

**POST 1915 ADDITIONS  
TO THE MEMBERSHIP OF  
THE FORT MCKAY BAND**

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This document was prepared largely from documentary materials collected by the author in the course of his employment with the Alberta Attorney General's Department and Alberta Aboriginal Affairs.

The paper represents an attempt to put forward the relevant historical facts with as little editorial comment as possible. To the extent that any opinions do seep into the presentation, they are entirely those of the author and should not be attributed to his employer.

As its title indicates, this paper represents an analysis of the background of those persons who became members of the Fort McKay Band after the 1915 survey of reserves originally set aside for that Band's predecessor, the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, and which were subsequently credited for the Fort McKay Band after the division of the membership and assets of the Cree-Chipewyan Band. As such, it deals with persons added to the membership of the Cree-Chipewyan Band between 1915 and 1949 who joined the Fort McKay Band when the original Band's membership was divided in 1949-1951<sup>1</sup> and persons who joined the Fort McKay Band subsequent to the split.

The persons discussed herein joined the Cree-Chipewyan Band or the Fort McKay Band through a variety of processes. Some were born at Fort MacKay<sup>2</sup> and, having been transferred from the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band to other Bands, returned later. Others were among the significant body of population not taken into Treaty 8 in 1899 and 1900 as a result of the isolation of their residence who adhered to Treaty with the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan

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<sup>1</sup> The payroll for the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray indicates a division of the Band's membership in 1949, with persons who became part of the Fort McMurray Band being transferred to the Edmonton Agency. Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band paid at Fort McMurray and Fort McKay, June 7 - 9, 1949. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. But correspondence from 1951 indicates that the precise method of dividing the Band had not been settled. L. Brown, Reserves and Trusts to A. Leslie, Trusts and Annuities Division, February 7, 1951; A.G. Leslie, Trust and Annuities Division, to J.W. Stewart, Indian Superintendent, Fort Chipewyan, March 19, 1951. PAC, RG 10, Volume 10320, File 779/3-5, Part 4.

<sup>2</sup> The spelling of McKay and MacKay bedevils students of the area. The settlement located on the west bank of the Athabasca River (and the river which runs into the Athabasca at the same point) are named MacKay, while I.R. 174 on the east bank of the Athabasca River (and the local Indian Band) are named McKay. The former spelling appears to be more appropriate, since Fort MacKay was named after Doctor William Morrison MacKay, a surgeon (later chief trader) with the Hudson's Bay Company from 1864 to 1898. Eric J. Holmgren and Patricia M. Holmgren, Place Names in Alberta (Saskatoon: Western Produce Prairie Books, 1976), p. 102.

Band after 1915. A third group resembled this second one, but at the time of their adhesion were placed on the membership list of other Bands prior to later transfer to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band. Finally, several persons transferred to the Fort McKay Band (or its predecessor) after having spent time quite properly on the membership list of landless Bands.

However, before discussing the specific issues of the adhesion and transfer of members to the Fort McKay Band, it is helpful to review the general subject of the relationship between the well-ordered world of Band membership as envisaged by the Indian Act and the demographic realities of the Treaty 8 area. Bands, as conceived by the legislation, were the fundamental administrative units through which the federal government carried out its functions with regard to Indian people. The administrative model (appropriate or not) of delegated powers which most closely resembles the approach in the legislation is that of municipal government,<sup>3</sup> with Band membership implying both citizenship and residency. Moreover, the definitions included in the Indian Act throughout history imply that Bands are anterior both logically and actually to the legislation itself.<sup>4</sup>

The characterization of Bands and Band membership in the legislation was incorporated into the numbered Treaties. The original Treaties and the adhesions thereto were executed by Bands through Chiefs and Headmen, and all of the federal government's undertakings, from the

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<sup>3</sup> Wayne Daugherty and Dennis Madill, Indian Government under Indian Act Legislation 1868-1951 (Ottawa: DIAND, 1980), Part II, p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> Thus from Section 3 of The Indian Act, 1876. S.C. 1876, c. 18 through Section 2(d) of The Indian Act. R.S.C. 1927, c. 98, "Indian" is defined not only in terms of blood and descent, but also in terms of belonging to a particular band.

setting aside of reserve land to the provision of socio-economic benefits were to be provided to or through Bands. As in the legislation, the Treaties presumed the pre-existence of Bands.

However accurate the Indian Act and the numbered Treaties may have been in describing the realities of other parts of Canada, they were wholly inconsistent with the social organization of most of the area covered by Treaty 8, particularly that north of Lesser Slave Lake, at the time of Treaty signing, as described by both contemporary and modern observers. A leading authority on the history, social organization and culture of the aboriginal population of northern Alberta was the late Dr. James G.E. Smith, until his death the Curator of North American Ethnology for the Museum of the American Indian in New York.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Smith's observations regarding the structure of northern Alberta aboriginal society in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, as confirmed by first hand observation and study by others, are instructive in understanding life in the area both before and after the signing of Treaty 8.

Dr. Smith concluded that the fundamental unit of social organization was the local or hunting band, which consisted of several (two to five) related families which normally comprised ten to thirty individuals. These groups existed separate and apart from other entities as hunting groups through the fall, winter and spring of each year. For a period in the summer of each year, several hunting bands would congregate on the shores of lakes that would allow subsistence through fishing and local hunting. The regional bands which resulted from this congregation,

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<sup>5</sup> Ominayak et al v. Norcen et al, Court of Queen's Bench of Alberta Action Number 8201-03713. Affidavit of James G.E. Smith, September 15, 1982. Although Dr. Smith's work is directly referable only to the Woodland Cree, other scholars, such as Leonard Ugarenko with regard to the Beaver and Hugh Dempsey with regard to the Slavey and Chipewyan have made similar observations. Ibid, Affidavit of Leonard Gordon

which could number from one hundred persons to a group two to three times that size, represented the largest co-operative unit in the area. Membership among both hunting or regional bands was flexible, with individuals and families being free to leave one group and join another, either temporarily or permanently.<sup>6</sup> Dr. Smith also noted that this easy flow of members between bands declined in the twentieth century with the appearance of permanent villages and hamlets in northern Alberta.<sup>7</sup>

Dr. Smith's conclusions accord with the observations of contemporary observers and the findings of more recent researchers regarding the demography of northern Alberta. In a 1944 statement, Father Jean Baptiste Henri Giroux, an Oblate missionary who had begun his career at Wabasca in 1897,<sup>8</sup> recounted that he had at first encountered a population which had hunted and trapped in groups which were for the most part comprised of two families.<sup>9</sup> This atomistic social organization was also noted by representatives of the federal government, to the extent that questions were raised as to whether collective reserves such as those provided for by Treaties 6

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Ugarenko, June 22, 1983. Exhibit "B", pp 9-10; Hugh Dempsey, Indian Tribes of Alberta (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1986), pp 65, 77.

<sup>6</sup> James G.E. Smith, "Western Woods Cree," in Subarctic, Volume 6, June Helm, editor, Handbook of North American Indians, William C. Sturtevant, general editor (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1981), p. 259.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid, p. 266.

<sup>8</sup> Aristide Philippet, omi, "*Grouard - La perle des Vicariats Apostoliques du Canada et l'un des fiefs particuliers de la Vierge Immaculée*", unpublished manuscript, Grouard-McLennan Diocese, n.d. Volume II, p. 125.

<sup>9</sup> "In the Matter of an Inquiry into the Question of Membership of Certain Individuals in the Indian Bands of Lesser Slave Lake - Notes of Evidence" <1944>, p. 205. PAC, RG 10, Volume 6811, File 470-3-6, pt. 2.

and 7 were either practical or desirable in the area intended to be included in Treaty 8,<sup>10</sup> although a decision was made in 1898 to provide for the establishment of reserves in Treaty 8, if only to promote education and foster religious conversion.<sup>11</sup>

The observations of Dr. Smith regarding ease of movement between bands were confirmed by Father Giroux, who recorded the willing acceptance by one band of members of another,<sup>12</sup> and by more recent studies of the area, which have stressed the regularity of migration between communities, particularly those with historic connections.<sup>13</sup> Recent studies also bear out Dr. Smith's observations regarding the decline in inter-community migration in the twentieth century, stressing the strong identity of modern residents of the various settlements with their home community.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> J.A.J. McKenna to Clifford Sifton, Minister of Indian Affairs, April 17, 1899. PAC, RG 10, Volume 3848, File 75,236-1.

<sup>11</sup> A. Forget, Indian Commissioner to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, January 12, 1898. PAC, RG 10, Volume 3848, File 75,236-1. Those persons arguing in favour of rejecting the reserve model did suggest that individual Indians found by the Treaty Commissioners in possession of specific lands be confirmed in their ownership of the same. While the reserve model was adopted, a compromise was reached in that provision was made for the settlement of Treaty land entitlement either through participation in a reserve survey or through the establishment of severalty lands for individual families to the extent of 160 acres per person. The severalty provisions first appeared in Treaty 8, although it was later repeated in Treaty 10, which encompassed a demographically similar part of northern Saskatchewan.

<sup>12</sup> Supra, note 9, p. 206.

<sup>13</sup> Patricia Sawchuk and Jarvis Grey, "The Isolated Communities of Northern Alberta," Metis and the Land: Report of the Land Claim Section (Edmonton: MAA, 1980), p. 277.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid, p. 278.

