areas that the Tsek'ehne ate raw, but did not dry.

Further research, however, shows that the northern communities relied on a number of food plant resources, including highbush cranberry, Saskatoon berry, chokecherry, Indian-potato, and avalanche lily. Pine and spruce trees were used as sources of firewood and bark, while cottonwood trees were used for making dugout canoes. The cambium of lodgepole pine trees was also accessed as a food resource, although the use of cambium does not appear to be as widespread or intensive as in the central interior of BC. Trees were incised on the sunny side (and not girdled) in order to expedite the healing of the tree after harvesting (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Other plants, such as rushes and riparian grasses, were used for weaving materials (Finavera 2011b). Various hardwoods were used to smoke meat and fish (Terrane 2008).

Weinsten (1979) identifies the berries dried for winter use by the Dane-zaa, including Saskatoons, huckleberries, raspberries, gooseberries, crowberries and cranberries. Harvesting took place generally from mid-July to September.

Prior to the enactment of forest management regulations, around May, when the ground was still moist, hunters would set fires in strategically chosen locations. These fires encouraged new undergrowth to provide browse for ungulates and, by warming the soil, extended the growing season for certain important plants. They also burned away deadfalls on paths and trails, and renewed pasture for horses (Brody 1981).

The Aboriginal use of landscape burning to promote the growth of productive berry patches has been noted among the Tsek'ehne (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). It usually took place during the spring thaw when the brush was dry enough to burn, and the forests were still too humid to pose any threat of a wild fire. Burning was also used to promote grazing areas for wildlife close to local villages. Rotational harvesting of berries was also conducted in order to create a richer topsoil and larger, better berry crops.

Medicinal plants are highly important to the Aboriginal groups in this area. MLIB provided a list of 43 plant species which were harvested traditionally for medicinal purposes (Golder Associates 2009). These plant species and others are also discussed in Davis (2007). Tsek'ehne people from other bands have also discussed using Labrador Tea, Red-osier dogwood, Devil's Club, cow parsnip, and other plants for medicine (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). An ethnobotany of the Prophet River Band of Dane-zaa listed species such as trembling aspen, balsam fir, white spruce, jack pine, and other plants that had medicinal applications (Bannister 2006). Medicinal plants might be brewed into a tea, dried and ground into a powder, mixed with animal fat to make an ointment, burned to make a smudge for inhalation, or mashed to extract their juices (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007).

Since the Tsek'ehne were traditionally dependent on animals for their well-being, many plants were classified as belonging to important game animals (Davis 1993). For example, the fruits of the mountain ash (*Sorbus scopulina*) are called "moose berries"; the sitka valerian (*Valeriana sitchensis*) is known as the "caribou plant"; Iceland moss (*Cetraria islandica*) is known as "caribou lichen"; alpine sweet-vetch (*Hedysarum alpinum*) is known as "grizzly bear root" and heart-leaved arnica (*Arnica cordifolia*) is known as "porcupine feet".

Please refer to the *Murray River Coal Project: 2010-2011 Ecosystem and Vegetation Baseline Study Report* (Rescan 2012) for further information (including scientific names) on plant species found near the Project.

4.4.2.4 Butchering, Food Preparation, and Storage

Among the Dane-zaa, moose was usually divided at the kill site, with each family sending someone to pack the meat. In camp, the meat was distributed so that everyone was fed (R. Ridington 1981). Meat from moose would be dragged back to camp on the hide of the animal, like a sled, when the ground was covered with snow (Brody 1981).

Among Cordilleran groups, some raw foods such as fish heads and eggs, or skinned ground squirrels were fermented in bags or holes in the ground. Dried meat, dried fish, and berries were usually eaten raw. Other food was cooked by stone-boiling, roasting on an open fire, or in earth ovens (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

As stated in Section 4.4.1, the dry meat hunt was an important time of year for all Aboriginal groups in northeast BC. To make dry meat, the men would butcher the animal and then the women would cut the meat into thin filets, which would be hung from a rack to dry over a smudge fire of poplar (Kennedy 2011).

The Tsek'ehne gathered a large stock of dried meat during the late summer. They stored it under spruce bark, on a platform raised on four posts that had been carefully smoothed to prevent wolverines or other animals from climbing up and reaching the cache. For greater security, they would sometimes erect these caches not on posts, but in trees. Apart from stone boiling, they would also cook their food by heating some stones in a small trench, laying fireweed leaves above them, the meat on the leaves, a covering of bark above the meat, and finally hot ashes. Hunters away from camp occasionally boiled their meat in the stomach of a mountain goat, by tying off the upper part with a green twig and filling the stomach with water (Jenness 1937).

For other parts of the Subarctic, fish and game were sometimes frozen during the winter, but the usual method was to sun-dry or smoke-dry the flesh for later use. If meat was to be used very soon, it was only lightly dried; however, if it was to be transported or kept for a considerable period of time, it was thoroughly dried and often broken up into flakes or powder. Sometimes the end product was mixed with melted fat (usually bear fat) to form pemmican; berries, when available, were often added. Cache racks like the ones described above were used to keep preserved foods out of the reach of carnivores. Food was stored in hide bags or birch-bark boxes (Rogers and Smith 1981; RBCM n.d.).

For winter use, berries and other plants might be dried, stored in animal fat, or boiled to extract the juice. Berries were also pounded with dried moose meat (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007), as mentioned above.

4.5 POST-CONTACT HISTORY[29]

The history of northeast BC includes the pre-contact Aboriginal peoples that lived throughout the region- the Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa. By the time of first European contact in the area, however, a different cultural landscape had developed. This included the regional emergence of the Cree, Saulteaux, Iroquois and Métis groups as a direct result of fur trading activities. Over time, the traditional territory of each nation fluctuated in response to a variety of influences, including but not limited to changes in climate; the movement of bison, moose, and caribou herds; encroachment by other nations; trade or social ties with neighbours; and the influence of the fur trade.

[29] C. Helm (2000, 2001, 2008) has produced local histories of the Tumbler Ridge area. For histories of the Peace River Region, please refer to Andrews (1985), Bowes (1963), Calverley (1980), Fumoleau (1976), Leonard (1995), and MacGregor (1952).

First Nations and Métis peoples enjoyed wide access to the Rocky Mountain landscape before the land was occupied through European settlement and industrial development, and prior to treaties being signed and reserves created in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The delineation of reserve lands, relocation of Aboriginal communities, and incursion of non-Aboriginal hunters and trappers had strong influences on traditional land use patterns (Duff 1964; Fisher 1977; UBCIC 1980; Brody 1981).

Figure 4.5-1 is a map highlighting the locations of places mentioned in the following sections.

4.5.1 The Early Period

Before 1760, according to Alexander Mackenzie (Lamb 1970), gun-bearing Cree groups drove the Dane-zaa out of the Athabasca River region, more specifically the area around Portage la Loche (or Methye Portage, near the Alberta/Saskatchewan border). Peace between the two groups was made at Peace Point (just upstream from Lake Athabasca- Calverley 1980)[30] on the Peace River, thereby giving that river its name, and "this place was settled to be the boundary" (Lamb 1970). This resulted in the abandonment of the Lake Athabasca region by the Dane-zaa (Calverley 1980). The Dane-zaa also agreed to remove themselves to the north side of the Peace River, while the Cree would remain south of the river (Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark 1996)[31]. Some ethnographers and historians have considered Lesser Slave Lake as having once been a part of the historic range of the present-day Dane-zaa (Goddard 1916; R. Ridington 1981). Jenness (1937) asserted that by the time Daniel Harmon first entered the Peace River area (around 1810), the First Nations from the Smoky River to Hudson's Hope were already rapidly adopting Cree culture.

Gillespie (1981) believes that the Cree expanded their territory merely as a consequence of following the fur traders out from Hudson Bay. The movement of Cree westward, however, may have also been due to declining populations of large game. In some areas between the Atlantic and Lake Athabasca, moose and woodland caribou were nearly exterminated for hides and for the provision of meat for fur trading posts (J. Helm, Rogers, and Smith 1981). Nevertheless, the acquisition of rifles by the Cree gave them a strong advantage in overpowering neighbouring groups (Jenness 1937).

Brody (1981) posited that the Dane-zaa people acquired horses from the Tsuu T'ina (Sarcee)[32] further to the south, or from the earliest traders coming from the east. They quickly incorporated the use of horses into their subsistence system (UBCIC 1980). Every Northern Athapaskan hunter was using guns by the early 19th century, and steel traps were widespread by the 1820s (Brody 1981).

Once armed by the fur traders, the Dane-zaa people held their own against the Cree population, which had by that time had been impacted by smallpox; however, Chipewyan groups from the northeast became antagonistic toward the Dane-zaa, especially toward those on the lower Peace River (Yerbury 1986). Dane-zaa people moved further west into the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains of BC (between the Peace and Sikanni Chief rivers) in the late 18th century. They displaced Tsek'ehne groups further up the Peace and Smoky rivers and mixed with the Tsek'ehne of Hudson's Hope (Jenness 1937). The Tsek'ehne migrated westward into the mountains in order to avoid further harassment by the Cree and Danze-zaa (McLellan and Denniston 1981). The Cree, meanwhile, were continuing to move into the Peace River from the west end of Lesser Slave Lake by way of a route described by Mackenzie as the "Knistineaux [Cree] war-road", which led to the confluence of the Peace and Smoky rivers (Lamb 1970).

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[30] Bouchard and Kennedy (2012) identify the location of Peace Point as 420km east of the Alberta/BC Border and 90km south of the Alberta/Northwest Territories border.

[31] This is not consistent with the present-day situation of groups like the HLFN which are south of the Peace River and claim Dane-zaa descent.

[32] As discussed in section 4.3.5, the Tsuu T'ina also speak the Northern Athaspaskan dialect but, at some point in the pre-contact period, migrated into the southern Alberta plains and adopted Plains cultural traits.

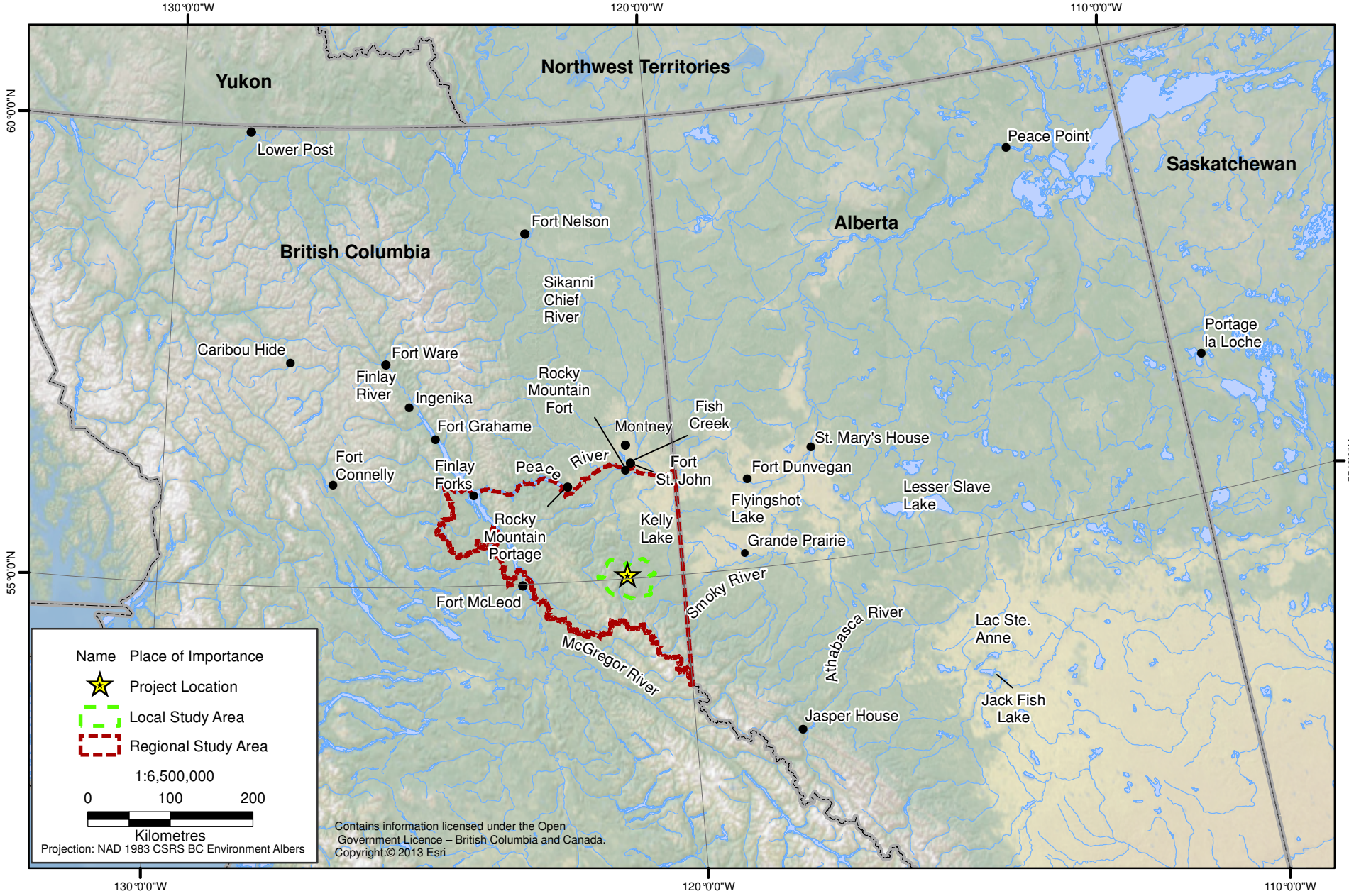

Figure 4.5-1

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Locations of Importance in Post-contact History

Figure 4.5-1

The record of diseases introduced into the Cordillera and Peace River regions (including smallpox and measles) is limited. Since demographic data for the early period are poor, the effect of the diseases cannot be accurately quantified, either by the numbers of those who died from them directly, or from indirect effects such as starvation (since there were insufficient numbers of able-bodied adults to maintain the food supply- McLellan and Denniston 1981). However, historians remark the record is sufficient to show that the population was hit early and often by diseases to which they had no immunity (J. Helm, Rogers, and Smith 1981).

