SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A03 PART 1

COMMUNITY SUMMARY:
BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:
BC Hydro Power and Authority
333 Dunsmuir Street
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 5R3

Prepared by:
Fasken Martineau
2900-550 Burrard Street
Vancouver, B.C.
V6C 0A3

January 2013
Blueberry River First Nations

Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN) has two reserves covering 1508.8 ha. The main community lives on Blueberry River IR No. 205 located approximately 80 km northwest of Fort St. John. The second reserve is the south half of Beaton River No. 204. The North Half of Beaton River No. 204 belongs to the Doig River First Nation.

According to Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, as of December 2012, BRFN has a registered population of 469, with 204 members living on their own reserves. BRFN has a Chief and four Councillors, and uses the Indian Act electoral system. BRFN’s economic activities include a band office, convenience store, slashing, trapping, firefighting and ranching.

BRFN is a Treaty 8 signatory but is not a member of the Treaty 8 Tribal Association.

History

BRFN members are culturally Beaver (Dane-zaa), part of the Northern Athapaskan language group. Some members also speak Cree, part of the Algonquian language group. The Beaver have lived in the Peace River since at least the early days of contact with Europeans in the late 1700s. Old Joseph Apsassin, a Cree ancestor, joined the Band through marriage circa 1895–1898.

The BRFN was historically joined with the Doig River people as a single administrative entity, known as the Fort St. John Indian Band. When the Fort St. John Band dissolved in 1977, BRFN became an independent band.

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3. AANDC, Blueberry River First Nations.


5. AANDC, Blueberry River First Nations.

6. AANDC, Blueberry River First Nations.


11. The Fort St John Band is also known as the Beaver Band of Fort St John. Other historical documents refer to the band as the St John Band, the St John Beaver Band of Indians, and the St John Beaver Band. The Supreme Court, in its decision in Blueberry River Indian Band v. Canada (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), [1995] 4 SCR 344 (“Blueberry River Indian Band v. Canada”), refers to the band as the “Beaver Band”. See: Indian Claims Commission (ICC). 2006. Blueberry River First Nation, Doig River First Nation, Highway Right of Way IR 172 Inquiry. Ottawa, ON. Available at:
The Fort St. John Indian Band adhered to Treaty 8 on May 30, 1900. In 1913, the Band selected the site of its reserve, St. John Reserve No. 172. The 28 sq. mi. were surveyed in July 1914 and IR 172 was confirmed by Order-in-Council PC 819 on April 11, 1916. This reserve was used as the site of its summer campground.

The Fort St. John Band continued to use IR 172 as a summer gathering place after 1914, but a permanent settlement was never established there, as they would hunt and trap for the winter and spring months. Near the end of World War II, the federal government established a program that made agricultural land available to returning veterans. The possibility of using IR 172 for this program came under consideration, and ultimately the Fort St. John Band agreed to surrender IR 172 to the Crown. In 1948, the Department of Indian Affairs transferred IR 172 to the Director of the Veterans’ Land Act for $70,000.

The Department of Indian Affairs used a portion of the $70,000 from the sale of IR 172 to purchase other lands further north, which became the Fort St. John Band's new reserves.

**Treaty Land Entitlement Claim**

Canada has accepted the treaty land entitlement claims of BRFN and Doig River First Nation respecting alleged shortfalls in their original Treaty 8 land entitlements. Canada subsequently sought the involvement of B.C. in the negotiations to resolve the claims. B.C. agreed to participate.

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13 ICC, Highway Right of Way IR 172 Inquiry at 4.
14 ICC, Highway Right of Way IR 172 Inquiry at 4.
Traditional Territory Map
BRFN. 2012. Blueberry Traditional Territory Map
SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A03 PART 2

BC HYDRO CONSULTATION SUMMARY:
BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:
BC Hydro Power and Authority
333 Dunsmuir Street
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 5R3

Prepared by:
Site C First Nations Engagement Team
Suite 1100, Four Bentall Centre
1055 Dunsmuir Street
P.O. Box 49260
Vancouver, B.C.
V7X 1V5

January 2013
Volume 5 Appendix A, Part 2, provides a summary of consultation activities undertaken by BC Hydro with each of the 29 Aboriginal groups listed in Table 9.1 of the EIS, as required pursuant to section 7.2.1 of the EIS Guidelines. This summary describes consultation activities that took place between November 1, 2007 and November 30, 2012, including meetings, phone calls, letters and emails, and consists of a high-level description of “key events” followed by a chronological summary of the consultation process during the above time period.

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

BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

CONSULTATION SUMMARY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Defined terms</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“AIA”</td>
<td>Archaeological Impact Assessment</td>
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<tr>
<td>“AMEC”</td>
<td>AMEC Earth &amp; Environmental, consultant for BC Hydro</td>
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<tr>
<td>“AOA”</td>
<td>Archaeological Overview Assessment</td>
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<td>“Archaeology Branch”</td>
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<td>“Archer”</td>
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<td>“BCEAO”</td>
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<td>“Blueberry”</td>
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<td>“Bouchard &amp; Kennedy”</td>
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<td>“CEA Agency”</td>
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<td>“Decision Economics”</td>
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<td>“EA”</td>
<td>environmental assessment</td>
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<td>Term</td>
<td>Description</td>
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<tr>
<td>“EIS Guidelines”</td>
<td>Environmental Impact Statement Guidelines, formerly called the Application Information Requirements</td>
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<tr>
<td>“GIS”</td>
<td>Geographic Information Systems</td>
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<td>“Golder”</td>
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<td>“IBA”</td>
<td>Impact Benefit Agreement</td>
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<td>“ILMB”</td>
<td>Integrated Land Management Bureau, Province of British Columbia</td>
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<td>“Keystone”</td>
<td>Keystone Wildlife Research Ltd., consultant for BC Hydro</td>
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<td>“MEMPR”</td>
<td>Ministry of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources</td>
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<td>“MSES”</td>
<td>Management and Solutions in Environmental Science Inc., consultant for Blueberry River First Nations</td>
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<td>“Province”</td>
<td>Province of British Columbia</td>
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<td>“Ratcliff &amp; Company”</td>
<td>Ratcliff and Company LLP, legal counsel for Blueberry River First Nations</td>
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<tr>
<td>“RFP”</td>
<td>request for proposal</td>
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<td>“Site C” or “the Project”</td>
<td>Site C Clean Energy Project</td>
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<td>“Stage 1 Summary Report”</td>
<td>Summary: Stage 1 Review of Project Feasibility (BC Hydro, December 2007)</td>
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<td>“Stage 2 Consultation Agreement”</td>
<td>Stage 2 – Proposed Site “C” Project Agreement for Consultation and Collaboration between Blueberry River First Nations and BC Hydro, dated October 2, 2008</td>
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<td>“Stage 2 Report”</td>
<td>Stage 2 Report: Consultation and Technical Review (BC Hydro, Fall 2009)</td>
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<td>“Stage 3 Consultation”</td>
<td>Site C Clean Energy Project <em>Stage 3 Consultation Agreement</em> between Blueberry River First Nations and BC Hydro, dated</td>
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</table>
Agreement: September 2, 2010

“TAC”: Technical Advisory Committee

“TLUS”: traditional land use study

“TLUS Agreement”: Blueberry River First Nations Traditional Land Use Study Agreement for Site C Clean Energy Project between Blueberry River First Nations and BC Hydro, dated September 2, 2010

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**Key events**

**November 1, 2007 – June 30, 2008**

- BC Hydro made initial contact with Blueberry on November 21, 2007, and expressed its commitment to effective consultation with respect to the Project.

- Representatives of BC Hydro and Blueberry met for the first time on March 12. BC Hydro provided a high level introduction to the Project and agreed to provide Blueberry with capacity funding to cover the costs of initial consultations.

- Meetings were held on April 16 and May 15; the parties engaged in discussions about the structure of the consultation process and ILMB referrals. BC Hydro invited Blueberry to participate in the TACs to provide input and advice to BC Hydro during the pre-regulatory Stage 2 environmental and social assessment activities. Blueberry asked for clarification on BC Hydro’s role as proponent and the Province’s role in consultation for the Project.

- Representatives from BC Hydro, Blueberry and MEMPR met on May 1 to clarify the roles and responsibilities of BC Hydro and the Crown regarding consultation for the Project. BC Hydro explained its role as the proponent and advised that it would be leading the consultation process, but that the Crown would be available to participate as required or as issues came up. BC Hydro further explained that it was well positioned to consult with First Nations due to its technical expertise and knowledge about the Project.

- BC Hydro applied to the ILMB and the Ministry of Forestry and Range for five licences/permits related to proposed geotechnical exploratory work for the Project. The ILMB referred the five applications to Blueberry for comment on March 20. BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry and the ILMB on May 12 to discuss the permit...
applications, exploratory work and associated employment and contracting opportunities. The ILMB wrote to Blueberry on June 27 advising that it had approved BC Hydro’s application to undertake geotechnical investigations at the proposed Site C dam site (File #8014909). The ILMB identified where conditions had been added to the permit in response to concerns expressed by Blueberry and the Council of B.C. Treaty 8 Chiefs.

- BC Hydro provided Blueberry with interim capacity funding on May 2 to assist Blueberry in continuing to meet with BC Hydro while the parties developed a consultation agreement, and enable Blueberry’s technical advisors to work with BC Hydro’s engineering team and the ILMB in responding to the referral packages.

- BC Hydro attended an open house in the Blueberry community on June 12. BC Hydro delivered a presentation to approximately 12 community members, including several Elders, and responded to questions on a number of topics including economic opportunities, potential impacts on wildlife, alternatives to the Project, and potential discovery of grave sites. BC Hydro also delivered a presentation to approximately 30 children in the community school.

July 1 to December 31, 2008

- BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on July 25 and provided information regarding the Site C Environmental and Social TAC process, including a list of the proposed committees: Fish; Wildlife; Land Use (Agriculture, Oil & Gas, Forestry, Parks and Conservation Lands); Greenhouse Gas Emissions; Community Services / Infrastructure; Recreation / Tourism; and, Heritage. BC Hydro advised that the purpose of the TACs was to provide a forum for government representatives and First Nations to provide BC Hydro with input and advice during the pre-regulatory Stage 2 environmental and social assessment activities, which would be summarized in a series of TAC reports, and increase the likelihood that pre-regulatory work would be useful for a future EA process. A representative of Blueberry attended the following TAC meetings:
  - Wildlife (September 17-18, November 19)
  - Fish and Aquatics (September 23-24, October 28-29, December 9-10)
  - Community Services and Infrastructure (September 29-30)
  - Land Use (October 2)
  - Heritage (October 9-10)
During the Wildlife TAC meeting on November 19, Blueberry recommended the inclusion of Stone’s sheep as part of the wildlife study program. BC Hydro and its consultant, Keystone, worked with Blueberry to implement this recommendation by incorporating Stone’s sheep as a targeted species in the winter ungulate survey program.

- Meetings were held on July 16 and August 12 to discuss the terms of a proposed Stage 2 consultation agreement. The parties finalized and executed the *Stage 2 Consultation Agreement* on October 2. The agreement established the principles, process and scope for consultation and collaboration between Blueberry and BC Hydro for Stage 2, and provided Blueberry with funding to participate in the consultation process. The term of the agreement extended to December 31, 2009.

- Representatives BC Hydro and Blueberry (Lands staff, three Elders) conducted a boat tour of the proposed reservoir area on October 8 to identify wildlife and archaeological points of interest which the parties had discussed in the TAC meetings. Blueberry expressed concerns related to the potential discovery of human remains, mercury levels, and impacts on wildlife and fish resources, including eagle nests, Stone’s sheep, fish migration to the Halfway and Moberly rivers, and calving of moose and elk on the islands.

- BC Hydro attended the first Main Table meeting with Blueberry’s Chief and Council on October 23. Blueberry expressed interest in providing input regarding the contractors that would be hired to undertake the study programs, particularly those related to archaeology. BC Hydro confirmed that First Nations could participate in the evaluation of proposals, subject to some caveats. BC Hydro also agreed to work with Blueberry to review the list of study programs already underway, and any new work or studies based on TAC discussion, to identify where monitors and Elders would be funded by BC Hydro to participate in field work.

- BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager on November 4 and 5 to discuss upcoming field work. BC Hydro and Blueberry identified specific processes for engaging Blueberry in employment opportunities. Blueberry suggested that BC Hydro hold a workshop on procurement and bidding processes for Blueberry companies.

- BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry (Councillor, negotiator) on November 20 to discuss the role of Blueberry’s representatives in the TACs, and the work plan for the next 12 months. Blueberry stated that its representatives at the TACs would not be in a position to provide input on mitigation strategies, suggesting the Main Table would be the appropriate forum for those matters. BC Hydro agreed to clarify with the TAC
leads that mitigation strategies were outside of the scope of the TAC process at this stage.

January 1 to June 30, 2009

• A representative of Blueberry attended the following TAC meetings:
  - Wildlife (January 13-14)
  - Heritage (February 10)
  - Community Services and Infrastructure / Land Use (February 12-13)
  - Fish and Aquatics (March 24-25)

• BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on January 21 in regards to Blueberry’s interest in having input into RFPs for contractors working on the Stage 2 field studies, as expressed at the Main Table meeting on October 23, 2008. BC Hydro outlined a proposed approach for Blueberry’s consideration. In a meeting on February 11, Blueberry’s negotiator confirmed that Blueberry did not have concerns with BC Hydro’s proposed approach. On March 16, BC Hydro provided Blueberry with links to RFPs for environmental services, archaeological services, and noxious weed control services. In a meeting on March 24, Blueberry’s negotiator signed a form stating that Blueberry had no conflict of interest with respect to the proponents submitting bids on the environmental services and the noxious weed control services RFPs. However, it could not provide input on the archaeological services RFP due to a conflict of interest. On March 27, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing a list of proponents for the environmental services RFP. BC Hydro advised that it was not able to provide the list of proponents for the noxious weed control services RFP, because the RFP did not relate to fish, wildlife or heritage as per the agreed upon process between BC Hydro and Blueberry.

• BC Hydro provided Blueberry with proposed 2009 work plans for fish and wildlife studies on May 15.

• BC Hydro provided Blueberry with a complete set of Stage 1 studies on June 2.

• BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillor, Lands Manager, negotiator). Blueberry confirmed that it did not have a pre-existing TLUS focused on the proposed Project area, and BC Hydro agreed to arrange a workshop to explore the available options for a TLUS. Blueberry outlined its objectives related to capacity building and economic development. BC Hydro agreed to have further discussions with Blueberry regarding potential short and long term
employment, contracting and training opportunities related to the Project. The parties discussed Keystone’s study on Stone’s sheep, with Blueberry expressing concerns about the findings.

**July 1 to December 31, 2009**

- BC Hydro provided Blueberry with nine Stage 2 wildlife and fish studies on September 4.

- BC Hydro met with Blueberry staff and approximately 10 community members on September 9 for a workshop on Aboriginal procurement. BC Hydro (Aboriginal Procurement Advisor) provided an overview of BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Policy and the Aboriginal Business Directory, and responded to questions regarding employment opportunities and BC Hydro’s RFP processes. BC Hydro provided a tutorial on the Aboriginal Business Directory, with some contractors registering during the session.

- BC Hydro tabled a draft TLUS agreement at a meeting on October 29, and subsequently met to discuss the draft on November 25. Blueberry’s negotiator advised that any final decision with respect to a TLUS agreement would have to occur in the new year after Blueberry’s band council elections.

**January 1 to June 30, 2010**

- BC Hydro wrote to T8TA on March 22 advising of BC Hydro’s preparations for the field season of environmental work, and seeking input on work plans for environmental studies and heritage work proposed for 2010.

- BC Hydro advised Blueberry on April 19 of the Province’s announcement that the Project would move forward to Stage 3, and provided a link to a website containing the Stage 2 Report and 35 appended studies and reports.

**July 1 to December 31, 2010**

- Main table meetings were held on August 3 and September 2, both attended by the Chief and other Council members.

  - August 3: BC Hydro described its consultation with Blueberry in Stage 2, and expressed interest in entering into a Stage 3 consultation agreement and a TLUS agreement with Blueberry. Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a Band Council Resolution authorizing its negotiator to communicate and negotiate on behalf of Blueberry. The parties discussed Blueberry’s interest in employment and
contracting opportunities associated with the Project. BC Hydro described the short, medium and long term benefits that may be available to First Nations in the Project area, including: opportunities to participate in contract opportunities and field work for environmental studies (short-term); contracting opportunities for reservoir or transmission line clearing, material moving, camp construction, etc. (medium-term); and, a potential benefits agreement which would continue beyond the construction phase of the Project (long-term). BC Hydro clarified that before negotiations could begin on a potential benefits agreement, it would need to obtain a mandate from the Province. BC Hydro advised that it anticipated being in a position to commence benefit discussions in 2011.

- September 2: BC Hydro and Blueberry finalized the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement and the TLUS Agreement.

  - The Stage 3 Consultation Agreement established the process and scope for consultation between Blueberry and BC Hydro for Stage 3 and provided Blueberry with funding to participate in the consultation process. The agreement remains in effect until the completion of the EA process.

  - The TLUS Agreement outlined the objectives, methodology, deliverables and associated funding for the TLUS. The objectives of the TLUS included identifying, mapping and recording Blueberry’s traditional knowledge, use and occupancy within the study area to assist in identifying and assessing the potential impacts of the Project on Blueberry’s section 35(1) rights. The methodology for the TLUS involved conducting interviews with 80-100 Blueberry members. Under the agreement, Blueberry agreed to prepare and submit the following key deliverables to BC Hydro: TLUS work plan; an Archival Research Report; a summary of the results from the Harvest Survey; Map Biographies to be produced at a scale of 1:50,000; a final methodology report; and, a "Public Report".

- Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a proposed TLUS work plan on September 30 as the first deliverable under the TLUS Agreement. Blueberry indicated that Bouchard & Kennedy would be preparing the TLUS on behalf of Blueberry. Bouchard & Kennedy sent an email to BC Hydro on December 31 attaching a progress report with respect to the archival research undertaken on behalf of Blueberry, pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

January 1 to June 30, 2011

- In a meeting on January 11, Blueberry advised BC Hydro that it had created an
economic development contracting company, Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd., and expressed interest in preparing for economic opportunities related to the Project. BC Hydro suggested that Blueberry register the company on the Site C Business Directory. On February 11, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager and a representative from Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. Blueberry provided information about the contracting and sub-contracting capabilities of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd., and confirmed that Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. had a standing agreement to complete work in conjunction with Renegade Construction Ltd. (a Doig River First Nation company). On March 21, BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Specialist met with representatives of Blueberry (negotiator) and Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. BC Hydro provided an introduction to its Aboriginal procurement policy and the bid process.

- BC Hydro provided Blueberry with capacity funding to support Blueberry’s review of BC Hydro’s permit applications for geotechnical investigations (Reservoir Slopes, South Bank Access, West Pine Map Reserve, and Construction Materials). On March 2, representatives BC Hydro, Blueberry and Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. participated in a site tour by helicopter of the geotechnical investigations near the reservoir slopes. BC Hydro described the proposed work plan for the slopes opposite Lynx and Farrell creeks, Attachie and Bear Flat. BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager on April 15 for a high level discussion of the current status and proposed plan for geotechnical investigations in 2011. BC Hydro confirmed that a tenure offer had been granted for the reservoir slopes application, and described BC Hydro’s plans to commence drilling investigations for Lynx and Farrell creeks in mid-May. BC Hydro also confirmed that a tenure offer had been granted for the South Bank Access application and stated that road maintenance was likely to start during mid-June. In the Main Table meeting on May 11, BC Hydro provided an update on the work associated with Rolling Work Plan #3 and the reservoir slopes permit. Blueberry suggested that “consultation must occur with Chief and Council” and indicated that band members had no mandate to consult on behalf of the Nation. BC Hydro stated that with respect to consultation on permit applications, it considered discussions and input received from Blueberry staff members to constitute consultation with respect to the permit in question.

- Main Table meetings were held on January 11, February 23, April 19, May 11 and June 8. Topics of discussion included:

  - Potential benefits agreement: On January 11, BC Hydro re-confirmed that it did not yet have a mandate to negotiate benefit agreements, but requested that Blueberry provide a document setting out its ideas for the content of a potential benefit
agreement. Blueberry followed up with an email on February 17 providing a list of Blueberry’s priorities for inclusion in a potential IBA, and expressed its expectation that Blueberry’s priorities would inform BC Hydro in seeking an appropriate mandate from the Province. On February 23, the parties discussed Blueberry list of priorities. On April 19, BC Hydro advised that it was preparing a submission to Cabinet to seek a mandate for benefit agreements related to the Project.

- **TLUS**: On April 19, Bouchard & Kennedy provided an update on the TLUS and stated that 40 interviews with Elders had been completed.

- **Socio-economic Assessment**: On April 19, Golder provided an overview of the Socio-economic Assessment study to be undertaken for the Project and expressed interest in having First Nations involved from the design stage to the implementation stage. On May 11, Golder explained its proposed methodology and advised that the final deliverables would include a Community Baseline Profile and ultimately a First Nations Community Assessment. BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on May 26 and confirmed that Golder would be conducting the Socio-economic Assessment for the Project, and that a component of Golder’s work would involve a First Nations Community Assessment. BC Hydro extended an invitation to involve Blueberry community members in the First Nations Community Assessment.

- **Independent review of technical reports**: On April 19, BC Hydro expressed interest in consulting with Blueberry on the draft EIS Guidelines and the associated list of studies required for the Project. On May 11, Blueberry tabled a proposal to retain a consultant to undertake a third party review of the EIS Guidelines and other technical reports related to the Project. BC Hydro stated that it supported Blueberry’s approach and confirmed that funding was available under the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* to support this initiative. On June 8, Blueberry reported that RFPs had gone out from Blueberry to acquire consulting assistance to review Project-related technical reports.

- **Education/training**: On June 8, BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Education and Employment Strategy Manager provided an overview of its Trades Trainee Program and other entry level positions at BC Hydro, and distributed related documents. BC Hydro explained that it had recently met with the Northeast Native Advancing Society to discuss regional training programs and opportunities to leverage government funding. Blueberry explained that it was looking to make immediate progress on the issues of potential training and education, employment and contracting opportunities, and sought a commitment from BC Hydro to begin moving this
forward. BC Hydro committed to discussing this issue internally and following up at the next meeting. BC Hydro asked Blueberry to keep BC Hydro informed of situations where a band member was interested in pursuing trades and funding became a barrier. Blueberry committed to providing BC Hydro with a list of Blueberry members who were pursuing trades programs and would benefit from financial assistance.

- **Procurement:** On June 8, BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Specialist provided an overview of the tools and practices under BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Policy and Strategy to increase participation of Aboriginal businesses in procurement opportunities (a business directory, direct awards, set asides, Aboriginal content language in RFPs, etc.). Blueberry expressed interest in focusing on a specific area of contracting opportunities related to the Project and building capacity in that area (e.g. camp services).

  - BC Hydro participated in a community meeting at the Blueberry reserve on February 23. BC Hydro provided a Project overview to approximately 20 community members and responded to questions.
  - BC Hydro provided Blueberry with four Stage 2 studies in the area of fish and aquatics on March 1.
  - BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on March 8 and attached summary documents describing proposed studies for the 2011 field program, and invited feedback and comments. The proposed studies were to be undertaken through the Environmental Program (Fish and Aquatics, Wildlife, Physical Environment), the Heritage Assessment, and the Socio-economic Assessment.
  - BC Hydro hosted an IRP workshop on March 16, with representatives of Blueberry in attendance. The workshop included an overview of the IRP, an explanation of the process of developing an IRP, and a facilitated discussion on various topics related to the IRP.
  - BC Hydro advised Blueberry on May 18 that it had submitted the Project Description Report and provided a link to the report.

**July 1 to December 31, 2011**

- Decision Economics and Golder, consultants for BC Hydro, met with representatives of Blueberry on July 13 and July 27 to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. BC Hydro’s consultants provided an overview of a proposed work plan for the First
Nations Community Assessment. The parties discussed the hiring of researchers from Blueberry to support the work, and the process of data collection.

- Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro on July 14 which described two proposals that Blueberry had received for technical assistance relating to the review of studies and reports in relation to the Project. Blueberry indicated its desire to retain Management and Solutions in Environmental Science Inc. (MSES) for the work. BC Hydro responded by email expressing support for the project and confirming that funding was available under the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement. On August 9, 2011, BC Hydro called MSES to discuss the work plan for MSES’s review of the environmental and technical reports on behalf of Blueberry. BC Hydro mentioned the report titled Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River and couriered a copy of the report to MSES on August 10. In a meeting on September 13, BC Hydro advised Blueberry that the Project Description Report had been accepted by the CEA Agency and the BCEAO in August 2011. Blueberry confirmed that MSES would be reviewing the Project Description Report on its behalf. On December 2, Blueberry submitted a Technical Review of BC Hydro’s Project Description Report (November 2011), prepared by MSES. The report identifies gaps, areas for improvement, and other issues of concern related to the Project Description Report.

- Representatives of BC Hydro, including the Site C Executive Vice President, and Blueberry (Chief, Council, negotiator) met to discuss the relationship between Blueberry and BC Hydro and the benefits and opportunities associated with the Project.

- BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting on September 30 with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Council, negotiator, Bouchard & Kennedy) and representatives of the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. Bouchard & Kennedy provided a presentation on Blueberry’s TLUS, which included a review of study objectives, archival work, interviews, study results with respect to current use of the Project area, and concerns expressed by Blueberry members regarding the Project. Bouchard & Kennedy reviewed maps of areas where Blueberry members harvested sheep, deer, caribou, fish and plants.

- BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting on November 16 with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, four Councillors, Band Manager, negotiator). BC Hydro delivered presentations and sought input from Blueberry with respect to worker accommodation, transmission options, reservoir clearing, and road infrastructure. Blueberry expressed interest in procurement opportunities relating to worker housing, suggesting that involvement in housing construction work could be a major initiative and create lasting
benefits for the community through trades training. Blueberry also expressed interest in opportunities relating to clearing work and indicated that it had a renewable timber licence and existing capacity in the area of logging.

- BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on December 21 advising that BC Hydro was involved in discussions with the North East Native Advancing Society, with a view to developing a joint proposal for trades training to submit to the Industry Training Authority in early 2012. BC Hydro advised that it would be glad to meet with Blueberry to discuss the initiative.

January 1 to June 30, 2012

- Bouchard & Kennedy provided BC Hydro with the final deliverables prepared pursuant to the TLUS Agreement, as follows:
  - *Blueberry River First Nations Traditional Land Use Study (Final Report)*, submitted on February 10.

- BC Hydro provided a copy of the draft EIS Guidelines to Blueberry and MSES on January 26. MSES submitted its review of the draft EIS Guidelines to BC Hydro on March 14.

- BC Hydro sent an email to MSES and Blueberry on February 17 attaching a table of BC Hydro’s responses to the approximately 30 issues, interests, questions and concerns contained in the *Technical Review of BC Hydro’s Project Description Report* (November 2011).

- In a meeting on January 26, Blueberry expressed interest in increasing the capacity funding provided by BC Hydro to include funding for a community coordinator position, and committed to providing a job description and budget proposal for BC Hydro’s review. Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a job description for the community coordinator (Liaison Officer) and an associated budget on February 14. BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry on May 9 attaching a Letter of Understanding, which offered capacity funding to support the hiring of a Liaison Officer. The letter stated that funding would be provided through the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*, and confirmed the value of the funding increase under the agreement. Blueberry returned the signed Letter of Understanding to BC Hydro on May 17.

- BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator) on February 6. BC Hydro presented information and
sought input from Blueberry regarding alternative sites and off-site construction materials. BC Hydro’s consultants, Hatch Ltd. and Klohn Crippen Berger Ltd., attended to review the findings of their report titled *Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River*.

- BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator and representatives of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. on March 21 to discuss procurement and the bid process. Blueberry confirmed its interest in the following procurement and employment opportunities: reservoir clearing, transmission line clearing, all operations around off-site construction materials, worker accommodation, security and first aid.

- BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator). BC Hydro confirmed that it had received a mandate from the Province to negotiate IBAs and outlined the elements of a potential IBA as defined in the mandate. The parties engaged in initial discussion around Blueberry’s interests in a potential IBA.

- BC Hydro met via teleconference on March 14 with representatives of Blueberry (negotiator, advisor) to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. It was confirmed that Blueberry’s advisor would be coordinating the assessments for Blueberry, Saulteau First Nations, Duncan’s First Nation and Horse Lake First Nation. On June 13 and 14, BC Hydro attended a training session for the First Nations Community Assessment with representatives of Blueberry, Horse Lake First Nation, and Duncan’s First Nations. Big Sky Consulting Ltd., consultant for BC Hydro, presented an overview of the First Nations Community Assessment, and led a workshop session where participants identified information requirements, potential interview participants, and key questions for interviews in different topic areas. On June 27, BC Hydro sent a Letter of Understanding to Blueberry which sought to engage Blueberry in preparing a Community Baseline Profile Report, as part of BC Hydro’s preparation of the Socio-economic Assessment. The Letter of Understanding included funding, terms of payment, a work plan and deliverables associated with the Community Baseline Profile Report. Blueberry signed and returned the Letter of Understanding to BC Hydro on July 4.

- BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry on April 10 attaching an updated map of the proposed Project footprint and offering access to associated GIS shape file data. The letter attached a memorandum describing the details of the new or amended information.
• BC Hydro provided the Potential Downstream Changes Report (May 2012) to Blueberry on May 9 and requested input regarding the results.

• BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on May 23 regarding the process and rationale for identifying the proposed Valued Components and spatial boundaries in the draft EIS Guidelines, and expressed interest in receiving feedback from Blueberry.

• BC Hydro and representatives of Blueberry (Lands Manager, Councillor) participated in a helicopter tour of locations where BC Hydro proposed to construct climate stations. The helicopter landed at Beryl Prairie, Dowling Creek, Townsend and Crying Girl Prairie, and hovered over Muskwa-Kechika. The helicopter was unable to reach the Pink Mountain site due to poor visibility.

**July 1 to November 30, 2012**

• BC Hydro and Blueberry engaged in discussions of a potential IBA at meetings on July 12, August 13, August 14, August 31, October 2 and November 7. BC Hydro tabled an initial offer sheet on August 13, and Blueberry responded with comments in writing on August 23. Blueberry received funding to support its participation in the IBA negotiation process, pursuant to a Letter of Understanding finalized on September 27.

• BC Hydro and representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillor) participated in a site visit and boat tour of the Peace River and surrounding areas on July 19. The objectives of the tour were to exchange information/ideas on the Project, review the proposed clearing plan, and visit the proposed debris collection areas and worker accommodation camps. Participants travelled by boat from Taylor to the proposed Site C dam site, followed by a stop at the location of a proposed debris trap on the Peace River. Participants travelled overland by ATV to the site of a proposed worker camp on the south bank of the Peace River, where they discussed the size, location and amenities of the proposed worker camps, and associated economic opportunities.

• MSES submitted a report titled *Effects of Industrial Disturbance on the Traditional Resources of the Blueberry River First Nations* (August 2012) on August 29. The report was prepared by MSES on behalf of Blueberry pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*. 

• Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a map of its traditional territory on August 31.

• BC Hydro wrote to Blueberry on September 21 advising that the EIS Guidelines had been issued by the BCEAO and the CEAA Agency on September 7. BC Hydro highlighted the areas of the EIS Guidelines that specifically addressed the
incorporation of information from Aboriginal groups, and invited Blueberry to provide additional information for BC Hydro's consideration in preparing the EIS. The letter included requests for information regarding Blueberry’s current use of lands and resources for hunting, fishing and trapping, and other purposes, and information regarding how the Project would affect Blueberry’s current use of lands and resources, and their exercise of treaty rights. BC Hydro followed up in late October and advised that it remained interested in receiving additional information to support the preparation of the EIS.

- BC Hydro met via teleconference with Blueberry’s advisor on September 26 to discuss Blueberry’s work on the Community Baseline Profile. Blueberry discussed the challenges faced with the work and provided an update on the information gathering and report writing. Blueberry acknowledged that the submission of the report was overdue, but stated that the report would be submitted to BC Hydro as soon as possible.

- BC Hydro met with a Blueberry Councillor and seven community members at the Blueberry reserve on October 2. BC Hydro presented information regarding the results of vegetation, wildlife and fish studies, and sought input from community members. BC Hydro explained, at the outset, that it wished to gather more information with respect to Blueberry’s current use of lands including fish and wildlife, and the potential effects of the Project on Blueberry’s exercise of treaty rights to hunt, fish and trap.

  - **Wildlife**: BC Hydro (Wildlife Lead) described the methodology for the wildlife effects assessment, and reviewed baseline information for moose, elk, mule deer, bald eagles and beaver. BC Hydro advised that it expected the population of furbearers to remain stable if the Project was constructed, and that the same conclusion applied to ungulates. In response to a question about caribou, BC Hydro stated it had not studied caribou because they were not currently found in the Peace River valley. BC Hydro explained that caribou fed on lichens and preferred higher elevations. BC Hydro reviewed tables which outlined possible mitigation options for various wildlife species including furbearers, ungulates and birds, and sought input from Blueberry.

  - **Fish and aquatics**: BC Hydro (Fish and Aquatics Lead) presented baseline information with respect to current fish species, composition and numbers, and reviewed the species life history, migrations and habitat use for bull trout, Arctic grayling, mountain whitefish, rainbow trout and walleye. BC Hydro asked which of the fish species, if any, were heavily harvested by Blueberry members. A community member stated that Blueberry members fished mostly bull trout,
walleye, suckers and Arctic grayling. BC Hydro described its approach to predicting changes in fish resulting from the Project, and listed a number of predicted changes. BC Hydro then reviewed potential management measures upstream of the dam (reservoir and tributary), at the dam site, and in the downstream river. BC Hydro also presented information on mercury levels in fish, with community members expressing concern that Site C would cause an increase in mercury levels as occurred with the Williston Reservoir. BC Hydro explained that mercury levels in fish at Site C were expected to increase from baseline levels, but that the predicted levels would be below federal guidelines for mercury consumption (about half of the federal guideline of 0.5 parts per million). BC Hydro further explained that the Site C reservoir would be much smaller than the Williston Reservoir, which affected the methyl mercury dynamics. BC Hydro advised that steps were being taken to manage mercury methylation including the reservoir clearing plan, monitoring of mercury levels, and reporting results.

- BC Hydro met with the CEO of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. on October 3 to discuss its capacity and interests in Site C procurement opportunities.

- BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry on October 24 which advised that BC Hydro had updated the Project footprint map for Site C, and provided a link to the updated map and associated shape file data. The letter attached a memorandum outlining the specifics of the new and amended information, which identified, among other things, a reduction in the area of the proposed Site C dam site from 3907 hectares (April 2012) to 2025 hectares (October 2012).

- BC Hydro provided Blueberry with Site C Jackfish Lake Ungulate Program Work Plan on November 14. BC Hydro advised that the purpose of the study was to fill a data gap respecting ungulate movement in the Jackfish Lake area, and asked Blueberry to respond with any concerns or questions.
Chronology of events

**November 1, 2007 – June 30, 2008**

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

On February 18, 2008, BC Hydro hand-delivered a letter to Blueberry introducing BC Hydro’s senior negotiator and inviting Blueberry to an introductory meeting to review the Project scope, discuss capacity funding and develop a schedule of future consultation meetings. Enclosed with the letter was the Stage 1 Summary Report.

On February 21, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry providing notice of proposed technical work for the Project. The letter explained that technical, environmental and social studies would be conducted during Stage 2, and that applications for permits and licenses on Crown land would result in referrals to Blueberry. The letter attached five initial engineering referrals for Blueberry’s review and input. The letter also expressed BC Hydro’s desire to explore opportunities with Blueberry to monitor and participate directly in any work that may arise from these applications and BC Hydro’s commitment to inviting First Nations to participate on technical committees to inform environmental and socio-economic studies. BC Hydro also committed to discussing the design of the broader consultation and engagement process with Blueberry at an upcoming introductory meeting, where technical advisors would be on hand to answer preliminary questions.

On March 12, 2008, BC Hydro met with representatives from Blueberry and provided an overview of the Project including its history, the current context, and BC Hydro’s plan for consulting with Aboriginal groups, including with regard to Crown land applications. Blueberry accepted BC Hydro’s offer of interim capacity funding.

On March 20, 2008, FrontCounter BC sent a letter to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had submitted five applications to the ILMB and the Ministry of Forestry and Range pertaining to the occupation of Crown land and removal of Crown timber for the Project. The letter attached materials providing information about each of the referrals, and requested that Blueberry review the referrals and provide any comments within 45 days. The table below provides further detail regarding the five referrals.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>8014909</td>
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On March 31, 2008, BC Hydro met informally with Blueberry’s Lands Manager regarding the Crown permit applications. Blueberry advised that it would meet the established 45 day timeline for comments.

On April 16, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Chief and negotiator to provide a tour of BC Hydro’s Fort St. John Public Consultation Office. Blueberry advised that it would be seeking legal advice before entering into a formal consultation process, but agreed to have BC Hydro’s engineering and environmental teams work directly with Blueberry’s Land Management staff to begin addressing the ILMB referrals and identifying associated contracting and employment opportunities. Blueberry sought clarification on BC Hydro’s role as Project proponent and the Province’s role in consultation for the Project. BC Hydro committed to scheduling a meeting with a representative from MEMPR on this issue. BC Hydro invited Blueberry to participate in the TACs to provide input and advice to BC Hydro during the pre-regulatory Stage 2 environmental and social assessment activities.

On May 1, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator and a representative from MEMPR to discuss the respective roles and responsibilities of BC Hydro and the Crown. BC Hydro explained its role as the proponent and advised that it would be leading the consultation process, but that the Crown would be available to participate as required or as issues came up. BC Hydro further explained that it was well positioned to consult with First Nations due to its technical expertise and knowledge about the Project. BC Hydro committed to providing Blueberry with a draft consultation agreement.

On May 2, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a cheque for interim capacity funding. The letter explained that the funding was intended to assist Blueberry in continuing to meet with BC Hydro while the parties developed a consultation agreement, and enable Blueberry’s technical advisors to work with BC Hydro’s engineering team and the ILMB in responding to the referral packages.
On May 12, 2008, BC Hydro met with representatives from Blueberry’s Lands Department and a representative from ILMB to discuss the permit applications and exploratory work, including First Nations monitoring and contracting opportunities. Blueberry asked questions related to possible impacts of the work on berry harvesting, wildlife, fish, and heritage sites.

On May 15, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator and Councillor to discuss the ILMB referrals and a potential consultation agreement. Blueberry expressed reluctance to submit comments on the referrals before a consultation protocol agreement was finalized. BC Hydro advised that a draft agreement was undergoing an internal review and would be provided to Blueberry the following week, with Blueberry agreeing to continuing work on the referrals as a result of this commitment. Blueberry indicated that community outreach was a priority and invited BC Hydro to visit the community to discuss the Project in an open house on June 12, 2008.

On May 16, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry attaching a map of the Site C Project area.

On May 30, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry which provided additional information related to the referrals listed in FrontCounter BC’s letter of March 20, 2008. The letter outlined BC Hydro’s proposal for an incremental approach to the approval of the five referrals, with referral #8014909 being given priority. The letter explained that the proposed approach would enable BC Hydro to seek approval for critical seasonal work, while providing additional opportunities for consultation on the remaining referrals.

On June 12, 2008, BC Hydro attended open houses at Blueberry’s community school and community hall. BC Hydro delivered a presentation to approximately 30 children, focusing on electricity production, energy conservation and an overview of the Project. BC Hydro then delivered a presentation on the Project to approximately 12 community members, including several Elders, and responded to questions on a number of topics including economic opportunities, potential impacts on wildlife, alternatives to the Project, and potential discovery of grave sites.

On June 24, 2008, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a payment to reimburse Blueberry for costs associated with the June 12 meeting.

On June 27, 2008, ILMB sent a letter to Blueberry advising that it had approved BC Hydro’s application under file #8014909 (geotechnical investigation of the proposed Site C dam site) and the associated Forest Act approval. The letter advised that the ILMB had issued the permit with a term of 2 years, as well as authorization to harvest Crown timber. The letter outlined where conditions had been added to the permit in response to concerns expressed by Blueberry and the Council of B.C. Treaty 8 Chiefs:
• BC Hydro would conduct their work in accordance with the revised Management Plan and the Environmental Management Plan.

• BC Hydro would not create any new roads.

• BC Hydro would ensure that deleterious substances are not permitted to enter any water course.

• BC Hydro would have an archaeologist on site whenever surface disturbing activities are being conducted.

• BC Hydro would restore the site to as close as possible to pre-existing conditions. Access roads should be reclaimed / deactivated, where appropriate.

• All existing and/or potential wildlife trees would be assessed for wildlife tree potential. Those wildlife trees that do not pose a safety hazard must be protected.

**July 1, 2008 to December 31, 2008**

On July 14, 2008, representatives of the ILMB and Blueberry’s Lands Department met to discuss the engineering referrals associated with the Project. BC Hydro was not in attendance. Blueberry provided ILMB with suggestions and comments regarding the referrals, which the ILMB forwarded to BC Hydro. Blueberry expressed interest in being involved in wildlife studies, archaeological assessments, and on-site monitoring of ground disturbing activities.

On July 15, 2008, the ILMB sent an email to Blueberry which attached BC Hydro’s responses to Blueberry’s questions from the July 14 meeting. The ILMB listed the safeguards proposed by BC Hydro with respect to Permit #8014909, including:

• Minimal environmental impact and site to be restored to its natural condition.

• Site specific environmental monitoring, including assessments of wildlife and plant impacts prior to commencing work and full-time monitoring of the work.

• Engagement with members of the Blueberry community as field and/ or cultural advisors.

• Independent environmental consultant to monitor the work, and if that was not satisfactory, BC Hydro was willing to provide Blueberry with capacity to monitor;
Site restoration, with the only permanent installations to be left on the site being piezometers, approximately 2 centimetres in diameter, with small diameter vertical surface casing cut flush with ground surface at decommissioning.

On July 16, 2008, BC Hydro met with representatives from Blueberry (negotiator, Councillor, Elder). Blueberry advised that it was satisfied with BC Hydro’s responses to Blueberry’s referral concerns provided on July 15, 2008. Blueberry inquired about contract and employment opportunities, and BC Hydro committed to bringing its contract managers to the next meeting to discuss upcoming opportunities, required skills and resources and how best to inform and prepare Blueberry members to compete for these opportunities. The parties discussed revisions to the draft consultation agreement and Blueberry expressed interest in being involved in the TACs.

On July 21, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing additional information on the contracts that were awarded in the previous month for field services support, as requested on July 16, 2008. BC Hydro stated that there were currently three Blueberry participants involved in the noxious weed control program, and that Blueberry was also invited to participate as traditional use advisors and environmental monitors. BC Hydro committed to bringing environmental and engineering team leads to meet with Blueberry to discuss future contracting opportunities.

On July 25, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the draft Site C Environmental and Social Technical Advisory Committee Process document (May 23, 2008) containing detailed information on the TAC process. BC Hydro provided a list of the proposed committees: Fish; Wildlife; Land Use (Agriculture, Oil & Gas, Forestry, Parks and Conservation Lands); Greenhouse Gas Emissions; Community Infrastructure / Services; Recreation / Tourism; and, Heritage. BC Hydro advised that the purpose of the TACs was to provide a forum for government representatives and First Nations to provide BC Hydro with input and advice during the pre-regulatory Stage 2 environmental and social assessment activities, which would be summarized in a series of TAC reports, and increase the likelihood that pre-regulatory work would be useful for a future EA process.

On August 12, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator to review the draft Stage 2 consultation agreement.

On August 22, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the TAC schedule and participant list. The attachment identified the seven planned topics / committees, the BC Hydro chair and participants, external participants, and a draft of the process and TAC terms of reference. BC Hydro invited Blueberry to provide comments on the documents, which would be tabled at the first meeting of each TAC for discussion and finalization.
On September 17 and 18, 2008, BC Hydro and a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the first TAC wildlife workshop, also attended by representatives from the Province and Keystone. The workshop objectives were to provide background and context about the Project, review TAC terms of reference, and elicit input from participants on wildlife issues and effects mechanisms. Participants were given a series of introductory presentations on the Project, toured several local significant sites by boat, and discussed methodologies for planned wildlife studies. Participants were asked to provide feedback on BC Hydro’s wildlife work plan (2008) including identification of potential data gaps or additional information sources.

On September 23 and 24, 2008, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the first TAC fish and aquatics workshop. Participants discussed the key issues relating to fish and aquatics, identifying information needs and actions required. Blueberry indicated that presentations to the community on certain topics would be appreciated, with BC Hydro expressing its willingness to deliver presentations to Blueberry.

On September 29 and 30, 2008, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the first TAC workshop for community services and infrastructure. Participants were given a series of introductory presentations on the Project, toured the dam site by car and discussed issues related to community services and infrastructure including ideas for potential studies.

On October 2, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a letter from MEMPR to Blueberry advising of the Province’s support for the work that Blueberry was undertaking with BC Hydro with respect to the Project. The letter confirmed the Province’s commitment to consulting with potentially affected First Nations and indicated that it had mandated BC Hydro with sharing information with First Nations and working with them to identify interests, potential impacts and mitigation strategies. The letter advised that senior staff from MEMPR would be available to meet with Blueberry and/or BC Hydro at any time to discuss the Project, as the parties deemed appropriate.

On October 2, 2008, BC Hydro and Blueberry finalized and executed the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement. The Stage 2 Consultation Agreement established the principles, process and scope for consultation and collaboration between Blueberry and BC Hydro for Stage 2 and provided Blueberry with funding to participate in the consultation process. The agreement outlined the respective responsibilities of the parties, specifying that BC Hydro would be responsible for providing Blueberry with information about the Project, Blueberry would be responsible for providing BC Hydro with information related to the community’s concerns about the Project including potential impacts and uses of affected areas, and that BC Hydro and Blueberry would be jointly responsible for identifying strategies to avoid, mitigate, manage, and otherwise accommodate Blueberry’s interests, concerns or potential
adverse impacts of the Project on Blueberry’s section 35(1) rights. With respect to Blueberry’s responsibilities, the agreement also provided that Blueberry would participate in the work of the Technical Advisory Committees in a timely manner, including the review of any materials and information provided, and the preparation and delivery of any concerns, issues, reports, submissions or comments respecting the Project. The agreement also addressed confidentiality, budgeting and work planning, funding and payment schedules, and communication between the parties. The term of the agreement extended from October 2, 2008 to December 31, 2009.

On October 2, 2008, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the first TAC workshop for Land and Resource Use.

On October 3, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email and fax to Blueberry attaching a formal letter inviting Blueberry to participate in the TACs, and apologized for not sending the letter earlier. BC Hydro advised that TAC participants would be invited to review materials and provide input and advice to BC Hydro on:

- Potential issues and topics for assessment, related to the proposed Project components and operations;
- Potential Project effects on the existing human, physical and biological environment;
- The nature, scope and extent of information requirements and analysis for the assessment of the potential effects of Site C on the existing environment;
- Proposed 2009 and later study programs designs; and
- Preliminary ideas for measures that may mitigate against potential adverse effects.

On October 3, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing the summary notes and action items from the September 17-18, 2008 TAC wildlife workshop and the draft agenda for the upcoming TAC meetings on October 22-23, 2008.

On October 8, 2008, BC Hydro and representatives from Blueberry (Lands staff, three Elders) conducted a boat tour of the proposed Site C reservoir area to identify wildlife and archaeological points of interest, which the parties had discussed at the TAC meetings. Blueberry expressed concerns related to the potential discovery of human remains, mercury levels, and impacts on wildlife and fish resources, including eagle nests, Stone’s sheep, fish migration to the Halfway and Moberly rivers, and calving of moose and elk on the islands.

On October 9 and 10, 2008, BC Hydro and representatives from Blueberry participated in the TAC heritage workshop. BC Hydro advised that the purpose of the Heritage TAC was to
elicit input from TAC participants on heritage issues and potential effects from the Project. BC Hydro discussed its approach to assessing heritage resources including data gaps, and advised that it was looking for a sensible way to inventory and evaluate current areas of high heritage and land use value. Blueberry expressed its desire to be involved in monitoring of field investigations during all stages of the Project. The parties agreed that a possible approach towards identifying areas of high heritage value would involve local archaeologists, members of Blueberry and BC Hydro technical experts who would mark the location of the areas on maps. Blueberry advised that they were developing their database capacity and would be seeking information from the Archaeology Branch on previously recorded sites. Blueberry expressed interest in initiating a TLUS in the Project area.


On October 16, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing an update on the completed and ongoing fisheries studies. BC Hydro offered to arrange an information session on Site C fisheries work and asked Blueberry for additional information on their specific areas of interest.

On October 23, 2008, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with Blueberry (Chief, Council, negotiator) to discuss work planning and the participation of monitors and Elders in the Project study program. BC Hydro agreed that advice from Blueberry Elders about the study programs would be shared at TAC meetings, and that where First Nations work opportunities existed, First Nations individuals would be given priority consideration; and finally, where studies involved ground-disturbing activities and required a heritage review, First Nations would be provided with the opportunities to have both a monitor and Elder on-site to observe and provide advice. Blueberry expressed interest in providing input regarding the contractors that would be hired to undertake the study programs, particularly those related to archaeology. BC Hydro confirmed that First Nations could participate in the evaluation of proposals, subject to some caveats. BC Hydro confirmed that employment opportunities for First Nations individuals would be built into RFPs wherever possible.

On October 28, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry which summarized the outcomes of the meeting held on October 23, as follows:

- BC Hydro would work with Blueberry to review the list of study programs already underway, and new work or studies based on TAC discussion, to identify where monitors and Elders would be funded by BC Hydro to participate in the field. Advice from Blueberry Elders would also be sought throughout the TAC process as participants review the scope and methodology of the studies identified. To this end, BC Hydro invited Blueberry to bring Elders to the TAC meetings. BC Hydro would also work to
ensure that Blueberry was advised of any employment or training opportunities arising from the study programs, and would seek Blueberry’s advice on the appropriate candidates for these positions. As nearly all of the studies were being done by contractors, BC Hydro would ask these contractors to contact Blueberry directly regarding any work opportunities.

- BC Hydro would offer Blueberry and other interested First Nations the opportunity to review and provide comments to BC Hydro on the “top three” proposals related to new contracts. This review would be subject to Blueberry not having any conflict of interest in participating in the review process (i.e., if Blueberry was bidding on the work). BC Hydro would make the final selection, in consideration of all comments received from Blueberry and other participating First Nations.

- BC Hydro agreed to pay the expenses associated with the October 7 field trip. Blueberry and BC Hydro also agreed that if a field trip was requested by BC Hydro in future, BC Hydro would pay for expenses incurred by Blueberry.

On October 27, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry advising that it had sent a capacity funding cheque, issued pursuant to the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement, to Blueberry.

On October 29, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro confirming that it would participate in the following TACs: Wildlife, Fish and Aquatics, Land and Resource Use and Heritage.

On October 28 and 29, 2008, two representatives from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the second TAC fish and aquatics workshop. BC Hydro delivered presentations on the following topics: hydrology, ice and sediments, reservoir fluctuations, and fish species in reservoirs. Blueberry emphasized the importance of considering which fish species are affected and how, rather than focusing on overall biomass, with BC Hydro incorporating this input into an effects diagram and information gap spreadsheet.

On October 29 and 30, 2008, BC Hydro, Archer and field participants, including a Blueberry member, attended a field visit to view various archaeological sites and boreholes on the north bank of the Peace River.

On November 4 and 5, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry's Lands Manager to discuss upcoming field work. BC Hydro and Blueberry identified specific processes for engaging Blueberry in employment opportunities, such as submitting a “request for participation form” and sending notices of new RFPs. Blueberry suggested that BC Hydro hold a workshop on procurement and bidding processes for Blueberry companies. Blueberry participation in contractor selection was also discussed and BC Hydro indicated that a protocol would need to be developed.
On November 19, 2008, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended a TAC wildlife workshop. Participants discussed the impact pathways to selected wildlife species, their current state of knowledge, data gaps and potential sources of additional information. Blueberry advised that Stone’s sheep were present in the study area, particularly outside Butler Ridge, but also near the proposed reservoir area. Blueberry explained that that the sheep are elusive and of significant concern to Blueberry. Blueberry suggested that filling the reservoir might affect the sheep, as it would restrict access to escape routes. Keystone committed to meeting with Blueberry to develop an agreed upon sampling plan to survey the area that Blueberry had identified as habitat for Stone’s sheep. The plan would be brought forward to the TAC wildlife committee for inclusion into the winter ungulate survey program. Blueberry also agreed to contact knowledgeable individuals within the band to determine if there was interest in sharing information on the medicinal plant species with BC Hydro.

On November 20, 2008, BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry (Councillor, negotiator) to discuss the role of Blueberry’s representatives in the TACs, and the work plan for the next 12 months. Blueberry noted that its representatives at the TACs would not be in a position to provide input on mitigation strategies, suggesting the Main Table would be the appropriate forum for those matters. BC Hydro agreed to clarify with the TAC leads that mitigation strategies were outside of the scope of the TAC process at this stage. Blueberry described how they envisioned both short term benefits through business and employment opportunities, and long term benefits possibly through equity, revenue sharing as well as community benefits such as infrastructure. BC Hydro replied that any discussion around benefits would need to be informed by a better understanding of the Project’s potential effects on Blueberry.

On November 21, 2008, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager to discuss BC Hydro’s approach to Aboriginal procurement. BC Hydro confirmed that it was prepared to deliver a workshop to Blueberry on the procurement process.

On November 25, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the presentation titled *BC’s Future Electricity Needs – Peace River Site C Hydro Project: A Potential Option*, as requested by Blueberry at the November 20 meeting.

On November 25, 2008, Keystone sent an email to Blueberry with respect to potential ungulate tracking work coming up in the winter. Keystone advised that it was putting together a habitat map for Stone’s Sheep, and inquired if Blueberry could look at the map and identify areas where the sheep had been seen, to be followed by site visits. Keystone also stated that it would like to identify Blueberry members who may be interested in working with wildlife technicians in the winter period. On November 26, 2008, Keystone followed up with a telephone call to Blueberry, with Blueberry agreeing to mark the map
with Stone Sheep sightings and other important habitat features, as requested by BC Hydro.

On November 26, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing notification of potential employment opportunities for Blueberry members between January and April 2009. BC Hydro advised that Keystone would be conducting ungulate tracking surveys and would be looking for wildlife technicians to assist with data collection. BC Hydro provided the number of positions available as well as the required qualifications, and asked Blueberry to forward the names of interested individuals to Keystone. Blueberry replied to BC Hydro by email on November 26, 2008, and committed to posting the employment opportunity within the community.

On November 28, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry excerpting the clause which BC Hydro had included in Site C environmental RFPs related to Aboriginal participation, as previously requested by Blueberry.


On December 9-10, 2008, two representatives from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the third TAC fish and aquatics workshop. BC Hydro delivered presentations and sought input from participants on hydrology, fish passage structures and the reservoir clearing plan. A representative from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans presented information on fish passage at Dunvegan. Blueberry advised that not all species were valued equally by community members and expressed an interest in having strong input about which species should be studied.

On December 5, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing information regarding a planned climate study which involved the construction of five wind towers and climate stations, commencing in spring 2009. The email attached the link to the study outline.

On December 5, 2008, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing responses to questions raised by Blueberry at the TAC heritage workshop.

**January 1 to June 30, 2009**

On January 13 and 14, 2009, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the fourth TAC wildlife workshop. The following topics were presented and discussed:
- Artemis Wildlife Consultants presented information and sought input on fisher, and led a discussion about future information needs with respect to fisher;

- Louisiana Pacific’s district biologist presented information regarding the birds of the Peace River area and sought input with respect to potential impacts on birds;

- Ducks Unlimited presented information on the Watson’s Slough project and led a discussion of relevant areas for the Project;

- BC Hydro presented an overview of Project timing, components and elements of the reservoir clearing plan, an overview of Highway 29 realignment, and led a discussion related to ungulate study design.

On January 21, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry in regards to Blueberry’s interest to have input into contractors working on the Stage 2 field studies related to archaeology and environment, as expressed at the Main Table meeting on October 23, 2008. BC Hydro explained that there were policy and legal issues related to fairness and confidentiality which needed to be considered. The email outlined BC Hydro’s proposed approach, summarized as follows:

- Through its participation in the TACs, Blueberry would have the opportunity to provide input into scope of work for new studies related to fish, wildlife, culture and heritage. BC Hydro would reserve the right, however, to make the final decision on the scope of studies.

- If Blueberry intended to bid on work, or be directly or indirectly involved as part of a proponent’s team, BC Hydro must be informed in advance since it would then not be appropriate for Blueberry to have input into the process. The following steps assumed that Blueberry would not be involved in a bid.

- Once RFPs (or other solicitation documents, such as a Request for Supplier Qualifications) for Stage 2 fish, wildlife, culture or heritage work had been issued on BC Bid, BC Hydro would provide Blueberry with a copy.

- Once the RFP had closed, BC Hydro would provide a list of the proponents’ names to Blueberry. For confidentiality reasons, no other proposal contents would be disclosed.

- Blueberry would have a limited time opportunity (generally one week) to inform BC Hydro of any concerns related to any proponent’s work or work methods, based on Blueberry’s direct experience with work done by that proponent on Treaty 8 lands. Any concerns were to be supported by specific details (i.e. substantive information on work
or work methods, with documented factual basis meeting the test of administrative fairness).

- BC Hydro reserved the right to make all final decisions related to its procurement activities, including choice of contractors.

The email advised that BC Hydro would test the approach with a RFP for the ungulate study program that would be posted on BC Bid the following day. BC Hydro committed to sending Blueberry this RFP, with a proposed timeline for feedback. On January 22, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the RFP for an elk, moose and deer monitoring study, posted to BC Bid, and reviewed the process for receiving input from Blueberry regarding contractor selection. BC Hydro requested that Blueberry notify BC Hydro by February 6 if it intended to bid on the work, or be directly or indirectly involved in developing the proponent’s bid. If Blueberry did not intend to bid on the work or be involved in the work, BC Hydro would provide Blueberry with a list of the proponents and the stage(s) of work for which they had applied.

On January 22, 2009, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a Quarterly Financial Report, prepared pursuant to the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement.