Among the necessary results of the conflict between the legislative conception of "Bands" and the reality of the Treaty 8 area, one in particular stands out: it took several decades before Treaty 8 Bands were organized to an extent that they resembled the theoretical version of themselves. There were two main reasons for this delay. The first was the incompleteness of the process of gaining the adhesion of all persons eligible for the benefits of Treaty, a problem which was evident from the time Treaty 8 was signed. In 1899, a total of 1,838 persons were paid annuity in Alberta.<sup>15</sup> The next year, an additional 575 persons from Alberta were admitted to Treaty, an increase of 31 per cent. To a certain extent, this represented the adhesion of new Bands (Sturgeon Lake and Dene Tha), but even among Bands who signed Treaty 8 in 1899, 299 persons were admitted to Treaty in 1900,<sup>16</sup> an increase of 16 per cent. Even then, the Treaty Commissioner estimated that about 500 persons living north of Lesser Slave Lake had not been admitted to Treaty.<sup>17</sup>

Between 1900 and 1922, 305 persons were admitted to Treaty in Alberta Bands.<sup>18</sup> On June 26, 1922, in response to the suggestion of an Oblate missionary,<sup>19</sup> the Department of Indian Affairs authorized the local Indian Agent to accept into Treaty those Indians living north of

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<sup>15</sup> Report of the Commissioners for Treaty No. 8. DIAND Publication Number QS-0576-000-EE-A-16.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Report of Commissioner for Treaty No. 8, August 27, 1900.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> In calculating the number of adherents to Treaty 8 Bands, the paylists for Alberta Treaty 8 Bands, which are housed in the DIAND Genealogical Research Unit, were consulted.

<sup>19</sup> J.M. Floc'h, omi, to Charles Stewart, Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, April 5, 1922. PAC, RG 10, Volume 7972, File 62-131, pt. 1.



Lesser Slave Lake whom had not previously received the benefits of either Treaty or scrip.<sup>20</sup>

Between 1923 and 1948, 469 persons adhered to Treaty in Alberta Bands.<sup>21</sup>

The second reason for the delay in reaching a point where the membership records of Indian Affairs were anything like a realistic reflection of northern Alberta reality related to the treatment of post-1923 adherents. As the result of an aversion to the creation of new bands, most of the adherents (351, or 75 per cent),<sup>22</sup> were placed on the membership lists of the Bigstone or Whitefish Lake Bands in the belief that those entities were the natural repositories of all persons living north of Slave Lake and residing east and west respectively of the Loon River.<sup>23</sup> When this supposition was found to be in error, significant inter-band transfers were required. Thus in 1940 96 persons from the Whitefish Lake Band and 20 persons from the Bigstone Band were included in the original membership of the Lubicon Lake Band,<sup>24</sup> and between 1940 and 1951 92 persons transferred from the Bigstone Band to the Little Red River Band and 51 Bigstone Band members transferred to the Tallcree Band.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs to Harold Laird, Acting Indian Agent, June 26, 1922. PAC, RG 10, Volume 7972, File 62-131, pt. 1.

<sup>21</sup> Supra, note 18.

<sup>22</sup> As between the Bigstone and Whitefish Lake Bands, 258 persons were admitted to membership in the former and 93 in the latter. Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> G.N. Faulkner, Executive Director, Office of Native Claims, Department of Indian Affairs, Briefing, December 12, 1979. DIAND, File B8265/W2(N5), Volume 4.

<sup>24</sup> Annuity Paylist, Lubicon Lake Band, June 4, 1940. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

Both of the factors discussed above are present in the history of the Bands paid originally at Fort McMurray. In 1899, 132 persons were paid annuity at Fort McMurray,<sup>26</sup> and in 1900 an additional 47 persons (an increase of 36 per cent) were admitted to Treaty.<sup>27</sup> Between 1901 and 1948, 44 persons adhered to Treaty in the Fort McMurray area, of which 20 joined the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band.<sup>28</sup> This Band also was affected by transfers, both as a source and a recipient. Thus in 1940,<sup>29</sup> 28 members of the Band transferred to the Janvier Band and, more importantly for the current analysis, 16 persons transferred into the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band from the Bigstone Band in the 1930s.<sup>30</sup>

The most significant transfers into the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray and the Fort McKay Band came from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band. Three persons transferred into the Cree-Chipewyan Band in 1940 and later joined the Fort McKay Band,<sup>31</sup> while 28 persons

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<sup>25</sup> There were 17 transfers from the Bigstone Band to the Little Red River Band in 1941, one in 1947 and 74 in 1951. There were 22 transfers from the Bigstone Band to the Tallcree Band in 1940, six in 1941, one in 1947 and 22 in 1951. Supra, note 18.

<sup>26</sup> Supra, note 15.

<sup>27</sup> Supra, note 16. This total includes 30 persons who joined the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band and 17 "Stragglers" who were eventually to form the Janvier Band.

<sup>28</sup> Supra, note 18.

<sup>29</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 21, 1940. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>30</sup> Annuity Paylists, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 25, 1931 and June 1937. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>31</sup> Supra, note 29.

transferred from the Fort Chipewyan-Cree Band to the Fort McKay Band in 1963.<sup>32</sup> At first glance, these transfers seem to differ from the Bigstone Band transfers in that they do not involve late adherents, but rather the families of original or long-time members of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band. However, upon a closer look, the similarity emerges in that, like the Bigstone transfers, the transfers from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band corrected an anomaly by placing longstanding (or even lifelong) residents of Fort MacKay on the membership list of the Band affiliated with their home.

The overwhelming majority of transfers from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band were members of two families which were themselves related by marriage. These were the families of Michel Bouchier and Albert Grandjamb. Notwithstanding their long tenure on the membership rolls of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, both families had a significant and longstanding affiliation with the Namur Lake-Fort MacKay area, in which the reserves of the Fort McKay Band are located.

When the Cree-Chipewyan Band at Fort McMurray signed an adhesion to Treaty 8 on August 4, 1899, Michel Bouchier entered Treaty as a 13 year old<sup>33</sup> member of the Band on ticket number 6, which belonged to his father, Joseph Boucher.<sup>34</sup> It appears that the family lived at

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<sup>32</sup> Louise Zuk, "Genealogical Charts of the Twenty-Eight Landless Transferees from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band to the Fort McKay Band in 1963 and Their Descendants", November 1990.

<sup>33</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes de la Paroisse de la Nativité de Marie*, Fort Chipewyan, 1882-1929. Entry B910, July 20, 1886.

<sup>34</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, August 4, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

Fort MacKay, as a R.N.W.M.P. census of 1899 listed them as residing there.<sup>35</sup> In 1915 the Dominion Surveyor charged with the setting aside of reserves for the Cree-Chipewyan Band's reserves proposed that the Boucher family, who had built a home on one of the lots in the Fort MacKay settlement have their ownership of the lot confirmed by law,<sup>36</sup> a suggestion which was not followed.<sup>37</sup>

On May 27, 1907, Michel married Catherine Grandejambe at Fort McMurray.<sup>38</sup> Catherine was the widow of Pierre Takarro, Number 56 of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band.<sup>39</sup> For some unknown reason, and in apparent contradiction of the provisions of the then current Indian Act,<sup>40</sup> Michel was transferred to his wife's Band and ticket, even assuming (on the payroll) the name of his wife's first husband.<sup>41</sup> In 1927, the name on the ticket was changed to Michel's.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> RG 18, Volume 1435, File 76, Part 2.

<sup>36</sup> Donald Robertson, DLS to Mr. Bray, December 23, 1915. PAC, RG 10, Volume 4065, File 412,768-4.

<sup>37</sup> A.F. MacKenzie, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs to Secretary, Department of the Interior, September 6, 1922. PAC, RG 10, Volume 4065, File 412,768-4.

<sup>38</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de la Nativité de Marie*, Fort Chipewyan, 1847-1986. Entry M5, May 27, 1907.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, entry M13, December 30, 1903.

<sup>40</sup> Section 15 of R.S.C. 1906, c. 81 read:

Any Indian woman who marries an Indian of any other band, or a non-Treaty Indian, shall cease to be a member of the band to which she formally belonged, and shall become a member of the band or irregular band of which her husband is a member.

<sup>41</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 25, 1907. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

Michel, Catherine and their family were paid at Fort McMurray<sup>43</sup> and later (after payments began being made at Fort MacKay in 1916)<sup>44</sup> at Fort MacKay from 1910, but remained members of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band until 1940. In that year Michel, Catherine and their younger son, Jean Hermas Boucher, transferred to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.<sup>45</sup> When the Cree-Chipewyan Band split in to the Fort McKay and Fort McMurray Bands, the families of Michel and Jean Hermas Bouchier became members of the Fort McKay Band.<sup>46</sup> Catherine, Michel and Jean Hermas resided at Fort MacKay until their deaths in 1969,<sup>47</sup> 1973<sup>48</sup> and 1978<sup>49</sup> respectively.

Emile Bouchier, the elder son of Michel and Catherine, remained a member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band until 1963, although his 1938 marriage,<sup>50</sup> the birth of his sons in 1939<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 26, 1927. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>43</sup> Supra, note 18.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid.

<sup>45</sup> Supra, note 31.

<sup>46</sup> Supra, note 1.

<sup>47</sup> *Registre des Sepulcres de la Paroisse de St. Julien*, Fort McKay 1949-1978. Entry, April 25, 1969.

<sup>48</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>49</sup> Supra, note 47. Entry, March 24, 1978.

<sup>50</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de St. Jean Baptiste*, Fort McMurray, 1914-1979. Entry, July 6, 1938.