The earliest documented contact between Aboriginal peoples and Europeans in the Peace River region occurred in 1793, when Alexander Mackenzie of the NWC journeyed through the area. Seeking a trade route between eastern Canada and the Pacific Coast, Mackenzie travelled up the Peace River to Finlay Forks, and then south up the Parsnip River to the McGregor River and on to the Fraser River. From there he followed well-established Aboriginal trail systems to the Pacific Ocean (Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark 1996).

The first trading post in the study area, established by the NWC in 1794, was Rocky Mountain Fort at the junction of the Peace and Moberly Rivers. Fort Dunvegan was established in 1805 by the NWC, close to the present-day HLFN reserves. Also in 1805, after preliminary explorations by John Finlay and James McDougall, Simon Fraser established two new posts for the NWC: Rocky Mountain Portage near Hudson's Hope (replacing Rocky Mountain Fort), and Trout Lake (later Fort McLeod) on McLeod Lake. Both of these posts were securely within Tsek'ehne territory. Tensions between the Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa at the time led the NWC to establish a third post in Dane-zaa territory - St. John's (also known as Fort D'Epinette) - in 1806, at the confluence of the Beatton and Peace rivers. In 1818, the HBC finally established a foothold in the Peace River area with the establishment of St. Mary's House, near Smoky Forks (the confluence of the Smoky and Peace rivers). This fort was discontinued following the amalgamation of the HBC and NWC in 1821 (Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark 1996).

The period of intensive fur-trade competition and expansion (1790-1821) in the Lesser Slave Lake, and Peace River areas brought migrations of Métis, Iroquois, Ojibwa (Saulteaux), and Cree (Tyrrell 1916; Wallace 1929; MacGregor 1966; Johnson 1967; Yerbury 1986). Initially hired into the fur trade or attracted to new sources of furs, these peoples became permanent residents. A community of Métis people emerged around Fort Dunvegan in 1821, composed of Free Canadian and Iroquois trappers and their children. Iroquois Free Traders were also hunting in the area of Rocky Mountain Fort on Moberly River (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012).

The descendants of Iroquois are scattered throughout the region in various communities including Dawson Creek, Chetwynd, and Kelly Lake. One group settled at Jasper House near the headwaters of the Smoky River. From here their hunting territories ranged westward to the sources of the Fraser, north into the Athabasca River basin and northwest into the regions of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers and Fraser Lake. After 1820, the area from Grande Prairie south to Jasper along the eastern foothills margin, once held by Tsek'ehne and Dane-zaa people, was regarded as Iroquois territory (Ballantyne 1978; KLCN 2009).

In the entire history of the Peace River fur trade, there was almost always peace between Aboriginal people and European traders. Many fur traders were experienced frontiersmen and understood Aboriginal peoples and their cultures, and even married into their families. Disputes between Aboriginal groups and Europeans in this area were few, and they tended to be resolved quickly. One notable exception to this state of affairs happened in 1823, and is referred to by historians as "the massacre of St. John's". Five HBC employees were killed by some of the local Dane-zaa. This incident seems to have resulted from the closure of Fort D'Epinette earlier that year, though Dane-zaa accounts refer to the motive being revenge on one of the HBC employees for the death of one of their kin. As a result, Rocky Mountain Portage was closed in 1824, and in

retribution for the deaths of their employees, the HBC abandoned the upper Peace River area for the next 45 years (Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark 1996).

In 1824, Samuel Black explored the Finlay River to its headwaters, and the country to the northwest (Black 1955). Approximately three years later, Fort Connelly was established on Bear Lake for the southern Tsek'ehne as well as for the Dakelh and Gitxsan who lived near the area. Movements of various peoples decreased in both range and frequency with the establishment of trading posts in the region (R. Ridington 1981).

Throughout the 19th century, the Dane-zaa became increasingly involved in the fur trade (R. Ridington 1981). By the 1860s, the First Nations of the Cordillera had become dependent on western technological items such as guns, ammunition, traps, axes, and kettles; ultimately, they gave up much of their former nomadism to cluster around trading posts, churches, and schools (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

According to Francis and Payne (1993), the fur trade had a profound impact on the Aboriginal people of the Peace region. The maintenance of fur trading posts in the area led to a depletion of game resources for provisioning staff and traders; at the same time, it caused Aboriginal hunters to spend less time subsistence hunting and more time gathering furs to trade. Bison had disappeared from the area by the early 1830s; though this was partly due to overhunting, it was also said that a number of consecutive severe winters had extirpated the rest (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012).

4.5.2 The Gold Rush Period and Resettlement

The Omineca gold rush, located in the range of the western Tsek'ehne, began in 1861 (Patterson 1968). Ten years later, approximately 1,200 non-Aboriginals were reported in the area, cutting trails, trapping on Tsek'ehne lands, and building towns (Denniston 1981). Some of the First Nations of the Cordillera became prospectors, while others became engaged in the transportation industry, either as packers and deckhands on steamboats, or by selling meat, fish, and wood to the steamboat operators (McLellan and Denniston 1981).

The fur trade continued during this period, but with less viguour due to changing conditions and the decline of certain furbearers. The last quarter of the 19th century saw independent traders entering the Peace River country to compete with the HBC. They brought Euro-Canadian foods with them, such as flour, sugar, and potatoes (R. Ridington 1981). Fort St. John was relocated on the south bank of the Peace, directly across from the present day town of Fort St. John, in the 1860s. In 1872, the fort was moved to the north bank of the river, and again relocated in 1925 to Fish Creek, northwest of the present day community (Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark 1996).

The first Roman Catholic missionary reached the Dane-zaa in 1845 (Duchaussois 1923). Although their first reaction was to resist baptism, the Dane-zaa later accepted Catholic ideas and symbols. By the turn of the century, nearly all of the Dane-zaa were converted, but in fact they had assimilated Catholic ideas in enrichment of their own traditions rather than giving them up in favour of the religion of the missionaries (R. Ridington 1981). The OMI order began intensive missionary work in the Tsek'ehne area around 1870. By 1924, according to Jenness, they had all been converted to Catholicism (Jenness 1937).

Due partly to conflicts between the Tsek'ehne and Gitxsan, Fort Connelly was abandoned in 1890, in favour of Fort Grahame on the Finlay River, which had been established 20 years earlier (Sims 2010). Part of the *Tseloni* division of the Tsek'ehne left the Fort Nelson area after it was abandoned by the HBC, only to re-appear in 1910 with their main camp east of Lower Post at the junction of the Liard

and Kechika Rivers. This group eventually merged with Kaska Dene in 1960. Those remaining at Fort Nelson amalgamated with the Dene Tha (Slave) population there in 1956.

The incursion of European settlers, and the development of Jasper National Park, resulted in the expulsion of the Iroquois from the Jasper area around 1900. As a result, they moved west and built semi-permanent communities at Lac Ste. Anne northwest of Edmonton, and in the Grande Prairie, Flyingshot Lake, and Jackfish Lake areas (Calverley 1980; Leonard 1995; M. Kwarakwante 2007). The present-day village at Kelly Lake was occupied as early as the turn of the 19th century by Cree-Iroquois trappers and traders from whom present-day Kelly Lake people are descended (Calverley 1980). Having identified the area as good for trapping, hunting and fishing, they brought their extended families to the area to form a permanent community (KLCN 2009).

A segment of the Bear Lake Tsek'ehne (T'lotona or "Long Grass Indians"- see Section 4.3.1.1) had moved into the headwaters of the Stikine River, replacing the Talakoten Tahltan, who had moved permanently to Tahltan Village. These Bear Lake Tsek'ehne merged with the Tlepanoten Tahltan in the Spatsizi and Klappan river regions. This combined group ranged the Groundhog Country at the sources of the Stikine, Nass, and Skeena rivers. When the HBC withdrew from Fort Connelly in 1890, this group settled at Caribou Hide and Me'etsendane, both of which were hunting camps along a well-worn trail between Telegraph Creek and the Finlay River (McIlwraith 2007). The remainder of the Bear Lake Tsek'ehne, according to Sims (2010), merged with the Dakelh residing at Takla Lake.

4.5.3 Treaty 8 and the Establishment of Reserves

The influx of miners to the Peace region, on their way to the Klondike, in 1898 caused problems with the Aboriginal residents. It is said that Klondikers stole Dane-zaa horses and scared away the game. Some sources suggest that, in retaliation, the Dane-zaa blocked the Peace-Yukon trail (running between Edmonton, Alberta and Dawson City, Yukon) near Fort St. John, in June of 1898 (Kennedy 2011). Five hundred Aboriginal people from around Fort St. John refused to allow police or miners to pass through the area until a treaty was signed (UBCIC 1980)[33].

The Métis at this time had no collective identity according to the laws of Canada. They were not permitted to sign treaties, as the government recognized no Aboriginal right or title to the land for the Métis. Moreover, they felt that the Métis essentially lived like Euro-Canadians. Rather, Métis people were urged to accept scrip (a payment in land or cash) in exchange for extinguishing any question of Aboriginal rights or title (Slobodin 1981).

Since the Peace and Athabasca regions contained a large number of people of "mixed blood", determining which individuals had traces of European ancestry proved difficult. Instead, it was decided that, in the case of Treaty 8, any Aboriginal would be able to choose between accepting the terms of the treaty and taking scrip. Scrip came in two varieties: land scrip, which could be redeemed for 240 acres of Crown land; and money scrip, which would entitle the holder to a valuation of $240 to be used towards the purchase of land in other areas. (Madill 1986). Scrip-takers could no longer take treaty or be considered an "Indian" under the *Indian Act*.

The Dane-zaa of Dunvegan (who became the HLFN) adhered to Treaty 8 in 1899, shortly after it was originally executed. The Beaver Reserve No. 152 was formally established in 1907, and Horse Lakes No. 152B near Grande Prairie in 1920. In 1927, the HLFN agreed to surrender Beaver Reserve 152. As part of the agreement to surrender the land, six sections of land were set aside for the HLFN near Clear Hills (which would later become Clear Hills No. 152C) (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012).

[33] Further details on the letter and spirit of Treaty 8 is discussed in section 4.2.

The Dane-zaa of Fort St. John (who became the Fort St. John Indian Band, and later the BRFN and Doig River First Nation) adhered to Treaty 8 in 1900. In 1913, the Band selected the site of its reserve, St. John Reserve No. 172, also known as the Montney Indian Reserve (Kennedy 2011). This reserve had previously been used as the site of its summer campground[34], and continued to be used as such; however, a permanent settlement was never established there, as the Dane-zaa still hunted and trapped off-reserve, in camps, during the winter and spring (Fasken Martineau 2013). The Hudson's Hope Band (later the WMFN and Halfway River First Nation) and the Moberly Lake Saulteaux (later SFN) had their reserves laid out for them in 1914, the same year they were admitted to Treaty 8 (see Section 4.2).

The first reserve for the Tsek'ehne was laid out at McLeod Lake in 1892, prior to Treaty 8; land for non-treaty bands only began to be reserved in earnest, however after the work of the Royal Commission on Indian Affairs for BC (1914-1916) (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Reserves totaling about 4,300 acres were set aside for the 300 mobile First Nations individuals resident in the western portion of Treaty 8, immediately east of the Arctic divide, who were members of the Laird River, McLeod Lake, and Fort Grahame First Nations (Madill 1986). The reserves were located around fur trading posts in order to accommodate visits by the Tsek'ehne, who at this time were still moving frequently through the country as part of their annual round. Fort Ware was established by the HBC in 1920 on the Finlay River close to the confluence of the Kwadacha River (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Many of the Tsek'ehne began to trade there and in 1942, a reserve was established there for their use.