On January 22, 2009, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro advising that Blueberry would not bid on work pertaining to the wildlife studies or archaeology, but expressed interest in participating as part of a proponent’s team. On January 26, 2008, BC Hydro responded to Blueberry’s email of January 22. BC Hydro clarified that in order for Blueberry to participate in the RFP process, BC Hydro needed to confirm that Blueberry will not: (1) be directly or indirectly involved in the development of any proponent’s bid, (2) be part of the team that a proponent puts forward to BC Hydro for evaluation, or (3) through its comments on proponents’ prior work or work methods, unfairly steer the evaluation in favour of a proponent who may provide Blueberry members work and away from other proponents who may be less likely to. If Blueberry confirmed the above, Blueberry members would still have the opportunity to work for the successful contractor once the work had been awarded. In the absence of a conflict of interest, BC Hydro encouraged and supported Blueberry members being retained by successful proponents to work as paid crew or advisors in the field.

On January 26, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing the link to the Site C Business Directory advising that companies that sign up would receive email updates on potential business opportunities related to the Project.

On February 5, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement.
On February 10, 2009, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the third TAC heritage workshop. Blueberry raised a number of points on the ongoing and potential upcoming heritage work, and expressed interest in housing and displaying artefacts uncovered during site preparation. Blueberry indicated that it was having difficulty documenting the areas of high heritage value to Blueberry members and Elders, and requested that the BC Hydro TAC leads come to the community and support community participation in an open-forum discussion. BC Hydro committed to following up on this suggestion.

On February 10, 2009, BC Hydro and a representative from Blueberry participated in a tour of the Fort St. John museum with a representative from the Archaeology Branch, as part of the Heritage TAC. The parties viewed the museum’s collections and discussed the museum’s role as an official repository for artefacts.

On February 11, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator. Blueberry confirmed that it had no concerns with BC Hydro’s proposed approach for receiving feedback from First Nations regarding RFPs. Blueberry expressed an interest in seeing their members act as more than crew members in Project-related field work, and BC Hydro committed to supporting monitors and traditional use advisors when ground disturbing work was done. Blueberry expressed concern about Land Use / Community Services and Infrastructure TACs, indicating that the topics might be beyond the scope of the Blueberry TAC representatives' expertise.

On February 12 and 13, 2009, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the Community Services and Infrastructure/Land and Resource Use TAC workshop. Participants reviewed preliminary data from a socio-economic report drafted by Lions Gate Consulting (consultant for BC Hydro), the Project site clearing plan, issues and effects mechanism diagrams, and discussed identified data gaps and next steps of Stage 2 regarding Project definition and consultation.

On February 17, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry advising that a report had been released on the findings of the second round of consultation with the public on the Project, which was now posted on the Project website. The email provided links to the Site C Project Update for February 2009.

On March 11, 2009, Blueberry called BC Hydro to touch base about upcoming employment opportunities. BC Hydro informed Blueberry that the ungulate study employment opportunity had been cancelled due to safety issues but that there would be several RFPs posted shortly which would be sent to Blueberry for consideration. Blueberry indicated that it did not have the capacity to bid or partner, but was more interested in the field work employment opportunities.
On March 16, 2009, BC Hydro sent emails to Blueberry advising of potential contract opportunities associated with the Project. It provided a link to RFPs for environmental services, archaeological services, and noxious weed control services.

Between March 16 and March 25, 2009, Keystone and Blueberry exchanged emails regarding the timing, work plan and funding for the Stone’s sheep study. Keystone and Blueberry met on March 28, 2009, and agreed on the process for the Stone’s sheep work to be carried out in the winter.

On March 24, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator. Blueberry signed a form stating that it had no conflict of interest in reviewing and providing input to BC Hydro regarding the list of proponents submitting bids on the environmental services and the noxious weed control services RFPs, but that it could not provide input on the archaeological RFP due to a conflict of interest. On March 27, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing a list of proponents for the environmental services RFP. BC Hydro advised that it was not able to provide the list of proponents for the noxious weed control services RFP, because it did not relate to fish, wildlife or heritage as per the agreed upon process between BC Hydro and Blueberry.

On March 24 and 25, 2009, a representative from Blueberry’s Lands Department attended the fourth TAC fish and aquatics workshop. BC Hydro and Mainstream Aquatics presented the preliminary findings from 2008 fisheries studies which included a discussion of the methodology for the fish passage feasibility study; they also presented a summary of the 2009 study plan for fish and aquatics, and requested comment and feedback from TAC participants. BC Hydro reviewed the findings of the Fish Tissue Analysis (2008) with respect to mercury levels, with attention given to questions that Blueberry had expressed concerning public health risks. BC Hydro also presented the preliminary results of water temperature modelling. Participants discussed potential reservoir enhancement opportunities for fish if the Project were to proceed. A draft outline of the TAC report was presented for comment and input.

On May 6, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing materials from the environmental and socio-economic TACs which took place between September 2008 and February 2009. The materials included information on wildlife, fish and aquatics, land and resource use, recreation and tourism, community services and infrastructure, heritage, and greenhouse gases. BC Hydro advised that it was providing the materials for the purpose of early information sharing, and cautioned that the information should not be relied upon as a forecast of final study results.

On May 19, 2009, BC Hydro met with representatives from Blueberry (Councillor, negotiator) to discuss a potential TLUS, issues related to the TACs, and a potential benefit agreement. BC Hydro proposed that Blueberry undertake a TLUS in anticipation of the regulatory process for the Project, with Blueberry agreeing that a TLUS would be useful. Blueberry expressed concern about the TACs and the ability of Blueberry representatives to assess the information shared at these meetings. BC Hydro advised that the TAC meetings had been completed, but that BC Hydro would continue to consult with Blueberry on the technical work and proposed a community meeting to discuss fish and wildlife. The parties discussed possible approaches to benefit discussions.

On May 29, 2009, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a Quarterly Financial Report, prepared pursuant to the *Stage 2 Consultation Agreement*.

On June 2, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter and an email to Blueberry enclosing a disk containing the complete set of Stage 1 studies, as follows:

- Peace River Fish and Aquatics Investigations - Peace River Tributary Summer Fish Distribution, Habitat Assessment and Radio Telemetry Studies 2005.
- Peace River Wildlife Studies - Preliminary Inventory of Bat Species in the Peace River Corridor 2005.
- Peace River Wildlife Surveys - Inventory and Habitat Use of Bat Species in the Peace River Corridor (Field Work 2006, Final Report 2009).
- Peace River Fisheries and Aquatic Resources Literature Summary (September 2008)
- Small Fish Surveys in the Peace and Halfway Rivers 2006.
- Peace River Wildlife Surveys - Baseline Inventory Surveys.

On June 10, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry advising that it had posted a RFP for a fencing program.

On June 16, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry providing the detailed work plan from the Site C Engineering team, outlining the work or permit applications in progress, planned or in abeyance for the upcoming field season with respect to Permit #814589. The letter also advised of a pump test that BC Hydro planned to conduct under Permit #814589 on the north bank of the Peace River from mid-July to December 2009, noting that BC Hydro was seeking to amend the permit to allow drilling in a “T” shape alignment and attached the FrontCounter application form. The letter invited Blueberry to identify an individual to serve as monitor or traditional use advisor when work on the pump test began.

On June 23, 2009, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillor, Lands Manager, negotiator). Blueberry confirmed that it did not have a pre-existing TLUS focused on the proposed Project area, and BC Hydro agreed to arrange a workshop to explore the available options. Blueberry advised that Stone’s sheep continued to be a key issue for the community, emphasizing Blueberry’s desire to engage in further studies and investigations in the Project area, and expressing concern about the findings in Keystone Stone sheep study. BC Hydro proposed to review Keystone’s report and determine the appropriate steps moving forward. Blueberry outlined its objectives related to capacity building and economic development. BC Hydro agreed to have further discussions with Blueberry regarding potential short and long term employment, contracting and training opportunities related to the Project.

On June 25, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry attaching an application for a Licence of Occupation, which had been submitted to FrontCounter BC on June 23, 2009. The letter noted that the Licence of Occupation would allow for continued geotechnical investigations at the proposed Site C dam site, focused on gathering information on the dam foundation and abutment slopes. It requested that Blueberry provide comments by July 31, 2009.
July 1 to December 31, 2009

On August 5, 2009, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that it had received a *Heritage Conservation Act* permit (#2009-0262) from the Archaeology Branch. Golder further advised that it would be conducting an AIA of BC Hydro’s geotechnical drilling in the “T shaped” area of interest, pursuant to the permit.

On August 11, 2009, BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Education and Employment Strategy Coordinator left a voicemail and sent an email to Blueberry attaching general career information and a link to apprenticeship opportunities on BC Hydro’s careers website.

On August 13, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising of planned fisheries work in the Moberly River. The letter advised that BC Hydro would be installing a fish fence in the Moberly River that would temporarily obstruct the navigable channel for boaters.

On August 18, 2009, BC Hydro and Mainstream Aquatics sent a letter to Blueberry providing further information regarding planned fisheries studies in the Moberly River. The letter advised that a temporary fish fence would be installed across the wetted channel of the Moberly River from September 30 to October 29, 2009. The fish fence would assist in the counting of adult mountain whitefish moving upstream to spawn in the Moberly River, and the recording of fish species moving downstream to over winter in the Peace River. BC Hydro was providing notice to local First Nations and public users as part of its application for an approval under the *Navigable Waters Protection Act*.

On August 19, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry (Lands Manager, Councillor, negotiator) to discuss community engagement and a TLUS. Blueberry expressed the need to engage the community creatively and that a multi-day session may be required to respond to the many questions and concerns that are anticipated. Regarding a TLUS, BC Hydro committed to providing Blueberry with a draft TLUS agreement for discussion.

On August 27, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching Joint Quarterly Reports for the period of January 1 to March 31, 2009 and from April 1 to June 30, 2009, prepared pursuant to the *Stage 2 Consultation Agreement*. Blueberry responded by email on August 28, 2009, advising that it accepted the report.

On August 27, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the registration guide for BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Business Directory, and asked for the information to be circulated to Blueberry contractors in preparation for the community session on procurement, scheduled for September 9, 2009.

On September 4, 2009, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a CD containing the following Stage 2 studies:
• Peace River Fisheries Investigation Peace River and Pine River Radio Telemetry Study 2008 (AMEC and LGL Limited)

• Baseline Data Collection - Peace River Watershed Water Quality and Dinosaur Lake Limnology Sampling – 2008 (Golder)

• Peace River Site C Hydro Project Stage 2 - Baseline Greenhouse Gas Emissions Report. Jacques Whitford AXYS (Stantec)

• Peace River Site C Hydro Project Stage 2 Baseline Vegetation and Wildlife Report (Keystone Wildlife)

• Peace River Angling and Recreational-Use Creel Survey Interim Year 1 Report (LGL Limited)

• Site C Fisheries Studies - Baseline Peace River Tributaries Fish Use Assessments in Spring and Fall 2008 (Mainstream Aquatics)

• Site C Fisheries Studies - Juvenile Fish and Fish Habitat Inventory of Peace River Tributaries in Summer 2008 (Mainstream Aquatics)

• Site C Peace River - Mercury Levels in Peace River Fish Tissue - Data Report 2008 (Mainstream Aquatics)

• Site C Fisheries Study Upper Halfway River Watershed Bull Trout Spawning Survey 2008 (Mainstream Aquatics)

BC Hydro indicated that further Stage 2 studies would be provided once available, and offered to meet with Blueberry to discuss the provided materials.

On September 9, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry staff and approximately 10 community members for a workshop on Aboriginal procurement. BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Advisor provided an overview of BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Policy and the Aboriginal Business Directory, and responded to questions regarding employment opportunities and BC Hydro’s RFP processes. BC Hydro provided a tutorial on the Aboriginal Business Directory, with some contractors registering during the session.

On October 8, 2009, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry attaching Rolling Work Plan #1, which summarized proposed geotechnical engineering work on the western end of the South Bank Island within the application area for Licence of Occupation #8015149. Rolling Work Plan #1 included information on the scope of the work, environmental and archaeological resources in the work areas, mitigation measures, and permitting considerations for the work.
On October 27, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a draft work plan for a study of ungulate movement and habitat use. The letter stated that BC Hydro would welcome Blueberry’s input and advice regarding the draft work plan.

On October 29, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator to discuss the TLUS, with BC Hydro tabling a draft TLUS agreement for Blueberry’s consideration.

On November 4, 2009, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry which included a list of Blueberry contractors currently in the Site C Business Directory. BC Hydro asked Blueberry to review the list and advise of any modifications or additions. Blueberry provided an updated list on November 6, 2009.

On November 25, 2009, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator to discuss the draft TLUS agreement. Blueberry advised that a band election was scheduled for December 11, 2009, and suggested that it would be prudent to reserve any final decisions until the new Chief and Council were in place. The parties agreed to continue the discussion on the proposed TLUS agreement in the New Year following the election.

January 1 to June 30, 2010

On January 12, 2010, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing notification of a RFP for Environmental Support Services, with a closing date of February 1, 2010.

On January 29, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry extending congratulations to Blueberry’s newly elected Chief, and inviting him to meet with BC Hydro to review the work to date on the Project and the progress made between Blueberry and BC Hydro during Stage 2. The letter noted that Blueberry had been an active participant in Site C technical meetings, bringing valuable insight to a range of environmental, social and cultural issues.

On February 4, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry providing updated information related to Rolling Work Plan #1 (South Bank Island) under Licence of Occupation #815149 and attaching the Danger Tree Assessment Report.

On February 24, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing an information package for the newly appointed Blueberry Site C Liaison. The package included the Stage 1 Completion Report, the Stage 1 Summary Report, Stage 1 and 2 studies, Joint Quarterly Reports, and the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement.

On March 22, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising of its preparations for the field season of environmental work associated with the Project. The letter sought Blueberry’s input on work plans for environmental studies proposed for 2010. It attached the following studies:
• Site C Fisheries Studies - 2010 Major Tributary Fish Inventory
• Site C Aquatic Productivity Study - Preliminary Scope of Work
• Site C Preliminary Mercury Modeling and Planning - Preliminary Scope of Work
• Peace River Ungulate Monitoring Study Status: March 18, 2010
• Site C Wildlife Studies - Preliminary Scope of Work - March 18, 2010
• Ecosystem and Habitat Mapping Update - Peace River Baseline Inventory Work plan – 2010
• Site C Heritage and Archaeology Studies - Preliminary Scope of Work.

BC Hydro advised that the work plans were intended to provide the background information needed to select a preferred consultant to perform the work, and to initiate discussions with First Nations regarding the scope of the work. BC Hydro expressed interest in receiving input from Blueberry on the work plans, including the selection of study topics or species, the study area, or the methodology. BC Hydro requested that comments be provided as early as possible, because field programs would be commencing as early as May 2010.

On April 7, 2010, BC Hydro and Mainstream Aquatics sent a letter to Blueberry advising of planned fisheries studies in the Peace and Moberly rivers. The letter advised that temporary rotary screw fish traps would be placed in the water and provided the following description of the temporary fish trap operation. The rotary screw traps would assist in obtaining baseline data with respect to the downstream movement of juvenile fish through the Project site and outmigration of juvenile fish from the Moberly River. The temporary rotary screw traps were scheduled to operate on week days from May 1 to October 29, 2010. On April 9, 2010, Blueberry called BC Hydro in response to this letter and inquired about employment opportunities for Blueberry members in the fisheries study. BC Hydro explained that there were various training courses that could be taken to prepare for employment opportunities and suggested a site visit as a preliminary step.

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

On April 20, 2010, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a letter dated April 19, 2010, advising that Ratcliff & Company LLP had been retained to represent Blueberry at consultations and negotiations. The letter requested that any future communications with...
Blueberry be directed through Ratcliff & Company LLP, and attached a related Band Council Resolution.

On April 30, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Ratcliff & Company LLP enclosing the following documents as requested in the April 19, 2010 letter:

- Stage 2 Consultation Agreement;
- Joint Quarterly Reports;
- Stage 1 Completion Report;
- Stage 1 Summary Report;
- Stage 2 Report and appendices;
- Site C Clean Energy Project. Building on the Power of BC;
- Stage 1 and 2 studies;
- Environmental and Socio-economic TAC materials; and,
- TAC supplemental reports.

On May 10, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that it had uploaded the following archaeology reports to an FTP site for Blueberry’s review:

- Interim Report: AIA for Proposed Upgrades to the Left bank Hill Road within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area (Permit #2009-0262).
- Interim Report: AIA for Portions of the Area Containing 17 Pump-Test Boreholes within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area (Permit #2009-0262).
- Archaeological Studies Completed at the BC Hydro Left Bank Sump and Wash Station within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area.
- Interim Report: AIA of Proposed Boreholes and Access Roads on the South Bank Island within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area (Permit #2009-0262).
- Interim Report: AIA of Proposed Boreholes and Access trails (Revision 1) on the South Bank Island within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area (Permit #2009-0262).
• Interim Report: AIA of Archaeological Sites HbRf-59, HbRf-61, HbRf-65 and HbRf-67, located along the South (Right) Bank Access Road, within the Proposed Site C Dam Site Area (Permit #2009-0262).

On June 21, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that Golder had been awarded the contract to conduct the Heritage Assessment for the Project, and that Golder would be holding a five day heritage training program in Fort St. John. Golder would be looking for Blueberry to identify interested community members to attend this training, with a view to providing employment opportunities to community members as part of the Heritage Assessment.

On June 24, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had engaged Golder to conduct a Heritage Assessment for the Project. The letter advised that the Golder team would be responsible for securing a Heritage Conservation Act permit from the Archaeology Branch, and a copy of the permit application would be forwarded to Blueberry. The letter included an offer of capacity funding to facilitate Blueberry’s review of the permit application.

On June 30, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry advising that Golder would be conducting an AIA for the following project: Proposed Left Bank (North) and Right Bank (South) Geotechnical Investigations (Permit #2009-0262), with work scheduled to commence on July 7, 2010.

**July 1 to December 31, 2010**

On July 2, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing numerous emails, letters and various other documents exchanged between BC Hydro and Blueberry as part of the Stage 2 consultation process, as requested by Blueberry. The letter advised that BC Hydro would be contacting Blueberry to arrange a meeting to discuss a potential Stage 3 consultation agreement and the draft TLUS agreement.

On July 9, 2010, Ratcliff & Company LLP sent a letter to BC Hydro (legal counsel) to clarify Blueberry’s instructions with respect to communication and correspondence with Blueberry, as outlined in the letter from Blueberry to BC Hydro on April 20, 2010. The letter confirmed that all contact from BC Hydro to Blueberry was to be initiated through Ratcliff & Company, including any contact by BC Hydro representatives, or any agents of BC Hydro including third party contractors performing work or studies for BC Hydro. The letter acknowledged that this arrangement would not be the most practical set-up as the Project progressed, and explained that the arrangement could be revised if the parties could arrive at a point where the myriad of potential contact from BC Hydro was not going to be legally prejudicial to Blueberry. The letter stated that Blueberry was open to hearing from BC Hydro on a solution.
On July 9, 2010, BC Hydro sent an email to Ratcliff & Company LLP in response to its letter of July 9, 2010. BC Hydro confirmed that, as requested by Blueberry, BC Hydro would be sending all emails and letters directly to Ratliff & Company LLP, with the understanding that Ratliff & Company LLP would forward the communication to the intended recipient, and copy BC Hydro. BC Hydro advised that it would do its best to make the communication protocol work, but expressed concern that, on a practical level, it could result in Blueberry missing out on opportunities as they arise where prompt action and business communication was required between the parties. However, BC hydro agreed to work within the protocol and do its best to ensure this did not occur. BC Hydro stated that it hoped that when the parties met in the near future to discuss a consultation agreement, a more efficient communication protocol could be developed.

On July 16, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry attaching:


The scope of the work included various drilling, test pit excavations, and exploration activities along the north and south banks of Peace River. Golder requested that comments be submitted by August 6, 2010.

On July 20, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry attaching:

- Technical Memorandum: AOA of Select Portions of BC Hydro's Proposed 2010 Geotechnical Investigations within the Proposed Site C Dam Area (July 16, 2010)


On July 26, 2010, the Archaeology Branch sent a letter to Ratliff & Company (Blueberry) advising that AMEC had applied for a Heritage Inspection Permit under the Heritage Conservation Act to conduct an AIA for the Project, and would involve assessing potential impacts on archaeological resources arising from the construction of dams and related facilities, quarry and borrow pit locations, temporary construction facilities, highway realignments, flooded areas and erosion zones, transmission lines and other related works that might be identified as planning progresses. The letter advised that the Crown had also received an application for an Investigative Use Permit under the Land Act to enable access to Crown Land for activities under the Heritage Inspection Permit. On August 9, 2010, the Archaeology Branch re-sent this information to Blueberry by email.

On July 30, 2010, AMEC sent an email to Ratliff & Company (Blueberry) advising that AMEC had submitted a permit application on behalf of BC Hydro under the Heritage
Conservation Act to conduct archaeology studies in the Project area and attached the permit application for reference. AMEC advised that they would be pleased to meet with Blueberry to answer any questions relating to the permit application.

On August 3, 2010, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, Economic Development Officer, Band Manager, Technical Advisor, negotiator). BC Hydro provided an overview of the history of Project and a Project update. BC Hydro described its consultation with Blueberry in Stage 2, and expressed interest in entering into a Stage 3 consultation agreement and a TLUS agreement with Blueberry. Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a Band Council Resolution authorizing its negotiator to communicate and negotiate on behalf of Blueberry. BC Hydro committed to providing a draft Stage 3 consultation agreement, with both parties seeking to finalize the agreement by September 30, 2010. With respect to a TLUS agreement, Blueberry committed to reviewing the draft agreement emailed to Blueberry on July 30, 2010, and providing comments. BC Hydro explained the short, medium and long term benefits that may be available to First Nations in the Project area, including: opportunities to participate in contract opportunities and field work for environmental studies (short-term); contracting opportunities for reservoir or transmission line clearing, material moving, camp construction, etc. (medium-term); and, a potential benefits agreement which would continue beyond the construction phase of the Project (long-term). BC Hydro clarified that before negotiations could begin on a potential benefits agreement, it would need to obtain a mandate from the Province. BC Hydro advised that it anticipated being in a position to commence benefit discussions in 2011.

On August 9, 2010, BC Hydro called Blueberry (negotiator) to confirm the revised communication protocol going forward. Blueberry confirmed that all communication was to be directed to Blueberry’s negotiator, by copy to the individual for whom the communication was intended, and that it was no longer necessary to direct all correspondence through Ratcliff & Company.

On August 20, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry regarding Rolling Work Plan #2 (Licence of Occupation #814864). The letter advised that BC Hydro was planning to proceed with the geotechnical investigation program under Rolling Work Plan #2 during the week of August 23, 2010, and provided contact information if Blueberry had any questions. The letter explained that the scope of the work included various drilling, test pit excavations, and exploration activities along the north and south banks of Peace River.

On August 23, 2010, Golder sent by fax to Blueberry a letter notification of the scheduled AIA of the South Bank Laydown Area and the South Bank Access Road, with work commencing on August 24, 2010 (Permit #2009-0262).

On August 30, 2010, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry attaching:
Technical Memorandum: AOA of BC Hydro South Bank Bedrock Mapping Program within the proposed Site C Dam Area (August 18, 2010).

On August 31, 2010, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching the map BRFN Consultation Area with Trapline Boundaries, produced by the Oil & Gas Commission (August 4, 2010).

On September 2, 2010, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with Blueberry (Chief, Council, Economic Development Officer, negotiator, others). Blueberry signed the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement and the TLUS Agreement, both of which had been signed in advance by BC Hydro.

The Stage 3 Consultation Agreement, dated September 2, 2010, established the process and scope for consultation between Blueberry and BC Hydro for Stage 3 and provided Blueberry with funding to participate in the consultation process. The agreement outlined the respective responsibilities of the parties, specifying that BC Hydro would provide Blueberry with necessary information about the Project, that Blueberry would be responsible for providing information about its concerns regarding the Project including potential impacts on section 35(1) rights, and that BC Hydro and Blueberry would be jointly responsible for identifying strategies to avoid, mitigate, manage or accommodate those potential adverse impacts. The agreement also addressed confidentiality, budgeting and work planning, funding and payment schedules, and communication between the parties. The agreement remains in effect until the completion of the EA process.

The TLUS Agreement, dated September 2, 2010, outlined the objectives, methodology, deliverables and associated funding for the TLUS. The objectives of the TLUS included identifying, mapping and recording Blueberry’s traditional knowledge, use and occupancy within the study area to assist in identifying and assessing the potential impacts of the Project on Blueberry’s section 35(1) rights. The methodology for the TLUS involved conducting interviews with 80-100 Blueberry members. Under the agreement, the following key deliverables would be prepared and submitted by Blueberry to BC Hydro:

- a TLUS work plan;
- an Archival Research Report;
- a summary of the results from the Harvest Survey;
- Map Biographies and other interview data that will enable the following high quality maps in both hard copy and digital form to be produced at a scale of 1:50,000,
including (i) a map consolidating all Map Biographies produced; (ii) Category Maps for each category of Traditional Knowledge, Use and Occupancy; and, (iii) Harvest Survey maps and Thematic Maps that may be requested by BC Hydro;

- a final methodology report setting out the research methods, parameters, tools and conventions used in the TLUS and any differences between the original research design and the way the research was carried out, including any observations about the data quality and assurance standards; and

- a "Public Report", to be reviewed by Blueberry members, including Elders and knowledge keepers to ensure that sensitive Traditional Knowledge, Use and Occupancy information is not included.

Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a binder containing the outstanding Quarterly Financial Reports under the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement. Blueberry expressed interest in discussing contracting opportunities and BC Hydro agreed to arrange a meeting with its procurement staff to discuss registration in BC Hydro’s business directories. After the formal meeting, the participants joined in a community luncheon held in recognition of the signing of the two agreements, which was attended by approximately 40 to 50 community members.

On September 2, 2010, Golder notified Blueberry by fax that it would be conducting an AIA of the proposed Left Bank Hill drill location, commencing on September 2, 2010.

On September 8, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry attaching capacity funding cheques issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement and the TLUS Agreement.

On September 17, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry attaching cheques for outstanding capacity funding payments issued pursuant to the Stage 2 Consultation Agreement.

On September 30, 2010, the Archaeology Branch sent an email to Blueberry regarding AMEC’s application for a Heritage Inspection Permit, and attached the following:

- Cover Letter from the Archaeology Branch to AMEC regarding Heritage Inspection Permit #2010-0378 (September 30, 2010).

- Heritage Inspection Permit #2010-0378 issued to AMEC “to conduct an archaeological inventory for the purpose of testing and improving the archaeological potential model prepared for BC Hydro’s proposed Site C Clean Energy Project…” (September 30, 2010).
• Letter from Golder to the Archaeology Branch responding to questions from First Nations regarding AMEC’s application for a Heritage Inspection Permit (September 9, 2010).

On September 30, 2010, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching the proposed work plan for the TLUS, prepared pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

On September 30, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a draft report documenting Golder’s 2010 annual field assessment of the existing North Bank access road located within site HbRf-40 (in partial fulfillment of the terms and conditions of Site Alteration Permit #2009-0297). Golder requested that Blueberry provide comments by October 15, 2010.

On October 4, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry introducing the newly appointed Director for the First Nations Engagement Team for the Project. The letter indicated that this role has assumed primary responsibility for managing the consultation with First Nations on the Project. The letter enclosed a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.

On October 8, 2010, Golder sent a fax to Blueberry advising that Golder would be conducting an AIA of the proposed South Bank Access Road under permit #2009-0262, with work commencing on October 14, 2010. On October 12, 2010, Golder sent a fax to Blueberry attaching a revised notification of Golder’s AIA of the proposed South Bank Access Road. Golder advised that Test Pit U would also be assessed.

Starting on October 12, 2010, BC Hydro and Blueberry corresponded by email and telephone regarding Blueberry’s concern that BC Hydro had contracted an emergency medical unit from Alberta to work on the archaeology program, when Blueberry had two such units ready to go. On November 17, 2010, BC Hydro contacted a Blueberry member who owned an Emergency Medical Services Company, and had expressed interest in business opportunities with the Project. BC Hydro provided links to the Site C Business Directory and to the Aboriginal Business Directory.

On October 15, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a letter notification of an AIA on the proposed exploratory Adit #5 on the South Bank of the Peace River under Permit #2009-0262.

On October 25, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

• Interim report: AIA for Proposed Access Road Upgrades on the Left (North) Bank of the Peace River.
Golder advised that no archaeological sites were identified during the AIA, and requested that any comments be provided by November 9, 2010.

On November 10, 2010, BC Hydro provided Bouchard & Kennedy (consultant for Blueberry) with the following documents:

- Heritage Resources Data Gap Analysis report (prepared by Arcas Consulting Archeologists Ltd.)
- Peace Water Use Plan Report, First Nations’ Traditional Land Use and Traditional Ecological Knowledge Summary and Data Gap Analysis.

On November 22, 2010, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry providing an outline of the Fisher Study Program and a description of two job opportunities with Keystone as Field Technicians.

On November 22, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Interim Report: AIA for the Attachie Flat Upper Terrace Climate Station (permit #2009-0262).