<sup>51</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes de la Paroisse de St. Jean Baptiste*, Fort McMurray, 1914-1979. Entry, August 18, 1939.

and 1944<sup>52</sup> and the death of his wife in 1948<sup>53</sup> were recorded in the parish records for Fort McMurray (Fort MacKay did not have its own parish records until 1949). Emile and his sons Garvais (Jerry) and John Bouchier transferred to the Fort McKay Band in 1963, becoming Numbers 177, 184 and 194 of the Band respectively.<sup>54</sup>

The connection of the Albert Grandjamb family with the Fort MacKay area appears to have originated not with Albert, who was born at Fort Chipewyan in 1893,<sup>55</sup> but with his wife, Marie Rosine Kokan. Marie Rosine was, prior to her 1919 marriage to Albert,<sup>56</sup> a child on ticket number 16 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.<sup>57</sup> This ticket was first held by Mary Cree,<sup>58</sup> Marie Rosine's maternal grandmother. After Mary Cree's death in 1907,<sup>59</sup> her daughter Susan Kokan (Marie Rosine's mother) assumed the ticket, which at the time of survey of reserves for the Cree-Chipewyan Band consisted of Susan, Marie Rosine and Marie Rosine's half-

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<sup>52</sup> Ibid, Entry, December 31, 1944.

<sup>53</sup> *Registre des Sepulcres de la Paroisse de St. Jean Baptiste*, Fort McMurray, 1934-1967. Entry, August 2, 1948.

<sup>54</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>55</sup> Supra, note 33. Entry B1146, August 10, 1893.

<sup>56</sup> Supra, note 38. Entry, June 29, 1919.

<sup>57</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 23, 1919. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>58</sup> Supra, note 34.

<sup>59</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, August 14, 1907. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

brothers, William<sup>60</sup> and Philip McDonald.<sup>61</sup> Philip<sup>62</sup> and his daughter Dorothy McDonald<sup>63</sup> have both acted as Chief of the Fort McKay Band.

While Baptiste Grandejambe, the father of Albert Grandjamb, was an original member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band,<sup>64</sup> there is little evidence to justify a slavish assumption identifying the family with Fort Chipewyan. The Grandejambe family travelled throughout a significant portion of northern Alberta, frequently in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Company.<sup>65</sup> Baptiste Grandjamb himself is referred to as an H.B.C. employee (or contractor) in an 1876 excerpt from the Little Red River Post Journal,<sup>66</sup> and Baptiste's 1875 marriage is recorded in the parish records of Fort Vermilion.<sup>67</sup> Indeed, H.B.C. records may suggest the background to Baptiste's apparent link to Fort Chipewyan. An 1886 excerpt from the Little Red River Post Journal made reference to a camp shared by Paul Grandejambe, the younger brother

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<sup>60</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 27, 1924. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>61</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 25, 1931. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Chief Philip MacDonald <sic>, TARR <1974?>.

<sup>63</sup> Dianne Meili, Those Who Know: Profiles of Alberta Native Elders (Edmonton: NeWest, 1991), p. 180.

<sup>64</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, July 14, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>65</sup> References to members of the Grandejambe family as employees of the HBC have been found in post journals for Fort Vermilion and Little Red River, with evidence that, on behalf of the HBC, they travelled as far west as Keg River and as far east as Lake Athabasca.

<sup>66</sup> Little Red River Post Journal, 1876-1886. Hudson's Bay Company Archives, B135/a/1. Entry, September 21, 1876.

of Baptiste Grandejambe<sup>68</sup> and Thomas Gibbot,<sup>69</sup> later a Headman of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band.<sup>70</sup> Thomas Gibbot was Baptiste Grandejambe's brother-in-law.<sup>71</sup>

Further evidence of the extent of the Grandejambe family's diaspora is provided by the early records of Treaty 8. Baptiste Grandejambe was one of seven children, having two sisters and four brothers.<sup>72</sup> One sister, Marie, became, like Baptiste, an original member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band<sup>73</sup> through marriage to Paul Martin.<sup>74</sup> A second sister, Suzanne, was one of the wives of Julien Kakinosit,<sup>75</sup> the first Chief of the Tallcree Band,<sup>76</sup> and resided at Tallcree Prairie, the current site of I.R. 173, on the Wabasca River.<sup>77</sup> Three of Baptiste's brothers,

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<sup>67</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes, Mariages et Sepulchres de la Paroisse de St. Henri, Fort Vermilion, 1865-1907.* Entry M1, January 6, 1875.

<sup>68</sup> J.L.M. Quemeneur, omi, "*Liber Animarium Generales du Fort Vermilion, 1868-1949,*" unpublished manuscript, Grouard-McLennan Diocese, p. 142.

<sup>69</sup> Supra, note 66. Entry, April 22, 1886.

<sup>70</sup> Supra, note 15.

<sup>71</sup> Supra, note 67; Supra, note 38. Entries M6, August 16, 1892 and M10, September 10, 1903.

<sup>72</sup> Supra, note 68.

<sup>73</sup> Supra, note 64.

<sup>74</sup> Supra, note 38. Entry. October 2, 1866.

<sup>75</sup> Supra, note 68, p. 161.

<sup>76</sup> Annuity Paylist, Tallcree Band, July 8, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>77</sup> Harold Laird, Assistant Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1911. DIAND, File 775/30-4, Volume 1.



Simeon, Pierre and Paul, were original members of the Little Red River Band.<sup>78</sup> Baptiste's fourth brother, Abraham, died in 1889, but his son Paul, raised by one of his uncles, was also a member of the Little Red River Band.<sup>79</sup> The traditional hunting lands of the Little Red River Band, along the Mikkwa (Little Red) River, are in the Birch Mountains-Chipewyan Lake area also occupied by members of the Fort McKay Band.

The association of the Baptiste Grandejambe family with the Fort MacKay/Fort McMurray area predated Baptiste's death and Albert's assumption of the ticket in 1920.<sup>80</sup> As noted above,<sup>81</sup> Albert's sister Catherine married Michel Bouchier at Fort McMurray in 1907, and another sister married Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band member Joseph Milton in 1917.<sup>82</sup> Baptiste and his wife were paid at Fort MacKay in 1918<sup>83</sup> and, as also noted above,<sup>84</sup> Albert was married at the same place in 1919.

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<sup>78</sup> Annuity Paylists, Little Red River Band, July 11, 1899 and June 30, 1900. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. Simeon, Paul and Pierre were Numbers 3, 5 and 13 respectively.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. Paylist for June 19, 1905; *Registre des Sepulcres de la Paroisse de la Nativité de Marie*, Fort Chipewyan, 1847-1986. Entry S17, August 29, 1889.

<sup>80</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, 1920. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>81</sup> Supra, note 38.

<sup>82</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 11-13, 1917. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>83</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 25, 1918. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>84</sup> Supra, note 56.

In 1963 Albert, Marie Rosine, their sons James (and seven children), Magloire (and five children), Wilfred (and one child) and William, as well as their daughter Florence (and three children) transferred to the Fort McKay Band.<sup>85</sup> Of these transferees, only Marie Rosine, who was a member of the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band in 1915, had previously been a member of a Band which had received land under the reserve provisions of Treaty 8. Marie Rosine and Alfred resided at Fort MacKay until their deaths in 1978<sup>86</sup> and 1985<sup>87</sup> respectively.

In the post survey additions to the population of the Fort McKay Band, adherents and transferees from Chipewyan Lake are almost as significant numerically as transferees (and returnees) from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band. But before discussing the specific families and individuals who joined the Fort McKay Band from Chipewyan Lake, it is advisable to make some general observations about Chipewyan Lake's history.

Chipewyan Lake is situated approximately 60 kilometres southwest of Namur Lake, which is not only the location of the largest of the reserves of the Fort McKay Band, but also the heart of the area identified by elders as the heart of the traditional winter hunting and trapping area of the Band.<sup>88</sup> Chipewyan Lake is also equidistant between Fort MacKay and Wabasca, and it is not surprising that elders speak of Chipewyan Lake's relationship with both the Fort McKay and Bigstone Bands.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>86</sup> Supra, note 47. Entry, December 6, 1978.

<sup>87</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>88</sup> Interview with Adam Boucher, TARR 1974; Supra, note 62 and note 63, p. 179.

<sup>89</sup> Supra, note 63, p. 210.

Although Chipewyan Lake is about 110 kilometres from Wabasca, it is only 15 kilometres from the path of the Wabasca River, which flows north from the lakes of the same name, finally emptying into the Peace River near Fort Vermilion.<sup>90</sup> Thus the first contacts between European civilization and the Chipewyan Lake area originated from the south. Elders recall stories that the contact was initiated by a trader from Wabasca,<sup>91</sup> and in 1897, just one year after the establishment of a permanent mission at Wabasca, the Oblate Father Dupé performed six baptisms and one marriage at Chipewyan Lake.<sup>92</sup>

Needless to say, the Treaty Commissioners went nowhere near Chipewyan Lake in 1899 and 1900. In fact, community elders interviewed in 1980 indicated that even though almost everyone in the community had been registered Indians for several decades, visits by the Indian Agent to pay annuity were of very recent origin.<sup>93</sup> This in contrast with the situation in most of

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<sup>90</sup> The importance of the Loon-Wabasca River system is noted in R.G. McConnell, "Report on a Portion of the District of Athabasca comprising the country between Peace River and Athabasca River North of Lesser Slave Lake" Geological Survey of Canada Annual Report (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1893), p. 11.

<sup>91</sup> Supra, note 63, p. 210.