Scrip land taken at Flying Shot Lake in Alberta was transferred back to the Gavernment and sold to non-Aboriginal settlers, after the founding Métis were driven out through economic boycott, and increasing non-Aboriginal settlement, around the turn of the 20th century (KLMSS 2010). The rich hunting and trapping grounds south and west of Kelly Lake were known to families at this time, and so they moved to Kelly Lake. Founding Métis members of the settlement include Narcisse Belcourt, St. Pierre Gauthier, and the families Calliou, Campbell, Gladu[e], Gray, Hamelin (Hambler), Letendre and Supernat[35] (Andrews 1985; KLMSS 2010).

4.5.4 The Coming of Industry

The Peace River Block[36], a 3.5 million acre portion of land owned by the Dominion government following the *Settlement Act* of 1884 (Calverley 1980), was considered the best agricultural land in all of northern BC, and settlers came in large numbers to purchase it, the first wave arriving in 1912. In ten years, the non-Aboriginal population of the region went from less than 2,000 to 20,000, a tenfold increase (Denniston 1981). This immigration into the area had a dramatic effect on First Nations use of the Peace River valley. As quarter sections of land were being taken up, the ability to hunt, trap, fish, or gather plants or berries on that land was slowly being curtailed (Brody 1981). This was compounded by the waves of new disease

[34] Many of the reserves allotted in the Peace region were the places where Aboriginal groups would conglomerate during the summer. Prior to the construction of permanent housing, the reserve was used primarily as the summer meeting place of the regional group and camping during the seasonal round (UBCIC 1980). Most of the bands moved into permanent housing on the reserves in the early 1960s. At this time the bands' residency pattern changed from a semi-nomadic to a semi-sedentary one.

[35] The relationship between the Cree, Iroquois, Cree- Métis and Iroquois-Métis at Kelly Lake is currently unclear. From a reading of the literature on Kelly Lake there appears to be two separate eras of settlement: the first by the Iroquois and Iroquois- Métis people who lived near Jasper House, in the early 19th Century; and the second, by the Cree- Métis who emigrated from the Red River area and first settled in Lac Ste. Anne. Many of the family names in the KLCN headman governance structure (KLCN 2013) are the same as those listed here as Métis.

[36] The Peace River Block extended 35 miles north and south of the Peace River, from the Alberta boundary in the east, extending 74 miles west into the Rocky Mountains of BC (Calverley 1980).

epidemics among the Aboriginal people in the area. Measles, for example, hit the area hard in the winter of 1910-11. The influenza epidemic of 1918 was just as destructive (Kennedy 2011).

In the 1920s and 1930s, large numbers of Euro-Canadian trappers came to northern BC, driven north by the economic effects of the Depression and the high prices of the post-war fur market. They came through the area between the Peace and Liard Rivers, trapping deep into Dane-zaa and Cree territory. These groups had differing views on the concept of ownership of trapping territory, leading to confrontations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people and the eventual mapping of trapping areas by the government. Aboriginals throughout the region were urged to register their lines in spite of what Brody calls Aboriginal concepts of "freedom of access, flexible use, and rotational conservation" (Brody 1981).This process affected not only the locations where First Nations people trapped, but also their ability to pursue the activity or to make it economically viable.

Though traplines and the registration of traplines was once a foreign concept to Aboriginal groups in the area, they are now looked on fondly. As the UBCIC report states (1980):

> *"They feel very strongly about them but they don't represent the idea of an area which is exclusively for one person, nor do they represent the idea that this is a trapping area. They feel…that the trapline is their land, for their exclusive use for hunting and trapping…In a way, [Aboriginal people] often understand a trapline as something like a family hunting territory and the combination of traplines is something like a Band hunting territory."*

By 1930, most of the territory along the Peace River had been settled by farmers. A significant factor in how the Dane-zaa used the Peace River in the 1940s was their removal from the Fort St. John (Montney) Indian Reserve No. 172 to areas farther north. The reserve by that time was surrounded by agricultural land, and the government wished to open it up for farming, selling it to World War II veterans (Kennedy 2011). Subsequently, Beaton River IR 204, Blueberry River IR 205 and Doig River IR 206 were set aside for the Fort St. John Band.

It was only after World War II that more intensive land use took place in the Peace River Region. Large forestry companies began to take an interest in the forests in Tsek'ehne territory. The Tsek'ehne began to augment their traditional hunting and gathering activities with part-time work in the sawmills; however, clear-cut logging removed productive wildlife and plant habitat, making it harder for the Tsek'ehne to harvest resources in these areas (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Construction of the Pacific Great Eastern Railroad (now BC Rail), to Dawson Creek, Fort St. John and Fort Nelson expanded the regional economy, and led to the rise of timber harvesting and export from the Peace region (Kennedy 2011). Further economic expansion in the region came with the completion of the Alaska Highway in 1942.

Oil and gas activity in the Peace region began slowly in the 1940s, but reached a feverish pace after 1951 when oil was first struck. Aboriginal people in the region obtained seasonal work with the oil and gas play. The cutting of seismic lines through the northern boreal forest provided increased access to hunters and trappers, which subsequently had an effect on the quantity of wildlife (Kennedy 2011).

The proliferation of farmlands around the West Moberly reserve meant that their old trails, including horse trails, had been cut off by fencing. Harvesters switched to the road system for travel with their horses and wagons, competing with logging trucks and those of the oil and gas operations. They were also forced to go around farmland, rather than cutting through it, to avoid trespassing (WMFN 2012).

In 1968, the Peace River canyon was dammed, and Williston Lake created, to provide energy for the development of the resources of interior BC. The lake is 250 miles (400km) long, and flooded the valley of the Parsnip River and other tributaries. These lands, according to Brody (1981), were the principal hunting, trapping, and fishing territories of the Tsek'ehne. Fort Grahame was flooded (Sims 2010), as were those of Finlay Forks and Ingenika. Lanoue (1991) posited that the social crisis he observed in one Tsek'ehne community was due to the flooding of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers and their forced removal from their traditional homelands. Quackenbush (1989) stated that prior to the formation of the W.A.C. Bennett Dam, the Parsnip River valley was a prime wintering area for moose and caribou, as well as hosting a large beaver population. Bison also populated the valley before their near extermination in the 19th century. WMFN have noted that areas around the Williston and Peace Canyon Dams were traditionally important for hunting but are now lost to them (WMFN 2012).

4.6 TRADITIONAL AND CURRENT USE OF THE LOCAL AND REGIONAL STUDY AREAS

The land use system of Aboriginal groups in northeast BC, which is based above all on the skillful tracking and harvesting of animals that live year-round within a general area, requires a comparatively large territory. Successful harvesting of resources involves knowledge of animal movements across an entire hunting area (Brody 1981). Hunters may have used parts of the territory only infrequently, but no part is dispensable to them; dependence is on the hunting territory as a whole.

Figure 4.6-1 is a compilation of previously mapped traditional use ranges (where available) for the Aboriginal groups discussed in this report. Most of these ranges were mapped in the late 1970s and early 1980s. The map juxtaposes the ranges of the Aboriginal groups to show where (or if) they overlapped. As will be shown in later figures, however, the Aboriginal groups' identified locations of use do not necessarily reside within the confines of their previously mapped use boundaries.

For the purposes of this section, most of the locations of use identified by the Aboriginal groups in this report are within the RSA. Where an identified location is outside of the RSA, or within the LSA, it has been noted as such.

4.6.1 West Moberly First Nations

4.6.1.1 Hunting/Trapping

The traditional hunting and trapping territories of the WMFN were the foothills and mountains of the Rockies. Hunting and trapping occurred as far westward as the Ospika River (outside the RSA), located on the western slope of the Rockies in the Rocky Mountain Trench. Prior to 1961, the typical historical seasonal round would have included occupation along the Smoky River (outside the RSA) during the snow-free seasons, and dispersal to family traplines during the winter (Weinstein 1979; TMW 2009).

The geographic extent of hunting areas used by residents of the West Moberly community (as mapped by reserve residents in 1979) can be seen on a map modified from Brody (1981) and depicted in Figures 4.5-1 and 4.5.2. It includes Moberly Lake as well as a broad fan ranging from Murray River (in the LSA) in the east to Williston Lake in the west. This hunting area occurs south of Peace River, with the present-day village of Taylor at its northeast corner. It appears to be entirely within the bounds of the RSA, and overlaps the northwest corner of the LSA. The present-day town of Tumbler Ridge (in the LSA) appears to mark its southeastern boundary.

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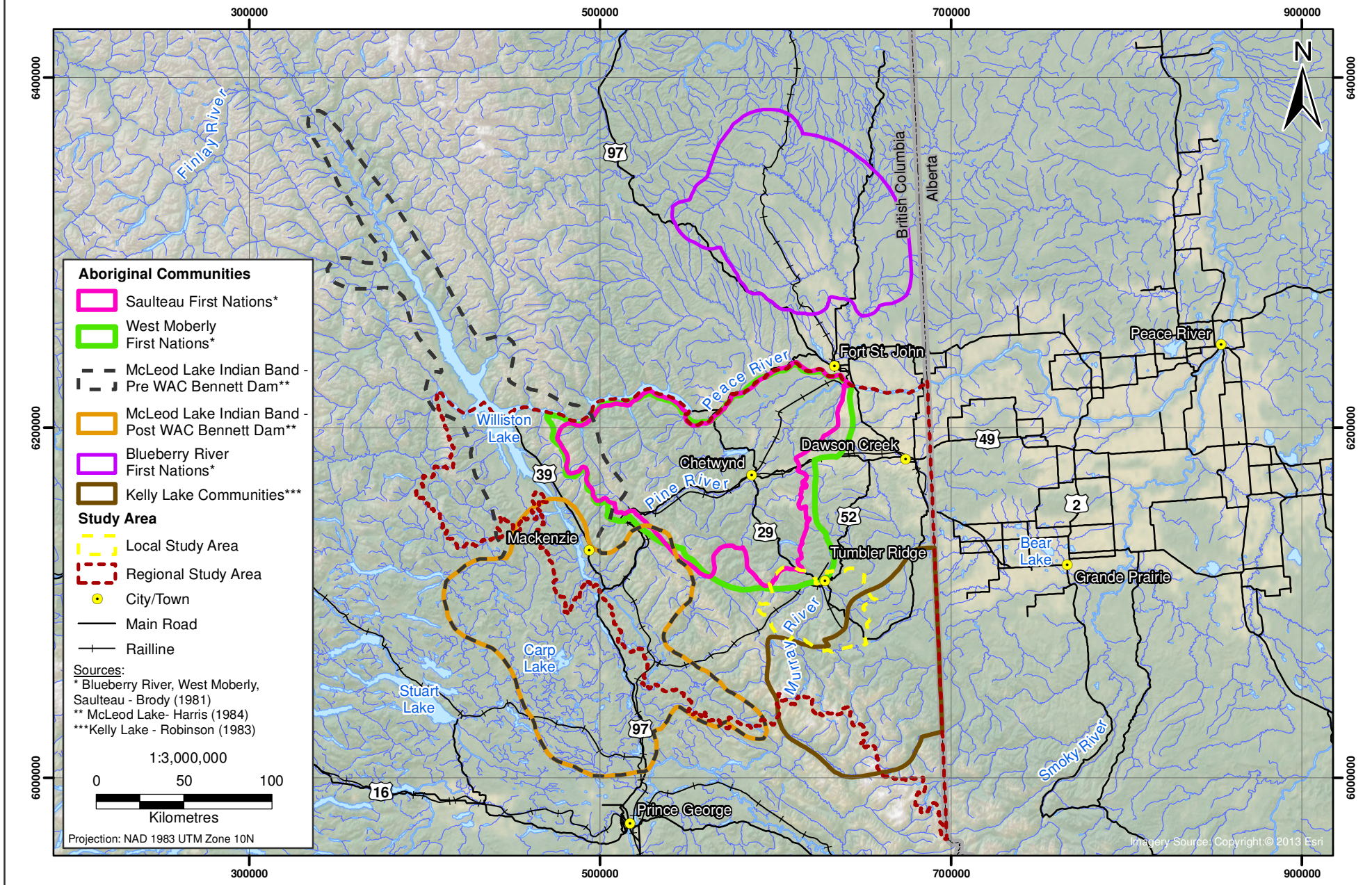

Figure 4.6-1

hd Mining

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Traditional Use Ranges of the Aboriginal Groups circa 1980 in Relation to the Local and Regional Study Areas

Figure 4.6-1

Rescan an ERM company

Brody (1981) stated that the area around Moberly Lake was once the hunting ground of both the Dane-zaa and the Tsek'ehne. It was an important camping and fishing site in the seasonal round of Aboriginal groups in the area (UBCIC 1980). Moberly Lake was well known as a dependable food source by the Dane-zaa. They knew it as "the lake you can depend on." In the late spring, goose eggs were collected and muskrats were trapped along the shore (Mokakioyis 2008). Moberly Lake was known in the past to have an abundance of swans, ducks and geese (WMFN 2012).