Golder advised that it had identified archaeological material associated with the two sites (HbRi-33 and HbRi-49). It further advised that Archer had also carried out additional archaeological work at the same locations and that a draft report documenting Archer’s work would be forwarded separately. Golder requested that any comments be provided by December 7, 2010.

On December 14, 2010, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry, as follow up to a previous telephone conversation and a letter, regarding BC Hydro’s proposal to provide a trapper incentive to reduce harvest of fisher during the study period of the Fisher Study Program. Blueberry indicated that it would be interested in cooperating on this initiative and recommended that BC Hydro coordinate discussions with the trapping community.

On December 17, 2010, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Interim report: AIA for the proposed South Bank Moberly bedrock investigations (Permit #2009-0262).

Golder advised that one new site (HbRf-91) was identified in the AIA and a second site (HbRf-43) was revisited. Golder asked that comments be provided by January 12, 2011.
On December 17, 2010, Golder sent a copy of Rolling Work Plan #3 (Licence of Occupation #81484) to Blueberry. The scope of the work included various drilling, test pit excavations, and exploration activities along the north and south banks of Peace River.

On December 24, 2010, the Archaeology Branch sent an email to Blueberry advising that Golder had applied to amend Heritage Inspection Permit #2009-0262 to expand the study area.

On December 31, 2010, Bouchard & Kennedy sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a progress report with respect to the archival research undertaken on behalf of Blueberry, pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

January 1 to June 30, 2011

On January 11, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator) with discussion topics including updates on the Project, environmental/regulatory activities and the TLUS. BC Hydro advised that it was working on compiling a list of training, education and employment opportunities associated with the Project. Blueberry advised that it had created an economic development contracting company, Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd., and expressed interest in preparing for economic opportunities that the Project may bring. BC Hydro suggested that Blueberry register the company on the Site C Business Directory. BC Hydro re-confirmed that it did not yet have a mandate to negotiate benefit agreements, but requested that Blueberry provide a document setting out its ideas for the content of a potential benefit agreement.

On January 19, 2011, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager and four members/trappers to discuss the Fisher Study Program. BC Hydro provided an overview of the Fisher Study Program and responded to Blueberry’s questions related to the technical aspects of the work, as well as work opportunities for First Nations. Blueberry agreed to put together a list of experienced workers for BC Hydro’s consideration. Blueberry advised that its members’ trap lines were generally on the periphery of the immediate study area, but noted some members did trap on family registered trap lines within the study area. Blueberry expressed interest in the program and possible participation in the incentive offered by BC Hydro during the study period.

On January 20, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

On January 20, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry which provided contact information for BC Hydro’s Aboriginal procurement and training advisors. BC Hydro explained that contact information could be shared with Blueberry staff or community members with interest in contracting, employment or training opportunities with BC Hydro.
On January 27, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that Golder had completed Stage 1 model testing for the AIA (Permit #2010-0378), and that Blueberry would be provided with a copy of Golder's report. The letter further advised that Golder would be applying to amend the permit to complete Stage 2 of the AIA. The letter included an offer of capacity funding to facilitate the review of the report and the permit application.

On January 31, 2011, Golder sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing the following report describing Site C heritage work conducted in 2010:


On February 4, 2011, BC Hydro called Blueberry with respect to the four engineering investigation applications: Reservoir Slopes; South Bank Access; West Pine Map Reserve; and, Lemoray Map Reserve.

BC Hydro asked if Blueberry was reviewing the applications and whether BC Hydro could provide capacity funding to assist in the process. BC Hydro followed up with an email on the same date. Blueberry responded by email that it would appreciate receiving funding to enhance its capacity to review the applications. Blueberry also provided the contact information for Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd., and asked that the information be provided to BC Hydro’s procurement department.

On February 4, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Interim Report: AIA of Proposed Upgrades to the South Bank Access Road Between KM 4.4 and KM 8.0, South of Fort St. John, BC (Permit 2009-0262) (February 4, 2011)

Golder advised that a new archaeological site (HbRf-90) had been identified during the assessment, and requested that comments on the report be provided to the Archaeological Branch before February 25, 2011.

On February 11, 2011, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager and a representative from Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. to discuss permitting, specifically the geotechnical investigations under the reservoir slopes permit (#801539). BC Hydro reviewed the proposed investigation plan and related documents and discussed the timeline and logistics for executing a site visit with Blueberry. BC Hydro and Blueberry also discussed the temporary use permit (#8015314) for the South Bank Access Road. Blueberry provided information about the contracting and sub-contracting capabilities of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd., confirmed that Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. had a standing agreement to complete work in conjunction with Renegade Construction Ltd., and expressed interest in contracting opportunities related to the Project.
On February 14, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement, and a capacity funding cheque for Blueberry’s review of the permit applications for Reservoir Slopes, South Bank Access, West Pine Map Reserve, and Construction Materials.

On February 15, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry which provided additional information to inform Blueberry’s review of permit application #8015393 (reservoir slopes). The letter enclosed the following:

- Environmental and archaeological prescriptions for South Bank access and reclamation,
- Photos of existing and proposed access to reservoir slopes, and,
- Notes from a meeting with the Ministry of Environment held January 26, 2011.

The letter advised that BC Hydro was revisiting the access plans for the South Bank investigations and would be looking at opportunities to reduce the footprint of the investigations and to lessen the potential impact on harvesting and section 35(1) rights. The letter provided background information on the investigation program and listed the factors that BC Hydro would consider while evaluating the possibility of accessing the area and completing the investigation program by road or helicopter.

On February 16, 2011, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro providing a list of Blueberry’s priorities for inclusion in a potential IBA and explaining that it expected Blueberry’s priorities to inform BC Hydro in seeking an appropriate mandate from the Province.

On February 17, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry and Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. as a follow up to action items from the February 11 meeting. BC Hydro attached the following:

- BC Hydro figures of proposed investigation areas on the North and South Banks of the Peace River;
- a Ministry of Natural Resource Operations map showing existing and proposed access roads on the South Bank; and,
- Photos of existing and proposed access roads on the South Bank.

On February 17, 2011, Golder sent a letter via email to Blueberry regarding the 2011 Heritage Assessment field program. Golder indicated that it was preparing to submit a request to the Archaeology Branch for an amendment of the existing Heritage Inspection Permit (#2010-0378). In anticipation of receiving the amended permit, Golder was preparing
to include potential participation from the T8FNs in the field work and analysis. Golder advised that AMEC would be in touch to arrange the sub-consultant agreements and task orders required for the program, if Blueberry was interested in participating. On March 4, 2011, BC Hydro sent a follow up email to discuss Blueberry’s interest in participating in the 2011 field program.

On February 18, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


Golder advised that no archaeological sites were identified in the assessment.

On February 18, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Interim Report: AIA of Proposed Access Road Upgrade and Revised Drill Hole C Location East of the North (Left) Bank Road, Fort Saint John, BC (Permit 2009-0262)

Golder advised that the report had been revised to clarify the details of the assessment conducted. The email was re-sent on February 22, 2011.

On February 21, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


Golder requested that comments be provided to the Archaeology Branch by March 15, 2011.

On February 22, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Draft report: Alterations to Archaeological Sites HbRh-33 and HbRi-10, BC Hydro Fence Replacement Program (Site Alteration Permit 2009-0219) (February 22, 2011)

Golder advised that it had conducted subsurface testing at two archaeological sites (HbRh-33 and HbRi-10) and evaluated impacts resulting from BC Hydro’s fence replacement program. Golder requested that comments be provided to the Archaeology Branch by March 15, 2011.

On February 22, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the Air Quality Study Outline and Information Sheet.
On February 23, 2011, BC Hydro participated in a community meeting at the Blueberry reserve, which was attended by approximately twenty community members, a Councillor, and Lands Department staff. BC Hydro provided a Project update presentation and responded to concerns and questions with respect to long-term employment opportunities, alternatives to the Project, and potential impacts of the Project on fish and wildlife. BC Hydro handed out copies of the Stage 2 Summary Report (BC Hydro, Fall 2009).

On February 23, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Council, negotiator, Lands Manager) and a representative of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. The parties discussed Blueberry’s list of priorities for a potential benefit agreement. The parties reviewed the RFP process, with Blueberry advising that it would be partnering with Renegade Construction Ltd. (a Doig River First Nation company). Blueberry expressed concerns related to the difficulty in bidding on RFPs because the specifics of the work were not listed on BC Bid and due to competition from large companies on contracts. BC Hydro provided Blueberry with a chart outlining potential Project employment opportunities titled *Site C – Estimate of Professional and Trades Work and Skills Requirements*.

On February 24, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry regarding access options for the proposed geotechnical investigations at five sites on the south bank of Peace River (*Land Act* application #8015393). The letter advised that in response to First Nations’ concerns, BC Hydro had reconsidered a number of access options and reached the following decisions:

- Sites opposite Farrell and Lynx Creeks would be accessed by helicopter;
- Sites opposite Bear Creek and at the Attachie Slide would be accessed by aseismic line upgrade and construction of 1 km of new road; and
- Site at kilometer 95 would be accessed by an existing road.

On March 1, 2011, Blueberry called BC Hydro with respect to work opportunities related to the Site C Air Quality Monitoring. BC Hydro advised that BC Hydro was working with the responsible contractors to identify job shadowing opportunities for Blueberry members. Blueberry stressed the importance of ensuring that members be given priority for the work.

On March 1, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a link to the following Stage 2 studies and reports, completed between January and August 2010 and related to fish and aquatics:


BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a disk containing the Stage 2 studies and reports (fish and aquatics) on March 24, 2011.

On March 2, 2011, BC Hydro and representatives of Blueberry and Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. participated in a helicopter site visit of the geotechnical investigations locations on the reservoir slopes (#801539). BC Hydro described the proposed work plan for the slopes opposite Lynx and Farrell creeks, Attachie and the slopes opposite Bear Flat.

On March 4, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that Mainstream Aquatics Ltd. would be conducting a fisheries study in the Peace, Halfway, and Moberly rivers. The letter indicated that temporary rotary screw fish traps would again be placed in Peace and lower Moberly rivers (at the same locations as the previous year) with the addition of two rotary screw traps being placed in the lower Halfway River. The letter advised that notice was being provided as a requirement of the application process under the Navigable Waters Protection Act.

On March 11, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro was engaged in planning for the upcoming field season of environmental work associated with the Project. The letter indicated that, in order to engage Aboriginal groups in discussion of this work, BC Hydro had prepared summary documents that described proposed studies for the 2011 field season. The letter enclosed study outlines and work plan summaries in the following topic areas:

- Environmental Program: Fish and Aquatics;
- Environmental Program: Wildlife;
- Environmental Program: Physical Environment;
- Heritage Assessment; and,
- Socio-economic Assessment.
The purpose of the proposed studies was to characterize baseline environmental conditions. The letter explained that the baseline data would be used to inform the assessment of potential environmental effects associated with the Project. The letter requested input from Blueberry regarding the proposed studies, and explained that they could be changed or revised in scope or timing based on input from the Aboriginal groups.

On March 11, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that geotechnical engineering field work under Rolling Work Plan #3 would commence on April 1, 2011. The letter indicated that Golder had originally sent a letter and information package regarding this work to Blueberry on December 17, 2010 and advised that BC Hydro would still be interested in receiving feedback from Blueberry on the planning and execution of the work.

On March 16, 2011, an Integrated Resource Plan workshop was held in Fort St. John, with a representative of Blueberry in attendance. The workshop included a description of the Integrated Resource Plan, an overview of how an Integrated Resource Plan is developed and a presentation and facilitated discussion on various topics related to the Integrated Resource Plan. One of the objectives of the workshop was to consult with First Nations on three example portfolio options for meeting increased demand for electricity; a renewable mix without Site C, a renewable mix with Site C, or a mix of renewables with Site C and gas-fired generation. Potential resource options explored included biomass, wind, geothermal, thermal (such as natural gas and coal), hydro (such as run of river, pump storage, and the Site C Project), ocean (wave and tidal), hydrokinetic, and solar.

On April 15, 2011, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s Lands Manager for a high level discussion of the current status and proposed plan for the 2011 geotechnical investigations. BC Hydro confirmed that a tenure offer was granted for application #8015393 (reservoir slopes) and described BC Hydro’s plans to commence drilling investigations for Lynx and Farrell creeks in mid-May. BC Hydro also confirmed that a tenure offer had been granted for application #8015314 (south bank access) and stated that road maintenance was likely to start during mid-June. Following the meeting, BC Hydro sent an email provided further details with respect to geotechnical investigations on the reservoir slopes (#8015393) and proposed Dam Site (#8015314).

On April 19, 2011, representatives of BC Hydro and Golder attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, four Councillors, negotiator) and Bouchard & Kennedy, consultant for Blueberry. Discussion items included:

- BC Hydro provided a Project update and advised that the Project Description Report would be filed with the BCEAO and CEA Agency in the coming weeks.
• BC Hydro expressed interest in consulting with Blueberry on the draft EIS Guidelines and the associated list of studies required for the Project. Blueberry agreed to work with BC Hydro on this issue prior to the submission of the draft EIS Guidelines.

• BC Hydro explained that it was still seeking a mandate to discuss benefit agreements and was preparing a submission to Cabinet on this subject.

• Golder provided an overview of the Socio-economic Assessment study to be undertaken for the Project and expressed interest in having First Nations involved from the design stage to the implementation stage. Blueberry indicated that the study would need to focus on potential impacts to treaty rights and cumulative effects.

• BC Hydro advised that a study had been completed on the topic of alternative sites. Blueberry proposed hiring a third party to review the study, as it did not have the technical expertise to do so, and offered to draft a terms of reference for consideration by BC Hydro.

• Bouchard & Kennedy provided an update on the TLUS and stated that 40 interviews with Elders had been completed.

On April 28, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the Preliminary Study Outline and Work Plan Summary for the Socio-economic Assessment, as requested by Blueberry.

On May 6, 2011, Golder sent a technical memorandum to Blueberry advising of proposed work under Permit #2009-0262 for the following projects:

• As-yet unspecified archaeological assessments related to tasks proposed in Rolling Work Plan #4, beginning in the near future with scoping to commence May 9;

• Preliminary Field Reconnaissance of selected proposed drill hole locations in support of Reservoir Slopes Geotechnical Investigation Program, scheduled to commence on May 10; and,

• As-yet unspecified archaeological assessments related to select proposed drill hole locations in support of the Reservoir Slopes Geotechnical Investigation Program, beginning in the near future with scoping to commence on May 9.

Golder attached several maps of the project location, including drill holes, test pits, and access roads.

On May 11, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, two councillors, negotiator).
• BC Hydro provided an update on the work associated with Rolling Work Plan #3 and the reservoir slopes permit. Blueberry suggested that "consultation must occur with Chief and Council" and indicated that band members had no mandate to consult on behalf of the Nation. BC Hydro indicated that with respect to consultation on permit applications, it considered discussions and input received from Blueberry staff members to constitute consultation with respect to the permit in question.

• BC Hydro provided an overview of the Socio-economic Assessment and requested Blueberry's assistance in designing the work plan. Golder explained its proposed methodology and advised that the final deliverables would include a Community Baseline Profile and ultimately a First Nations Community Assessment.

• Blueberry provided an overview of its proposal to retain a consultant to undertake a third party review of technical studies related to the Project. BC Hydro stated that it supported Blueberry's approach and confirmed that funding was set aside in the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement to support this initiative. BC Hydro committed to providing Blueberry with a list of studies conducted to date, including information on what type of independent review had already taken place, and by whom. The parties reviewed the funding available under the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement for Defined Consultation Projects.

On May 11, 2011, Bouchard & Kennedy sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a Progress Report with respect to Blueberry's TLUS, for the period from January to April 2011.

On May 17, 2011, BC Hydro called Blueberry advising that the Project Description Report would be filed on May 18, 2011 and offered to schedule a technical briefing. BC Hydro indicated that the Project Description Report could be reviewed by Blueberry's technical consultant.

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

On May 26, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had retained Golder to conduct the Socio-economic Assessment for the Project, and that a First Nations Community Assessment would be a component of the Socio-economic Assessment. The letter proposed an approach for the First Nations Community Assessment involving the following five steps:

• develop a Community Assessment work plan for each community;
• gather, compile and validate community baseline data and information through focus groups and interviews;

• identify and confirm community Valued Components through community meetings;

• assess potential Project-related community effects; and,

• identify and evaluate mitigation measures to reduce unwanted effects on, and enhance benefit opportunities to, the community.

The letter advised that typical topics in a community assessment would include: demographics, economic activities, natural resource use, community and social services, housing, public infrastructure and political structure. The letter advised that BC Hydro would like to hire community members to provide research assistance, and would also provide training as necessary. The letter noted that some communities might wish to provide consulting services to BC Hydro, and provided contact information for the person who would be accepting proposals.

On June 1, 2011, BC Hydro’s Heritage Lead met informally with Blueberry’s Lands Manager to discuss Blueberry’s concern that non-archaeological information that was gathered in the field by archaeological field crews may not get to First Nations. BC Hydro confirmed that any information collected would be shared with other BC Hydro Task Leads, as appropriate, but that it was not aware of whether the information would be shared with First Nations.

On June 9, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry in response to a question raised by Blueberry’s Lands Manager regarding the need to track information gathered by archaeological field crews respecting non-archaeological observations in the field, such as wildlife observations. BC Hydro advised that anything archaeological crews observed and believed to be relevant to the Project would be reported to the managers, who would pass the information on to BC Hydro. The information would then be forwarded to BC Hydro’s Project Task Leads.

On June 8, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, four Councillors, negotiator, Education Coordinator, Band Manager, Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd.) and the Program Instructor from the Northeast Native Advancing Society (NENAS). Discussion focused on potential training, employment and contracting opportunities associated with the Project.

• **Education/training:** BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Education and Employment Strategy Manager provided an overview of the Trades Trainee Program and other entry level positions at BC Hydro, and distributed related documents. BC Hydro committed to
working with Blueberry’s Education Coordinator to organize a seminar regarding entrance requirements for trades programs. BC Hydro explained that it had recently met with NENAS to discuss regional training programs and opportunities to leverage government funding. NENAS provided an overview of a program called Northeast Aboriginal Training and Employment Program. Blueberry explained that it was looking to make immediate progress on the issues of potential training and education, employment and contracting opportunities, and sought a commitment from BC Hydro to begin moving this forward. BC Hydro committed to discussing this issue internally and following up at the next meeting. BC Hydro asked Blueberry to keep BC Hydro informed of situations where a band member was interested in pursuing trades and funding became a barrier. Blueberry committed to providing BC Hydro with a list of Blueberry members who were pursuing trades programs and would benefit from financial assistance.

- **Procurement:** BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Specialist provided an overview of the tools and practices under BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Policy and Strategy to increase participation of Aboriginal businesses in BC Hydro procurement opportunities (a business directory, direct awards, set asides, Aboriginal content language in RFPs, etc.), and offered to return to the community to provide a procurement workshop. Blueberry expressed interest in focusing on a specific area of contracting opportunities related to the Project and building capacity in that area (e.g. camp services).

- **Other matters:** Blueberry reported that RFPs had gone out from Blueberry to acquire consulting assistance to review technical reports.

On June 10, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that the Rolling Work Plan #4 had been uploaded to a secure file transfer website for review. The scope of the work under Rolling Work Plan #4 included drilling, test pit excavation, adit exploration and seismic surveys on the south bank and central island. On June 13, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that one borehole location within the proposed investigation program had been revised and attached a cover letter describing the location change and requested Blueberry’s input by July 22, 2011.

On June 15, 2011 BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Specialist met with representatives of Blueberry (negotiator), Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. and Western Canadian Mulching and provided an introduction to BC Hydro’s Aboriginal procurement policy and the bid process.

On June 16, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a letter notification of upcoming archaeological work under Permit 2009-0262 for the following projects:
Tasks proposed in Rolling Work Plan #3, including Adit 3 and borehole drilling at Left Bank Adit 4 Test Chamber and associated road upgrading; and

Left Bank Instrumentation Holes.

On June 17, 2011, Golder sent six emails to Blueberry attaching the following archaeological impact assessment reports completed under Permit #2009-0262.

- Rolling Work Plan #4: AOA (June 9, 2011)
- Rolling Work Plan #4: Adit 5 (June 9, 2011)
- Rolling Work Plan #4: Right Bank Construction Materials Test Pitting (June 9, 2011)
- Rolling Work Plan #4: Liquefaction Investigations AIA (June 9, 2011)
- Rolling Work Plan #4: Right Bank Seismic Investigation (June 9, 2011)
- Rolling Work Plan #4: Right Bank Structures Investigation (June 9, 2011)

On June 22, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching the following:

- AOA: Adit #4 Chamber and Associated Road Upgrades (Permit #2009-0262) (June 21, 2011).

Golder requested that comments be provided to Archaeology Branch by July 14, 2011.

On June 23, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching the following materials related to archaeological work done under Permit #2009-0262:

- AIA, Interim Report, Rolling Work Plan #3 – Adit 3 (June 21, 2011)
- AOA Rolling Work Plan #3 – Adit 3 (June 21, 2011)

Golder requested that comments be provided to the Archaeology Branch by July 15, 2011.

On June 24, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry regarding Project impact lines. The letter advised that BC Hydro would be undertaking geotechnical investigations along the proposed reservoir slopes through the spring and summer of 2011 in order to gather more information about shoreline conditions. This program would consist of surface inspections, subsurface investigations, and the installation and monitoring of geotechnical instruments on both private and Crown land. The letter advised that Blueberry would be provided with GIS shape files of BC Hydro’s early analysis of this work, noting that the shape files would represent the area of the investigation and not the final impact lines. The letter extended an
offer of a presentation by BC Hydro regarding the impact line approach and the methodology being used to study impacts around the proposed reservoir. On June 24, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email providing BC links to PDF maps of the impact lines, and provided the maps by email on July 11, 2011.

**July 1 to December 31, 2011**

On July 13, 2011, Decision Economics and Golder, consultants for BC Hydro, met with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, Band Administrator, Operations Manager, Land and Forestry Manager) and Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. BC Hydro provided an overview of a proposed work plan for the First Nations Community Assessment. The parties discussed the hiring of researchers from Blueberry to support the work, and the process of data collection. On July 14, 2011, Decision Economics sent an email to Blueberry attaching the draft work plan.

On July 14, 2011, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro which described two proposals that Blueberry had received for technical assistance relating to the review of studies and reports in relation to the Project. Blueberry indicated its desire to retain Management and Solutions in Environmental Science (MSES). BC Hydro responded by email on July 15, 2011, expressing support for the initiative and confirming that funding was available under the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*.

On July 15, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a notification of upcoming archaeological work to be completed under permit #2009-0262 for the following projects: Highway 29 geotechnical investigations on the north bank of the Peace River; West Pine Quarry; Bullhead Mountain.


On July 22, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a revised copy of Rolling Work Plan #4: Right Bank Seismic Investigation originally provided on June 17, 2011, correcting and clarifying a mathematical error.

On July 27, 2011, BC Hydro’s consultants Decision Economics and Golder met with Blueberry (Band Manager, Lands Manager, and negotiator) to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. Blueberry provided input into the work plan and presented a list of other regional projects they wished to have considered as part of a cumulative effects assessment. Blueberry suggested two Blueberry researchers be retained for the First Nations Community Assessment.
On August 5, 2011, Decision Economics called Blueberry to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. Blueberry confirmed that it was ready to proceed with the assessment and that it had identified community members with interest in being researchers and interviewers, and requested that BC Hydro provide a training workshop.

On August 9, 2011, BC Hydro called MSES to discuss the work plan for MSES’s review of the environmental and technical reports on behalf of Blueberry. BC Hydro mentioned the Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River and committed to providing a hard copy of the report. On August 10, 2011, BC Hydro couriered a copy of the Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River to MSES.

On August 9, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing capacity funding cheques issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.

On August 29, 2011, Golder sent emails to Blueberry attaching:

- AOA - Construction Material Investigations at Old Fort (Permit #2009-0262) (August 29, 2011);
- AOA - Construction Material Investigations at Bullhead Mountain (Permit #2009-0262) (August 29, 2011);
- AOA - Construction Materials Geotechnical Investigations at Pine Pass (Permit #2009-0262) (August 29, 2011); and,
- AOA - BC Hydro Reservoir Slopes Geotechnical Investigations ADHB-5 and ADHB-6 (August 29, 2011).

Golder requested that any comments be provided to the Archaeology Branch by September 20, 2011.

On September 1, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Alterations to Archaeological Sites HbRi-10 and HbRh-33 - BC Hydro Fence Replacement Program (Permit 2009-0219)

On September 13, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, two Councillors, negotiator, Lands Manager, Band Manager). BC Hydro provided a Project update and advised that the Project Description Report had been accepted by the CEA Agency and the BCEAO in August 2011, and that by accepting the Project Description Report, the regulatory agencies confirmed that the Project would be subject to an EA. Blueberry confirmed that MSES would be reviewing the Project Description Report on its behalf. BC Hydro described potential areas of interest for
upcoming consultations, with Blueberry expressing interest in the following topics: alternative sites/alternative means of delivering the Project, worker accommodation, transmission lines, off-site construction materials, Highway 29 realignment options, and Hudson’s Hope shoreline protection. In response to a previous request by Blueberry, BC Hydro tabled an offer of capacity funding for education planning purposes. Blueberry declined the funding and suggested that the amount was not sufficient to complete the work required. In order to inform a realistic cost estimate, Blueberry suggested putting out a RFP for a consultant to put together a strategy around education planning for the community. BC Hydro reconfirmed that it had not yet received a mandate from the Province with respect to benefit discussions. Blueberry requested a meeting with BC Hydro’s Site C Executive Vice President, and BC Hydro committed to checking availability.

On September 14, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Bouchard & Kennedy advising that the following GIS data sets had been made available to Bouchard & Kennedy for their work on Blueberry’s TLUS: Base Data (roads, railway, lakes and river), BC Hydro Transmission Lines; Canada Lands Administrative Boundary (CLAB) Indian Reserve Data; and, Provincial Protected Areas.

On September 23, 2011, Golder sent an email Blueberry attaching a notification of upcoming archaeological work at the revised location of Adit 5 (Permit #2009-0262).

On September 30, 2011, representatives BC Hydro, including the Site C Executive Vice President, met with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Council, and negotiator) to discuss the relationship between Blueberry and BC Hydro and the benefits and opportunities associated with the Project. Blueberry indicated its interest in education and training opportunities and the negotiation of a benefits agreement. BC Hydro advised Blueberry to consider areas of economic interest and to start preparing for procurement opportunities related to the Project, with Blueberry expressing interest in opportunities related to the provision of worker camps. BC Hydro advised that discussions were taking place with NENAS and Northern Lights College with respect to training opportunities.

On September 30, 2011, BC Hydro and Golder attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Council, negotiator, and Bouchard & Kennedy) and representatives of the CEA Agency and the BCEAO. Bouchard & Kennedy provided a presentation on Blueberry’s TLUS, which included a review of study objectives, archival work, interviews, study results with respect to current use of the Project area, and concerns expressed by Blueberry. Bouchard & Kennedy reviewed maps of areas where Blueberry members harvested sheep, deer, caribou, fish and plants.

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

On October 3, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching a Quarterly Progress Report, for the period of July 1 to September 30, 2011, for archaeological work completed under Permit #2009-0262.

On October 4, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the final Semi-Annual Joint Report for the period from September to December 2010, prepared pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.

On October 4, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


On October 12, 2011, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching the Quarterly Financial Report for the period of July 1, 2011 to September 30, 2011, prepared pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.

On October 18, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry providing notification of upcoming archaeological work at the location of proposed or existing flood forecasting stations, to be completed (Permit #2009-0262).

On October 19, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement.

On October 19, 2011, Blueberry sent a letter to BC Hydro expressing thanks to the Site C Executive Vice President for meeting with Blueberry on September 30, 2011, and attaching the meeting minutes captured by Blueberry. Blueberry requested a copy of BC Hydro’s meeting minutes, which BC Hydro provided to Blueberry on November 2, 2011.

On October 27, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing responses to questions raised at the September 13 meeting regarding the repatriation of artefacts recovered during the Project’s archaeological field work and ungulate collaring work.

On October 28, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES attaching payments issued pursuant to Appendix C of the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement for Defined Project Funding.

On November 2, 2011, Bouchard & Kennedy sent an email to BC Hydro attaching an electronic copy of the Blueberry River First Nations Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS):
**Site C Clean Energy Project** dated November 1, 2011, prepared pursuant to the TLUS Agreement. Bouchard & Kennedy provided an updated version of the report on November 6, 2011.

On November 7, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. and attached an invitation to attend Site C Business Information Sessions. BC Hydro advised that the event was targeted at business owners and contractors and suggested passing along the information to others at Blueberry who may be interested in economic opportunities associated with the Project. On November 18, 2011, BC Hydro sent a follow up email attaching additional information about the sessions.

On November 16, 2011, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, four Councillors, Band Manager, negotiator). BC Hydro delivered presentations and sought input from Blueberry with respect to worker accommodation, transmission options, reservoir clearing, and road infrastructure. BC Hydro explained that the purpose of the presentations was to seek advice from Blueberry on the options being presented, and that BC Hydro wanted to understand how these options would affect Blueberry members and their traditional activities and exercise of treaty rights.