<sup>92</sup> Aristide Philippot, omi, "Annals of the St. Martin Mission of Wabasca", unpublished manuscript, Grouard-McLennan Diocese, 1941 <?> (translated by Isabel Milne), p. 18.

<sup>93</sup> Supra, note 13, pp 372, 380.

the other "isolated communities", which were visited as early as 1911<sup>94</sup> and regularly from the late 1930s.<sup>95</sup>

In 1900, a family from Chipewyan Lake journeyed to Wabasca and applied for scrip.<sup>96</sup> Their applications were refused, and they were taken into Treaty as members of the Bigstone Band.<sup>97</sup> In 1905 four families with a combined population of 15 adhered to Treaty with the same Band,<sup>98</sup> and one person from Burnt Lake, northwest of Chipewyan Lake, was admitted to the Bigstone Band in 1915.<sup>99</sup> In 1922, Chipewyan Lake was identified by the Indian Agent as one of the population centres where a significant portion of the population had not received the benefit of Treaty,<sup>100</sup> and between that year and 1935 48 persons from Chipewyan Lake adhered to the Bigstone Band.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> Lesser Slave Lake Indian Agency, Daily Journal, 1911. Glenbow-Alberta Archives (Entries for June 2-10); Harold Laird, Assistant Indian Agent to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, October 30, 1911. PAC, RG 10, Volume 3979, File 156,710-31.

<sup>95</sup> N.P. L'Heureux, Indian Agent, Report for Lesser Slave Lake Agency for June, July and August, 1938, September 16, 1938. DIAND, File 777/30-12.

<sup>96</sup> Richard Daniel, Land Rights of the Isolated Communities of Alberta (Ottawa: TARR, 1975), p. 3.

<sup>97</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, August 1901. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>98</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, September 2, 1905. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>99</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, August 10, 1915. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>100</sup> Harold Laird, Acting Indian Agent to J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, May 9, 1922. PAC, RG 10, Volume 7972, File 62-131, Pt. 1.

<sup>101</sup> Supra, note 18.

When it was discovered that the Bigstone Band membership list contained many families which had little affiliation with the Wabasca area, the Chipewyan Lake area was affected significantly by the resulting transfers. The 16 persons who transferred from the Bigstone Band to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band in the 1930s<sup>102</sup> were residents of Chipewyan Lake, and eight of the transfers to the Tallcree Band<sup>103</sup> and 47 of the transferees to the Little Red River Band<sup>104</sup> by the 1940s were members of families which had originally joined the Bigstone Band from Chipewyan Lake. The precise relationship (if any) between the transfers into the Little Red River Band and the provision of that Band with additional reserve land in 1965<sup>105</sup> is unknown.

The Ahyasou family represent, at least in part, an exception to the general rule that adherents to Treaty from Chipewyan Lake were admitted to the Bigstone Band. When Gerald Card, the Indian Agent for the Fort McMurray Agency, paid annuity at Fort MacKay in 1926 and 1927, he was met on both occasions by Sylvestre and Joseph Ahyasou, two brothers who resided at Chipewyan Lake, and their widowed mother.<sup>106</sup> Sylvestre and Joseph were about 50<sup>107</sup> and

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<sup>102</sup> Supra, note 30.

<sup>103</sup> The eight transferees were all members of families which had adhered to Treaty from Chipewyan Lake in 1905. Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 13-15, 1940. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>104</sup> Seven of the 1941 transferees were members of a family which had been admitted to Treaty from Chipewyan Lake in 1905. Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 12-17, 1940. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. The 1947 transferee and 39 of the 1951 transferees were members of families which had adhered to Treaty from Chipewyan Lake after 1928. Annuity Paylists, Bigstone Band, May 26, 1947 and May 28-June 1, 1951. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>105</sup> PC 1965-1312, July 23, 1965; PC 1965-1449, August 11, 1965.

<sup>106</sup> Gerald Card, Agent, Fort McMurray Indian Agency to J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, May 7, 1928. PAC, RG 10, Volume 6921, File 779/28-3, Pt. 2. The letter refers to Thomas and Joseph Ahyasou, but there is little doubt that the person referred to as Thomas was Sylvestre.

30<sup>108</sup> years of age respectively, and were the children of the late Joseph Ahyasou Sr. and Marie Auger. They had resided in the Chipewyan Lake area at the time Treaty 8 was signed, but they advised the Indian Agent that their father had refused to accept either Treaty or scrip until his death in 1906,<sup>109</sup> and that thereafter they had not applied for either.<sup>110</sup> As Sylvestre and Joseph traded occasionally at Wabasca,<sup>111</sup> the Indian Agent wrote his counterpart for the Lesser Slave Lake Agency, Harold Laird, and received a reply that the Ahyasou brothers were not in Treaty and, to the best of Laird's knowledge, had not received scrip.<sup>112</sup> Accordingly, Card wrote Ottawa for permission to take the Ahyasou brothers and their mother into Treaty,<sup>113</sup> and he received the necessary authorization prior to the payment of annuity at Fort MacKay in 1928.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Sylvestre was not baptised in the Oblate records until he was an adult. *Registre des Baptêmes de la Paroisse de St. Martin*, Wabasca, 1897-1988. Entry, August 5, 1900. The manner of Sylvestre's baptism may assist in explaining the confusion between the names Thomas and Sylvestre. Sylvestre was baptised subject to condition, which normally resulted from previous baptism by an Anglican missionary. Since the rival religions often assigned separate baptismal names to the same individual, it is likely that Sylvestre was referred to as Thomas in his Anglican baptism. Unfortunately, it is not possible to confirm this, since the Anglican parish records for the area were destroyed by fire in 1932. PAA, Acc. No. 70-387, Finding Aid.

<sup>108</sup> Supra, note 106.

<sup>109</sup> *Registre des Sepulcres de la Paroisse de St. Martin*, Wabasca, 1897-1983. Entry, March 21, 1906.

<sup>110</sup> Supra, note 106.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid.

<sup>112</sup> Harold Laird, Indian Agent, Lesser Slave Lake Agency to Gerald Card, Indian Agent, Fort McMurray Agency, April 24, 1928. PAC, RG 10, Volume 6921, File 779/28-3, Pt. 2.

<sup>113</sup> Supra, note 106.

<sup>114</sup> A.F. MacKenzie, Acting Assistant Deputy and Secretary to G. Card, Indian Agent, Fort McMurray Agency, May 16, 1928. PAC, RG 10, Volume 6921, File 779/28-3, Pt. 2.

By the time Card visited Fort MacKay in 1928, the issue of Marie Auger's entitlement to adhere to Treaty in her own right had been rendered moot. She had married Jerome Cutwing,<sup>115</sup> another resident of Chipewyan Lake, and entered Treaty with her husband as a member of the Bigstone Band,<sup>116</sup> to which she belonged until her death in 1945.<sup>117</sup>

Once the necessary authorization was received, the 1928 adhesion of the Sylvestre Ahyasou family was a very straightforward matter. Sylvestre, his wife Rose Anna Kakitchosis,<sup>118</sup> along with four sons and three girls<sup>119</sup> entered Treaty as Number 92 of the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band, although the annuity list erroneously indicated that the family consisted of three boys and four girls.<sup>120</sup> Rose Anna had been born at Long Lake, north of Peerless Lake, in approximately 1884,<sup>121</sup> and received Treaty benefits for the first time with her husband. Rose Anna's father died in 1896<sup>122</sup> and her widowed mother, Anne Noskiye, did not

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<sup>115</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de St. Martin*, Wabasca, 1897-1984. Entry, January 30, 1928.

<sup>116</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 19, 1928. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>117</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 5-7, 1945. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>118</sup> Supra, note 115. Entry, January 17, 1904.

<sup>119</sup> In the summer of 1928, Sylvestre and Rose Anna were the parents of sons Albert (age 19), Joe (age 15), Paul (age 14) and Gabriel (age 2), as well as daughter Isabelle (age 11), Melanie (age 8) and Lilia (age 5). Paul may in fact have been Sylvestre's nephew, the son of Joseph from a relationship prior to his marriage. J.L.M. Quemeneur, omi, *Etudes Généalogiques*, unpublished manuscript, Grouard-McLennan Diocese.

<sup>120</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 20, 1928. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>121</sup> Supra, note 92, pp 16-17.

<sup>122</sup> Supra, note 68.

adhere to Treaty until 1925, when she and Rose Anna's brothers Andre Kakitchosis Noskiye and Thomas Kakitchosis Noskiye became members of the Bigstone Band.<sup>123</sup>

Sylvestre Ahyasou died in 1938,<sup>124</sup> and when the Cree-Chipewyan Band split in 1949, Rose Anna and her surviving children became members of the Fort McKay Band,<sup>125</sup> of which Rose Anna remained a member until her death in 1970.<sup>126</sup>

The process by which Joseph Ahyasou became a member of the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band was as muddled as his brother's was simple, although there is no evidence to suggest that their personal circumstances were dissimilar. Notwithstanding Lesser Slave Lake Agency Indian Agent Laird's outright statement that neither Sylvestre nor Joseph Ahyasou had received the benefits of Treaty prior to 1928, Laird's own records purport to show that Joseph, his wife<sup>127</sup> and three children<sup>128</sup> entered Treaty in 1925 as members of the Bigstone Band.<sup>129</sup> They were included in the membership of the Bigstone Band until 1937 when the five adherents

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<sup>123</sup> Ibid, pp 231-232; Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 15, 1925. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>124</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 25-26, 1938. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>125</sup> Supra, note 1.