The Groundbirch area was identified as a traditional harvesting area by the WMFN, and was a summer meeting place where large numbers of Dane-zaa met and held celebrations for extended periods of time. The Pine River near Groundbirch was identified by WMFN as prime moose habitat (WMFN 2012). Stewart Lake was used as a base for hunting activities. The Rice property, west of Stewart Lake, was also identified as a good hunting area. Sunset Prairie and Del Rio are still used for camping and for hunting ungulates. Cameron Creek was identified as a place to harvest moose. Butler Ridge (just outside of the RSA) was renowned for hunting moose and elk. Tumbler Ridge (in the LSA) was also identified as an area where WMFN members hunted moose (WMFN 2012).

Studies conducted by the Coal Division of Petro Canada, while focusing on the Kelly Lake communities, included some mention of traditional use by WMFN (as well as SFN) in the Monkman Pass and Trail region, including areas north of Roman Mountain (In the LSA- Michael Robinson 1983; PRCI 2010). This area is notably south of the boundaries laid out by Brody, and includes the winter trapping communities of Poona 'Tik See Pee (or Rhubarb Flats) and Callahaison Flats, which lie just outside of the LSA to the southeast (see Section 4.6.6 and Figure 4.6-7).

4.6.1.2 Fishing

Moberly Lake is a well-known fishing area for both the WMFN and SFN. Because of the lake's depth, it was also known as "the lake with a hole through it," or "the lake with no bottom." Dane-zaa legend tells of an ancient creature living in Moberly Lake, which occasionally makes an appearance on the surface (Mokakioyis 2008; BC Parks n.d.). Ice-fishing was done at Moberly Lake in the winter (WMFN 2012). The Sukunka River was identified as a spawning area for bull trout (WMFN 2012).

4.6.1.3 Camps/Cabins

Apart from summer fishing locations, lakes also tended to be important locations for base camps in the seasonal round. Apart from Moberly Lake, Jackfish Lake and Boucher Lake were identified as spots where a cabin or camp was located (WMFN 2012).

The area around Hudson's Hope, where ancient travelers needed to portage around the canyon along Peace River (the location of old Rocky Mountain Portage fort- see Section 4.5.1) was, in the pre-contact era, an annual meeting place for the WMFN and Halfway River First Nation (formerly joined as the Hudson's Hope Band - see Section 4.1.1), and a semi-permanent village was located here before 1914. It also included a cemetery that was high on a plateau above the Aboriginal village, which was located near the fort (WMFN 2012).

4.6.1.4 Plant Resource Gathering

The area lying between Moberly Lake and the Peace River comprises approximately 1,090 km^2 of land now known as the Peace Moberly Tract (or PMT- BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006; MNRO 2012). The PMT is a key supply area for traditional foods (also known as country foods) for both WMFN and SFN (Figure 4.6-2). Apart from hunting, trapping and fishing activities, the area provides medicinal plants, as well as products used in cultural ceremonies, crafts, and the fabrication of items such as canoes, drums and snowshoes (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006).

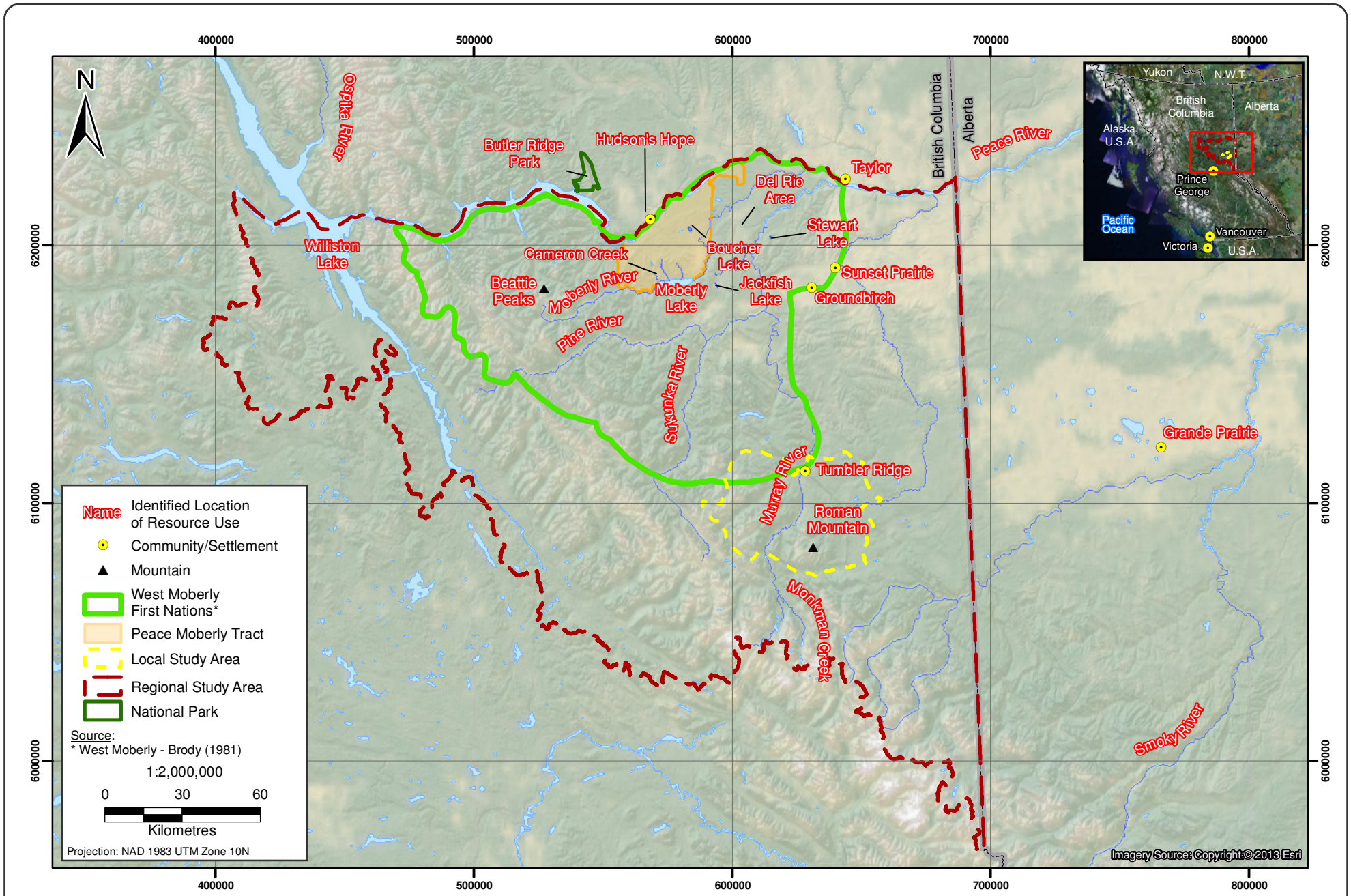

Figure 4.6-2

hd Mining

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

West Moberly First Nations - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-2

Rescan an ERM company

Indigenous burning was common in the PMT to maintain and improve berry patches, manage fuel wood, and produce horse pasture. Patches were maintained mostly by low intensity burning at intervals of three to seven years. The George Weekse area in the PMT has natural meadows that have also been maintained and historically burned on an annual or semi-annually basis for forage for horses (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006).

Stewart Lake was identified by the WMFN as an important berry picking location (WMFN 2012). The upper Moberly River was also used for berry picking (WMFN 2012).

4.6.2 Saulteau First Nations

According to a BC study on the food and nutrition habits of SFN and other First Nations, the percentage of SFN survey participants who hunt and trap for food (47%), fish (42%), collect wild plant food (60%) and plant a garden (30%) were higher than other BC First Nations generally (UNBC, UM, and AFN 2011).

The majority of SFN residents surveyed in the study would eat more traditional foods if they had the opportunity, but the lack of equipment, transportation and available time, and the overall cost, represent barriers to harvesting. Other possible factors that limit access to hunting, fishing or collection of berries included government restrictions and industrial use of the land base. SFN members value traditional foods for their health and nutrition (UNBC, UM, and AFN 2011).

Based on the survey, SFN members eat moose meat an average of 90 days per year. This was followed by elk meat, which is consumed an average of 17 days per year. Of the 45% of SFN survey participants who consume wild birds, grouse was the most popular (40%), followed by geese (23%), mallards (6%), and ptarmigan (3%). Salmon (all species), trout, and northern pike are the most popular fish species consumed in the community. Nearly all respondents (98%) reported eating wild berries, with the most popular varieties being strawberries, Saskatoons, and blueberries. Approximately half of SFN respondents reported consuming wild plant roots, tree foods, and shoots and greens (UNBC, UM, and AFN 2011).

SFN continues to place economic, cultural and social importance on the non-wage economy, and every summer, hunting, trapping and gathering camps are established by the community. Many SFN people stay at these camps to engage in traditional activities. Youth learn Saulteau culture and language, and how to process meat, berries and medicines at the camps (Finavera 2011a).

4.6.2.1 Hunting/Trapping

There is still a vigorous hunting economy within the Saulteau community (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006; Finavera 2011b), and a number of traplines are still registered to SFN families. Trapping once played a significant role in the SFN economy, but due to declines in fur bearing animals in recent years, as well as a general decline in the prices for furs, the importance of trapping has declined. Similarly, hunting has also seen a decline in the availability of animal resources and undisturbed animal habitat (Weinstein 1979).

SFN have historically hunted and trapped the lands south of the Peace River, and east of the Rocky Mountains, since their arrival in the region in the late 19th century (Leonard 1995). This area includes lands within the Murray and Sukunka River watersheds, as well as northward within the Kiskatinaw River watershed to the Peace River (TMW 2009).

Brody (1981) reproduced maps created by the residents at East Moberly Lake 169 (ca. 1979), showing the area where they hunted both before and after 1961. The extensive use of the south and west portions of that area, he asserts, represented an earlier period of use. Hunting has become

concentrated, he says, to approximately 2,850 km^2 around their reserve. This hunting area can be seen in Figure 4.6-1 and Figure 4.6-3. There are strong parallels to the geographic extent of the WMFN hunting/trapping area. SFN's hunting and trapping area (as reproduced by Brody) is entirely within the bounds of the RSA, though only borders the northwest corner of the LSA in the Murray River drainage.

Presently, the core of SFN hunting territory is located north of their reserve, centered around the Moberly and Pine rivers, as well as Cameron and Boucher Lakes (all within the RSA) (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006; Finavera 2011b).

Monias Lake and Boudreau Lake have been identified as significant hunting areas. Trapping areas included the south side of Peace River opposite Hudson's Hope and Attachie. Big Lake and the upper Pine River were also noted as trapping areas. Mule deer were hunted opposite Taylor on the south side of the Peace River. Le Bleu Creek was noted as an area used among others for trapping marten. Medicine Woman Creek has in the past been used for trapping lynx. Jackfish Lake among other lakes was identified as a muskrat trapping area (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c). Sundance Lakes was also used for trapping (Mokakioyis 2008).

Saulteau elders recall the people moving camp in September to go on hunting parties around Big Lake or Swan Lake. They would pack horses and the people would make dry meat, pounded meat, and pemmican (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006).

Traditional use activities by SFN in the Monkman Pass and Trail region, including areas north of Roman Mountain, were also noted in a study conducted by Petro Canada (Michael Robinson 1983; PRCI 2010). This area is notably south of the boundaries laid out by Brody, and includes the winter trapping communities of Poona 'Tik See Pee and Callahaison Flats (see Figure 4.6-7). Poona 'Tik See Pee was at least as much a Moberly winter trapping locale as a Kelly Lake one (Michael Robinson 1983). Robinson surmised that this community was on the border of two large trapping regions, and marks the line where members of the Saulteaux of East Moberly and the Dane-zaa of West Moberly came into contact with the Cree-Métis and Iroquois-Métis people who trapped out of Kelly Lake and the homesteads near Dawson Creek.

4.6.2.2 Fishing

SFN members have commonly fished for rainbow trout, Dolly Varden, "jackfish" (northern pike), greyling, bull trout, and sucker, among others (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c). Moberly Lake has populations of whitefish, pike, lake trout, greyling, burbot, and suckers that SFN have harvested in a net fishery, although this technology has declined in recent years due to pressures from provincial fishery officers, and the increased use of motor boats on the lake (Weinstein 1979). Peace River, Moberly River, Cameron Lakes, Boucher Lake, and Pine River were also identified by SFN as key fishing areas (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c).

4.6.2.3 Camps/Cabins

Cabins were located south and east of Boucher Lake, around Big Lake, Graveyard Creek, and on or near Moberly River south of Boudreau Lake. Camps were also located near the mouth of Moberly River on its south side, the north side of Pine River near the mouth, near Monias Lake, east of Boudreau Lake, on the south side of Peace River opposite Attachie, and in the Groundbirch area (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c).