- **Worker accommodation**: BC Hydro (Socio-economic Lead) presented information regarding the construction workforce and the development of the worker accommodation plan. BC Hydro identified potential locations for the temporary accommodations including approximate land sizes for each site and peak capacity by worker numbers that each could accommodate. BC Hydro also explained that the accommodation plan would include a variety of options, such as in-community residency, temporary modular units and RV parks. BC Hydro also addressed the issue of decommissioning and reclamation. Blueberry expressed interest in procurement opportunities relating to worker housing, suggesting that involvement in housing construction work could be a major initiative and create lasting benefits for the community through trades training. BC Hydro confirmed that there would be procurement opportunities relating to worker housing and encouraged Blueberry to attend the upcoming Business Forum.

- **Transmission options**: BC Hydro (Director, Major Projects, Transmission & Distribution) presented information regarding two main alternatives for connecting Site C to the bulk transmission system: (1) to connect Site C through the switchyard directly to Peace Canyon via two 500kV lines along an existing right of way parallel to the existing 138kV lines; or, (2), have the existing 138kV lines that supply Fort St John and Taylor connect directly into the Site C switchyard/substation. Blueberry inquired about construction opportunities if the second option was chosen, and BC Hydro gave a brief description of a typical cycle for this work. BC Hydro also described two alternatives which had been...
brought forward by First Nations in previous consultations, and outlined the challenges with each option.

- **Reservoir clearing:** BC Hydro (Technical Lead, Forestry & Vegetation) provided an overview of the outcomes of Stage 2 as well as an update on Stage 3 work with respect to reservoir clearing. BC Hydro also presented the results from public consultations on the issues of “reservoir preparation” and “waste vegetation disposal”. BC Hydro responded to questions from Blueberry about the timeline for clearing and the presence of people and properties within the inundation zone. Blueberry expressed interest in opportunities relating to clearing work and indicated that it had a renewable timber license and existing capacity in the area of logging. BC Hydro indicated that opportunities might be available in trucking due to a shortage of truckers in the region, and the parties discussing possible training opportunities.

- **Road infrastructure:** BC Hydro (Project Manager, Road Infrastructure) provided an overview of options for construction access roads and Highway 29 realignment, as well as options for sourcing construction materials. BC Hydro explained that the procurement for all of the work had not been determined. Blueberry expressed concern about larger companies monopolizing the contracting opportunities, and asked BC Hydro to continue to communicate with Blueberry regarding their interests in specific opportunities, areas of future interest or existing capacity.

Between November 22 and 28, 2011, BC Hydro corresponded via email with Blueberry and Bouchard & Kennedy regarding BC Hydro’s requests for outstanding data and material in connection with the TLUS.

On December 2, 2011, Blueberry provided BC Hydro with its Technical Review of BC Hydro’s Project Description Report (November 2011), prepared by MSES on behalf of Blueberry. The commentaries in the report “identify gaps, areas for improvement, and other relevant issues of concern” related to the Project Description Report.

On December 2, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had submitted a series of applications under the Land Act for investigative work at Portage Mountain East, and attached the application materials. On December 21, 2011, Golder sent a follow-up email advising that the Land Act application for Portage Mountain East had been revised. Golder attached a revised application package.

On December 10, 2011, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro which provided an update on Blueberry’s election results including the names of the Chief and Council. On the same date Blueberry sent a second email expressing the new Chief and Council’s wish to meet with the Site C Executive Vice President regarding a Site C Project benefits agreement as soon
as BC Hydro received a mandate. On December 16, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry congratulating the Chief and a Councillor who had been re-elected.

On December 13, 2011, Golder sent an email to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had submitted a series of applications under the Land Act for six climate monitoring stations. Golder provided links to files associated with the applications, including: six permit applications; six Management Plans; an Environmental Overview Assessment (covering all six Management Plans); and, associated GIS shape files.

On December 15, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email providing a link to BC Hydro’s Aboriginal Procurement Policy, as per Blueberry’s request.

On December 20, 2011, BC Hydro sent an email to MSES with follow up questions concerning Blueberry’s Technical Review of BC Hydro’s Project Description Report (November 2011). MSES responded to these questions by email on December 22, 2011.

On December 21, 2011, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry regarding BC Hydro’s development of a Trades Training partnership with North East Native Advancing Society (NENAS). The letter advised that BC Hydro had been involved in discussions with NENAS, with a view to developing a joint proposal to submit to the Industry Training Authority in early 2012. The proposal would seek funding from the Industry Training Authority to support training for Aboriginal people in trades that would be required for the Project, as well as other industries. The letter advised that BC Hydro would be glad to meet with any First Nation to discuss the initiative.

**January 1 to June 30, 2012**

On January 6, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a revised work plan for the First Nations Community Assessment, reflecting Blueberry’s input. Blueberry sent an email on January 9, 2011, advising that Blueberry was ready to jointly finalize the terms of reference for the study.

On January 12, 2012, Bouchard & Kennedy sent an email to BC Hydro and Blueberry attaching the Blueberry River First Nations TLUS Methodology Report, prepared by Bouchard & Kennedy pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

On January 18, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching the following reports completed under permit #2009-0262:

- Interim Report, AIA - Rolling Work Plan #4: Right Bank Structures Investigation (January 17, 2012) (revised to address comments during the review period)
On January 20, 2012, Golder sent a courier package to Blueberry enclosing a copy of Draft Technical Report (Version 2) of the 2011 Heritage Program Year 2 Summary Report, which reported on archaeology work conducted in 2011 under Permit #2010-0378. Golder offered to meet with Blueberry to discuss the findings.

On January 20, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching the following:

- Annual Report, Field Inspections at Archaeological Sites HbRf-59, HbRf-61, HbRf-65 and HbRf-67, located at the South Bank Access Road (Permit #2010-0238).

On January 24, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing a link to BC Hydro’s Aboriginal scholarships page and asked that the information be forwarded to Blueberry’s Education Coordinator. BC Hydro indicated that the deadline for applications was April 2012. BC Hydro also provided this link on February 6, 2012.

On January 26, 2012, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator, Band Manager) and a representative of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. BC Hydro provided a Project overview and an overview of the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement for the newly elected council members. Blueberry advised that it had met the previous day with representatives from the BCEAO and CEA Agency and indicated its awareness of the joint review panel process and the role that Blueberry could play as part of a working group. BC Hydro provided Blueberry with a copy of the draft EIS Guidelines in advance of filing the document with the regulatory agencies. BC Hydro expressed its desire to consult with Blueberry on the results of the environmental studies and enter into discussions regarding the potential effects of the Project on Blueberry’s exercise of treaty rights. BC Hydro explained that the focus of investigative studies this year would be at a site called Portage Mountain East and that BC Hydro was in the process of permitting six weather stations, one of which was to be located at Pink Mountain, an area of potential interest to Blueberry. BC Hydro provided updated copies of the Project footprint map. BC Hydro indicated that it was preparing a proposal for the Industry Training Authority to obtain funding to support Aboriginal trades training program in partnership with NENAS and Northern Lights College. BC Hydro advised that it was working on a list of contract and work opportunities for Blueberry’s review. Blueberry indicated an interest in increasing the capacity funding provided by BC Hydro to include funding for a community coordinator position, and committed to providing a job description and budget proposal for BC Hydro’s review. On the same date, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry and MSES attaching the draft EIS Guidelines.

On February 6, 2012, BC Hydro and its consultants, Hatch Ltd. and Klohn Crippen Berger Ltd., attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator). Blueberry advised that a job description for a community
coordinator position was currently being drafted for submission to BC Hydro. BC Hydro expressed support in principle for the position. In a presentation called “Dams 101”, BC Hydro provided a high level overview of the types of dams, dam components and terminology, and the steps in dam construction. BC Hydro also presented information and sought input from Blueberry in the following topic areas:

- **Alternatives analysis**: BC Hydro (consultants) explained that the purpose of the presentation was to seek input regarding the results of the report (*Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River*). BC Hydro explained the history of dam site evaluations dating back to 1958 when sites A, B, C and D were identified, and advised that a preferred site was identified in 1976 at the axis called Site C3. BC Hydro explained that the most recent study (*Review of Alternate Sites on the Peace River*) looked at past information regarding alternative sites and configurations, with the objective of creating standardized information that could be compared across alternatives. BC Hydro indicated that Site C3 was selected as a base case and compared against seven alternatives, including: a single dam upstream of the Moberly at Site C1 or C2; a single dam at Wilder Creek; 2 dams at axis C3 and at the downstream end of the Gates formation; a 3 dam cascade; a 4 dam cascade; and, a 7 dam cascade. BC Hydro provided a high level overview of each alternative and compared the impacts and benefits of a single dam option, when compared with a cascade model. BC Hydro explained the evaluation tool used in the report (“Four Quadrant Analysis”) and noted that Site C3 was evaluated against each alternative based on four considerations: engineering, socio-economic, biological and physical. BC Hydro responded to questions from Blueberry regarding the advantages of the cascade options and whether the total amount of flooded area would be reduced. BC Hydro replied that the flooded area would be reduced by 21%, but more of the valley would be lost to transmission lines, camps, access roads and related developments. Blueberry also asked how BC Hydro would protect fish spawning. BC Hydro responded that it was in discussions with the federal and provincial fisheries agencies regarding fishery objectives and fish passage. BC Hydro added that at the technical level, topics of discussion include the species that would be affected, the impact to recreational fishers, and which of the 32 species of fish living in the Peace River system would do well in a new lake environment. The parties agreed that the presentation would be classified as information sharing, rather than consultation, as requested by Blueberry. In subsequent email correspondence (March 7, 2012), BC Hydro sought to clarify whether Blueberry was prepared to accept the presentation as information sharing, because Blueberry did not think there was a need for BC Hydro to consult with Blueberry on the topic of alternative sites. Blueberry explained that because BC Hydro had already chosen the preferred site for the dam, its view was that the presentation was given for the purpose of information sharing, and ought not to be construed as consultation. BC Hydro
responded by stating that if Blueberry had additional questions or wished to have further input or discussions regarding alternative sites, BC Hydro was prepared to have those discussions at any time.

- **Off-site construction materials:** BC Hydro (Engineering Team Lead) explained that, if the Site C dam was approved, a large volume of rock and granular materials would be needed to construct the earthfill dam and stated that the term “off-site” was used to describe the construction materials required for the dam and generating station that were not available locally at the dam site. BC Hydro provided an overview of its need for off-site construction materials, potential sites for sources materials, factors in choosing the potential sites and proposed site investigations. BC Hydro advised that it was looking at Portage Mountain as a source for riprap and that Blueberry would be getting a notification of the land tenure application from the Province.

On February 9, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Letter Report, AIA of Proposed Exploratory Adit 5 and Spoil Stockyard Area, South of Fort St. John, BC (Permit #2009-0262)
- Interim Report, BC Hydro Reservoir Slopes North Bank Preliminary Field Reconnaissance (Permit #2009-0262)

On February 10, 2012, Blueberry sent a letter to BC Hydro attaching the *Blueberry River First Nations Traditional Land Use Study* (Final Report), prepared by Bouchard & Kennedy pursuant to the *TLUS Agreement*. BC Hydro sent an email Blueberry on February 20, 2012, advising that it considered the TLUS to be completed and would issue the final payment pursuant to the *TLUS Agreement*.

On February 10, 2012, the Archaeology Branch sent a letter via fax to Blueberry advising that AMEC had requested an amendment to Permit #2010-0378, to include any potential outlying Project quarries, borrow areas or access roads that had not been captured within the current study. The Archaeology Branch requested that any comments be provided by March 12, 2012.

On February 13, 2012, the Archaeology Branch sent a letter via fax to Blueberry advising that Golder had requested an amendment to Heritage Inspection Permit #2009-0262, seeking a revised and expanded study area.
On February 14, 2012, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a job description for the community coordinator (Liaison Officer) and an associated budget.

On February 17, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to MSES and Blueberry which attached a table of BC Hydro’s responses to the approximately 30 issues, interests, questions and concerns contained in the Technical Review of BC Hydro’s Project Description Report (November 2011).

On February 20, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES attaching a report titled, Field Season Summary, 2011 Engineering Field Investigations. The report provided an overview of investigative work completed in 2011, including investigations at the proposed dam site (north and south banks), the proposed reservoir slopes (north and south banks), Highway 29, and the Halfmoon Lake gravel pit.

On February 20, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a work plan, budget and position descriptions for the First Nations Community Assessment.

On February 23, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. advising that it was in the process of identifying First Nation companies in northeast B.C. with experience in logging and clearing operations. Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. responded by email on February and March 4, 2012, confirming that it had experience in salvage logging and attaching a letter of reference.

On February 24, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching Rolling Work Plan #5 under Licence of Occupation #814864. The scope of the work involved excavation of a new exploratory adit on the south bank of the Peace River. Golder requested that any comments be provided by March 16, 2012.

On February 24, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


On February 24, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry, providing a link to the following:


On February 24, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the TLUS Agreement.

On March 7, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES enclosing a cheque issued pursuant the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement. The letter noted that payment was being made directly to MSES as per Blueberry’s Band Council Resolution dated October 4, 2011.
On March 14, 2012, BC Hydro met via teleconference with representatives of Blueberry (negotiator, advisor) to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. It was confirmed that Blueberry’s advisor would be coordinating the assessments for Blueberry, Saulteau First Nations, Duncan’s First Nation and Horse Lake First Nation. The parties discussed the capacity and resources that would be needed for the First Nations Community Assessment. Blueberry’s advisor committed to developing a proposal, including a budget and scope of work for his participation in the First Nations Community Assessment.

On March 14, 2012, MSES sent an email to BC Hydro attached its review of the EIS Guidelines, prepared on behalf of Blueberry, Duncan’s First Nation, Horse Lake First Nation and Saulteau First Nations.

On March 15, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a document which it had prepared in response to inquiries made by other First Nations regarding alternative routes for the transmission line. BC Hydro indicated that it had undertaken a technical review of two alternatives and concluded that it could not justify pursuing the first alternative (north transmission corridor) because of the significant cost of property acquisition and the associated impacts on the land holdings, and that the second alternative (submarine transmission cable connection) was not considered feasible due to cost and reliability factors.

On March 21, 2012, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator and representatives from Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. to discuss the Project procurement process and Blueberry’s interest in procurement. BC Hydro reviewed the procurement and bid process. Blueberry confirmed its interest in the following procurement and employment opportunities: reservoir clearing, transmission line clearing, all operations around off-site construction materials, worker accommodation, security and first aid.

On March 28, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


On March 30, 2012, BC Hydro met via teleconference with Blueberry’s advisor to discuss the First Nations Community Assessment. BC Hydro advised that the community could take a lead role in collecting baseline data, while Golder could provide support with documentation and report drafting. The parties discussed the information requirements and the template for a Community Baseline Profile report provided by BC Hydro.

On April 3, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching the following archaeological reports completed under Permit #2009-0262:
- Reservoir Slopes Geotechnical Investigations ADHB-5 and ADHB-6 (March 27, 2012) (revised report addressing comments received by T8TA and the Archaeology Branch)
- Highway 29 Geotechnical Investigations (ADHB-3) (March 30, 2012)

On April 4, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry providing notification of BC Hydro’s fisheries study activities in the Peace, Halfway, Pine River and Moberly rivers. The letter stated that as part of BC Hydro’s Site C 2012 Peace River Fisheries program, temporary rotary screw fish traps would be placed in the Peace, lower Moberly and Halfway rivers at the same locations as last year, as well as two rotary screw traps will be placed in the lower Pine River. The letter noted that the rotary screw trap operation may influence river navigation, and therefore requires Navigable Waters Protection Act approval from Transport Canada, with notification being provided to local First Nations and public users as part of the approval application process. The letter provided the schedule and description of the temporary fish trap operations, including navigation mitigation measures.

On April 10, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry attaching an updated map of the proposed Project footprint. The letter attached a revised map of the Project footprint, as well as a memorandum describing the details of the new or amended information. The letter noted that BC Hydro could also offer access to the GIS shape file data, if desired.

On April 10, 2012, the Archaeology Branch sent a letter to AMEC (cc: Blueberry) advising that it had granted AMEC’s application to amend Heritage Inspection Permit #2010-0378 to expand the study area, and attached the amended permit.

On April 13, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing links to the following:

- Project Definition Consultation, April 10 to May 31, 2012, Discussion Guideline and Feedback Form (BC Hydro had prepared this document for upcoming public consultation sessions; it contained information on transmission lines, worker accommodation, preliminary impact lines and land use, Highway 29 preferred realignments, outdoor recreation, and 85th Avenue industrial lands).
- Information Sheet: Preliminary Impact Lines and Land Use (Update, April 2012).
- Maps showing preliminary impact lines and Highway 29 preferred realignments.

On April 27, 2012, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, three Councillors, negotiator). The parties discussed potential priorities for future consultation. Blueberry described worker accommodation as an important area of
interest, and indicated that it had been discussing partnership opportunities with larger camp construction companies. BC Hydro indicated that worker camps could provide long-term employment opportunities of up to seven years. The parties agreed to discuss worker accommodation in future meetings at the Chief and Council level. Blueberry also expressed interest in further consultation on the following topics: clearing plan, Highway 29 realignment, Dams 101, impact lines, archaeology, need for/alternatives to the Project, Valued Components, and community consultations on wildlife and fisheries. Blueberry requested additional information on recreation options and indicated that Elders might be interested in the topic. BC Hydro confirmed that it had received a mandate from the Province to negotiate IBAs and outlined the elements of a potential IBA as defined in the mandate. The parties engaged in initial discussion around Blueberry’s interests in a potential IBA.

On May 9, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry which attached the updated Potential Downstream Changes Report, and requested input regarding the results. The letter included an offer to arrange a meeting with BC Hydro’s subject matter expert in hydrology to discuss the report’s findings.

On May 9, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- AIA, Interim Report, South Bank Moberly Bedrock Mapping (Revision 1) (Permit #2009-0292) (April 12, 2012)

On May 9, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a Letter of Understanding which offered capacity funding to support the hiring of a Liaison Officer to facilitate Blueberry’s participation in the Project EA process and consultation in respect to other BC Hydro projects. The letter stated that funding would be provided through the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement and confirmed the value of the funding increase under the agreement. The Letter of Understanding included a job description for the Liaison Officer, which stated that the Liaison Officer would, among other things:

- Facilitate Blueberry’s participation in the EA process (attend meetings with regulators, drafting issues papers, etc.);
- Assist with Blueberry’s participation in the Socio-economic Assessment;
- Facilitate reviews of referral applications;
- Assist with fulfilling the commitments (e.g. quarterly financial reports, annual audited statements, semi-annual joint reports) set out in the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement;
• Assist with preparing Chief and Council for meetings with BC Hydro (e.g. work with BC Hydro to confirm agendas, follow up on action items, prepare briefing notes, etc.);

• Communicate with BC Hydro team any concerns or issues that may be raised by Blueberry members and seek responses to those issues/concerns;

• Organize meetings between BC Hydro’s responsible representatives and Blueberry on issues of interest;

• Be the contact person for BC Hydro consultants and contractors and assist them in securing the services of Blueberry field personnel; and,

• Compile and maintain a community labour inventory and a database of First Nation contractors and equipment.

The letter requested that Blueberry sign the letter and return it to BC Hydro, if Blueberry found the terms acceptable. Blueberry returned the signed Letter of Understanding to BC Hydro by email on May 17, 2012.

On May 22, 2012, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s advisor to discuss the status of the First Nations Community Assessment. The parties discussed timelines, the budget and reviewed a template for the Community Baseline Profile report.

On May 23, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry regarding the identification of Valued Components and spatial boundaries for the EA, and expressed its desire to consult further with Blueberry on these issues. The letter explained the process and rationale used to identify Valued Components in the draft EIS Guidelines, and attached a graphic representation of the Valued Component identification methodology. The letter also explained the process of defining spatial boundaries for each Valued Component. The letter expressed interest in receiving feedback from Blueberry regarding the proposed Valued Components and related spatial boundaries.

On May 23, BC Hydro and representatives of Blueberry (Lands Manager, Councillor) participated in a helicopter site visit of the proposed climate stations. The helicopter landed at Beryl Prairie, Dowling Creek, Townsend and Crying Girl Prairie, and hovered over Muskwa-Kechika. The helicopter was unable to reach the Pink Mountain site due to poor visibility. Blueberry did not express any concerns during the site visit, but committed to sharing the information with other Blueberry members and following up with any questions.

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


On June 4, 2012, Blueberry (advisor) sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a proposed work plan and budget for the First Nations Community Assessment.

On June 8, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry (advisor) attaching the Community Researchers Guide to First Nations’ Community Baseline Studies to be used at the First Nations Community Assessment training session on June 13-14, 2012.

On June 8, 2012, BC Hydro attended a Main Table meeting with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Council, negotiator, Band Manager, others) for preliminary negotiations on the terms of a potential IBA. Blueberry agreed to provide BC Hydro with a budget to support its participation in the IBA negotiations.

On June 9, 2012, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a draft Memorandum of Agreement with respect to the negotiation of a potential IBA.

On June 11, 2012, Golder sent an email to BC Hydro advising that Golder had sent the following report to Blueberry: Rolling Work Plan 6, Licence of Occupation 814864 (June 11, 2012). The scope of the work included drilling twelve boreholes on the south bank to conduct liquefaction investigations.

On June 13 and 14, 2012, BC Hydro attended a workshop and training session for the First Nations Community Assessment in Fort St. John with representatives of Blueberry, Horse Lake First Nation and Duncan’s First Nation. Big Sky Consulting Ltd., consultant for BC Hydro, presented an overview of the First Nations Community Assessment and led a workshop session where participants identified information requirements, potential interview participants, and key questions for interviews in different topic areas. Participants discussed a number of topics including: incorporating historical information into the baseline studies, accessing data from consultants hired by BC Hydro, timelines for conducting the baseline research, and scheduling of community workshops and focus groups. Each participant was provided with a binder containing the following documents, among others: community researcher’s guide to First Nations community baseline studies; information requirements for the community baseline profile; sample country foods questionnaire; and, a template for
the community baseline profile. Researchers for each community received draft secondary baseline data pertaining to their community.

On June 20, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that BC Hydro had retained Traditions Consulting to review the TLUS reports of various First Nations including Blueberry’s TLUS. The letter enclosed a report assessing the completeness of the deliverables set out in the TLUS Agreement, and a report identifying potential information gaps in the TLUS. The letter invited Blueberry to provide any comments on the enclosed reports, any answers to the questions raised in the reports, or, any additional traditional knowledge or TLUS information.

On June 27, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a Letter of Understanding to engage it in preparing a Community Baseline Profile Report as part of BC Hydro’s preparation of the Socio-economic Assessment. The purpose of the Community Baseline Profile Report was to identify key values and interests that Blueberry wished to have addressed within the EA for the Project. The Letter of Understanding included funding, terms of payment, a work plan and deliverables associated with the Community Baseline Profile Report, which included a Country Foods Questionnaire Summary. The work plan described an approach in which (a) Blueberry would oversee the data/information gathering and draft a report setting out the baseline conditions in the community, and (b) BC Hydro and Golder would use the information to inform the effects assessment.

On June 29, 2012, Blueberry returned the signed Letter of Understanding to BC Hydro by fax and attached a memorandum from Blueberry’s Chief to BC Hydro regarding the Socio-economic Assessment for the Project. The memorandum confirmed that Blueberry would be an active participant in the EA process, and would participate in the Socio-economic Assessment as proposed in the Letter of Understanding. In the memorandum, Blueberry stated that while it had opted to participate in the Socio-economic Assessment, it had related concerns that it wished to summarize for the record. In particular, Blueberry noted that it had submitted comments identifying concerns and critical deficiencies with the EIS Guidelines. Blueberry expressed concern that the Socio-economic Assessment, which was geared to address and fulfill the EIS Guidelines, would be subject to the same problematic limitations. Blueberry remained hopeful that the Crown and the regulatory agencies would act on Blueberry’s concerns and issues with respect to the EIS. Notwithstanding its concerns, Blueberry was prepared to work constructively with BC Hydro in the overall consultation process including the First Nations Community Assessment.

On June 29, 2012, BC Hydro received Blueberry’s TLUS Report for the Alaska Pipeline Project via courier from Blueberry.
July 1 to November 30, 2012


On July 12, 2012, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator for IBA discussions. Blueberry tabled a proposed budget for IBA negotiations. On the same date, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry confirming its support of the budget.


On July 17, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a link to the Department of Fisheries and Ocean’s comments on the Site C study boundaries for fish and fish habitat, as requested by Blueberry.

On July 19, 2012, BC Hydro and representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillor) participated in a site visit and boat tour of the Peace River and surrounding areas. The objectives of the site visit were to exchange information/ideas on the Project, to review the proposed clearing plan, and visit the proposed debris collection areas and worker accommodation camps. The group travelled by boat from Taylor to the proposed Site C dam site, followed by a stop at the location of a proposed debris trap on the Peace River. The group returned to the Site C dam site and travelled overland by ATV to the site of a proposed worker camp on the south bank of the Peace River. The group discussed the size, location and amenities of the proposed worker camps, and associated economic opportunities.

On July 23, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


On July 24, 2012, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a letter from Blueberry to the Minister of Natural Resources, Government of Canada, which outlined concerns regarding Bill C-38.

On July 30, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Letter of Understanding (June 27, 2012) for Blueberry’s participation in the preparation of a Community Baseline Profile.
On August 2, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES enclosing a payment issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement. The letter noted that payment was made directly to MSES pursuant to Blueberry’s Band Council Resolution dated October 4, 2011.

On August 13, 2012, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator for IBA discussions, with BC Hydro tabling an offer sheet for a potential IBA in preparation for an upcoming meeting with Chief and Council.

On August 13, 2012, BC Hydro met via teleconference with Blueberry’s advisor to discuss the status of Blueberry’s work on the Community Baseline Profile.

On August 14, 2012, BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillors, negotiator) and a representative of the Ministry of Aboriginal Relations and Reconciliation to discuss the IBA offer sheet tabled by BC Hydro on August 13, 2012. BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry on August 15, 2012, attaching a copy of the IBA offer sheet and advised that it looked forward to receiving feedback from Blueberry in writing.

On August 15, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:


On August 21, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing a link to information regarding Project workforce projections and procurement opportunities, for distribution to interested Blueberry members.

On August 21, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Applications under the Land Act for investigations at the Proposed Site C Road (August 17, 2012)

- GIS shape files for the proposed areas.

On August 23, 2012, Blueberry sent a letter to BC Hydro in response to the IBA offer sheet tabled at the meeting on August 14, 2012.

On August 27, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing a table titled “Preliminary Summary of Construction Phase Workforce” which summarized the timing, type of jobs and number of opportunities that BC Hydro anticipated would be needed to construct the Project. The letter provided a link to the secured file transfer website where additional information regarding Project opportunities had been posted.
On August 29, 2012, MSES sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a report titled *Effects of Industrial Disturbance on the Traditional Resources of the Blueberry River First Nation* (August 2012), prepared by MSES pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* as a Defined Consultation Project.

On August 30, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry acknowledging receipt of Blueberry’s written response to BC Hydro’s IBA offer sheet.

On August 31, 2012, BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry (Band Manager, two Councillors, Liaison Officer, negotiator, legal counsel) for IBA discussions. BC Hydro tabled an updated version of its IBA offer sheet. Blueberry provided BC Hydro with a map of its traditional territory on a flash drive.

On September 5, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry enclosing two cheques as reimbursement to Blueberry for payments made by Blueberry to MSES. The payments cheques were issued pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement* for MSES’s technical review of the EIS Guidelines.

On September 5, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES enclosing a payment issued pursuant to the *Stage 3 Consultation Agreement*. The letter noted that payment was made directly to MSES pursuant to Blueberry’s Band Council Resolution dated October 4, 2011.


On September 20, 2012, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching an auditor’s report of Blueberry’s financial statements for the year ending March 31, 2012.

On September 21, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry advising that the EIS Guidelines had been issued by the CEA Agency and the BCEAO on September 7, and provided a link to where the document had been posted online. The letter highlighted the areas of the EIS Guidelines that specifically addressed the incorporation of information from Aboriginal groups. The letter requested any additional information such as mapping of traditional territories, traditional knowledge, concerns regarding potential for adverse effects on the various components of the environment as identified by Blueberry, current land use information, including reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources, current use of lands and resources for hunting, fishing and trapping, and current use of lands and resources for activities other than hunting, fishing and trapping. The letter advised that BC Hydro would like to continue to receive information with respect to any asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights of the community that may be adversely affected by the Project, and in particular information concerning hunting, fishing, and trapping. The letter expressed interest in understanding how the environment was valued...
by the community for current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes, including activities conducted in the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights, and how current use may be affected by the Project. The letter invited Blueberry to continue to identify any interests the community may have had with respect to potential social, economic, health and physical and cultural heritage effects of the Project.

On September 21, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Rolling Work Plan #7 – Geotechnical Test Pit Investigations on the South (Right) Bank of the Peace River (License of Occupation 814864) (September 21, 2012).

The scope of the work involved 22 test pit excavations on the south bank of the Peace River. Golder requested that comments be directed to BC Hydro or Golder by October 12, 2012.

On September 26, 2012, BC Hydro met via teleconference with Blueberry (advisor) to discuss the work on the Community Baseline Profile. Blueberry discussed the challenges faced with the work and provided an update on the information gathering and report-writing. Blueberry acknowledged that the submission of the report was overdue, but stated that the report would be submitted to BC Hydro as soon as possible.