<sup>126</sup> Supra, note 47. Entry, September 29, 1970.

<sup>127</sup> Supra, note 115. Entry, July 23, 1917.

<sup>128</sup> In 1925, Joseph and Marguerite were the parents of one son, Alphonse (age 4) and two daughters, Veronique (age 7) and Sara (age 1). Supra, note 119.

<sup>129</sup> Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, June 15, 1925. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.



and five children<sup>130</sup> born since 1925 were transferred to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band.<sup>131</sup>

For two reasons, the tenure of the Joseph Ahyasou family on the payroll of the Bigstone Band is not terribly troublesome from the standpoint of land entitlement. The first is the very real possibility that the purported record of the 1925 adhesion to the Bigstone Band was fraudulent, part of the pattern of activity which led to Laird's 1934 criminal conviction for theft of government monies.<sup>132</sup> Second, it appears that neither Joseph Ahyasou nor the Bigstone Band received any benefit pursuant to the reserve or severalty provisions of Treaty 8 as a result of Joseph's membership in the Bigstone Band. Reserves for the Bigstone Band were first surveyed in 1913,<sup>133</sup> well before Joseph Ahyasou's purported adhesion. Additional lands were surveyed for the Bigstone Band in 1937,<sup>134</sup> after Joseph and his family had transferred to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band. Accordingly the Joseph Ahyasou family were not members of the Bigstone Band at either its first or subsequent survey. But more problematic than previous membership in another Band is the existence of documentation showing (at least on its face) that Joseph Ahyasou had received scrip.

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<sup>130</sup> While on the membership list of the Bigstone Band, Joseph and Marguerite's family grew through the birth of Rosalie in 1927, William in 1928, Felix in 1930, Seraphine in 1932 and Marie Jeanne in 1935. *Supra*, note 119.

<sup>131</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 1937. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>132</sup> Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Report on Conclusion of Case, February 20, 1934. Alberta Department of Justice, Central Registry.

<sup>133</sup> J.J. Steele, DLS to D.C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, January 8, 1914. PAC, RG 10, Volume 4019, File 279,393-9.

<sup>134</sup> F.H. Peters, Surveyor General and Chief, Hydrographic Service to B.F. Mitchell, ALS, June 5, 1937. PAC, RG 10, Volume 7778, File 27131-17.

In 1908, two years after the death of her husband, Marie Auger appeared at Wabasca and made an application for scrip on behalf of herself and her two minor children, the elder of which was Joseph Ahyasou.<sup>135</sup> The application was approved, and scrip was issued in Marie's name in June 1909<sup>136</sup> and to Marie as Joseph's guardian in January 1910.<sup>137</sup> Documents suggest that Marie journeyed to Edmonton in July 1909<sup>138</sup> and January 1910<sup>139</sup> to locate her scrip, sell it and appoint a guardian to locate and dispose of Joseph's scrip, which took place in October 1910.<sup>140</sup>

Allegations of fraud in the distribution of scrip in northern Alberta are almost as old as the distribution program itself,<sup>141</sup> and have been given credence by some modern authors.<sup>142</sup> It is possible to overlook allegations of fraud with regard to the money scrip which was so readily available in 1899,<sup>143</sup> since the decision to issue money scrip, payable to the bearer, was first

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<sup>135</sup> PAC, RG 15, Volume 1037, File 1695055.

<sup>136</sup> PAC, RG 15, Volumes 1408 and 1410.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

<sup>138</sup> PAC, RG 15, Volume 1466.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> PAC, RG 15, Volume 1470.

<sup>141</sup> Petition Submitted by Half-breeds of Lesser Slave Lake to Frank Oliver, July 4, 1911. PAC, RG 15, Volume 771, File 518158.

<sup>142</sup> Joe Sawchuk, Patricia Sawchuk and Theresa Ferguson, Metis Land Rights in Alberta: A Political History (Edmonton: MAA, 1981), pp 144-151.

<sup>143</sup> James Walker and J.A. Cote, Scrip Commissioners, to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, September 30, 1899. PAC, RG 15, Volume 771, File 518158.

suggested by the recipients themselves, and only acquiesced in very reluctantly by the members of the Scrip Commission.<sup>144</sup>

In 1899, the Scrip Commission reached the conclusion that scrip applicants could choose either money scrip (the right to apply \$240.00 toward the purchase of Dominion Land) or land scrip (the right to patent 240 acres of Dominion Land). In 1899, when available land was worth approximately \$1.00 an acre, the two choices were equally appealing. But the value of land in northern Alberta rose in the next few years, and land scrip became much more valuable than money scrip. Unfortunately for speculators, it was also less negotiable than money scrip, in that it had to be located on specific lands by the original applicant, a process which could only be accomplished by a personal appearance at the Dominion Lands Office nearest the lands to be patented.<sup>145</sup> This created practical difficulties for speculators, particularly when they wished to apply scrip on land in central or southern Alberta or outside the Province. Requests to the Department of the Interior for some leniency in the application of regulations<sup>146</sup> met with little official sympathy,<sup>147</sup> but the sincerity of the Department's puritanical approach is brought into question by the fact that directives to watch for cases of personation or forgery in the location of

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<sup>144</sup> James Walker and J.A. Cote, Scrip Commissioners, to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, June 24, 1899. PAC, RG 15, Volume 771, File 518158.

<sup>145</sup> J.A. Cote, Scrip Commissioner to N.O. Cote, Patent Branch, Department of the Interior, December 7, 1899. PAC, RG 15, Volume 760, File 504454.

<sup>146</sup> McDougall and Secord et al to Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, December 15, 1900. PAC, RG 15, Volume 787, File 566003.

<sup>147</sup> Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior to McDougall and Secord, January 24, 1901. PAC, RG 15, Volume 782, File 555680-1.

scrip<sup>148</sup> were met with an almost universal response in which transactions which can only be explained as the results of personation or forgery were sanctioned.

There is little realistic doubt that the worst expressed fears of the Department of the Interior were manifested in the scrip transactions which purportedly benefited Marie Auger and Joseph Ahyasou. Leaving aside the question of how (or why) a person who had delayed nine years in applying for scrip (presumably in part at least as a result of the isolation of their residence) would have journeyed to Edmonton (on several occasions) to locate and dispose of land scrip and appoint a guardian to do the same for her son, there is the question of the land purportedly selected by Marie and on behalf of Joseph. The documents purport to show Marie's purchase and sale of a quarter section near Edson,<sup>149</sup> 200 kilometres west of Edmonton and 80 acres near Hanna,<sup>150</sup> 250 kilometres east of Calgary, while Joseph, through his guardian, dabbled in legal subdivisions near what would soon be the eastern boundary of Jasper National Park.<sup>151</sup>

Joseph Ahyasou's wife, Marguerite Orr, was the half-sister of Gabriel Orr, the head of the other Chipewyan Lake family which transferred to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray and later to the Fort McKay Band.<sup>152</sup> Marguerite and Gabriel had different mothers,<sup>153</sup> but both were children of Moise Oar and, through their father, were members of the far flung Lechasseur

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<sup>148</sup> L. Pereira, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Interior, Circular to Agents of Dominion Lands, July 4, 1912. PAC, RG 15, Volume 787, File 566003.

<sup>149</sup> Supra, note 138.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid.

<sup>151</sup> Supra, note 140.

<sup>152</sup> Supra, note 61.

(Kanittamimahuw) family.<sup>154</sup> Moise Oar's full and half siblings were included among the original membership of the Bigstone<sup>155</sup> and Swan River Bands<sup>156</sup> and those who received scrip at Lesser Slave Lake<sup>157</sup> and Wabasca.<sup>158</sup> Moise attempted to join this last group, venturing from Chipewyan Lake to Wabasca in 1900 in apply for scrip.<sup>159</sup> For reasons which reflect no great credit on anyone involved in the case, and which can best be described as doing the right thing for the wrong reason, the application was refused and Moise was admitted to membership in the Bigstone Band.<sup>160</sup>

Moise Oar played a significant, indeed a central role in the history of Chipewyan Lake. Not particularly enamoured of hunting himself, he remained in the community year-round,

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<sup>153</sup> Supra, note 119.

<sup>154</sup> Supra, note 68, pp 163-164.

<sup>155</sup> Moise had one full sister, Isabelle, who entered Treaty in 1899 as the wife of Alexis Auger, Number 35 of the Bigstone Band. Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, August 14, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. He also had one full sister and one half sister, both named Therese, who were admitted to the Bigstone Band in 1900 as the wives (respectively) of Francois Auger (of Trout Lake) and Joseph Seiseiquon. Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, August 27, 1900. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. One son of Moise's half-sister Therese later married a woman from Chipewyan Lake and transferred to the Little Red River Band. Annuity Paylist, Bigstone Band, May 28-June 1, 1951. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>156</sup> Moise's full sister Emilie entered Treaty at Lesser Slave Lake in 1899 as the wife of Headman Felix Giroux, later of the Swan River Band. Annuity Paylists, Kinnoyoo's Band, June 22, 1899 and Swan River Band, October 1, 1910. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>157</sup> Moise's full sister Adele received scrip at Lesser Slave Lake in 1899. PAC, RG 15, Volume 1483.