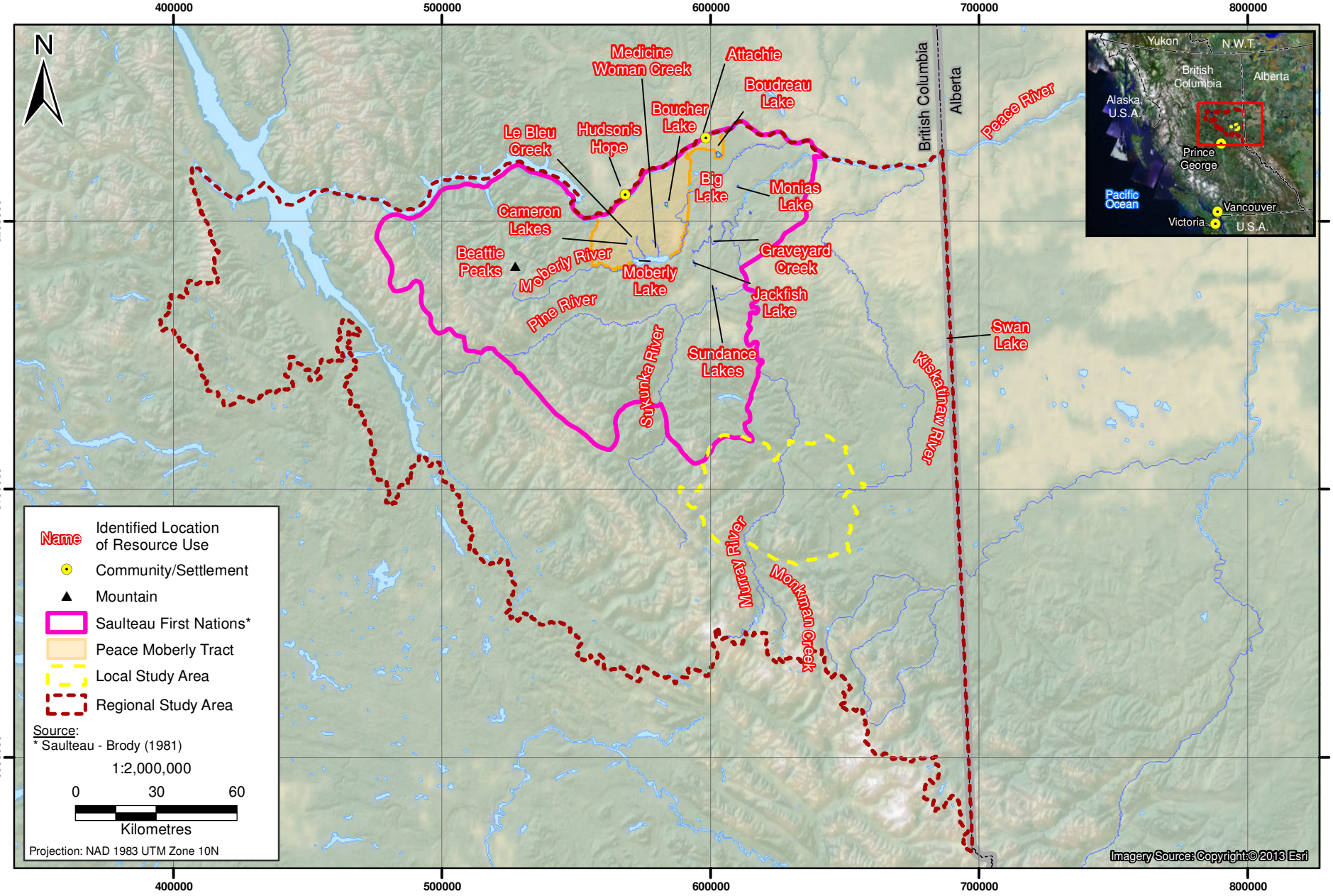

Figure 4.6-3

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Saulteau First Nations - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-3

Rescan an ERM company

4.6.2.4 Plant Resource Gathering

Apart from berries, SFN also harvest Labrador Tea, "rat root" (sweet flag, or *Acorcus calamus*), bulrush, and wild onion. Many places around the Moberly River were highly used berry-picking areas (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006). Moberly River, Monias Lake, Attachie, Pine River, Big Lake, Moberly Lake, Cameron Lakes and Boucher Lakes were identified as important plant gathering areas (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c).

As previously noted, the PMT is a key supply area for traditional foods for the SFN (Figure 4.5-2) and the area provides medicinal plants, as well as products used in cultural ceremonies and crafts (BC, SFN, and WMFN 2006).

4.6.2.5 Spiritual/Ceremonial Sites

Sundance Lakes, located approximately 20km east of Chetwynd, was a place used by Cree and Saulteau groups for the annual sun dance. People would gather between there and Dancing Lake[37] during the summer.

Both WMFN and SFN consider the Twin Sisters mountains (Beattie Peaks) to be sacred (Mokakioyis 2008). Burial grounds have been identified in the general vicinity of Hudson's Hope, around Moberly Lake, in the vicinity of Graveyard Creek, along the route from Moberly Lake to Big Lake, and around an unnamed lake to the northwest of Monias Lake (Traditions Consulting Services 2013c).

4.6.3 McLeod Lake Indian Band

Hunting, fishing and gathering plants for food and medicine still remain important to all Tsek'ehne groups (including MLIB) for food procurement, and both activities are undertaken by community members of all ages (TMW 2009; Figure 4.6-4). While they still travel by boat on the lakes and rivers, they also use four-wheel-drive trucks, snowmobiles and All-Terrain Vehicles (ATVs) to get to their hunting and trapping areas (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Families now spend shorter periods of time on trap lines than they used to because of these technologies. Many young men and women no longer participate in trapping, but seek wage labour in the seasonal industries in the area. Most people can only go out on the land during the summer, as their children are in school for ten months out of the year.

Beyond a subsistence use of the land, the Tsek'ehne also maintain a spiritual connection to their landscape and the animals that reside on it. Solitary journeys, vision questing and fasting on mountain tops in order to acquire "hunting medicine" are still Tsek'ehne practices (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007).

Country food is not only desired but necessary, as many families cannot afford to live off store-bought food (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). If given the choice, most Tsek'ehne people would prefer to subsist on a traditional diet exclusively (Tobin 2007). However, costs associated with maintaining a traditional diet, along with work and/or family commitments, may prevent people from hunting or fishing as much as they would like.

Marmot (groundhog) has been identified as a staple for Tsek'ehne people, both as a food source and as a source of medicine. According to the Tsek'ehne, marmots eat plants that have strong medicinal properties for humans; the plants would be toxic to humans if eaten directly, but the plant's medicine is obtained when the marmot's flesh is eaten (Place 2007).

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[37] Dancing Lake is not identified in the GeoBC place names database. It may be a locally used name for a lake currently without a name in the provincial gazette.

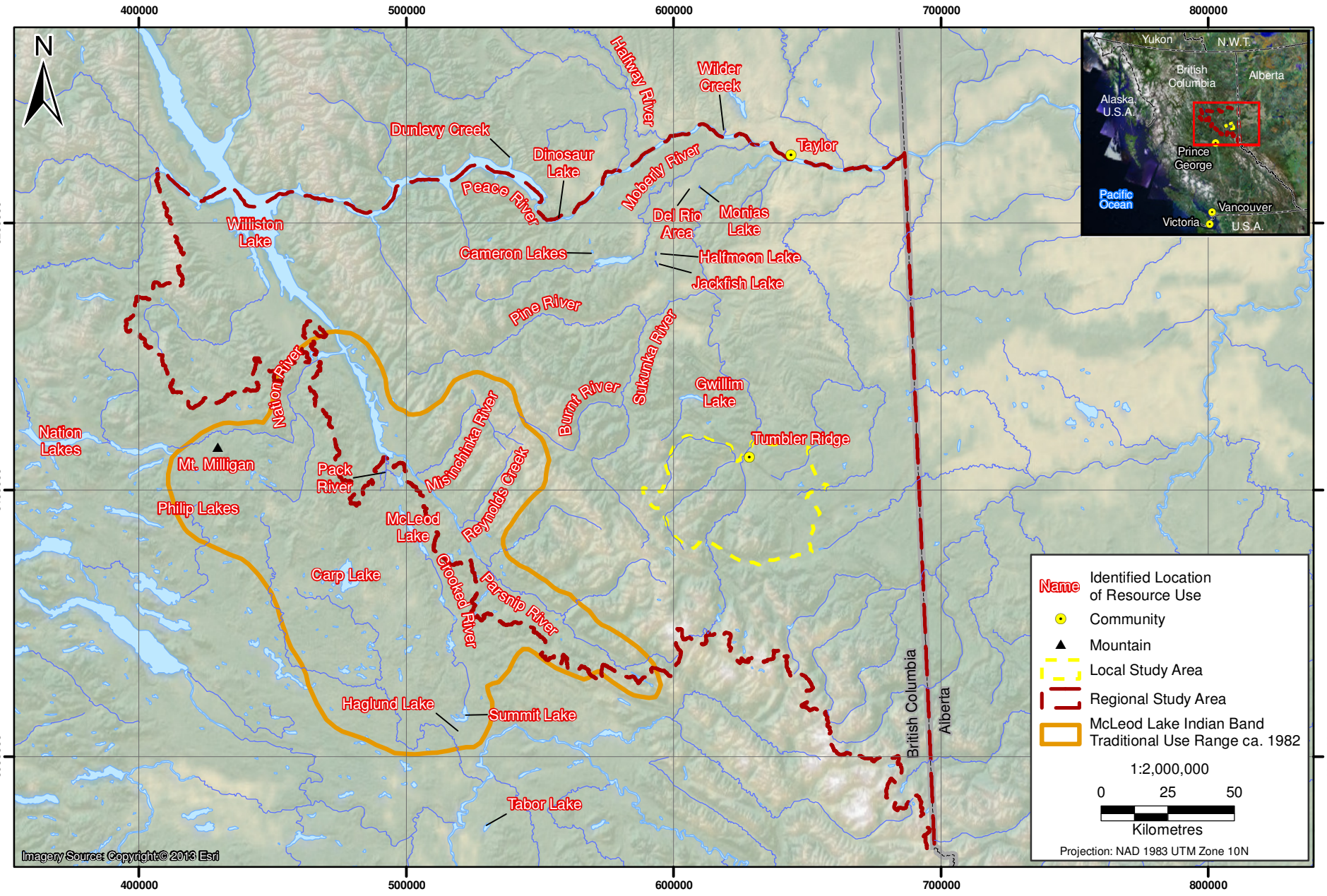


Figure 4.6-4

hd Mining

MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

McLeod Lake Indian Band - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-4

Rescan an ERM company

MLIB members indicated that they harvested bears in the past, but bears are not actively harvested anymore. Bears were harvested for their fat, which was a useful ingredient for certain medical and cosmetic treatments. Elk are harvested for food and for their hides. Along with marmot, beavers and hare are still trapped for their pelts and their meat. Porcupines are occasionally harvested for their quills. People also continue to harvest grouse, geese and ducks (Terrane 2008).

Berries continue to be an important part of MLIB traditional resource consumption. Some of the most commonly harvested berries include blueberries, Saskatoons, soapberries, and huckleberries. These berries and others are typically found throughout the areas used by MLIB for traditional activities (Terrane 2008). They are prepared for storage by canning or freezing. Fresh greens are also still harvested in the spring, including thimbleberry shoots, cow parsnip, fiddleheads and fireweed. Edible roots harvested include bracken Fern, Venus' Slipper, spring beauty, wild onion, and sweet alpine vetch (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007).

4.6.3.1 Hunting/Trapping

Harris (1984) provides a map created by MLIB members to show areas they used for hunting, fishing, trapping and guiding. The map distinguishes between areas used by MLIB before the W.A.C. Bennett Dam was erected (when many trapping areas of MLIB were flooded), and those areas still used at the time of writing (1982/83). The map shows that the post-dam hunting, fishing, trapping and guiding territory of MLIB extends north of the village of Mackenzie to the confluence of the Nation River and Parsnip rivers, south to Summit Lake and the height of land separating the Fraser and Parsnip rivers (the Continental Divide), and east into the Pine River headwaters (Figure 4.5-1). The eastern half of the area appears to lie within the RSA boundary, while none of the area overlaps with the LSA.

Ridington (2008) states that the MLIB continue to hunt and trap along the rivers and lakes that drain to the east into the Parsnip River, including Carp Lake (outside of the RSA), Nation River, and Nation Lakes (outside of the RSA). Nation Lakes and Carp Lake were noted as productive hunting areas, and were the location of numerous MLIB traplines. Mt. Milligan (outside of the RSA) was also identified as one of many places within their territory that people traditionally used on their seasonal rounds. Elk were harvested around Summit Lake and north of Haglund Lake (both outside of the RSA- Terrane 2008). Birds were harvested along the Crooked River (outside of the RSA) and Pack River. Hunting on the south side of Peace River between the Halfway and Moberly River confluences has been undertaken in recent years for elk, deer, waterfowl and moose. The Del Rio area (near Chetwynd) was used for hunting moose, deer and grouse (A. Ridington 2013).