On September 27, 2012, Blueberry sent an email to BC Hydro attaching a signed Letter of Understanding dated July 24, 2012, under which BC Hydro agreed to provide Blueberry with funding for its participation in IBA negotiations.

On October 2, 2012, BC Hydro met with representatives of Blueberry (Chief, Councillor, negotiator, Band Manager, CEO of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd.) for IBA negotiations.

On October 2, 2012, BC Hydro hand-delivered a letter to Blueberry enclosing a capacity funding cheque issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement and a cheque for IBA negotiation funding issued pursuant to the Letter of Understanding (July 24, 2012).

On October 2, 2012, BC Hydro participated in a community meeting at the Blueberry reserve, which was attended by a Blueberry Councillor and seven community members. BC Hydro presented information regarding the results of vegetation, wildlife and fish studies, and sought input from Blueberry. BC Hydro explained, at the outset, that it wished to gather more information with respect to Blueberry’s current use of lands including fish and wildlife, and the potential effects of the Project on Blueberry’s exercise of treaty rights to hunt, fish and trap. BC Hydro also expressed interest in hearing from Blueberry with respect to potential mitigation measures. BC Hydro stated that any information gathered through the process would be collected and submitted to the regulatory agencies.
• **Wildlife:** BC Hydro (Wildlife Lead) described the methodology for the wildlife effects assessment, and reviewed baseline information for moose, elk, mule deer, bald eagles and beaver. BC Hydro advised that it expected the population of furbearers to remain stable if the Project was constructed, and that the same conclusion applied to ungulates. A community member asked if BC Hydro had found boreal caribou in the study area. BC Hydro stated it had not studied caribou because they were not currently found in the Peace River valley. BC Hydro explained that caribou fed on lichens and preferred higher elevations. BC Hydro reviewed tables which outlined possible mitigation options for various wildlife species including furbearers, ungulates and birds, and sought input from Blueberry. A community member stated that elk tend to hang around the river and creek beds and travel up and down the valleys; they also hang around the fields because there was hardly any bush left. Another community member advised BC Hydro to look for ungulates in the open land which had not been fenced in by farmers; that’s where the animals would go. A community member asked if Site C would be a barrier to ungulates crossing the river. BC Hydro responded that the open water distance would not prevent ungulates from crossing the river, and reviewed baseline data on ungulate crossings. BC Hydro also reviewed field study results with respect to the occurrence and distribution of rare plants, and mitigation options for vegetation, ecological communities at risk, and rare plants. BC Hydro reiterated that it was interested in hearing from Blueberry about mitigation options, and hoped that Blueberry would follow up with ideas. During the wildlife presentation, two Blueberry members expressed the view that the meeting should not be considered “consultation”, and left the meeting.

• **Fish and aquatics:** BC Hydro (Fish and Aquatics Lead) presented baseline information with respect to current fish species, composition and numbers, and reviewed the species life history, migrations and habitat use for bull trout, Arctic grayling, mountain whitefish, rainbow trout and walleye. BC Hydro asked which of the fish species, if any, were heavily harvested by Blueberry members. A community member advised that Blueberry members fished mostly bull trout, walleye, suckers and Arctic grayling. BC Hydro described its approach to predicting changes in fish resulting from the Project, and listed a number of predicted changes. BC Hydro then reviewed potential management measures in three areas: upstream of the dam (reservoir and tributary); the Site C dam site; and, the downstream river. A community member inquired about the possibility of constructing a fish ladder and asked whether the truck and haul system was a proven one. He noted that Arctic grayling have difficulty swimming upstream, but that bull trout would not have problems as they can ascend beaver dams without difficulty. BC Hydro responded that any system would need to be designed for Arctic grayling, and explained that the next step would be to build hydraulic models. BC Hydro also presented information on mercury levels in fish, and explained that changes
to mercury levels occurred due to flooding of soils and acceleration of natural processes, and would last for a period of about 30 years. A community member expressed concern that if Site C was built, mercury levels would increase and mentioned the mercury warnings for the Williston Reservoir. BC Hydro advised that mercury levels in fish at Site C were expected to increase from baseline levels, but the predicted levels would be below federal guidelines for mercury consumption (about half of the federal guideline of 0.5 parts per million). BC Hydro further explained that the Site C reservoir would be much smaller than the Williston Reservoir, which affected the methyl mercury dynamics. BC Hydro explained the steps that were being taken to manage mercury methylation including the reservoir clearing plan, monitoring of mercury levels, and reporting results.

On October 3, 2012, BC Hydro met with the CEO of Blueberry River Enterprises Ltd. to discuss its capacity and interests in Site C procurement opportunities.

On October 5, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a “save the date” sheet which outlined the dates for Business Information Sessions to be held in November, 2012. BC Hydro explained that the sessions were to provide information on procurement strategy and potential contracting opportunities related to the Project.

On October 9, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry providing a link to the Peace River Valley Ungulates Study Program Report and maps, for Blueberry’s review. BC Hydro indicated that it had discussed the findings at the community meeting held on October 2, 2012 and noted that additional sections (notably the executive summary and conclusions) would be added in the future.

On October 11, 2012 BC Hydro sent a letter to MSES enclosing a payment issued pursuant to the Stage 3 Consultation Agreement. The letter noted that payment was made directly to MSES pursuant to Blueberry’s Band Council Resolution dated October 4, 2011.

On October 15, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching an invitation to Business Information Sessions scheduled for November 2012, and included a link for registration. BC Hydro advised that the purpose of the sessions was to provide an update on the procurement strategy and some of the potential contracting opportunities associated with the Project.

On October 18, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

On October 19, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry, attaching:


On October 23, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry, providing a link to the secure file transfer website for Aboriginal groups to the following updated Project information:

- Project activity zone map
- Aquatic Productivity Technical Data Report
- Water Quality Technical Data Report
- Invitation to Site C Business Information Sessions
- Fish/Fish Habitat Presentation
- Heritage Program update

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

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

On October 29, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching a response to a question raised at the October 2, 2012 meeting regarding BC Hydro’s plans for reclamation should the Project proceed to the construction phase. BC Hydro also included a map of Project activity zones.

On November 7, 2012, BC Hydro met with Blueberry’s negotiator for IBA discussions.

On November 14, 2012, BC Hydro sent an email to Blueberry attaching the Site C Jackfish Lake Ungulate Program Work Plan. BC Hydro advised that it had applied to the Province to
carry out the ungulate collaring study on the south bank of the Peace River, in the Jackfish Lake road area. BC Hydro explained that the purpose of the study was to assist in filling a data gap respecting ungulate movement in the area and asked Blueberry to respond with any concerns or questions. BC Hydro noted that, pending approval of its application, there would be an opportunity for First Nations to participate in the work.

On November 15, 2012, BC Hydro sent a letter to Blueberry which sought to address potential gaps in the information exchange between the parties. The letter requested that Blueberry notify BC Hydro of instances where information requested in meetings or consultations to date had not been provided, and committed to following up on outstanding information requests as soon as possible.

On November 27, 2012, Golder sent an email to Blueberry attaching:

- Archaeology Quarterly Progress Report Q3: July 1 to September 30, 2012 (Permit #2009-0262).

**Distribution of Field Studies Overview**

BC Hydro sent emails to Blueberry providing the *Field Studies Overview* outlining the field studies taking place in the coming month. Emails were sent on the following dates:

- 2009: Feb 17, May 13, July 2, August 4, Sept 4, October 2, November 3, December 2
- 2010: Feb 1, March 3, April 6, May 4, June 2, July 2, August 3, September 1, November 2, December 3, December 30
- 2011: January 27, February 4, March 4, March 24, April 4, April 29, June 1, June 28, July 29, August 12, August 22, September 30, October 24, November 28
- 2012: January 27, March 2, May 1, October 5, November 2,

**Distribution of Weekly Environmental and Archaeological Reports**

Golder sent emails to Blueberry providing the *Weekly Environmental and Archaeological Reports*. The reports summarize Golder’s investigation and monitoring activities, identifying any environmental and archaeological issues or incidents, as well as any mitigation measures implemented to address the issues/incidents. Emails were sent on the following dates:

- 2010: April 6, April 8, June 7, June 8, June 28, July 6, September 20, September 28, October 12, October 26
• 2011: June 27, June 30, July 15, July 29, August 8, August 15, October 3, October 7, October 14, October 25, November 3

• 2012: July 24, July 26, August 1, August 8, August 31, September 11, October 18
SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A03 PART 3

ABORIGINAL LAND AND RESOURCE USE

SUMMARY:

BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:

BC Hydro Power and Authority
333 Dunsmuir Street
Vancouver, B.C.
V6B 5R3

Prepared by:

Traditions Consulting Services, Inc.
1163 Jolivet Crescent
Victoria, B.C.
V8X 3P3

January 2013
Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN)

In preparing responses to these questions, information on current Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN) use of lands and resources was derived primarily from the traditional land use study (TLUS) undertaken by Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants for BRFN and funded by BC Hydro. Additional information on BRFN traditional land and resource use was derived from a range of publicly available published and unpublished reports, or other reports submitted to BC Hydro.

BRFN territory in British Columbia is depicted as extending approximately from the area south of Tumbler Ridge in the south, to the area south of the Sikanni Chief River in the north, west to the height of land in the Rocky Mountains, and east to the Alberta border (Figure 1). The Study Area for the BRFN TLUS was defined in the report as a 16 kilometre strip roughly centred along the Peace River upstream from Taylor. The area depicted on the harvesting maps, however, is significantly larger, extending to Peace Reach on the Williston Reservoir (Figure 2). The Study Area includes most of the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAA. The Study Area also includes a large portion of the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA. The Study Area is located south of the main BRFN community on Blueberry River Indian Reserve No. 205 and represents only a portion of BRFN traditional territory.

BRFN has a population of 469, nearly half of whom reside on Blueberry Indian Reserve No.205. Forty (40) BRFN members were interviewed for the TLUS. A majority of those interviewed use the area of the Project as a preferred area for traditional activities, as it is easily accessible and there is a year-round abundance of moose, the principal food source. Also, BRFN believes that the oil and gas activity and industrial logging around the BRFN Reserve negatively impacts the food resources there, forcing them to travel to other regions of their territory.

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2 The publicly available studies and publications and other BC Hydro studies consulted for this report are set out in the Appendix.
5 BRFN TLUS: i.
Nine theme maps depicting the locations of selected TLU harvesting areas are presented in the TLUS report.⁶ Eight are relevant for this analysis; one map depicts a resource (wild horses) that is not harvested. A Compilation Resource Harvesting map depicts information from the nine theme maps (Figure 2).

In Section 8 of the TLUS Report, contemporary site-specific resource harvesting information has been extracted from the TLUS interviews for 11 culturally significant areas. Ten of these areas are entirely or partly within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs or RAAs: Peace River and Beatton River; Taylor and Old Fort; Pine River; Fort St. John and Charlie Lake; Bear Flats and Cache Creek; Halfway River and Attachie; Farrell Creek; Butler Ridge; Hudson’s Hope; Moberly River and Del Rio.⁷ These areas are described as having cultural significance to the BRFN.⁸ Many resource harvesting locations mentioned in these excerpts are not depicted on the theme maps or discussed in the “Contemporary BRFN TLU Activities and TEK” section in the TLUS Report. There is only limited information on current traditional activities exercised outside the TLUS Study Area.

In a review of the TLUS Report, we identified a number of problems, questions and concerns with some of the methodology employed and in the presentation of some of the results.⁹ Nonetheless it is our opinion that this TLUS Report provides the best available information relating to current BRFN use of lands and resources for traditional activities in the Study Area. Most of the Study Area is included within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs.

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

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⁶ The nine theme maps are: moose harvesting, elk harvesting, deer harvesting, caribou harvesting, mountain sheep harvesting, bear harvesting, plant food, fish harvesting, and wild horses. Wild horses, although included on the Compilation Resource Harvesting map, are not harvested and are not discussed in the TLUS Report. Only two Wild Horse areas are depicted. The harvesting areas depicted on the theme maps are areas where BRFN members go for a harvesting activity, and do not illustrate the location of specific kill, capture, or gather sites.

⁷ The one area that is outside the Wildlife RAA is ‘Peace Reach and Above.’

⁸ BRFN TLUS Report: 120-146.

⁹ Traditions Consulting Services Inc. (2012). This report was provided to BRFN by BC Hydro. No response has been received from BRFN to date.
BRFN members hunt moose, elk, deer, and bear on both sides of the Peace River.\textsuperscript{10} Moose, elk, mountain sheep, and caribou are harvested north of the eastern end of Williston Reservoir. Caribou are also harvested on the east side of Cameron River. Moose is the preferred species for meat. The hide is also tanned and used for making moccasins and other leather work.

Approximately 31 moose harvesting areas are depicted on the Moose Harvesting map. The highest concentration of hunting activity for moose is depicted in the Cache Creek, Halfway River and Farrell Creek watersheds on the north side of the Peace River, and between the lower Pine and Moberly Rivers and between the Moberly and Peace Rivers on the south side of the Peace River.\textsuperscript{11} There is also a moose harvesting area along the east side of Dunlevy Creek. Most of the moose harvesting areas fall within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA. Small areas fall within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA.

Approximately 23 elk harvesting areas are depicted on the Elk Harvesting map. The highest concentration of hunting activity for elk is similar to that for moose: the Cache Creek, Halfway River and Farrell Creek watersheds, and the lower Pine and Moberly River watersheds. There is also an elk harvesting area north of Dunlevy Creek.\textsuperscript{12} Some private land owners allow BRFN members to hunt elk in their fields along the north side of the Peace River.\textsuperscript{13} Most of the harvesting areas fall within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA. Small areas fall within the Wildlife Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA.

Deer harvesting occurs at fewer locations than for moose and elk and is concentrated in the Cache Creek and Wilder Creek watersheds. Six (6) deer harvesting areas are depicted on the Deer Harvesting map.\textsuperscript{14} The deer hunting areas are located mostly within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA.

Five mountain sheep harvesting areas are depicted on the Mountain Sheep Harvesting map. Two are located on the east side and north of Dunlevy Creek, two are located on

\textsuperscript{10} One feature that appears on the Moose, Elk and Deer Harvesting maps is a line that resembles a stylized railroad track. These lines have not been used in this interpretation of the TLUS as no explanation is provided as to what this form of depiction represents, nor has a response providing clarification been received. The lines may represent the boundary of one of the interviewee’s hunting areas or a possible route of travel related to hunting.

\textsuperscript{11} BRFN TLUS Report: 160.

\textsuperscript{12} BRFN TLUS Report: 161.

\textsuperscript{13} BRFN TLUS Report: 99.

\textsuperscript{14} BRFN TLUS Report: 162.
the west side and north of Dunlevy Creek, and one is located west of the Halfway River Reserve.\textsuperscript{15} The two hunting areas to the east of Dunlevy Creek are within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA. Three caribou harvesting areas are depicted on the Caribou Harvesting map. Only one, located on the east side of Cameron River, is located within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA.\textsuperscript{16}

Three bear (black) harvesting areas are depicted on the Bear Harvesting map: one in the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA on the north side of the Peace River between Farrell Creek and Halfway River; and two in the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA on the south side of the Peace River in the mid-Moberly River and mid-Pine River areas.\textsuperscript{17} Bear meat and hide are used, and the fat is highly regarded for its healing properties.\textsuperscript{18}

A large number of fish species are caught by BRFN members, including: dolly varden, rainbow trout, bull trout, kokanee, jackfish/pike, pickerel/walleye, suckers, whitefish, lingcod, and grayling. As a result of BRFN concerns regarding pollution from industrial and farming activities in other parts of BRFN territory, BRFN members rely more on the Halfway River and the mouths of streams flowing into the Peace River for their fish needs.\textsuperscript{19} Fishing occurs along the Peace River from the Alberta border to eastern Williston Reservoir. The confluences of the tributary rivers and creeks with the Peace River including Beatton River, Halfway River, Cache Creek and Farrell Creek are particularly important.\textsuperscript{20} The Peace River from the Peace Canyon Dam to the Alberta border, and the Halfway River to the Halfway River Reserve, are within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAA.

Small game is hunted for food and pelts.\textsuperscript{21} No harvesting maps and little information is provided in the TLUS about small game hunting locations in the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA or RAA. In Appendix 6 of the TLUS Methodology Report, notes are written on “Schedule C - Categories of Traditional Knowledge, Use and Occupancy” concerning whether the site-specific uses are

\textsuperscript{15} BRFN TLUS Report: 167.
\textsuperscript{16} BRFN TLUS Report: 163.
\textsuperscript{17} BRFN TLUS Report: 164.
\textsuperscript{18} BRFN TLUS Report: 102.
\textsuperscript{20} BRFN TLUS Report: 110-116; Fish Harvesting map BRFN TLUS Report: 166.
\textsuperscript{21} BRFN TLUS Report: 103-110.
reported as being specific to the Study Area in the interviews or not. Small animals listed as being hunted for personal use within the Study Area are rabbit (opportunistic hunting), and beaver (imprecise locations).\textsuperscript{22} Based on review of “Map of Traplines Registered to Indians” in Brody and the map of contemporary traplines by BC Hydro, the southern portion of one registered trapline held by a BRFN member is located within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA.\textsuperscript{23}

Birds are hunted by BRFN members but there is no harvesting map depicting the hunting areas. The mouth of Wilder Creek in the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA is mentioned as a good bird hunting area. Grouse are hunted all over.\textsuperscript{24} Bird hunting and some small game hunting is opportunistic, often occurring while hunting the large ungulates. In Appendix 6 of the TLUS Methodology Report, three types of birds: duck, geese, and grebes, are marked with a check as being hunted for personal use in the Study Area. On this same list grouse are noted as “opportunistic harvesting.”\textsuperscript{25}

In our opinion, the TLUS Report provides the best available information relating to current BRFN hunting, trapping and fishing activities within that portion of BRFN traditional territory set out in the Report as the Study Area. The Study Area includes most of the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAA. The Study Area also includes a large portion of the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA.

2. \textbf{What is the BRFN’s current use of lands and resources for activities other than hunting, fishing and trapping, including the nature, location and traditional use purpose within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAAs and RAAs?}

BRFN members harvest plants and berries throughout the Peace River valley. Thirteen plant food harvesting areas are depicted by various symbols on the Plant Food map.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24} BRFN TLUS Report: 116-117.
\textsuperscript{25} BRFN TLUS Methodology Report: Appendix 6.
\textsuperscript{26} Plant Food map BRFN TLUS Report: 165.
All plant harvesting areas are located within the Wildlife RAA. Chokecherries, saskatoons and blackberries are noted as being particularly abundant around Bear Flats which is located within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA.27 The banks of the Halfway River are important for harvesting mint and Labrador tea, the area north of Fort St. John and the lower Pine River valley are important for harvesting of blueberries, cranberries, saskatoons, strawberries, and raspberries. Butler Ridge is important for high bush blueberries and huckleberries. Saskatoon berries and chokecherries are abundant around Monias Lake.28 Plants used for medicinal purposes are noted as being “not specific to Study Area.”29

Twelve camp sites are depicted on the resource harvesting maps.30 Six are located within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) LAA. Six are located on the north side of the Peace River: one at Bear Flats, one on the lower Halfway River, two between Halfway River and Farrell Creek, and one on lower Farrell Creek. The sixth camp site is located on the south side of the Peace River east of the confluence with the Moberly River. Five camps are located within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA: one camp site is located northeast of Moberly Lake, two are located on the east side of Dunlevy Creek, two are located south of the Halfway Reserve, and one is located south of the Blueberry Reserve. The camps are used by BRFN members while hunting, fishing and recreational camping. An elder/youth “culture” camp is held at Bear Flats.31

Information on contemporary spiritual sites is limited in the TLUS Report. There is a discussion of graves in the section “Aboriginal Dane-zaa” in which some contemporary information is included. The area around Attachie is identified as being of particular significance.32 One BRFN member talked of the potential for burials throughout the Peace River valley because “that’s where the old timer Beaver Indians used to be.”33

In our opinion, the TLUS Report provides the best available information relating to current BRFN use of lands and resources for activities other than hunting, fishing and trapping within that portion of BRFN traditional territory set out in the Report as the Study Area. Most of the Study Area is included within the Current Use of Lands and

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27 BRFN TLUS Report: 127.
30 One camp is located outside the Wildlife RAA north of the confluence of the Halfway and Cameron Rivers.
33 BRFN TLUS Report: 47.
3. **What is your understanding of the exercise of asserted Aboriginal rights or treaty rights by the BRFN within the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAAs and RAAs?**

BRFN assert that their ancestors hunted and trapped over a wide area of the Peace River region, both north and south of the Peace River, from the Rocky Mountain foothills in the west to the Clear Hills and Grande Prairie in Alberta in the east. Today the BRFN continue to hunt, fish, trap, camp, and gather resources over a wide area within their traditional territory as part of the continued exercise of their asserted Aboriginal and Treaty 8 rights. The hunting areas identified by Brody continue to be used and comprise the most noteworthy hunting and trapping areas for BRFN members today. Increased industrial activity in these areas, however, is negatively impacting the resources and requiring BRFN to move to other areas in their traditional territory.

The TLUS Report for BC Hydro only provides information on BRFN members’ current use of that part of their traditional territory defined in the Report (the Study Area). Kennedy, the author of the BRFN TLUS Report, stated in the Methodology Report that it was her “professional opinion that the 6 November 2011 BRFN TLUS report accurately reflects the knowledge, use, occupation and concerns of the BRFN members surveyed during the compilation of the TLUS research focused on the Site-C project area [the Study Area].” Kennedy stated further that “work on a second project for the BRFN confirm that the participants in the Site C TLUS were representative of the community.”

In our opinion, the information presented in the TLUS Report provides the best available information relating to current BRFN hunting, fishing, trapping, gathering, and related traditional activities within that portion of BRFN traditional territory set out in the Report.

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36 Minimal information was provided relating to BRFN activities outside of the Study Area as it was not the focus of the TLUS.
37 BRFN Methodology Report: 18, 19.
as the Study Area. Most of the Study Area is included within the Current Use of Lands and Resources LAA and RAA and Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAA.

These activities comprise what BRFN members interviewed consider to be their exercise of asserted Aboriginal and treaty rights in the areas depicted or described in the TLUS report.

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

In 1883, Tolmie and Dawson illustrated the southern portion of Beaver (Dane-zaa) territory on a map showing the distribution of Indian tribes in British Columbia (Figure 3). The territory extended north and south of the Peace River, west to the Rocky Mountains, and east into Alberta. BRFN assert that their ancestors hunted and trapped throughout this region. On the 1900 Treaty No. 8 map by the Department of Indian Affairs, the Beavers are located in the same general area (Figure 4). Bouchard and Kennedy conclude, based on their study of anthropological and historic documents, that there was considerable unity among the Dane-zaa of the central and upper Peace River prior to the signing of Treaty 8.

In 1981, anthropologist Ridington described the region of the Peace River of British Columbia and Alberta as being pre-contact territory of the Beaver (Figure 5). Their neighbours to the west were the culturally similar Sekani. Cree and other Aboriginal people began to move into the eastern portions of the Peace River region with the fur trade in the late eighteenth century. Weinstein states that the Cree pushed the Dane-zaa from the northern prairies to the area of northwestern Alberta and northeastern

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39 Canada. Department of Indian Affairs (1900). “Map showing the territory ceded under treaty No.8 and the Indian tribes therein.”


41 Ridington 1881: 351.

British Columbia. In turn the Dane-zaa pushed the Sekani from the Rocky Mountain foothills into the mountains.\(^{43}\) As a result of this history and intermarriage, a number of the First Nation communities in this region of British Columbia include both Dane-zaa and Cree ancestry including the BRFN.\(^{44}\)

In 1981, Brody depicted BRFN hunting areas as primarily lying north of Montney between the Blueberry and Beatton Rivers (Figure 6).\(^{45}\) The hunting areas recorded by Brody depict the areas that were used by BRFN after their Reserve near Fort St. John had been sold in the late 1940s and BRFN settled on a new Reserve farther north.\(^{46}\) Weinstein also included a map of BRFN hunting grounds and traplines in his report (Figure 7).\(^{47}\) A BRFN elder, who worked with Brody as a map maker, told Kennedy in 2010-2011 that the different hunting tribe’s territory maps published by Brody did not overlap as a matter of respect between neighbouring tribes (see Figure 8).\(^{48}\)

In 2011, Bouchard and Kennedy, using Ridington’s map as a base, depicted the area within Beaver territory that was used in the period 1850s to 1930s by ancestral family groups of some contemporary BRFN members (Figure 9).\(^{49}\) The area extends from Grande Prairie, Alberta in the southeast, then along the Rocky Mountain foothills to Pink Mountain in the northwest, then eastward into the Clear Hills in Alberta.\(^{50}\)

On a recent map provided by BRFN, BRFN traditional territory in British Columbia is depicted as extending approximately from the area south of Tumbler Ridge in the south,

\(^{43}\) Weinstein, Martin (1979). “Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Peace River Country of Northern British Columbia”:

\(^{49}\) Bouchard and Kennedy provide a more complete discussion of the historic period movements of people in the Peace River region in the BRFN Traditional Territory Report. Also see Dawson 1881 for a brief discussion of the Cree encroaching into Beaver territory.

\(^{44}\) Brody 1981: 31. Weinstein stated in 1979 that BRFN was split equally between people of Beaver and Cree ancestry (Weinstein 1979: 47).

\(^{45}\) Brody 1981: 163. Brody’s field research was conducted in 1978-79. The timeframe covered by the interviews likely relates primarily to the 1950s and 1970s. The hunting areas depicted by Brody are located north of the eastern end of the TLUS Study Area. This map is also in the UBCIC report with the title “Blueberry Hunting Areas” (UBCIC 1980: *135+.

\(^{46}\) Weinstein 1979: 72.

\(^{47}\) Weinstein 1979: Figure 4, after p.53. The map, however, does not show the hunting grounds. The registered traplines are difficult to decipher due to the poor quality of the preliminary map in the document that we had to review. The traplines appear to be in the same general area as the traplines shown on the BC Hydro map of contemporary First Nation trapline areas (BC Hydro (2012). Map of Trapline Areas by First Nation - north and south).

\(^{48}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 82; Brody 1981: Map 16, 172-3

\(^{49}\) George Dawson described Beaver territory in the report of his 1879 explorations of the Peace River country. Dawson also described the hostilities between the Beaver and the Cree in the region (Dawson 1881: 51B). Beaver territory is depicted on an 1883 map by W.F. Tolmie and George M. Dawson with a note on the eastern boundary of the territory: “Cree Indians Encroaching Westward.”

\(^{50}\) BRFN Traditional Territory Report: last page (not numbered).
to the area south of the Sikanni Chief River in the north, west to the height of land in the Rocky Mountains, and east to the Alberta border (Figure 1). 51

The basic social unit in traditional Dane-zaa society was the extended family. The size and composition of this social unit varied during the year in response to the availability and abundance of game. 52 The Dane-zaa pursued an economy based on the seasonal round, moving residence in response to the availability of game and other resources.

The signing of Treaty 8 in 1899-1900, the establishment of Indian Reserves, together with the arrival of increased numbers of settlers, began to restrict the movement of the Dane-zaa and brought changes to the seasonal round. A more permanent residence pattern began in the early 1960s with the construction of Department of Indian Affairs housing on the various Indian Reserves, and with the relocation of communities. 53 The increase in the number of roads and rights-of-way in the region, as well as access to motorized vehicles, have also brought changes to the traditional seasonal round pattern. Despite the more sedentary lifestyle, the Dane-zaa continued to rely on country foods for much of their subsistence. In 1979, Brody and Weinstein identified 62 species as having a place in the Dane-zaa traditional economy: eight species of ungulates, two species of bears, four species of small game animals, four species of grouse, 13 species of fur bearers, 13 species of ducks, two species of geese, one species of swan, and 15 fish species. 54 Most of these species continue to be harvested today.

In overview, BRFN occupation and use of the land and resources of this region of northeastern British Columbia and northwestern Alberta has varied over the years as a result of: natural cycles of animal populations; changing economy (e.g., HBC fur trade); changing resources (e.g., disappearance of the bison); influx of other Aboriginal peoples (e.g., Cree); establishment and relocation of BRFN Indian Reserves; influx of and competition from non-Aboriginal settlers, hunters and fishers; introduction of federal and provincial government administration (e.g., trapline registration); and increased resource developments (e.g., farming, forestry, oil and gas, hydro development). All have resulted in BRFN members having to change the areas within Treaty 8 boundaries where traditional activities (hunting, fishing, trapping and gathering) are undertaken.

51 Blueberry River First Nation (2012). Map of BRFN Traditional Territory. BRFN. This map was provided by legal counsel working for BC Hydro on October 2, 2012. BRFN provided this map as depicting their current traditional territory.
53 Weinstein 1979: 73, 90, 127.
54 Quoted in BRFN TLUS Report: 32.
Hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering and related traditional activities are actively pursued by BRFN members today and will likely continue to be pursued in the future. In the TLUS, BRFN members set out a number of potential adverse impacts the Project will have on their ability to continue to exercise their Treaty 8 rights in the future including:

- Loss of history - too much history of our people will be flooded; our people have been here for generations; many burial sites in the Project area;
- Loss of camping areas; gathering place for annual elder/youth camp at Bear Flats;
- Dam and flooding will force relocation again (referring to surrender of Indian Reserve at Fort St. John in 1940s, and development activities - land alienation, farming, oil and gas, etc.);
- Loss of good harvesting area (for fish, moose, elk, deer, bear, berries);
- Impact on wildlife habitat, especially moose calving on islands and good ungulate feeding grounds;
- Decline in fish stocks;
- Loss of fur bearer habitat and trapping opportunities;
- Construction noise will scare away the animals; and
- Increased competition from non-aboriginal people for campsites, hunting and fishing.  