<sup>158</sup> Moise's full sisters Marie and Marianne and his half-brothers George and Albert received scrip at Wabasca in 1899. Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

tending his garden and protecting Chipewyan Lake's store and residences while the bulk of the community's population were absent and engaged in more traditional pursuits.<sup>161</sup> He also took advantage of this time to teach his youngest son Arnold the skills which Arnold later used to become an extremely successful carver.<sup>162</sup>

Gabriel Oar married Honorine Ahyasou, the daughter of Sylvestre Ahyasou,<sup>163</sup> and in 1931 Gabriel, Honorine, their one son<sup>164</sup> and three daughters<sup>165</sup> transferred to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band.<sup>166</sup> When the Cree-Chipewyan Band split into the Fort McKay and Fort McMurray Bands in 1949, the Oar family became members of the former.<sup>167</sup>

Indian Affairs and membership records illustrate the importance of the transfer and adhesion of the Bouchier, Grandjamb, Ahyasou and Oar families to the Fort McKay Band. No recent membership records are available for public research, but a copy of the registered membership of the Fort McKay Band in 1979 is available in the Provincial Archives of

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<sup>160</sup> Supra, note 97.

<sup>161</sup> Supra, note 63, p. 210.

<sup>162</sup> Ibid, p. 209.

<sup>163</sup> The marriage took place at Chipewyan Lake on the same day that Jerome Cutwing married Marie Auger, Honorine's grandmother. Supra, note 115.

<sup>164</sup> Gabriel and Honorine's son Archibald was baptised on January 30, 1928 at the age of five. Supra, note 107.

<sup>165</sup> Mary Jane and Adelaide, the daughters of Gabriel and Honorine, were baptised on January 30, 1928 at the respective ages of three and one. Ibid.

<sup>166</sup> Supra, note 30.

<sup>167</sup> Supra, note 1.

Alberta.<sup>168</sup> A cursory review of this document reveals that at least 103 of 202 members of the Band<sup>169</sup> (51 per cent) were descendants of the families which adhered to or transferred into the Fort McKay Band from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band or Chipewyan Lake between 1928 and 1963.

Trapline records relating to twelve traplines located in the Namur Lake - Fort MacKay area are indicative of the longstanding and continuing use of the area by the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band and Chipewyan Lake transferees.<sup>170</sup> Since 1943, Trapline 21 has been held by four members of the Ahyasou family, currently being used by John Ahyasou, the grandson of Joseph Ahyasou.<sup>171</sup> William Grandjamb, the son of Albert Grandjamb, is the holder of Trapline 33.<sup>172</sup> Trapline 94, formerly held by Jean Hermas Bouchier, the son of Michel Bouchier, is now registered in the name of Joseph Grandjamb, the grandson of Albert Grandjamb.<sup>173</sup> Former line 124, now re-issued as 2888 was originally held by Albert Grandjamb and is now used by his grandson Gordon Grandjamb.<sup>174</sup>

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<sup>168</sup> Fort McKay Band, Registered Members as of December 31, 1979. PAA, Acc. No. 90.80 GSE.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid. The list includes at least 15 members of the Bouchier family, 36 members of the Grandjamb family, 34 members of the Ahyasou family and 18 members of the Oar family.

<sup>170</sup> The location of these traplines is set out in the attached Schedule.

<sup>171</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000021.

<sup>172</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000033.

<sup>173</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000094.

<sup>174</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA002888.

Albert Grandjamb's son Wilfred is the holder of Trapline 400.<sup>175</sup> Francis Oar, the son of Gabriel Oar, held Trapline 587 until 1984, when he took over line 771.<sup>176</sup> Gabriel Oar himself was the holder of Trapline 772 from 1943 until 1975, when he relinquished it in favour of his son Marwin. The line is currently held by Adolf Ahyasou, the youngest son of Sylvestre Ahyasou.<sup>177</sup> Garvais Bouchier, the grandson of Michel Bouchier, is the registered holder of Trapline 850,<sup>178</sup> while James Grandjamb, the eldest son of Albert Grandjamb, has trapped line 965 for over 40 years.<sup>179</sup> Absolom Oar, Gabriel's son, held Trapline 1027 until 1978, when he relinquished it to William Ahyasou, the son of Joseph Ahyasou.<sup>180</sup> Trapline 1060 has been held by the Grandjamb family since the 1940s, currently being registered in the name of Pete Grandjamb, Albert's grandson.<sup>181</sup>

Because of the isolation of the area occupied by persons trading at Fort MacKay, it was possible for persons living in the area to delay their entry into treaty until well into the twentieth century. One example included Number 87, Christine, who entered treaty in 1925 with one son, being referred to as a "straggler vouched for by the Headman", and being paid at Fort MacKay.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000400.

<sup>176</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000587 and 000771.

<sup>177</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000772.

<sup>178</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000850.

<sup>179</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA000965.

<sup>180</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA001027.

<sup>181</sup> Alberta Environmental Protection, Fish and Wildlife Division, File TPA001060.

<sup>182</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 22, 1925. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit



Christine's son Joseph Campre received his own ticket in 1934,<sup>183</sup> and, although Christine died in 1936,<sup>184</sup> Joseph was a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray when the Band split and Joseph became a member of the Fort McKay Band.<sup>185</sup>

Records of the Department of Indian Affairs never did provide much information about Christine, even a surname, but the church record of Joseph's 1934 marriage indicated that his mother's maiden surname was Boucher.<sup>186</sup> Thus one plausible explanation for Christine's background would be that she was a member of a branch of the Boucher family who had either never been a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band or had lost contact with the Band upon her marriage to Joseph's father.<sup>187</sup>

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<sup>183</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 26, 1934. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>184</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 28, 1936. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>185</sup> Supra., note 1.

<sup>186</sup> Supra., note 50. Entry, February 9, 1934.

<sup>187</sup> There is an alternative explanation which may be even more plausible regarding the background of Christine and Joseph which does not involve adherence to Treaty 8 but does no violence to the conclusion that they were landless at the time they joined the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray. The marriage of Joseph Campre indicated that his parents were Ogakie and Christine Boucher. Ibid. On January 3, 1903, Jean Ogakie, the son of Chrystome Ogakie, married Christine Saturnin, the daughter of Saturnin and Claire Oga. Supra., note 38. Entry, January 2, 1903. Jean and Christine had a son Joseph in October 1911. Supra., note 33. Entry, October 14, 1911. In the same year that the marriage noted herein took place, the annuity paylist for the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan recorded the transfer of Jean Shortman (Ogakie), the son of Chrysostome Shortman (Ogakie), to his own ticket upon marriage to the daughter of the widow Claire Saturnin. Annuity Paylist, Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, June 25, 1903. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. The family were paid at Fort MacKay when payments were first made there in 1916. Annuity Paylist, Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, June 16, 1916. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. Jean Shortman (Ogakie) died in 1919. Annuity Paylist, Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, June 28, 1919. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit. Christine and her son disappeared from the paylist for the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan in 1925, the same year Christine made her appearance on the paylist of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray. Supra., note

Not all post-1915 additions to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray or the Fort McKay Band became band members as part of intact families. The provisions of the Indian Act relating to marriage caused a number of women to transfer to the Band through marriage to band members.<sup>188</sup> The circumstances of the provision of reserve land to bands near Fort MacKay meant that a number of the women who transferred into the Band did so from landless bands. The Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan did not have reserve land surveyed for it until 1931,<sup>189</sup> the Cree Band of Fort Chipewyan did not reach a settlement of its reserve entitlement until 1986<sup>190</sup> and Chipewyan Lake still has not received the benefit of reserve land.

Between 1915 and 1963, two women from Chipewyan Lake and three women from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band either joined the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray by marriage (and subsequently joined the Fort McKay Band) or transferred with their husbands from the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band to the Fort McKay Band.

Melanie Cutwing married Albert Ahyasou, the eldest son of Sylvestre Ahyasou,<sup>191</sup> and transferred to the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band from the Bigstone Band in 1937.<sup>192</sup>

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182; Annuity Paylist, Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, July 1925. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>188</sup> Supra., note 40. The same provision was repeated in R.S.C. 1928 c. 98, s. 14 and S.C. 1951, c. 29, s. 14.

<sup>189</sup> Order in Council 1954-900, June 17, 1954.

<sup>190</sup> Richard T. Price, "Indian Treaty Land Entitlement Claims in Alberta: Tripartite Negotiations and Settlements (1971-1988)". Paper, Canadian Historical Association 68th Annual Meeting, June 1-3, 1989, p. 27.

<sup>191</sup> Supra., note 115. Entry, March 22, 1931.

The marriage and transfer took place less than a decade after Melanie's father, life-long Chipewyan Lake resident Jerome Cutwing,<sup>193</sup> first entered Treaty.<sup>194</sup> In an interview in 1980, Melanie's sister Bella related how their father had steadfastly refused to adhere to Treaty until age and infirmity forced him to do so.<sup>195</sup>

A second woman from Chipewyan Lake, Louise Noskiye, married Magloire Grandjamb, the son of Albert Grandjamb at Fort MacKay in 1952<sup>196</sup> when Magloire was still a member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band and transferred to the Fort McKay Band with her husband and children in 1963.<sup>197</sup> Louise's paternal grandfather, Thomas Noskiye Kakitchosis, was the younger brother of Rose Anna Kakitchosis, Sylvestre Ahyasou's wife.<sup>198</sup> Born at Long Lake in about 1890, Thomas moved to Duck Lake, north west of Chipewyan Lake about 1910,<sup>199</sup> when he began a long common-law relationship with Julie Alook, a member of the large Alook family residing at Chipewyan Lake.<sup>200</sup> Thomas did not enter Treaty until 1925, when he joined the

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<sup>192</sup> Supra, note 131.

<sup>193</sup> Interviews conducted with elders in 1980 suggested that Jerome Cutwing was the son of the first permanent resident of Chipewyan Lake. Supra, note 13, p. 366.