The south side of the Peace River from Hudson's Hope to Taylor, between Chetwynd and the east end of Moberly Lake, Finlay Forks, and the lower reaches of Dunlevy Creek (outside the RSA) were also identified by MLIB as hunting areas. Waterfowl were identified as being abundant along the Peace River. They are also hunted on the wetlands north of the lower Moberly River, in the slough opposite Wilder Creek, and the mouth of Halfway River (outside the RSA). Grouse are hunted in the area north of Monias Lake (Traditions Consulting Services 2013b). MLIB members also hunted east of Tumbler Ridge (in the LSA).

4.6.3.2 Fishing

Fish are harvested in the spring and summer at a number of locales, but primarily at the head of the Parsnip River and at Tabor Lake (outside of the RSA). They also harvest from Phillip Lakes and Nation Lakes (outside of the RSA). Char, burbot and suckers are harvested at Summit Lake, while burbot are harvested at McLeod Lake (both outside of the RSA- Terrane 2008).

MLIB members fish in the Peace River from Hudson's Hope to the Alberta border. Rainbow trout, Dolly Varden and grayling were caught along the Peace River (A. Ridington 2013). Bull trout and Dolly Varden were specifically identified as being harvested at the mouth of Halfway River (outside the RSA). Dinosaur Lake was identified as a place to catch rainbow trout and Dolly Varden (Traditions Consulting Services 2013b). The Pine River east of Moberly Lake, the Misinchinka River, and the creeks flowing into Williston Lake, were identified as fishing localities.

4.6.3.3 Plant Resource Gathering

Cranberries are harvested in the riparian areas along the Peace and Moberly Rivers. MLIB members pick blueberries, soapberries, huckleberries, low bush and high bush cranberries, Saskatoon berries, strawberries, raspberries, chokecherries, currants and gooseberries. Plants, including Labrador tea, mint, devil's club, strawberries, juniper, violet, fireweed, red willow, jack pine, balsam, and pine (bark and sap), are harvested for medicinal purposes, primarily from wetlands. Halfmoon and Jackfish lakes east of Moberly Lake were identified as areas to pick berries, medicinal plants and Labrador Tea (Traditions Consulting Services 2013b).

4.6.3.4 Camps/Cabins

A hunting camp site was identified by MLIB as located at the confluence of the Moberly and Peace Rivers (A. Ridington 2013).

4.6.4 Blueberry River First Nations

With the use of vehicles, the amount of time spent by BRFN members on summer hunting has decreased, and is now concentrated into weeks, not months. Opportunistic kills at other times of the year occur more frequently during drives along back roads than the lengthy expeditions of former times. Today, people spend between two-to-four weeks in the late summer, camping in large family groups, with the objective of hunting moose and putting away a winter supply of meat. At other times, when the stocks of meat are depleted, smaller groups of hunters go for day-trips (Kennedy 2011).

The relative importance of fish still pales in comparison to BRFN's considerable reliance on game. Fishing continues to be a valued, albeit sporadic, activity, a pursuit that offers the bonus of a change to the predominantly meat diet (Kennedy 2011).

BRFN members still pick berries, typically in August and September, and the fruit is preserved in jars or by freezing. They find low bush cranberries primarily in pine tree areas, whereas high bush cranberries are found in 'timber' (heavy forest). Blueberries can be found almost everywhere. Raspberries are usually located in old cutblocks (Kennedy 2011). Other plant foods mentioned by BRFN members as being consumed include wild rhubarb (or cow parsnip) and water parsnip (*Sium suave*) or wild carrot, a plant common around the Peace River tributaries (Kennedy 2011). In the late spring, BRFN people commonly eat the sweet cambium layer of poplar, scraped from the tree. Earlier generations also dug wild potatoes along the Peace River.

Today, people speak of "wet dry meat" and "dry dry meat"; the former is half-dried, sealed in plastic bags and frozen, while the latter is pulverized into smaller bits, which lasts for months without further preservation. Fresh meat is also butchered and either frozen or jarred. Some people prefer to take a moose carcass to a commercial butcher and have it made into sausages, hamburger patties and steaks, but others still process the meat themselves (Kennedy 2011).

4.6.4.1 Hunting/Trapping

Kennedy (2011) states that in earlier times, all the families of BRFN travelled extensively in their seasonal round, and the Smoky River and Grande Prairie areas (both outside of the RSA) were often

part of their route for summer moose hunting. This seems to have occurred at least until the 1940s. Brody (1981) reproduced maps created by the residents at Blueberry River of their hunting and trapping territories in the late 1970s. He noted that some of the hunters in the community had "exceptionally extensive" land use areas, so the geographic map extent he used (Figure 4.6-1) depicts where the majority of the people in the community hunted. It is interesting to note that all hunting areas that were mapped are north (at least 25 km north) of the Peace River.

Sporadically over the past decade, BRFN has sponsored community hunts on Pink Mountain (outside the RSA) to ensure that everyone has a sufficient quantity of meat for winter, including off-reserve members. Butler Ridge (just outside the RSA) attracts hunters searching for sheep and goats (Kennedy 2011; Figure 4.6-5).

Both sides of the Pine River were identified by BRFN as particularly good hunting areas, but the area west of the Pine River's confluence with the Peace is currently used more frequently. BRFN hunters also get moose farther west towards the Moberly River, as far south as the northeast end of Moberly Lake (Kennedy 2011). Several BRFN members reported moose hunting around Tumbler Ridge. A road past Boucher Lake leads to an area where they hunt both elk and moose. There is a significant elk hunting area along the Pine River from the river mouth southwest to Monias, extending north to the Moberly River and along the road east to the environs of Boudreau Lake (Kennedy 2011; Figure 4.6-6).

Several BRFN people mentioned bear hunting on the south side of the Peace as well, including the area between the Pine and Moberly rivers, and around Stewart Lake. Others have harvested bear on the west side of the Pine River, in the Monias area. Snares were set for beaver dams up and down the Moberly River (Kennedy 2011).

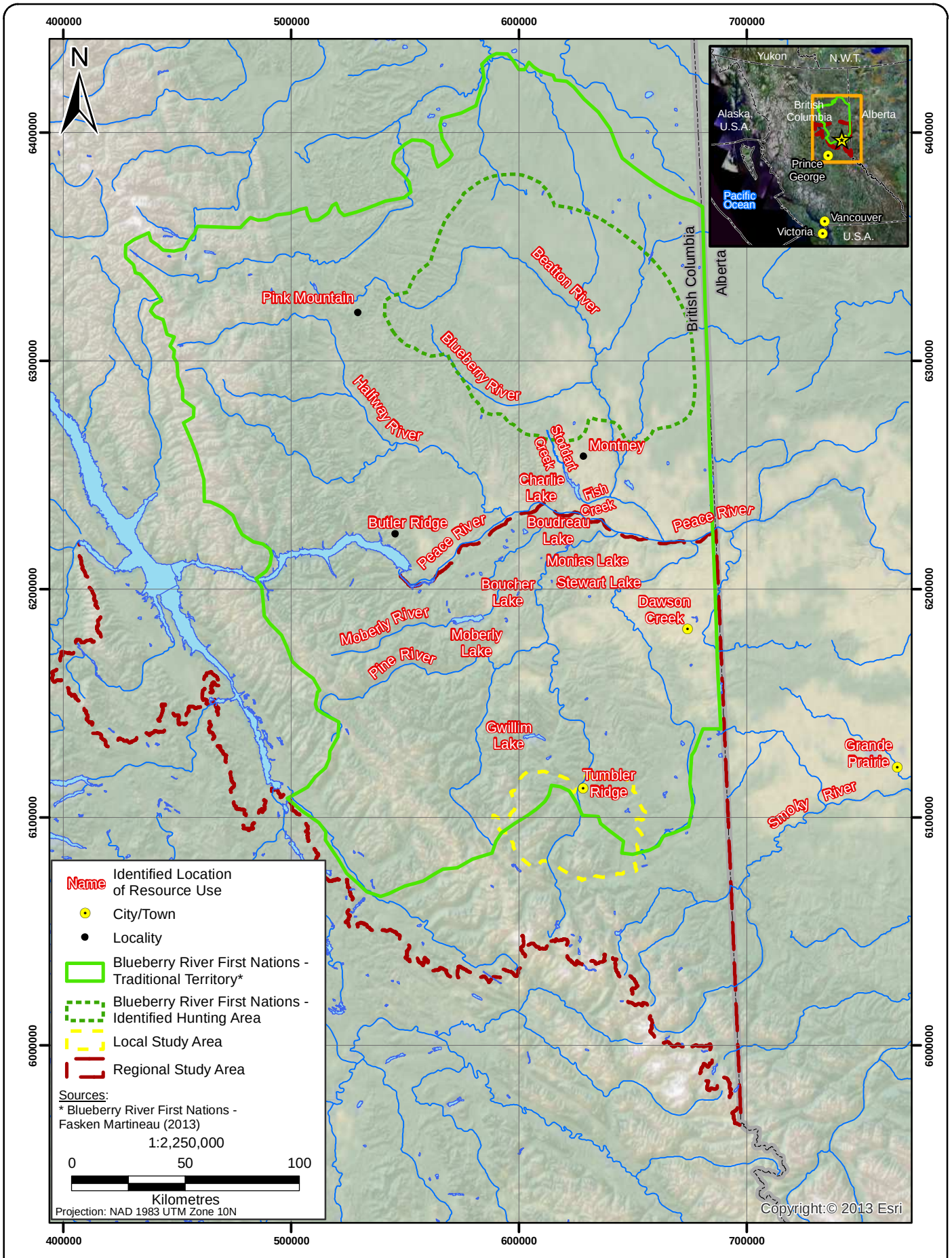
4.6.4.2 Fishing

The mouth of Halfway River into the Peace (just outside the RSA) was consistently identified by BRFN members as a good place to fish and a highly important fishery. Fishermen can be found both at the mouth of the river and along its banks. It is known to be a major spawning stream for bull trout. Any place along the Peace River is generally good for fishing, all the way up to Williston Lake (Kennedy 2011). South of the Peace River, BRFN members mentioned fishing for walleye in Gwillim Lake near Tumbler Ridge, and fishing for pike at Moberly Lake. Dolly Varden and rainbow trout are the most preferred species.

Although fish seems to have been a supplemental food to most Dane-zaa, even in the pre-contact period, the documentary evidence indicates that Dane-zaa people from many locations used Charlie Lake (just outside the RSA) to fish. They dried their catch for storage. This was recalled by several BRFN members, some of whom participated in fishing in this lake and the streams at its foot and head. Fish Creek and Stoddart Creek (bout just outside the RSA), which drain into Beatton River from Charlie Lake, were also used for fishing. Suckers were primarily caught here (Kennedy 2011).

4.6.4.3 Plant Resource Gathering

Saskatoons are commonly harvested in the Montney Hills (outside of the RSA) north of Fort St. John. Old St. John Reserve No. 172 (see Section 4.5.2, outside of the RSA) used to contain lots of berry patches. Berry patches are also found all along the Peace River. Saskatoons are also found in the hills northeast of Charlie Lake (outside of the RSA- Kennedy 2011). Farther to the west, around Butler Ridge (just outside of the RSA), can be found huckleberries and high bush blueberries, while the growth of Saskatoons is restricted in that area. The banks of the Halfway River (outside of the RSA) are mentioned for the availability of mint (*Mentha arvensis*) and Labrador tea, both used for medicine. On the south bank of the Peace, Saskatoon and chokecherries are said to be abundant in the Monias area. Raspberries, Saskatoons, blueberries and high bush cranberries are all plentiful along the Pine River.



hcl Mining | MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Blueberry River First Nations - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-5