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

The Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA incorporates most of the TLUS Study Area. There is an area to the west of the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA on the north shore of Williston Reservoir where there are two mountain sheep harvesting areas and one moose harvesting area depicted. There is another mountain sheep harvesting area located on Halfway River near the junction with the Graham River that is outside the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA. Two caribou harvesting areas are outside the

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55 BRFN TLUS Report: 149, 150.
56 A number of other impacts not related to the exercise of treaty rights are set out but are not included here.
Current Use of Lands and Resources (Wildlife Resources) RAA, one located west and north of Dunlevy Creek and one located on the upper Graham River.\(^{59}\) BRFN fish harvesting is depicted outside the Current Use of Lands and Resources (Fish and Fish Habitat) LAA on: Williston Reservoir, lower Dunlevy Creek, Beatton River, Montney Creek, Fish Creek, and Charlie Lake.\(^{60}\)

In the TLUS, Pink Mountain is noted as an important recreational and subsistence hunting area for BRFN. The area is considered prime hunting ground and a favourite area for moose and buffalo.\(^{61}\) Caribou and hoary marmot are also hunted in the area.\(^{62}\) There is fishing by BRFN in the headwaters of the Halfway River.\(^{63}\) Huckleberries are picked on the south side of Pink Mountain.\(^{64}\) A cultural camp is also held at Pink Mountain.\(^{65}\)

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\(^{59}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 163.

\(^{60}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 166. Ice fishing for dolly varden in inlets (Dunlevy Creek, Cust Creek) of Williston Lake is noted in the interviews. BRFN TLUS Report: 146.


\(^{62}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 100, 108.

\(^{63}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 115.

\(^{64}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 117.

\(^{65}\) BRFN TLUS Report: 119.
Figure 1. Map depicting BRFN Traditional Territory (BRFN 2012).
Figure 2. Compilation Map of BRFN Resource Harvesting in Study Area from TLUS (Kennedy, Dorothy (2011). “BRFN Traditional Land Use Study. Site C Clean Energy Project.” Victoria, B.C.: Bouchard and Kennedy Research Consultants, November 6, 2011: 159). The Study Area is outlined in straight red lines.
Figure 3: Map of Beaver Territory 1883. Portion of “Map shewing the distribution of the Indian tribes of British Columbia” (Tolmie and Dawson 1883).
Figure 4. “Map showing the territory ceded under treaty No.8 and the Indian tribes therein.” (Department of Indian Affairs 1900).
Figure 5: Map of Beaver Territory 1800 (Ridington 1981: 351)
Figure 6: “Map 11. Blueberry River Reserve: Hunting” (Brody 1981: 163). The hunting areas relate to the period of the 1950s to 1970s.
Figure 7. Preliminary Map of BRFN Registered Traplines and Hunting Grounds (Weinstein 1979: after 53). Note: the hunting grounds were not depicted on the map in the report.
Figure 8. “Map 16. Indian Hunting Territories in Northeast British Columbia” (Brody 1981, Map 16, 172-3).
Figure 9: Map depicting area used by ancestral family groups of the contemporary BRFN in the period 1850s to 1930s (Bouchard and Kennedy 2011b).
References


Blueberry River First Nations (2012). Map of BRFN Traditional Territory. BRFN.


_The Study Area for this TLUS is the existing transmission line from Dawson Creek to 21 km past Chetwynd and 7 km on either side. The TLUS provides: background historical information on the BRFN; and information on historical use of the Pouce Coupe/Dawson Creek area by BRFN ancestors. No contemporary site-specific use by BRFN members in the area of study is described (p.50)._  


_The Study Area for this TLUS was the proposed pipeline corridor and its environs extending from the Sikanni Chief River in the north to Altona on the Beatton River in the south. This area is outside the LAA and RAA. The historical TLU information is largely the same as in the Hydro TLUS study. Traditional uses within the Study Area included: hunting (moose, elk, deer, caribou, bear, beaver, rabbit, geese, ducks, grouse); limited fishing (jackfish, trout, dolly varden, grayling and suckers); trapping (lynx, marten, muskrat, wolverine); and gathering of berries (including blueberries, cranberries, strawberries, cloudberrries) and plants (muskeg tea, rat root, wild rhubarb, poplar). The Study Area also included commercial traplines held by BRFN individuals. No habitation, traditional history, ceremonial/religious sites were identified within the Study Area._


SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A03 PART 4

ABORIGINAL SUMMARY:
BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for:
BC Hydro Power and Authority
333 Dunsmuir Street
Vancouver, BC
V6B 5R3

Prepared by:
Site C First Nations Engagement Team
Suite 1100, Four Bentall Centre
1055 Dunsmuir Street
P.O. Box 49260
Vancouver, BC
V7X 1V5

January 2013
Blueberry River First Nations

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

Blueberry River First Nations’ Treaty Rights

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

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

For a more thorough discussion of rights under Treaty 8, see Section 34.3.2.1.

Blueberry River First Nations’ Concerns with Respect to the Project

The following table presents a high-level description of the concerns identified by Blueberry River First Nations in consultation activities with BC Hydro between November 1, 2007 and November 30, 2012, including those identified in meetings, phone calls, letters, emails, and reports (e.g., Traditional Land Use Studies, Community Assessments), and any submissions made during the comment periods for the EIS Guidelines.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Project Overview – Project Components and Activities</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest in BC Hydro’s plans for debris clearing, management and disposal including whether all timber, regardless of its commercial value, and woody debris would be removed from the reservoir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in BC Hydro’s plans for reclamation around the dam site area and other Project components.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in BC Hydro pursuing operational and post-construction monitoring for water quality, water flow, ice, and sediment.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Alternatives to the Project</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interest in what other options have been evaluated and considered to establish that the Project is the right solution for energy production.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in BC Hydro performing an economic portfolio analysis to provide an understanding of Project alternatives and/or alternative means of delivering the Project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in BC Hydro’s consideration of alternatives to the Project including wind energy, solar energy, nuclear energy, geothermal energy, gas-fired generation, fiber from the mountain pine beetle kill and upgrading existing generation facilities closer to the Lower Mainland.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Cumulative Effects</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern regarding the Project’s potential contribution to the cumulative impacts of development in the region, including pipelines, logging, oil and gas, coal mining and coal bed methane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in using a pre-development, pre-industrial or pre-W.A.C. Bennett Dam baseline in order to assess the cumulative environmental effects of the Project, and to assess the cumulative implications of the Project on the exercise of section 35(1) rights.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Land - Geology, Terrain and Soils</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern regarding the potential impacts of the Project on the potential for landslides, slope stability, erosion and sloughing, including the proposed inundation zone and upslope areas, old Highway 29 area, Halfway River, other tributaries to the Peace River, the Taylor Hill area the new Highway 29 realignment area.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern regarding the impact that sloughing will have on wildlife attempting to climb the banks of the reservoir.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Water – Surface Water Regime</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on water levels and water flow upstream, including the extent of upstream flooding in the Peace River, Halfway River, Moberly River, Moberly Lake, and Hudson’s Hope.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Water – Water Quality</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on water quality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of Project-related construction activities on water quality, including the inundation of contaminated sites, the submerging of construction materials, and leaching chemicals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Water – Groundwater Regime</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on groundwater.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water – Thermal and Ice Regime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on increasing water temperature in the Peace River.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on ice flow, ice formation, ice break-ups and ice bridges, including the ice bridges at Shaftesbury, Dunvegan and Carcajou.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water – Fluvial Geomorphology and Sediment Transport</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on sediment transport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in conducting a suspended sediment analysis to assess how fine sediment will affect fish reproduction and survival.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Water – Methylmercury</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern about mercury accumulation and contamination in fish.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Air – Noise and Vibration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern that the Project will increase noise and noise pollution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern that noise associated with the Project will scare away wildlife which the community depends on.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fish and Fish Habitat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on fish, fish habitat, and fish species composition, including in the Peace River, Halfway River and Moberly Lake and Alberta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on fish migration, including in the Peace River, Halfway River and Moberly River.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vegetation and Ecological Communities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on vegetation and plant communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on rare and medicinal plants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wildlife Resources</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on wildlife, wildlife habitat and biodiversity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on wildlife migration and movement, including the ability of wildlife to swim across the reservoir and climb the banks of the reservoir.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in an independently commissioned report regarding the potential effects of the Project on wildlife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on migratory birds and migratory bird habitat, including warblers, marsh birds, ducks, woodpeckers, red and blue listed neotropical migratory birds, Slave River area geese and water fowl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on raptors, including eagles and raptor habitat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on furbearers and habitat for furbearers, including fishers, wolverine, rabbits, muskrats and beaver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project on ungulates and ungulate habitat,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
including moose, elk, deer, caribou, bison and Stone Sheep.

Specific concern with effects resulting from loss of calving and fawning areas on the islands in the Peace River.

**Labour Market**

- Concern with pressures on local labour supply, as a result of in-migration.
- Interest in employment accruing to local residents.
- Concern that low quality of work environment, racism, lack of advancement and training, long-distance commuting, destructive nature of work may result in low job satisfaction and negatively influence retention rates of First Nations workers in Project construction.
- Interest in the methods used by BC Hydro in predicting the employment opportunities associated with the Project.

**Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes**

- Concern about the potential effects of the Project on access to quality hunting areas, including areas that contain moose, elk, deer, bear and birds.
- Concerns about the potential effects of the Project on fishing, including access, water flow, water levels and habitat.
- Concern about the potential effects of the Project on berry harvesting and plant gathering.
- Concern about the potential effects of the Project on ancestral gathering places used for camping and habitation, fishing and hunting, travel routes, ceremonial and sacred areas, burials, trails, fresh water springs, and associated oral history, specifically in the areas of Bear Flats, Cache Creek, Halfway River, Moberly River, the Peace Moberly Tract and the Area of Critical Community Interest.
- Concern about increased access for recreation non-Aboriginal harvesters to the area leading to increased pressure on wildlife and fish resources and increased competition for campsites.
- Interest in collecting baseline traditional knowledge.
- Interest in incorporating traditional knowledge into the environmental assessment.

**Social Effects Assessment**

- Concern that additional workers from outside the region would add pressure on the limited social resources available to Aboriginal communities.
- Concern with potential effects of the Project on local services (health care, education and other social benefits), including increased prices and hindered access to these services.
- Concern that influx of workers and increased flow of money into communities could lead to public health and safety concerns.
- Concern with potential increased wait time for construction, repair, and maintenance of physical infrastructure.

**Heritage Resources**

- Concern that construction and operation of the Project will damage or destroy
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Concern/Interest</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Archaeological, unidentified or non-archaeological (e.g., spiritual)</td>
<td>Concern about the potential effects of the Project to burial sites, including.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heritage sites.</td>
<td>Concern with repatriation of artifacts and desire to have artifacts recovered during heritage work returned to First Nations communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Human Health</strong></td>
<td>Concern with decreased water quality and additional pollution in connection with the Project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concerns related to noise and vibration, including loss of quiet enjoyment due to increased noise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concerns related to the contamination of fish and wildlife resulting in a lack of faith in country foods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Perception of health risk related to methylmercury in country foods.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Treaty Rights (Hunting, Fishing and Trapping)</strong></td>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on Treaty 8 rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aboriginal Accommodation</strong></td>
<td>Interest in transfers of land, and land protection mechanisms as a form of accommodation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in funding to support community infrastructure and services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in equity agreements and revenue sharing as a form of accommodation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in assistance from BC Hydro in reducing the costs of electricity on reserve.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aboriginal Interests – Aboriginal Culture and Way of Life</strong></td>
<td>Concern about potential impacts of the Project on cultural fragmentation, loss of cultural identity, and destruction of traditional way of life.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concern about the potential impacts of the Project on future generations and families, including:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Loss of land used for cultural camps to maintain the heritage of our relationship between Elders and youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Loss of opportunity for inter-band and family socialization and cultural exchange</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Aboriginal Interests – Aboriginal employment, contracting and business development</strong></td>
<td>Interest in contracting and procurement opportunities for local contractors and Aboriginal businesses.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concerns related to contracting and procurement opportunities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in employment opportunities, including interest in ensuring equitable hiring practices which allow for Aboriginal people to access work opportunities associated with the Project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Concerns related to employment opportunities, including a belief that opportunities more likely to be entry level work or general labour only, with lower satisfaction and pay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Interest in a commitment from BC Hydro in regards to on-going training and employment opportunities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Concern that jobs related to the Project are short-term (only 7 years).

Interest in education and training opportunities related to the Project, including opportunities for youth.

Concerns related to education and training opportunities including:
- Too few training/education opportunities are being offered

Interest in funding for trades and apprenticeship programs.

Aboriginal Interests – Existing Hydroelectric Projects on the Peace River

Assertion that the W.A.C. Bennett and Peace Canyon dams impacted and/or continue to impact the Treaty 8 First Nations, including their ability to exercise section 35(1) rights.

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

Potential Adverse Effects of the Project on the Exercise of Blueberry River First Nations’ Treaty Rights

Based on the assessment undertaken by BC Hydro and set out in Volume 3 Section 19 Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes, interactions were identified between the Project and the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by Blueberry River First Nations in the Local Assessment Area (LAA). As a result, BC Hydro’s understanding of the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by Blueberry River First Nations was brought forward into the effects assessment.

The effects assessment looked at the potential Project effects during the Project construction and operations phases on fishing opportunities and practices, hunting and trapping opportunities and practices, and cultural and other traditional uses of the land.

The following potential Project effects and mitigations measures were identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Effect</th>
<th>Mitigation Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Changes in fishing opportunities and practices</td>
<td>Consult with Aboriginal groups respecting the development of fish habitat compensation projects that align with BC Hydro compensation programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seek input from Aboriginal groups respecting mitigation strategies.</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Continue to consult with Aboriginal groups on clearing plans and protocols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Project Effect</td>
<td>Mitigation Measures</td>
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<td>---------------------------------------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Develop a communications program to inform harvesters of planned or unplanned events related to construction activities that may affect fishing opportunities or access.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Develop a communications program to inform harvesters of longer-term changes in fish community composition.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement all mitigation measures set out in Volume 2 Section 12 Fish and Fish Habitat.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement measures supporting the development of 3 boat launches along the Site C reservoir accessible via Highway 29 to support navigability and navigable use, and the re-establishment of recreational sites on the Site C reservoir and downstream, and to re-establish and create new use patterns and access, as set out in Volume 3 Section 26 Navigation.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consult with Aboriginal groups respecting the development of wildlife habitat compensation projects that align with BC Hydro compensation programs.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Seek input from Aboriginal groups respecting mitigation strategies, such as mitigation measures related to trap lines in the Project activity zone.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continue to consult with Aboriginal groups on clearing plans and protocols.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Develop a communications program to inform harvesters of planned or unplanned events related to construction activities that may affect hunting opportunities or access.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Implement mitigation measures set out in Volume 2 Section 14 Wildlife Resources.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implement mitigation measures set out in Volume 3 Section 24 Harvest of Fish and Wildlife Resources pertaining to trapping.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with Aboriginal groups to ground-truth traditional land use information for specific areas within the Project activity zone prior to commencing construction.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Continue to consult with Aboriginal groups regarding clearing plans and protocols.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Develop a communications program to inform harvesters of planned or unplanned events that may affect opportunities to harvest plants, berries, and other resources.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Project Effect</td>
<td>Mitigation Measures</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consult with Aboriginal groups respecting the development of habitat compensation projects that align with BC Hydro compensation programs.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with Aboriginal groups to identify permanent habitation structures used in the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes that may be lost to inundation. Effects on cabins associated with tenured trap lines will be addressed as set out in Section 24.4.9.1 in Volume 3 Section 24 Harvest of Fish and Wildlife Resources. Where untenured cabins may be impacted by the Project, BC Hydro will work with Aboriginal individuals to determine appropriate measures that could be implemented.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work with Aboriginal groups to identify potential sites for relocation of medicinal and food plants to compensate for areas that will be inundated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use only indigenous and/or non-invasive plants and grasses in revegetation programs associated with the Project.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engage with Aboriginal groups around any reclamation phase that may present opportunities to restore ecological communities that support species of high traditional use value.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provide support for the indigenous plant nursery owned by West Moberly and Saulteau First Nations located at Moberly Lake. The First Nations have a business plan to support propagation of a wide range of indigenous plant species for use in reclamation work.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish a Culture and Heritage Resources Committee to provide advice and guidance on the mitigation of specific effects of the Project on culture and heritage resources. The Committee would consist of BC Hydro officials and Aboriginal members whose communities are in the immediate vicinity of the Project.</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Project Effect</td>
<td>Mitigation Measures</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Consider implementing, in consultation with Aboriginal groups and British Columbia where appropriate, the following potential initiatives:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the identification and naming of key cultural sites and the potential to integrate Aboriginal names into Project operations and sites;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- recording of stories and history associated with key cultural sites that may be affected by the Project;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- the protection and documentation, including mapping, of important Aboriginal trails and sites;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- contribute funding to support a youth culture camp that includes transfer of knowledge around medicinal and food plants;</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- engage with Aboriginal groups to commemorate the lost and inundated places;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- engage with Aboriginal groups around potential plans to undertake ceremonies prior to the commencement of construction on key elements of the Project; and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- develop and implement an education program respecting Aboriginal culture, history and use of lands and resources in the Project Area to be offered to all workers on the Project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implement all mitigation measures set out in Volume 2 Section 13 Vegetation and Ecological Communities.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Implement all mitigation measures set out in Volume 4 Section 32 Heritage Resources.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implement measures supporting the development of new shoreline recreation sites in Volume 3 Section 25 Outdoor Recreation and Tourism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Implement measures supporting the development of 3 boat launches along the Site C reservoir accessible via Highway 29 to support navigability and navigable use, and the re-establishment of recreational sites on the Site C reservoir and downstream, and to re-establish and create new use patterns and access, as set out in Volume 3 Section 26 Navigation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Key Findings: Current Use of Lands and Resources for Traditional Purposes

Current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes - fishing

Fishing opportunities and practices of Blueberry River First Nations are expected to be adversely affected during construction and operation due to reduced access to fishing areas (including potentially increased competition with non-Aboriginal anglers), and potentially reduced success in harvest of targeted species. The transformation of the river into a reservoir would create a new and productive aquatic ecosystem. This new aquatic environment is expected to support a community of equal or greater productivity; however the composition of fish species would change.

Although some aspects of the traditional purpose of the activity may be altered by transferring them to another location, fishing practices of Aboriginal people are adaptable, spatially and temporally. For these reasons, a determination of significance has not been made.

Current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes – hunting and trapping

Hunting and trapping opportunities and practices of Blueberry River First Nations may be adversely affected due to temporary reductions in availability of targeted species and temporarily reduced access to hunting areas during construction. As the effect would be temporary in nature and may be accommodated in other areas of the LAA, the traditional purpose of the activity would not be undermined. Therefore, a determination of significance has not been made for the current use of lands and resources for hunting and trapping.

Current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes – other cultural and traditional uses

Due to permanent loss of use of, and access to certain culturally important places and valued landscapes within the LAA, the use of those areas by Blueberry River First Nations will be permanently impacted

For Blueberry River First Nations, the effect on other cultural and traditional uses is expected to be significant at particular high value places along the Peace most notably at Bear Flats, Farrell Creek and Attachie. These highly valued spaces will be inundated and access to them will be permanently changed. For these reasons, a determination of significance has been made for the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes – other cultural and traditional uses.

Following the methods explained in Volume 1, Section 10 EA Methodology, a cumulative effects assessment was carried out to identify any cumulative interaction between potential residual effects of projects and activities located in the Current Use of Lands and Resources Regional Assessment Area (RAA) with the residual effects of the Project identified above. As a result of that assessment, BC Hydro has determined the Project is
unlikely to result in a cumulative effect on the current use of lands and resources for traditional purposes by the Blueberry River First Nations.

Volume 5 Section 34 Asserted or Established Aboriginal Rights and Treaty Rights, Aboriginal Interests and Information Requirements presents BC Hydro’s assessment of the potential impacts of the Project on the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights of the 29 Aboriginal groups with which BC Hydro was instructed to consult. The assessment of the potential impact of the Project on the exercise of asserted or established Aboriginal rights and treaty rights looked at the potential impacts on the exercise of the rights to hunt, fish and trap, as set out in Treaty 8, as well as impacts to what may be described as ancillary activities, some of which may be reasonably incidental to the exercise of treaty rights to hunt, fish and trap. The following potential impacts and mitigation measures were identified:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Impact on Exercise of Treaty Right</th>
<th>Mitigation Measures</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hunting and Trapping</td>
<td>Consult with Aboriginal groups respecting the development of wildlife habitat compensation projects that align with BC Hydro compensation programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seek input from Aboriginal groups respecting mitigation strategies, such as mitigation measures related to trap lines in the Project activity zone.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Continue to consult with Aboriginal groups on clearing plans and protocols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Develop a communications program to inform harvesters of planned or unplanned events related to construction activities that may affect hunting opportunities or access.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BC Hydro will consider community-based monitoring programs, which may involve incorporation of local, community, or traditional knowledge, where potential effects and the effectiveness of mitigation measures on hunting and trapping opportunities are uncertain, provided a sound methodology with clear indicators and outcomes is delineated. BC Hydro is prepared to engage with Aboriginal groups to discuss potential community-based monitoring programs, such as programs intended to monitor the productivity and abundance of wildlife species.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishing</td>
<td>Consult with Aboriginal groups respecting the development of fish habitat compensation projects that align with BC Hydro compensation programs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Seek input from Aboriginal groups respecting mitigation</td>
</tr>
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<td>Impact on Exercise of Treaty Right</td>
<td>Mitigation Measures</td>
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<tr>
<td>strategies.</td>
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<td>BC Hydro will consider community-based monitoring programs, which may involve incorporation of local, community, or traditional knowledge, where potential effects and the effectiveness of mitigation measures on fishing opportunities are uncertain, provided a sound methodology with clear indicators and outcomes is delineated. BC Hydro is prepared to engage with Aboriginal groups to discuss potential community-based monitoring programs, such as programs intended to monitor the productivity and abundance of fish species.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The assessment of the potential effects of the Project on the traditional activities of fishing, hunting, and trapping demonstrates that the Project may impact the exercise of treaty rights by the Blueberry River First Nations in the LAA. Blueberry River First Nations members will, however, continue to have the opportunity to exercise their right to fish, hunt, and trap within the LAA, within their traditional territory, and within the wider Treaty 8 territory.

Consultation is ongoing between BC Hydro and the Blueberry River First Nations, and may yield additional information on the Blueberry River First Nations’ current and reasonably anticipated future use of lands and resources that may potentially be affected by the Project. Should Blueberry River First Nations provide additional information to BC Hydro, it will be considered and incorporated in the effects assessment during the EIS review phase and prior to submission of the EIS to the Joint Review Panel.

Blueberry River First Nations is engaged in discussions with BC Hydro respecting an Impact Benefit Agreement for the Project.
SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

VOLUME 5 APPENDIX A03  PART 5

TLUS PUBLIC REPORT:
BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATIONS

FINAL REPORT

Prepared for BC Hydro Power and Authority

Prepared by Blueberry River First Nations

February 2012
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A. Blueberry River First Nations: BRFN Traditional Land Use Study

B. BRFN TLUS Project: Methodology
Executive Summary

This report entitled BRFN Traditional Land Use Study prepared on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN) for the proposed Site-C Clean Energy Project is intended to identify BRFN traditional land use information in the vicinity of the proposed Project. The Project Area is located within territory traditionally used and occupied by the ancestors of the contemporary BRFN.

This study has had two main components: i) interviews with BRFN participants and mapping of their personal land use; ii) archival and library research.

Forty BRFN members were interviewed between October 2010 and October 2011 to document their personal traditional land use activities within the Study Area, defined for the purposes of this TLUS as a strip extending roughly ten miles on either side of the Peace River from the vicinity of Taylor upstream to the Peace Reach. Scoping sessions undertaken in October 2010 indicated that contemporary BRFN members commonly use this Study Area, and that use of lands and waters to the west and northwest largely ceased after construction of the Bennett Dam in the 1960s. Some information on this uppermost area has nevertheless been included here.

The Study Team documented traditional use activity, including use for the exercise of Aboriginal rights such as hunting, trapping, fishing, gathering areas, camps, meeting areas and travel routes. The majority of the BRFN study participants reported using the Study Area identified for this report.

It is the Study Team’s conclusion that the area of the proposed Site-C Clean Energy Project is currently one of the preferred areas for BRFN traditional use activities. Parts of the Study Area are known to have a year-round abundance of the BRFN’s principal food source, moose, and these areas are easily accessible. BRFN members reported impacts upon the quality of meat harvested farther north in areas closer to the Blueberry River Reserve, an area of active oil and gas plays and industrial logging.

Among the findings of the archival research was that in 1914, more than a decade after ancestors of the BRFN adhered to Treaty 8, Canada established for them the Fort St. John Indian Reserve 172, situated less than ten miles north of the Peace River. At that time, the present Study Area would have been in their back yard. The extant historical record indicates that this Study Area was an area used and occupied by Dane-zaa in the 19th century. The area of IR 172, known in the indigenous Beaver language as Where-Happiness-Dwells, had been a traditional meeting place for Dane-zaa people from a wide region. As discussed in this report, IR 172 was surrendered in the late 1940s and its Aboriginal seasonal residents relocated to the north.

Between 1940 and 1960, external pressures affected these Aboriginal people’s use of the Study Area and impeded their relationship with the Peace River. This relationship resumed
once the BRFN members acquired motor vehicles in the 1970s. Most of the land use practiced in the Study Area by contemporary BRFN members is carried out during day trips from the Blueberry River Reserve. Several BRFN members camp within the proposed Project Area. The locations of their camps have been documented by this TLUS project.

This TLUS has also documented the BRFN’s continuing reliance upon and preference for country foods. Family traplines continue to be valued possessions and are regarded as an asset to fall back upon. BRFN members consider themselves —hunters and trappers—and seek to safeguard that lifestyle.

BRFN members who were interviewed for this report also expressed their concerns about the proposed Site-C Clean Energy Project. Their concerns included effects from increased access for hunting and fishing; disturbance to land, wildlife, vegetation and water; and social impacts. They also expressed concerns about education and employment opportunities.

The number one BRFN concern, however, is for the well-being of the wildlife in the Peace River Valley.
## Study Team

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team Member</th>
<th>Resource/ Task</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Dorothy Kennedy</td>
<td>Project director/ researcher/ interviewer/ analyst/ report writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Anthropologist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy Bouchard</td>
<td>Co-writer of report/ co-researcher/co-interviewer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ethnographer/ethnohistorian/linguist)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbie Apsassin</td>
<td>Community Liaison, October 2010 – February 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRFN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sylvester Apsassin</td>
<td>Community Liaison, May 2011 – October 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRFN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marianne Adekat</td>
<td>Dane-zaa translator, October – November 2010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRFN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stacey Klinzman, J.D.</td>
<td>Researcher/ interview transcriber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Lawyer/ historian)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zachary Romano, M.A.</td>
<td>Interview transcriber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Research Consultant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharon Keen, M.A.</td>
<td>Researcher/ data compilation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Archaeologist/ heritage resource consultant)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davenport Maps, Victoria</td>
<td>Digital map preparation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Blueberry River First Nations Participants (in alphabetical order)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Name</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adekat, Maryanne (MaA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Rose (now deceased) (RA)</td>
<td>Davis, Shawn (SD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adekat, Straton (StA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Russell (RuA)</td>
<td>Davis, Will (WD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appaw, Jimmy (JA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Sylvester (SyA)</td>
<td>Maas, Maryanne (MaM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Dan (DA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Virginia (VA)</td>
<td>Pyle, Stan (―Guy‖) (incomplete) (GP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Curtis (CuA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Walter (WlA)</td>
<td>Paquette, Tracy (TP)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Clarence (CA)</td>
<td>Apsassin, Winston (WA)</td>
<td>Williams, Hank (HW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Edward (EA)</td>
<td>Cardinal, Louise (LC)</td>
<td>Wolf, Lana (LW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Henry (HA)</td>
<td>Chipesia, Arthur (incomplete) (AC)</td>
<td>Wolf, Ralph (RW)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Herbie (HeA)</td>
<td>Chipesia, Dale (DC)</td>
<td>Yahey, Gerald (GY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Chief Joe (JoA)</td>
<td>Davis, Angus (now deceased) (AD)</td>
<td>Yahey, Peter (PtY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Malcolm (MlA)</td>
<td>Davis, Garnet (GrD)</td>
<td>Yahey, Pat (PY)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, May (MyA)</td>
<td>Davis, Jerry (JD)</td>
<td>Yahey, Randy (RY)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Richard (RiA)</td>
<td>Davis, Joe (JoD)</td>
<td>Wokely, Eileen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apsassin, Rick (RkA)</td>
<td></td>
<td>(EW)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout this report, these BRFN participants are identified by name or by the initials identified above.