<sup>194</sup> Supra, note 116.

<sup>195</sup> Supra, note 13, p. 370.

<sup>196</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de St. Julien*, Fort McKay, 1949-1977. Entry, January 25, 1952.

<sup>197</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>198</sup> Supra, note 92, pp 16-17.

<sup>199</sup> Supra, note 13, p. 378.

<sup>200</sup> Supra, note 68, p. 2.

Bigstone Band as a widower with six children.<sup>201</sup> The eldest of the four sons of Thomas and Julie, Louise Noskiye's father Charlewich Noskiye,<sup>202</sup> moved to Chipewyan Lake, where in 1931 he married Louise's mother, Amelia Houle.<sup>203</sup> Amelia was the daughter of Annie Ahyasou,<sup>204</sup> the sister of Sylvestre and Joseph Ahyasou.<sup>205</sup>

The first woman to be added to the post-survey population of the Fort McMurray Cree Band was Julie Grandjambe, who married Louis Boucher, Number 7 of the Band, in 1915<sup>206</sup> and transferred to his ticket in 1916 from Number 60 of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band,<sup>207</sup> which she had shared with her first husband, Francois Wabikuman from their 1907 marriage<sup>208</sup> until his 1912 death.<sup>209</sup> Prior to her first marriage, Julie had been in Treaty with the Little Red River Band on the ticket of her father, Paul Grandjambe,<sup>210</sup> the youngest brother of Baptiste

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<sup>201</sup> Supra, note 123.

<sup>202</sup> Supra, note 97. Entry, June 26, 1932.

<sup>203</sup> Supra, note 115. Entry, March 24, 1931. The marriage took place at Chipewyan Lake.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid.

<sup>205</sup> Supra, note 119.

<sup>206</sup> Supra, note 38. Entry, June 15, 1915.

<sup>207</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 5, 1916. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>208</sup> Supra, note 38. Entry M4, July 5, 1907.

<sup>209</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 18, 1912. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>210</sup> Supra, note 68, p. 146.

Grandjambe. Julie died a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray in 1921<sup>211</sup> after being paid with Louis Boucher at Fort MacKay in 1917 and 1919.<sup>212</sup>

Rita Hyman married Wilfred Grandjamb at Fort McKay in 1960,<sup>213</sup> while he was still a member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, and transferred to the Fort McKay Band with her husband and child in 1963.<sup>214</sup> Prior to her marriage, Rita was paid with her parents, Napoleon Hyman and Jeanne Boucher, on Number 144 of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band.<sup>215</sup> Napoleon had transferred to this ticket from Number 61 of the same Band in 1939,<sup>216</sup> which was held by Joseph Martin until his 1922 death.<sup>217</sup> The precise question of the relationship between Joseph Martin and Napoleon Hyman (whether the latter was the natural, adoptive or step child of the former) is unclear, but it is obvious that Napoleon was paid on Number 61 prior to Joseph's death.<sup>218</sup> Napoleon Hyman lived at Fort MacKay until his death in 1970.<sup>219</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 21, 1921. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>212</sup> Supra, notes 57 and 82.

<sup>213</sup> Supra, note 196. Entry, May 30, 1960.

<sup>214</sup> Supra, note 32.

<sup>215</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 26, 1945. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>216</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June, 1937. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>217</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 23, 1922. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>218</sup> The registration of Napoleon's burial in 1970 gave his age as 54. Supra, note 47. Entry, June 26, 1970.

Rita also has significant contacts with the Fort MacKay area through her mother, Jeanne Boucher. Prior to her marriage to Napoleon Hyman, Jeanne was a member of the Fort McMurray Cree-Chipewyan Band, being paid with her two brothers on Number 110 of the Band after her mother died and her father remarried.<sup>220</sup> Her uncle Adam Boucher was named by the Dominion Land Surveys as the owner of a house on Lot 10 of Fort MacKay settlement in 1915,<sup>221</sup> and he later served as Headman at Fort MacKay.<sup>222</sup> In 1897, the residents of Fort MacKay requested that Chrysostome Piche, Jeanne's maternal grandfather be named as their Chief.<sup>223</sup> When the Cree-Chipewyan Band split into the Fort McKay and Fort McMurray Bands, Chrysostome's widow Louise Lemaigre, became a member of the Fort McKay Band<sup>224</sup> and she lived at Fort MacKay until her death in 1958.<sup>225</sup>

The third member of the Fort Chipewyan Cree Band to join the Fort McKay Band was Angelique Hyman, the sister of Rita Hyman, who married Fort McKay Band member Absolom Oar (the son of Gabriel Oar) in 1961.<sup>226</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Ibid.

<sup>220</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 1935. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>221</sup> Supra, note 36.

<sup>222</sup> Supra, note 120.

<sup>223</sup> Canada Parliament "Annual Report of the R.N.W.M.P. 1897". Sessional Papers (Commons) 1898, p. 160.

<sup>224</sup> Supra, note 1.

<sup>225</sup> Supra, note 47. Entry, May 23, 1958.

<sup>226</sup> Supra., note 196. Entry, April 7, 1961.

In the decade before reserve land was surveyed for the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan in 1931, five women from members of the then-landless Band transferred to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray by marriage. The first was Philomene Denunnape (or Hyman), who married Moise Boucher in 1922<sup>227</sup> and transferred to his ticket in 1923.<sup>228</sup> Philomene was the daughter of Cyprien Denunappe (or Hyman), an original member of the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan,<sup>229</sup> and Catherine Janvier. Philomene remained a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray until her death in 1941.<sup>230</sup>

In 1923, Elise Cayen married William McDonald<sup>231</sup> (or Kokan) and in 1924 transferred to his ticket from her parents' ticket, Number 88 of the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan.<sup>232</sup> Elise's father, Michel Cayen, was an original member of the latter band, entering treaty with his widowed mother in 1899.<sup>233</sup> However, from the time he reached adulthood, Michel had a strong tie to the Fort MacKay area. In 1905, Michel married Marie Rose Boucher, who was the sister of Michel Boucher,<sup>234</sup> although she had been paid for several years on the ticket of her uncle,

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<sup>227</sup> Supra., note 50. Entry, July 17, 1922.

<sup>228</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 20-21, 1923. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>229</sup> Annuity Paylist, Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, July 14, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>230</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 18-19, 1941. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>231</sup> Supra., note 50. Entry, July 2, 1923.

<sup>232</sup> Supra., note 60.

<sup>233</sup> Supra., note 229.

<sup>234</sup> Supra., note 38. Entry, July 2, 1905.

Adam Boucher, Number 2 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.<sup>235</sup> Although Marie Rose transferred to Michel's Band,<sup>236</sup> she and her husband were paid at Fort McMurray from 1906<sup>237</sup> and at Fort MacKay after payments were recorded there in 1916.<sup>238</sup> In 1940, after Marie Rose's death, Michel transferred from the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.<sup>239</sup> He died a member of the Band the next year.<sup>240</sup>

Two sisters, Victoire and Catherine Ratfat, daughters of original Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan members Baptiste Ratfat and Sophie Vermilion,<sup>241</sup> also joined the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray through marriage, although they took different routes to the latter Band. Victoire originally married Louis Martin, a member of the Cree Band of Fort Chipewyan,<sup>242</sup> and transferred to her husband's band.<sup>243</sup> After her first husband's death,<sup>244</sup> Victoire married Adam

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<sup>235</sup> Supra., note 34.

<sup>236</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 23, 1905. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>237</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 22, 1906. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>238</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 16, 1916. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>239</sup> Supra., note 29.

<sup>240</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 22-24, 1942. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>241</sup> Supra., note 229.

<sup>242</sup> Supra., note 38. Entry, July 10, 1923.

<sup>243</sup> Annuity Paylist, Fort Chipewyan Cree Band, June 30, 1924. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>244</sup> Supra., note 79. Entry, July 5, 1926.



Boucher, Number 48 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray in 1929<sup>245</sup> and transferred to her husband's ticket in the same year.<sup>246</sup> When the Band split in 1949, Adam and Victoire became members of the Fort McKay Band.<sup>247</sup> Victoire's sister Catherine transferred to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray directly from her parents' ticket in 1930<sup>248</sup> following her 1929 marriage to Jonas Boucher.<sup>249</sup>

The final woman to transfer from the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, Elmire Marcel, did not transfer to the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray until 1932,<sup>250</sup> the year after reserves were surveyed for the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan, but she had in fact married Sammy Rolland in 1930.<sup>251</sup> Elmire was the child of Narcisse Marcel and Adele Laviolette,<sup>252</sup> original members of the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan.<sup>253</sup> Elmire remained a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray until her death in 1939.<sup>254</sup>

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<sup>245</sup> Supra., note 38. Entry, June 30, 1929.

<sup>246</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 20, 1929. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>247</sup> Supra., note 1.

<sup>248</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 26, 1930. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>249</sup> Supra., note 50. Entry, December 26, 1929.

<sup>250</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June, 1932. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>251</sup> Supra., note 38. Entry, July 8, 1930.

<sup>252</sup> Supra., note 33. Entry, December 9, 1903.

<sup>253</sup> Supra., note 229.