Rescan an ERM company

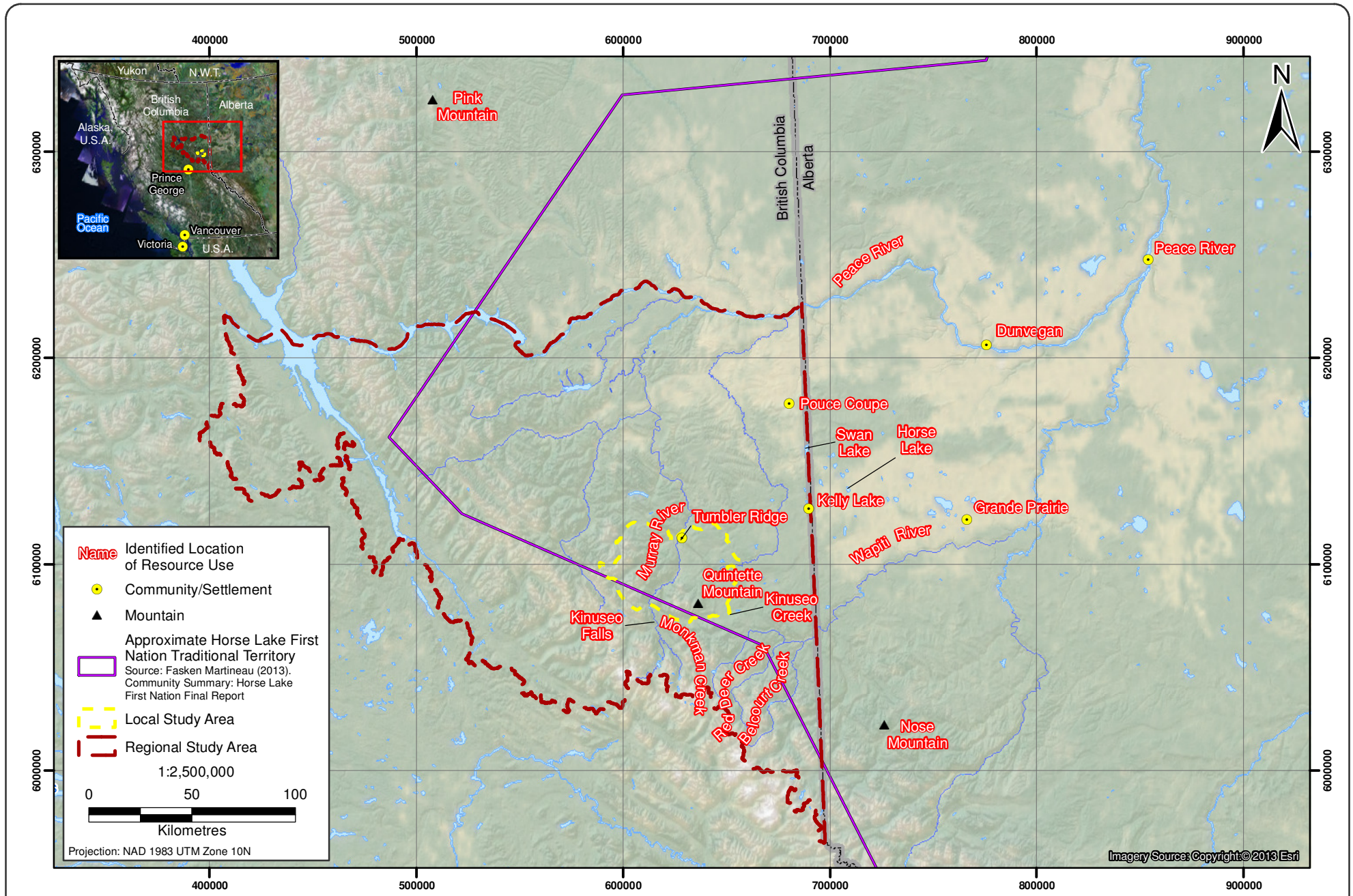


Figure 4.6-6

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MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Horse Lake First Nations - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-6

Rescan an ERM company

4.6.5 Horse Lake First Nation

4.6.5.1 Hunting/Trapping

Information on the extent of trapping by members of the HLFN comes from reports of their neighbours. Some of this information comes from the Métis at Kelly Lake. One Kelly Lake elder noted that the Dane-zaa from the Horse Lake reserve also used to come to Kelly Lake to trap in the past. Another elder noted that HLFN members used to live at Kelly Lake more than they did in Horse Lake (M. Robinson and Hocking 1982).

Robinson(1983) obtained information about HLFN use and occupancy around Kelly Lake in his research with the Kelly Lake Métis. The study specifically identifies the Noskiye or Horseman family from HLFN being associated as participants in one of the trapping communities operating in the Monkman Pass/Tumbler Ridge area (in the LSA). Concerning Noskiye, the Kelly Lake Métis elders said that this was a Cree-Métis word and became "Horseman," a Dane-zaa family name from Horse Lake. "Chatelin" (which is the same name also spelled sometimes as "Chatlas") is the name of another Horse Lake family who came into the Kelly Lake community. (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012). More information about the trapping communities of Kelly Lake can be found in Section 4.6.6.

Another HLFN member discussed guiding around Quintette Mountain (in the LSA), towards Lake Rupert[38]. They would take horses across all the access roads, continuing on right past Kinuseo Creek (in the LSA- Bouchard and Kennedy 2012). The Tumbler Ridge area (in the LSA) was identified by HLFN as a place where they hunted and trapped (The JLS Report 2013).

Outside of the RSA, hunting also occurred south of Grande Prairie, up to the Wapiti River and further to the Nose Mountain area, directly south of Horse Lake. Pink Mountain (outside the RSA) was also identified as a hunting area for HLFN (Figure 4.6-6).

4.6.5.2 Fishing

Kinuseo Falls and Murray River (just outside of the LSA to the south) were used by the HLFN for fishing, as well as Kelly Lake and Swan Lake. Wapiti River and Red Deer Creek were also identified as fishing spots used by HLFN.

4.6.5.3 Plant Resource Gathering

Grande Prairie (outside the RSA), according to historical accounts, was an abundant berry harvesting area, and Dane-zaa and Cree people alike traveled long distances to gather and dry them (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012). This would most likely have included members of HLFN, who live a short distance to the west.

Another prairie where Aboriginal people harvested large quantities of Saskatoon berries, was situated about 70 miles (112 km) up the Peace River from Dunvegan, known historically as "Mosquito Prairie", close to the Alberta/BC border (Bouchard and Kennedy 2012). This may also be known as Pouce Coupe Prairie (near the present-day town of the same name), which in the historic record was used by both First Nations and Métis people for picking and drying Saskatoon berries.

The Tumbler Ridge area (inside the LSA) was identified by HLFN as a place where they collected medicinal plants such as "rat root" (The JLS Report 2013). Huckleberries were picked along the Wapiti River. Belcourt Creek was also identified as a berry picking area.

[38] This may be a local usage as there is currently no gazetted "Lake Rupert" or "Rupert Lake" in the BC place names database.

4.6.6 Kelly Lake Communities

Traditional foods currently obtained by Kelly Lake Métis through harvesting include mallard duck (including their eggs), Canada goose (and its eggs), moose, porcupine, deer, elk, spruce hen, grouse; rabbit, blueberries, cranberries, and Saskatoons. Wild moose meat is perhaps the most important traditional food in the community, and is commonly eaten(Davison and Danda 2012). Food is shared amongst harvesters, family, friends and visitors, and nothing harvested goes to waste. Store-bought food, or produce grown locally and harvested from agricultural fields and gardens, along with flour, sugar and lard, supplement traditional foods today, as they have historically.

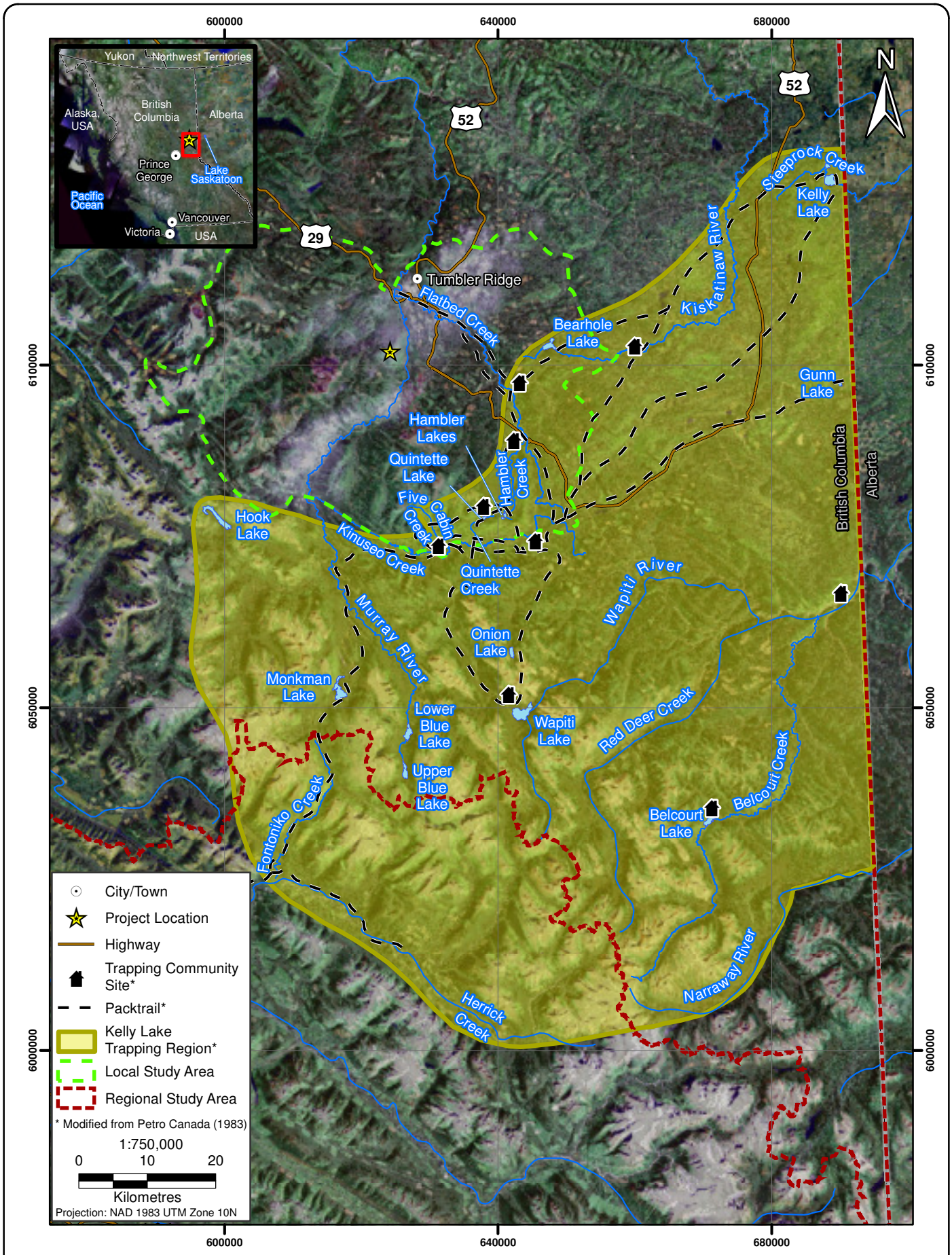
Today, gravel roads, pick-up trucks, and skidoos have all contributed to much-improved access to the Kelly Lake Trapping Heartland (see Section 4.6.6.1). Because of this, there has been a shift in winter residence patterns, with harvesters remaining in Kelly Lake over the winter. Many trappers can now drive out to check their line and return home to Kelly Lake in the same day (Davison and Danda 2012).

The decline of the fur industry, and the traditional Métis way of life that depended so much on fur income, is attributed to the actions of anti-fur lobby groups in the 1980s; actions which drove the price of furs so low that people in Kelly Lake were forced to find other sources of income. The decline of the fur market coincides with the period in which Kelly Lake Métis people became more likely to seek wage labour jobs in resources industries (Davison and Danda 2012).

4.6.6.1 Hunting/Trapping/Community Sites

Kelly Lake was seen as the summer centre for the trappers who used this area. Small, seasonal settlements, each housing a small number of cabins and outbuildings were used as base camps for the Kelly Lake Métis trapping season. These Trapping Community Sites are presented in the context of the Kelly Lake Métis Trapping Heartland, an area of intensive use documented by Robinson (1983). The Kelly Lake Métis Trapping Heartland includes the Trapping Community Sites of Poona ‘Tik See Pee (Rhubarb Flats), Calahaison (Calahasen) Flats, Hambler Cabins, Five Cabins and Monkman Cabins (all within or just on the edge of the LSA- Figure 4.6-7), and includes the middle reaches of Flatbed Creek and the adjoining creek systems to the west, namely Hambler Creek, Quintette Creek, Five Cabin Creek and Kinuseo Creek (all within or just on the edge of the LSA). There were 18 to 20 cabins collectively in these five communities. A further four sites- Joker Flats (just outside the LSA), Wapiti Lake Camp, Belcourt Lake Camp, and Wapiti River Cabins- are also within the larger Kelly Lake trapping region. These communities were occupied seasonally between 1900 and 1960. (Michael Robinson 1983). The area around Belcourt Lake in particular has been trapped by the Belcourt family since their arrival in the Kelly Lake area. It is highly valued by Kelly Lake Métis because of its ecological productivity and purity, and is known locally as “the Ojay” (Davison and Danda 2012).

Figure 4.6-7 presents a map of lands subject to traditional uses and occupancy by Kelly Lake Métis developed by Robinson in consultation with community Elders in the early 1980s. It represents the furthest reaches of the Kelly Lake trappers, as remembered for the period between 1920 and 1940. This early trapping area extends in British Columbia from Gauthier Lake (north of Kelly Lake on the Alberta Provincial border) southwest past Bearhole Lake and Quintette Mountain (both in the LSA) to Kinuseo Creek (just outside the LSA), then west to Hook Lake, south past Monkman Glacier in the Hart Ranges to the confluence of Fontaniko and Herrick Creeks (outside of the RSA), southeast along Herrick Creek, and then northeast along the Narraway River to the Alberta provincial border. Although not used as frequently as in the past, these locations continue to be important to the Kelly Lake Métis (Davison and Danda 2012).