A final transfer from the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan took place in 1921, when a boy transferred from Number 97 of the Chipewyan Band of Fort Chipewyan to the ticket of Adam Boucher, Number 48 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.<sup>255</sup> Subsequent entries on the payroll identify this transferee as Sammy Rolland.<sup>256</sup>

The ticket from which Sammy transferred was that of Louis Piche, who was the nephew of Charlot Piche,<sup>257</sup> Number 13 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray<sup>258</sup> and an 1899 resident of Fort MacKay.<sup>259</sup> Fort MacKay elders have confirmed that Sammy was raised by Adam Boucher<sup>260</sup> and he was Chief of the Fort McKay Band for a number of years prior to his premature death.<sup>261</sup>

The rationale for suggesting that post-1915 adherents and apparent transfers be included in the Date of First Survey population of the Fort McKay Band is that this action would correct an injustice which would result from attempting to settle the Band's land entitlement under Treaty at an arbitrary and early date long before the annuity payroll, the record on which land

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<sup>254</sup> Supra., note 29.

<sup>255</sup> Supra., note 211.

<sup>256</sup> Supra., note 61.

<sup>257</sup> Louis was the son of Andre Piche, the brother of Charlot Piche. Supra., note 38. Entries June 3, 1859, May 26, 1862 and June 8, 1896.

<sup>258</sup> Supra., note 34.

<sup>259</sup> PAC, RG 18, Volume 1435, File 76.

<sup>260</sup> Fort McKay First Nations There is Still Survival Out There (Edmonton: Canada Alberta Partnership Agreement in Forestry 1994), p. 105.

entitlement was calculated, reflected accurately the population of the Band. There are two considerations to this proposal. The first is that the actual Treaty population at Fort MacKay in 1915 far exceeded the population recorded on the payroll. As noted above, there is overwhelming evidence that the Bouchier, Grandjamb and Cayen families were actually residents of the Fort MacKay area in 1915, even though their transfer into the Fort McKay Band was not recorded until much later. But the essential thing to remember when discussing these transfers is the fact that the use of the word "transfer" is somewhat misleading when applied to these cases. "Transfer" implies movement, but a post-1915 movement from Fort Chipewyan did not take place. Put simply, the transfers were in fact bookkeeping entries made to rationalize administrative records with demographic reality.

The second consideration relates to the Chipewyan Lake families (Ahyasous, Oars) who did in fact move to Fort MacKay as well as the individual women who transferred to the Fort McKay Band by marriage. With regard to these persons, the simple fact is that since they were never members of other bands at the time of the receipt of reserve land and later became members of the Fort McKay Band, they will not be counted toward the calculation of the land entitlement of any band if they are not counted with the Fort McKay Band.

Schedule II sets out in tabular form the persons discussed above. Since the purpose of this paper is to discuss the post-1915 additions to the population of the Fort McKay Band which can be argued to be properly part of the calculation of the Band's land entitlement, those post-1915 additions which do not appear to increase this land entitlement have not been discussed.

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<sup>261</sup> Ibid., p. 79. Sammy Rolland died in 1955 at the age of 49. Supra., note 53. Entry, June 10, 1955.

However, Schedule III does discuss several cases which at first glance do appear to suggest a possible enhancement of the Band's land entitlement but which upon closer examination do not.

**SCHEDULE I**  
Traplines Held by Families of  
Post-1915 Additions to the Fort McKay Band

**SCHEDULE II**  
**Post Survey Additions**  
**to the Fort McKay Band**

YEAR	NAME	NUMBER IN FAMILY	CATEGORY	PAGES IN TEXT
1916	Julie Grandjamb	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	35
1921	Sammy Rolland	1	Landless Transfer	40 - 41
1923	Philomene Denunnape	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	37 - 38
1924	Elise Cayen	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	38 - 39
1925	Christine Boucher	2	Adherent	31 - 32
1928	Sylvestre Ahyasou	9	Adherent - Chipewyan Lake	20 - 22
1929	Victoire Ratfat	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	39 - 40
1930	Catherine Ratfat	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	39 - 40
1931	Gabriel Oar	6	Landless Transfer - Chipewyan Lake	27 - 29
1932	Elmire Marcel	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	40
1937	Joseph Ahyasou	10	Landless Transfer - Chipewyan Lake	22 - 27
1937	Melanie Cutwing	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	33
1940	Michel Boucher	3	Landless Transfer	9 - 11
1961	Angelique Hyman	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	37
1963	Emile Bouchier	3	Landless Transfer	11 - 12
1963	Albert Grandjamb	1	Landless Transfer	12 - 16
1963	James Grandjamb	8	Landless Transfer	16
1963	Magloire Grandjamb	6	Landless Transfer	16
1963	Wilfred Grandjamb	2	Landless Transfer	16
1963	William Grandjamb	1	Landless Transfer	16
1963	Florence Grandjamb	4	Landless Transfer	16
1963	Louise Noskiye	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	34
1963	Rita Hyman	1	Landless Transfer - Marriage	35 - 37

### SCHEDULE III "Non-Treaty Women"

The argument in favour of including those persons discussed in the text is, as noted therein, two-pronged, the considerations being the search for either accuracy or equity. The latter consideration rests on the conclusion that the persons discussed in the text were entitled to be counted toward the land entitlement of one band or another, and that if they were not included in calculating the land entitlement of the Fort McKay Band, they would not be counted at all. While this consideration could apply equally to "non-Treaty" women who gained status through marriage, it is a matter of fact that they are not applicable to the three "non-Treaty" women who gained status through marriage to male members of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.

At the time Mary Tourangeau gained status through marriage to Joseph Campre in 1934,<sup>262</sup> she indicated that her parents were Louis Tourangeau and Adeline Boucher.<sup>263</sup> Louis Tourangeau was the son of Jonas Tourangeau and Isabelle Piche, while Adeline was the daughter of Maurice Boucher and Angelique Kokan.<sup>264</sup> Louis received scrip with his parents at Fort Chipewyan in 1899,<sup>265</sup> while Adeline entered Treaty with her parents as Number 14 of the Cree-

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<sup>262</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 26, 1934. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>263</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de St. Jean Baptiste*, Fort McMurray, 1914-1979. Entry, February 9, 1934.

<sup>264</sup> *Registre des Mariages de la Paroisse de la Nativité de Marie*, Fort Chipewyan, 1847-1986. Entry, August 11, 1913.

<sup>265</sup> Scrip Application, August 7, 1849. PAC, RG15, Volume 1369.

Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray in the same year.<sup>266</sup> When reserves were surveyed at Fort MacKay and Namur Lake in 1915, Adeline was still a member of her parents' Band,<sup>267</sup> and did not give up her status until 1917.<sup>268</sup> Thus Mary Tourangeau's father shared in the distribution of scrip which accompanied the signing of Treaty 8, while her mother was counted towards the calculation of the size of reserves for the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray.

Eva Powder married Band member Herman Boucher in 1943<sup>269</sup> and gained status the same year.<sup>270</sup> Eva was born in 1920, the daughter of Alphonse Powder and Louise Boucher.<sup>271</sup> Louise was the sister of Adeline Boucher<sup>272</sup> and, like her sister, was a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray at the time reserves were surveyed in 1915.<sup>273</sup> Alphonse Powder moved to the Fort McMurray area from the Lac La Biche area, where he was born in 1890.<sup>274</sup> Although born too late to qualify for scrip in the area in which he was born,<sup>275</sup> his

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<sup>266</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, August 4, 1899. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>267</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 2, 1915. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>268</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 11-13, 1917. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>269</sup> Supra., note 2. Entry, January 30, 1943.

<sup>270</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 21-22, 1943. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>271</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes de la Paroisse de St. Jean Baptiste*, Fort McMurray, 1914-1979. Entry, January 8, 1920.

<sup>272</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes de la Paroisse de la Nativité de Marie*, Fort Chipewyan, 1882-1929. Entry, June 29, 1905.

<sup>273</sup> Supra., note 6.

<sup>274</sup> *Registre des Baptêmes, Mariages et Sepulcres de la Paroisse de Notre Dame des Victoires*, Lac La Biche, 1880-1907. Entry, August 31, 1890.

parents, Abe Powder and Catherine Cardinal received scrip at Lac La Biche in 1886.<sup>276</sup> Thus the same considerations which apply in the case of Mary Tourangeau would also appear to be operative in that of Eva Powder.

When the wife of Napoleon Boucher gained status through marriage in 1944, her name was given as Mary Chalefoux.<sup>277</sup> Napoleon died in 1945 and Mary gave up her status after marrying non-Indian John Janvier in 1946, at which time her parents were given as Paul Cheecham and Marguerite Janvier.<sup>278</sup> Persons by these names were in Treaty as Number 32 of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray,<sup>279</sup> and their daughter Mary transferred to Number 84 of the same Band in 1924<sup>280</sup> after marriage to Lazare Chalifoux, a non-Indian.<sup>281</sup> Mary received commutation of annuity in 1943.<sup>282</sup> Thus it appears that Mary Cheecham was a member of the Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray in 1915, gave up her status upon marriage to a non-Indian and regained it upon marrying another Band member.

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<sup>275</sup> Only persons born in the "North-West Territories" prior to December 31, 1885 were entitled to scrip. Privy Council Order 1489, June 12, 1900.

<sup>276</sup> Scrip Applications, August 18, 1886. PAC, RG 15, Volume 1329.

<sup>277</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, July 14, 1944. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>278</sup> Supra., note 2. Entry, October 6, 1946.

<sup>279</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 18-19, 1945. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>280</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 27, 1924. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>281</sup> Annuity Paylist, Cree-Chipewyan Band of Fort McMurray, June 18-20, 1941. DIAND, Genealogical Research Unit.

<sup>282</sup> Supra., note 9.