MURRAY RIVER COAL PROJECT

Kelly Lake Communities - Locations of Traditional and Current Land Use

Figure 4.6-7

Trapped species on the traplines at Monkman Cabins include beaver, lynx, marten, mink, muskrat, red squirrel, weasel, otter, coyote, fisher, and wolverine(Michael Robinson 1983). Travel was by horseback and pack dogs, which were also harnessed to pull toboggans.

The Five Cabins and Monkman Cabins sites were noted as being important locations for Kelly Lake people to winter their horses. A kind of grass known locally as "goose grass" (perhaps the same as Cleaver or *Galium aparine*) grows at Five Cabins and Monkman Cabins. These places also had a warm micro-climates, and lay close to good moose and elk hunting areas (Michael Robinson 1983).

Moose harvesting locations and scouting routes of the Kelly Lake Métis include Fort St. John (outside the RSA), Kelly Lake, the Little Smoky River (outside the RSA), and the Wapiti River (Davison and Danda 2012).

4.6.6.2 Fishing

Fishing is an important means of obtaining food for many Kelly Lake Métis, who harvest fish from Belcourt Lake and Onion Lake. Belcourt Lake is habitat for Dolly Varden, and Onion Lake is stocked with Rainbow Trout. Upper and Lower Blue lakes are also used for fishing Bull Trout. Steep Rock Creek near Kelly Lake is frequently used by Kelly Lake Métis for harvesting walleye and suckers (Davison and Danda 2012). Some Kelly Lake fishing parties snowmobile into Mountain (Quintette) Lake and Hambler Lakes (both in the LSA) according to the report by Petro Canada (Michael Robinson 1983).

4.6.6.3 Plant Resource Gathering

Every summer the Kelly Lake people went to Lake Saskatoon in Alberta (outside the RSA) for the berries that were dried for winter. Wild strawberries, chokecherries, and raspberries were preserved, mostly by drying without sugar for winter use (Davison and Danda 2012).

4.6.6.4 Burials

There are burials associated with some of the Trapping Community Sites mentioned in Section 4.6.6.1. Sites that house burials include Gunn Lake (Big Slough) (one), Five Cabins (one, possibly three- at the edge of the LSA); Calahasen Flats (six- in the LSA); Flatbed Creek (one- in the LSA); and Calliou Flats (possibly three; Davison and Danda 2012).

4.6.7 Trail Networks

A review of secondary sources indicates that the routes of several historic and Aboriginal trails pass through the LSA and RSA (Ballantyne 1978; Stryd 1982; Michael Robinson 1983; C. Helm 2000, 2008). The shore of Peace River was an overland route between the Alberta Plains and the Rocky Mountains of BC. Finlay Forks was the site of the confluence of the Finlay and Parsnip Rivers (and subsequently the beginning of the Peace River), and Alexander Mackenzie followed the shore of the Parsnip down to the head of the Fraser River (see Section 4.5.1). The Pine Pass, one of the most famous Aboriginal trails in the Peace Region, is now used by Highway 97 to connect Chetwynd to Prince George (also known locally as the Hart Highway- C. Helm 2001). Both of these trails lay north and west of the LSA but are within the RSA boundary.

The "Wapiti Trail" was a major travel route that ran down Flatbed Creek (within the LSA) to the Wapiti and Smoky rivers (the latter outside the RSA- Stryd 1982), leading to Grande Prairie, Alberta (outside of the RSA- C. Helm 2001). Jenness (1937) noted a trail from the headwaters of the Parsnip River to the Wapiti River. A trail through Monkman Pass (immediately southwest of the LSA) crossed through the Rocky Mountains via Monkman and Fontoniko creeks and into the Fraser River watershed (M. Robinson and Hocking 1982; see Figure 4.6-7). Additional Aboriginal trails in the Hambler and Quintette Lakes area (both within the LSA- see Figure 4.6-7) have been recorded by Robinson (1983) and Stryd (1982).

Ballantyne (1978) was told of an old trail between Dawson Creek and the Wolverine River. This trail proceeded from Dawson Creek to Fellers Heights, and from there it led to Salt Creek and followed the creek to the Murray River. It crossed the Murray in the vicinity of the creek mouth and then followed the river southwards to the Wolverine, crossing Bullmoose Creek near its mouth. The southern portion of this trail is located in the LSA.

Helm (2001) also notes an Aboriginal trail connecting the Sukunka and Murray river valleys, passing Hook Lake (just outside of the LSA to the southwest). WMFN noted an important stretch of trail that cuts through the Groundbirch area along Pine River (WMFN 2012). Controlled burns of vegetation during the spring was used to maintain and keep open trails used during resource harvesting activities (WMFN 2012).

Ridington (2013) documented the oral history of one MLIB elder, who stated how his father's family crossed over the Rocky Mountains regularly, using a trail along Reynolds Creek to access the South Burnt River, Sukunka River, and Tumbler Ridge areas. They hunted, fished, and gathered berries in the mountains in the fall, and returned to winter in McLeod Lake, but still traveling up the mountains to hunt on the prairies to the east in the winter.

4.6.8 Recent Changes Affecting Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes

In the 50 years previous to 1980, the red fox and porcupine had become rare in the Peace Region; moose and beaver have declined, and then recovered; and the white tailed deer has extended its range into the region (UBCIC 1980)[39].

The conversion of moose habitat into farmland has seen the replacement of areas traditionally used by moose with deer and elk, which graze rather than browse. Elk herds are increasing in certain areas because of the proliferation of agriculture in those areas. The increase in deer and elk herds have also resulted in a large increase in wolves, which follow the herds (Kennedy 2011; WMFN 2012).

More recently, the Tsek'ehne and other Aboriginal groups have noticed changes to health of wildlife in their traditional territory. Reports of harvested wildlife with green or yellow internal organs are common; this was thought to be attributed to poisonous chemicals being ingested, most likely from local tailing ponds created during mining operations. The Tsek'ehne do not consume wildlife when these attributes are present, and as a result, they are wary of harvesting wildlife near operating mines or tailing ponds (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Many Tsek'ehne have noticed the declining populations of moose, caribou and groundhog, noting the current difficulty of obtaining even one moose in a season compared to their past abundance (Place 2007).

BRFN members are concerned about the sickness that they see in some moose carcasses, such as yellow tumors in the fat and organs, and deformed bones. This means that certain areas traditionally used have been abandoned, for the hunters fear the consequences of the unexplained changes in the meat. WMFN members have also noticed sick moose with discoloured noses and skin. They surmised that it was a result of oil and gas activity in the Sukunka Creek area (WMFN 2012). It is the opinion of some BRFN members that the flavour of beaver meat is being affected by pollution from oil and gas in that area. Rabbits used to be more plentiful, and BRFN members believe they have suffered from the use of pesticides[40] (Kennedy 2011).

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[39] The decline of caribou and bison herds in the Peace Region is discussed in other sections of the report as these events happened prior to the 20th century.

[40] This observation, it is assumed, is independent of the acknowledged 8-to-11 cycle of rabbits in the area (see Section 4.4.2).

Recreational or "sport" hunting has deeply affected the Aboriginal subsistence pattern in the region. As the UBCIC report states(1980):

> *"[Aboriginal] hunters try very hard to avoid sports hunters and very often will go into an area that they have decided to hunt, find too many sports hunters and move to another area. They would rather be in a less favoured hunting zone than to have to deal with large numbers of sports hunters. In some places, [Aboriginal people] are frankly scared of sports hunters. They don't trust them, they think they will shoot people, they worry about them getting lost in the woods because they don't know how to orient themselves in different terrain, [etc.]…"*

With regards to fishing, certain lakes in the northeast have been more or less lost to Aboriginal groups as fishing sites- some because of conflicts with recreational users and the extension of settlements around the lakes, and others due to conflicts with commercial users (UBCIC 1980). Lake trout in Moberly Lake have been nearly extirpated as a result of the non-Aboriginal commercial fishery (WMFN 2012). Williston Lake Reservoir is observed by the Tsek'ehne to be a badly polluted water body, and one they avoid fishing (Littlefield, Dorricott, and Cullon 2007). Fish in general are noticeably smaller and softer, sometimes showing signs of deformation and yellow stomachs.

The Mountain Pine Beetle has also had a drastic effect on the traditional use of the study area. Pine forests in the Peace region have been ravaged by the pine beetle; pine forests traditionally supported fur bearing animals and moose, which subsequently move out of ravaged areas. Berry picking areas have also been affected (WMFN 2012). Berries do not grow as big as they used to, and medicinal plants cannot be found in new growth forests after they have been clear-cut. Berries also don't grow as abundantly as they used to, which is thought to be due to the use of pesticide sprays (Kennedy 2011)

KLCN (2009) state that the growth of large-scale energy development projects beginning in the mid-20th century meant that access to the territory was greatly enhanced. This made it easier for Kelly Lake people to travel to nearby towns like Grand Prairie, Hythe, Beaverlodge and Dawson Creek for work, to shop and to attend school. It has also made it easier for other people to come to the Kelly Lake territory. While these connections have been largely positive, there have also been concerns about unauthorized hunters and trappers operating along traplines owned by Kelly Lake members.

5. Summary

5. Summary

On the Rocky Mountain and Peace foothills landscapes that characterize the RSA and LSA, Aboriginal peoples have developed similar cultural and social adaptations throughout history. This has included similar patterns of community organization and patterns of territorial use throughout northeast BC. Common cultural adaptations to seasonal cycles, hunting methods, and ceremonies occurred between Tsek'ehne, Dane-zaa, Cree, Saulteaux and Métis peoples in the Peace Region. The development of seasonal cycles tailored to the landscape was an important element of Subarctic cultures, and significant events in these cycles included the gathering of regional groups during the summer months, and the intensive hunting of moose, caribou, and (where available) bison in the fall and winter, among others.

Hunting and trapping have always been central to the economic life of Aboriginal groups inhabiting the upper Peace River drainage. Historically, land throughout the RSA was used for hunting and trapping. The most significant species hunted was moose, which was typically speared in deep snow. Caribou would be driven into pounds or shot with bows and arrows at stream crossings. Snares and other traps were generally used for smaller mammals and birds. While hunting methods have changed in modern times, the importance of wildlife to community subsistence has not diminished.

As the lakes and rivers that drain the RSA are Arctic drainage streams, devoid of salmon, fishing is not as important an activity among the Aboriginal groups in the Peace Region as it is among Aboriginal groups west of the Rockies. Whitefish, trout, suckers and other fish were traditionally caught using a variety of spears, hooks, nets and weirs in the summer. Fishing through holes in the ice was common in the winter. Rich fishing sites had social importance, for during the ice-free period they permitted concentrations of population when major social activities took place.

Plant-derived foods and medicines were used extensively by the Dane-zaa, Tsek'ehne, Cree, Saulteaux and Métis groups in the RSA. Aboriginal groups relied on a number of food plant resources, including a variety of berries, edible tubers and bulbs, and cambium from trees such as lodgepole pine. The bark and wood of various trees were used to create baskets and other implements, while rushes and riparian grasses were used for weaving materials. Today, berries and medicinal plants still play an important role in the lives of Aboriginal groups discussed in this report.

Historically, travel through the RSA and LSA was common, as First Nations and Métis peoples travelled routinely through the upper Peace River drainage between communities and to reach hunting grounds, traplines, fishing lakes or streams, and trading posts. The shore of Peace River was an overland route between the Alberta Plains and the Rocky Mountains of BC, and the Pine Pass is now used by Highway 97. Local trails could be found, among others, through the Flatbed valley to Wapiti River, or along the Monkman Pass which led to the Fraser headwaters.

Many areas that were used by Aboriginal communities in the past are no longer productive because of the effects of roads, forestry, mining, oil and gas, agriculture and land development. In other cases, new roads or seismic lines have provided easier access to areas that were not previously used, thereby increasing the frequency of use. As more hunting, fishing and gathering grounds are made unproductive because of development, Aboriginal communities look to new areas, often further afield, to access resources, and issues of prospective future use become more pronounced.

Publically available data indicates that broad sections of the RSA, particularly the area between the Pine and Moberly rivers, were used by these Aboriginal groups for hunting, trapping, fishing and plant gathering. Many of the small lakes in the RSA were used as summer base camps for Aboriginal groups while conducting harvesting activities. The Tumbler Ridge area was identified as a location for many of the Aboriginal groups to hunt moose; medicinal plants were also collected in the area. The Murray River was used for fishing, particularly at Kinuseo Falls. Gwillim Lake was used for fishing and as a summer gathering place for various groups. The southeast corner of the LSA is within the Kelly Lake trapping heartland, and a number of trapping community sites were located there; the area is still used by members of the Kelly Lake Métis for hunting and trapping. Aboriginal trail networks are recorded throughout the LSA and RSA, though few of these have been mapped.

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