**Special Thanks to the Cooks Preparing Community Lunches on Behalf of the TLUS:**

Virginia Apsassin, Kathy Chipesia and Vanessa Davis.
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1.0 Introduction

1.1 Site-C Project

Pending regulatory approvals from a co-operative environmental assessment by the Canadian Environmental Assessment Agency (CEA) and the British Columbia Environmental Assessment Office (BC EAO), and information gleaned from relevant consultation, BC Hydro intends to construct a third dam and hydroelectric generating station on the Peace River in northeast BC.¹

BC Hydro proposes to construct an earthfill dam, approximately 1,050 metres long and 60 metres high above the riverbed, located about seven kilometres southwest of Fort St. John, just downstream of the Moberly River, which enters the Peace River from the south. The Site-C reservoir would be approximately 83 kilometres long and would be, on average, two to three times the width of the current river. There would be approximately 5,340 hectares of total flooded land, 93% of which is currently owned by the Crown and BC Hydro.

It is estimated that in the event that BC Hydro receive its approvals, construction of the Site-C Project will take seven years to complete.

1.2 Traditional Use Studies

A Traditional Use Study (―TUS‖), also known as a Traditional Land Use Study (―TLUS‖) or a Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study (―TLUOS‖) provides systematic documentation of an Aboriginal community’s lifeways to clarify the specific relationship existing between people and their lands, territories and resources, past and present. The intergenerational aspect of such studies, which places contemporary land use within the historical context of a particular society, has several objectives. It facilitates a community’s self-awareness of the history and significance of their chosen sustenance and economic activities, and therefore their identity and cultural viability, and focuses more clearly the consequences of various responses to external factors of change. Such a study also provides a means by which the Aboriginal community can identify and articulate areas of potential cross-cultural discord (i.e., potential conflicts relating to the relationship between development and traditional uses of the lands and waters). For proponents of development, whose values, beliefs and expectations are different than those of the Aboriginal residents, the TLUS facilitates a greater understanding of the potential impacts resulting from development, and provides guidance with respect to common ground upon which consultation, negotiation and collaboration might be built.

¹ Information in section 1.1 has been excerpted from: http://www.bchydro.com/energy_in_bc/projects/site_c.html; accessed 26 September 2011.
There are a number of reasons why a properly done TLUS should integrate ethnographic interviews, materials from the literature, and ethnohistoric documentation from archival sources:

a. Such an approach will provide a much more comprehensive picture of land use, particularly in respect of the history of such land use over time;

b. The archival/historical materials can serve as a cross-check of the ethnographic data that is obtained in the field; and

c. The historical data may be incomplete or silent and require complementary data from the members of the society in order for the data to be interpreted fully, particularly in areas where land use continues.

Bouchard and Kennedy Research Consultants have applied their collective experience in the conduct of project-specific traditional use studies and of comprehensive land use and occupancy studies, over the past forty years, to inform the methodology employed in the Blueberry River First Nations’ TLUS.

The ethnographic site typology used in section 8.0 was developed in 1992 by Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, together with archaeology colleagues, Morley Eldridge and Al Mackie, on behalf of the BC Heritage Conservation Branch for use in classifying sites of traditional cultural importance.²

2.0 Blueberry River First Nations TLUS

2.1 Study Purpose

As part of the consultation process with the Blueberry River First Nations (―BRFN‖) in relation to BC Hydro’s (―BCH‖) Site-C Clean Energy Project, the two parties have agreed that a Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS) would assist in documenting the First Nations’ traditional knowledge, use and occupancy for the purposes of assessing the Project’s potential impacts on BRFN’s treaty rights and ability to continue practicing section 35(1) rights and traditional activities and interests. Such rights provide protection to the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations people in Canada.

Ancestors of the BRFN were signatories to Treaty 8 (see section 5.0 below), and as such, retain rights and interests in the Project Area.

2.2 Study Area

BRFN’s contract with BC Hydro affixed a map of the First Nations’ Consultation Area as it was identified in 2010. This delineated area lies north of the Site-C Project Area and includes only a small section of the Peace River, and nothing south of it.

In Dorothy Kennedy’s 30th September 2010 Work Plan for the TLUS submitted to the BRFN and BC Hydro she recommended the following:

In order to determine most fully the potential impacts of the project on the treaty rights of the BRFN, the joint Consultative Committee (as set out in sec. 3 of the BRFN-BCHPA Agreement) will agree on the extent of the TUS project area that the contractor will use for the TLUS.

For the purposes of the TLUS, the Consultative Committee was identified as consisting of the following individuals: BRFN advisor, Shakir Alwarid; BC Hydro Project Officer, Hugh Smith; and BRFN’s consultant, Dr. Dorothy Kennedy. After further discussions with Hugh Smith, Kennedy suggested that the TLUS study area be similar to that being used by scientists examining other potential impacts of the Site-C Clean Energy Project. Thus, a roughly ten mile strip along the Peace River upstream from Taylor was designated as the TLUS Study Area.

While investigations focused on this area, they did not preclude discussions of BRFN’s Treaty rights in the 2010 Consultation Area and elsewhere.

As a result of research carried out in conjunction with the Site-C project, Kennedy and Bouchard prepared for the BRFN a separate report presenting historical evidence supporting the recommendation that the BRFN Consultation Area be revised. That report is entitled: Blueberry River First Nations: Traditional Territory, prepared by Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, 31st August 2011, on behalf of the BRFN.
TLUS Study Area (in red); BRFN (2010) Consultation Area (in blue).
2.3 Study Methodology

2.3.1 Review of Existing Information

Undertaking archival and library research has been a significant component of this study, as the BRFN did not have historical or earlier-recorded ethnographic information on-hand. During the project, Bouchard and Kennedy Research Consultants undertook such research in the following institutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Victoria, BC</td>
<td>BC Archives; University of Victoria McPherson Library; Legislative Library; BC Land Title and Survey Authority; BC Archaeology Branch.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>University of British Columbia Library and Special Collections; Federal Court Registry; Appeals Court Registry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort St. John, BC</td>
<td>North Peace Museum and Archives; Fort St. John Public Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson Creek, BC</td>
<td>Dawson Creek Municipal Library; Dawson Creek Archives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calgary, Alberta</td>
<td>Glenbow Museum and Archives; Arctic Institute of North America; University of Calgary Library and Special Collections; National Energy Board Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmonton, Alberta</td>
<td>Public Archives of Alberta; University of Alberta Library and Special Collections.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Email/ telephone inquiries</td>
<td>Hudson's Bay Company Archives, Winnipeg; Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Indian Affairs, Central Registry, Ottawa;</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Researcher Stacey Klinzman undertook the first research work in Calgary, guided by terms of reference prepared by Kennedy setting out types of information to be compiled, along with the geographical scope of such data. Sharon Keen undertook most of the Victoria-based research under the direction of Randy Bouchard, who coordinated all the documentary research. Bouchard alone, or with Kennedy, undertook the remaining archival and library work in Vancouver, Fort St. John, Dawson Creek, Calgary and Edmonton. Bouchard also contacted by email and by telephone the institutions listed in the chart above.

The large numbers of documents obtained during the research were organized broadly by subject and tabbed for relevance. Searchable PDFs were made of the most significant documents and maps relied upon in preparing the report of findings. These will contribute greatly to development of a community-based repository for the BFRN.

The background research work indicated that considerable change in land use patterns had occurred over time. Thus, the working hypothesis that emerged from this research was that the 2010 BRFN Consultation Area map does not reflect the full extent of BRFN harvesting traditional land use activities, either today or in the past (for a full discussion see: Blueberry River First Nations: Traditional Territory, Kennedy and Bouchard 2011).

### 2.3.2 Community Engagement

BRFN Administration appointed Community Liaison Workers Herbie Apsassin and Sylvester Apsassin to work with the consultants and facilitate interviews.

The consultants had an informal introductory meeting with Chief Joe Apsassin on 24th October 2010, their first day in the community, at which time the Administrative Assistant, Leonora Blue, gave them a tour of the BRFN Administration Office and introduced them to staff.

The consultants hosted a BRFN community lunch on 24th October 2010 to introduce themselves to the community and discuss the TLUS project’s Terms of Reference. While the lunch proceeded, a tragedy involving a BRFN member made it inappropriate to give the presentation on that day. The presentation subsequently occurred at the Blueberry River Administration Hall on 28th October 2010, assisted by a Dane-zaa translator, Maryanne Adekat.

Group meetings arranged by the BRFN elders also provided the consultants with an opportunity to introduce the TLUS to the community. These meetings were held at the BRFN Administration Hall as well as in a meeting room at the Quality Inn in Fort St. John (convenient for urban BRFN members), and included lunch for the participants. In deference to the wishes of the community elders, interviews during the consultants’ first visit to Fort St. John were undertaken in this manner. As group meetings are not conducive to eliciting TLUS data, however, the consultants used the opportunity to discuss Aboriginal land use in general,
assess the parameters of individuals’ knowledge of the study area, and get to know the community members.

The consultants met with Chief and Council on 22nd February 2011 to further discuss TLUS project needs, including access to information and effective facilitation.

The consultants also attended a BC Hydro community presentation on 23rd February 2011.

A community newsletter produced by a public relations firm on behalf of the BRFN Chief and Council included an article on the TLUS project.

### 2.3.3 Selection of Participants

In October 2010, BRFN elders initially determined the selection of participants by independently arranging amongst themselves for meetings with Kennedy and Bouchard to be with groups of people and not individuals, as the consultants had requested. Hence, in October 2010, the consultants attended group meetings held at the Blueberry River Administration Hall and at the Quality Inn in Fort St. John.

In November 2010, the consultants advised the Community Liaison Worker, Herbie Apsassin, and Chief and Council, of the need for individual, or two-person, interviews. Kennedy provided the Liaison Worker with a written copy of the project objectives.

Study participants for subsequent interviews in November 2010 and February 2011 were selected by Herbie Apsassin; study participants selected for interviews in May, August, September and October 2011 were chosen by Community Liaison Worker, Sylvester Apsassin. Selection was based on several criteria, including:

- BRFN membership;
- Availability during the study time-framework;
- Participation in traditional activities;
- Knowledge and use of the Study Area, or knowledge and use of other areas.

Names of individuals interviewed were checked against a list of BRFN Reserve members provided by the Administration staff to confirm membership.

### 2.3.4 Conduct of Interviews

A total of 40 BRFN members (30 men and 10 women, ranging in age from 32 to 84) were interviewed between October 2010 and October 2011. Two of these interviews remain incomplete due to scheduling difficulties. All interviews were conducted by Kennedy and Bouchard, usually assisted by BRFN members Herbie Apsassin, Sylvester Apsassin or Maryanne Adekat. Respondents, with the exception of members of Chief and Council, were provided with honoraria ranging from $50.00 to $300.00.
The consultants conducted interviews during the following visits to the Fort St. John area:

- 24th - 29th October 2010;
- 18th – 23rd November 2010;
- 22nd – 28th February 2011;
- 24th – 29th May 2011;
- 9th – 12th August 2011;
- 26th – 28th September 2011;
- 11th – 14th October 2011.

One interview was conducted in the Dane-zaa language with questions translated by Maryanne Adekat, as were answers, when English was not used by the respondent. All other interviews were conducted in English. Additionally, Ms. Adekat provided translation services to the assembled members at a group meeting in October 2010 at which the consultants explained the project and asked for input from members concerning methodology.

Interviews were conducted mostly at the BRFN Administration Offices, with the exception of sessions with elders who preferred to be interviewed at home. Each interview session generally lasted between one hour and five hours (the latter being a site visit). Several individuals were interviewed more than once to confirm information and to elicit additional data. To ensure the accuracy of information, the consultants requested permission to voice record each interview.

Researchers Stacey Klinzman and Zachary Romano prepared a summary of each interview with data categorized into topics. The accuracy of pertinent sections of the summaries was confirmed by Kennedy during preparation of the final report.

Two respected elders interviewed for the TLUS have since died: Rose Apsassin and Angus Davis.

Each interview began with the consultants’ introduction of the project explaining the following: sponsor of the project (BRFN), funding of the project (BC Hydro), the role of the consultants (outside professionals, hired by BRFN), the format of the final study (in a report prepared for Chief and Council and BC Hydro), and the objectives of the interviews (documenting BRFN’s knowledge and use of the proposed Site-C project area).

During the interviews, only one member raised an issue and requested confidentiality; nevertheless, the information was not germane to the TLUS, and thus the project director has not been required to address the issue in compiling this report.

Each interview was semi-structured and open-ended, with the consultants initiating topics designed to elicit information on the respondent’s biographical data, general participation in traditional activities, and more specifically, the harvesting of country foods, along with the individual’s personal land use in, and knowledge of, the TLUS study area. Hence, the consultants sought to address both —Where do you hunt?‖ and — Have you ever hunted in the study area?‖ Categori es reviewed included:
If the participant exercises their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- Areas within the study area where the participant exercises or has exercised their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- If there are other areas used by the participant to exercise their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- Types of animals, fish and plants harvested by the participant;
- Preference for and use of country foods;
- Project-related concerns.

Flexibility in the structure of the interview permitted the participants to raise points or speak of related issues as they saw fit, and allowed the interviewers to explore areas requiring more detail and terminate avenues of discussion where the respondent indicated no knowledge.

In this report, specific information contributed by individuals is indicated by use of an identification system that refers to the individual and date of interview, for example, —SyA-11-10‖ refers to an interview with Sylvester Apsassin in November 2010. The initials used for each person’s identification are listed after his/her name on page v, the —Blueberry River First Nations Participants (in alphabetical order).‖

### 2.3.5 Map Production and Digitization

Prior to commencement of the project, the consultants acquired an extensive set of 1:50,000 maps for capturing site and area specific TLUS information. However, during the October 2010 —scoping‖ sessions with groups of old BRFN members, these individuals advised the consultants that 1:50,000 maps were too detailed. Individuals preferred marking maps at the scale of 1:250,000 and consulting the more detailed maps only when absolutely required to clarify information for the consultants‘ benefit. Given the nature of land use in the project area—hunting and fishing over large areas—the use of these :250,000 maps was appropriate for documenting specific activities.

The consultants provided each respondent, or couple (when two individuals were interviewed together), with a set of maps (92A, 92B, 92P) to mark. The scoping sessions indicated that the geographical area of these maps would capture most site-specific activities in the Site-C project area. Other maps were available to the participants as required.

Under controlled guidance, the consultants encouraged BRFN members to map site locations and activity areas discussed during interviews. The number of activity types was small enough (an assumption made during the scoping sessions and confirmed during the interviews) that polygons and labels could be applied to the map without undue clutter. The use of polygons, although not exact, permitted the respondents to delineate use areas in a (mostly) single, brief interview period. This approach also mitigated the fact that the usual response to the question, —Have you ever hunted/fished/gathered plants, etcetera, along the Peace River?‖ was — Our people hunt, etcetera, wherever they can,‖ or, — We hunt everywhere!‖ Some elders, however, chose not to engage in this activity, stating emphatically, —We hunt everywhere,‖ and their
preference was respected. Some of these individuals nevertheless described specific use areas during their interview. These areas are noted in the lists of activities found in section 8.0 below, arranged by geographical area and classified using the Ethnographic Site Typology. One individual chose to represent his hunting area with a line and explained that he hunted widely and regularly in the environs of the indicated area. Those people who agreed to mark their personal resource harvesting activities by means of polygons were very familiar with maps. The consultants wrote the name of each individual and the date of the interview on each map and the participant was asked to sign the map.

The project director confirmed the completeness of mapped information in August and September 2011 by listening to the voice-recording of the pertinent interview and comparing the recording with the placement of polygons. Some adjustments were made at this time, particularly with respect to fishing areas which had been under-represented on the maps when checked with the interviews.

In September 2011, BC Hydro provided an electronic base map of the Peace River region. The project director provided the digital files to Davenport Maps of Victoria for their use in plotting the field data, using the original maps to prepare theme-specific digital maps. The data input was verified against the field maps by the project director.

Further refinement was made possible by work undertaken with BRFN members during a five-day October 2011 visit to the community. A field visit permitted several camp sites on the north side of the Peace River to be more clearly delineated and additional bear hunting and plant gathering areas to be added.

2.3.6 Community Verification Process

During the time of the project, follow-up interviews were undertaken with individual members where information remained uncertain.

The consultants hosted a BRFN community lunch on 24th May 2011 to provide members with an oral update on the progress of the TLUS that began in October 2010.

Kennedy gave a project update, along with a PowerPoint presentation on the historical data, to BRFN Chief and Council on 7th August 2011. This update and presentation of findings was given to membership at the BRFN General Meeting held on 8 August 2011. In addition to questions about additional work that could be undertaken, BRFN members raised questions and discussed the data presented.

A PowerPoint presentation on the TLUS findings was presented to representatives of BC Hydro, BCEAO, CEA, and the BRFN Chief and Council, on 30th September 2011, at the BC Hydro Site-C offices in Vancouver, BC.

The consultants visited Blueberry River again in October 2011 to obtain further community verification; however, the planned presentation to the general membership was cancelled due to a funeral. Instead, a meeting was held with a Council member who could not attend the
Vancouver presentation, along with one of the Community Liaison Workers, and thus there was an opportunity for a further review by community representatives. The consultants made digital copies of each voice-recorded interview for return to the individual study participants.

2.4 Limitations of Study
Field visits for verification of all interview data were not conducted as part of this Study, although the TLUS Agreement signed between BRFN and BC Hydro contemplates field visits and “ground truthing” of fixed or important sites and resource use areas as required (see schedule B of Agreement). At this time, no ground-truthing has been requested by either party. One day was spent in the field with two members to locate precisely the areas where one of these individuals had camped for hunting and fishing in the study area. Other activity-site locations, including camps mentioned by other participants, were marked on topographical maps and discussed during recorded interviews.

The information contained in this report cannot be assumed to represent the full extent of contemporary use by the BRFN members interviewed for this study. Additional information would likely be recalled in follow-up interviews. Not all pertinent data obtained during the TLUS were included in this report. Nor is it assumed that the 40 members interviewed during the project reflect all BRFN members who have knowledge of the study area. In order to accomplish these objectives, a more comprehensive study would be required.

Importantly, this report prepared on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nations does not purport to represent the land use of any other First Nation residing in the Peace River region.
3.0  The Blueberry River First Nations

In July 1977, the —Fort St. John Band‖ was divided into the — Blueberry River Band‖ and the —Doig River Band,‖ by Ministerial Order under the provisions of Section 17(1) (a) of the Indian Act and following a referendum of May 1977. Thus the contemporary Blueberry River community became a new Band.

Prior to 1977, however, the Department of Indian Affairs recognized the Blueberry River people as forming part of the —Fort St. John Band‖ — also known as the —Beaver Indians of the St. John band,‖ the — St. Johns Band of Indians‖ or the —Fort St. John Beaver Band‖ — the seasonal residents of an Indian Reserve set aside near Fort St. John, under the provisions of Treaty 8. This Reserve, known as —St. John Indian Reserve No. 172‖ was located on the north side of the Peace River approximately 15 kilometres (about 10 miles) due north from Fort St. John.4

Anthropologists Robin Ridington’s and Antonia Ridington’s (Antonia Mills’) research in the 1960’s, 5 along with other source materials discussed in this report, provide information about the ancestors of the Blueberry River people and the Doig people before and after they became known collectively as the —Fort St. John Band‖ in the late 1800s. These data indicate considerable social unity among the people of the central and upper Peace River prior to the time of Treaty 8 in 1899-1900. Emphasizing this point, Robin Ridington wrote in his doctoral thesis that Blueberry and Doig — can be called the Beatton (North Pine) River bands.‖ 6

St. John IR 172, also known as the Montney Indian Reserve, consisted of approximately 18,148 acres of prime agriculture land. The Reserve was confirmed by Privy Council Order

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3 Division of the Fort St. John Band, 20 July 1977 (approved by the Minister of Indian Affairs, 8 August 1977). On file with the Indian Land Registry, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Vancouver Regional Office. Document 074003.


6 Ridington 1968:75.
P.C. 819 in April of 1916. It was the summer home of many Blueberry River and Doig individuals. At the time of the division of the Fort St. John Band in 1977, the Blueberry River group contained 119 persons who resided seasonally at Blueberry Indian Reserve No. 205.

3.1 Community Profile and Location

Population statistics have been provided by the BRFN Administration Office for the purposes of this report. As of May 2011, the population of the Blueberry River First Nations was 440. Of this total, forty-seven percent of members, the future workforce and leaders, were under the age of 19; fifty-eight percent of these children lived off-Reserve. A further fifty-two percent of BRFN members were between the age of 20 and 65. Statistics relating to education levels and employment have not been acquired for this TLUS.

As of May 2011, forty-seven percent of BRFN members resided on-Reserve. The Blueberry River Indian Reserve No. 205 is situated approximately 54 kilometers (34 miles) northwest of Fort St. John by way of either the Prespatou Road running north of Montney, or by the Alaska Highway and the Mile 73 Road.

3.2 Beaver-speaking Ancestors of the Blueberry River First Nations

The Beaver-speaking members of the Blueberry River First Nation and their ancestors are known as Dane-za, translated as ‘real people‘; the Beaver language is known as Dane-zaa zaâgê which translates as ‘people-regular language.’ In recent years, Dane-zaa has been transcribed as

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8 Division of the Fort St. John Band, 20 July 1977.
but even more recently has been written as —Dane-zaa.

11 This term Dane-zaa or Zaa-Dane appears in the literature with several variants, including —Tsattine, —Tsuten, —Tsahuh, and —Tsa-t’gene.

The reference to —Beaver— is said to have been derived from the Chipewyan term for the Peace River, —Chaw hot-e-na Dez-za or Beaver Indian river.

12 Another source indicates that the Chipewyan of Lake Athabasca referred to the Beaver people as —tsa-ttiné, translated in French as _habitants parmi les Castors_,' meaning _dwellers among the beavers._ In French, the Beaver people are called _Gens de Castor_, meaning literally _people of the beaver_, or simply _Castors_, _beavers._

13 In —Northern Plains Cree (see Section 3.3 of the present report), the term for the Beaver people is —amiskiwiyinwi meaning _beaver person._

Anthropologist and ethnohistorian Beryl Gillespie has pointed out that:

An Athapaskan people have been associated with the Peace River region and called Beaver Indians since the earliest historical documents relating to the area. There have been no major difficulties of group designations with the Peace River region, but there has been confusion between the
Athapaskan-speaking Beaver Indians of the Peace River and the Beaver River Cree.16

The English term —Beaver— has been applied also to Aboriginal people said to be the original inhabitants of the lower Peace River, Lesser Slave Lake, Methye Portage (located between Lac La Loche and the Clearwater River), and Mackenzie Valley regions. Not all of these areas have been historically or conclusively associated with the ancestors of the Blueberry River people. Nevertheless, a review of the territory used and occupied by the Dane-zaa progenitors of the BRFN, beginning with the earliest observations of their presence on the Peace River, can be found in Blueberry River First Nations: Traditional Territory (2011).

Gillespie points out that Athapaskan people known as —Beaver— have been associated with the Peace River since the earliest historical documentation, and that —there have been no major difficulties of group designations with the Peace River region.17 Still, divisions among the Aboriginal peoples of the Peace are not sharply delineated. For example, anthropologist Diamond Jenness observed —it is impossible to draw a sharp line between Sekani and Beaver Indians, and the Indians of Hudson’s Hope, who are usually classed as [western] Beaver, might be included with almost equal justice among the Sekani.18 The issue of the relationship between these two groups will be discussed below.

Contemporary —Bands— comprising the Beaver or Dane-zaa in northeastern BC are those known today as the Blueberry River, Doig River, Halfway River, West Moberly, East Moberly or Saulteau, and Prophet River First Nations.19 Present-day members of some of these same six First Nations in northeastern BC—especially Blueberry River First Nations members—also speak the Cree language. In former times, members of some of these same First Nations, particularly the East Moberly, also spoke one of the Iroquoian languages (see, as well, Section 3.3 of the present report).20

19 Scholars often class the Prophet River Beaver with the Sekani, a Northern Athapaskan group of the Rocky Mountain Trench area. See Ridington 1981:350-351.
20 Some members of the East Moberly or Saulteau First Nation formerly spoke the Saulteau (also spelled —Saulteaux|) language, as they are descendants of a Saulteau —speaking Plains Ojibwa group who migrated over an approximately 10-year period around 1900 from Manitoba to the Moberly Lake area. See Douglas Hudson (1992). The Two Mountains That Sit Together: An Ethno-Historical Overview. Report prepared on behalf of the Treaty 8 Tribal Association for the BC Ministry of Energy, Mines & Petroleum. Pp. 1, 67-70, and Appendix G. See also Art Napoleon, Editor (1998). Bushland Spirit: Our Elders Speak. Twin Sisters Publishing Co., Moberly Lake, BC. Pp. 3 and 23-33. The Plains Ojibwa of western Manitoba and eastern Saskatchewan are most commonly designated —Saulteaux| („people of the rapids“ [i.e. Sault St. Marie, Ontario]), a usage of French Canadian traders. This same term, —Saulteaux| is also used to refer to a Southeastern Ojibwa group from Sault Sainte Marie, Ontario, and to the Saulteaux of Lake Winnipeg. See: E.S. Rogers 1978. Southeastern Ojibwa. In,
3.2.1 The Aboriginal Beaver Language

The Beaver language or Dane-zaa ziâgé is classified as one of the Northern Athapaskan (also spelled —Athabascan) languages of the Athapaskan Language Family. Beaver is spoken both in northeastern BC and in northwestern Alberta. Linguists Michael Krauss and Victor Golla have pointed out that Beaver is one of the most poorly demarcated of the Northern Athapaskan languages:

There is probably some degree of mutual intelligibility between Beaver and all neighbouring languages, with the exception of the Sarcee; this is apparently highest toward the west, where the dialects of Beaver, Sekani and Kaska shade into one another without any clear linguistic or social boundaries, but there is also a vagueness about the boundary between Beaver and Slavey in northern Alberta.

Linguist Patrick Moore commented in 1979: —There is extensive but poorly known diversity among the dialects of Beaver.|| 24 Ethnographer James Teit, who undertook field work in 1910-1913 both before and independent of Jenness, made much the same observations. Teit’s notes on the Sekani, which were compiled from his personal interviews both with Native consultants and with local fur traders, led him to conclude that the Sekani —belong to the same group with the Beaver who live east of the Rockies." To this he added that —some [Sekani] informants say their language is just the same as the Beaver language.|| Thus to Teit it seemed — probable that the Sekani were really a part of the upper or Rocky Mountain Beaver and lived entirely east of the Rockies.|| The Tahl tan, Kaska and Liard people told Teit that they considered the Sekani to

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21 —Athapaskan|| is an arbitrary designation introduced in the 1830’s -1840’s to denote linguistically related Aboriginal groups in the interior of northwestern North America beyond the Churchill River. A number of writers have used names for the Athapaskan language family based on words meaning 'man' or 'person;' since the 1960s-1970s, this term has commonly been spelled —Dene in Canada (Gillespie1981:168). As for the term —Athabasca,|| itself, it is said to be a Cree word meaning || (have) there are plants one after the other' or 'there are reeds here and there' with reference to the Peace-Athabasca delta region near the west end of Lake Athabasca (Gillespie 1981:168). See also James G.E. Smith (1981). Western Woods Cree. In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, Subarctic. Edited by June Helm. Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC. Page 269.


be — comparatively new-comers on their borders — and said they had come from areas around Fort Grahame and the Peace River country. And Teit added that — the Northern Sekani themselves acknowledge having spread from further south and east. 25

3.3 The Languages of Non-Athapaskans in the Area

Some BRFN members speak Cree. The term — Cree — is used both in English and in French to designate all those who speak the Cree language. But the word — Cree — itself, is actually derived from a shortened form of the Ojibwa term for the Cree people that has been written as — Knisteneaux. 26

While the language spoken by the Cree members of the BRFN and their ancestors is classified within the Algonquian Language Family, there is some discrepancy in the literature concerning both the name of the particular dialect of Cree spoken in this region of northwest BC and northwest Alberta, as well as the name of the ethnic grouping of those who speak this dialect of Cree. 27 Ethnographically, the speakers of Northern Plains Cree are known as the — Western Woods Cree or — Woodland Cree. 28


26 Variants of this term, — Knisteneaux, first appeared in historical documents in the mid-1600s. Other transcriptions of this term include: —Kinistineau; — Kistinon; — Kistinous; and — Kilistineau. The French are said to have immediately adopted the term and then shortened it to —Crees or — Cree by the late 1700s, the English, as well, were using —Cree in this generic sense to refer to all Cree people. See John J. Honigmann (1981). West Main Cree. In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 6, Subarctic. Edited by June Helm. Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC. Pp. 227-228. See also David G. Mandelbaum (1940). The Plains Cree. Anthropological Papers Of The American Museum of Natural History. Vol. XXXVII, Part II. New York. Page 169.


Some BRFN members are descendants of Iroquois. Speakers of Iroquoian languages, who were often just identified as —Iroquois,— came to the west in the 1790s-early 1800s when the North West Company and its short-lived rival, the XY Company, hired numerous —Iroquois— and other eastern First Nation hunters who worked their way westward until they reached as far as the Rocky Mountains. Many of these —Iroquois— hunters stayed in the west and married Cree and Métis women.30


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29 While there are 16 different groups that have been identified as —Iroquoian,— the actual number of languages classified as —Iroquoian— is less, totalling possibly 13 (very little or no data exists for some of these languages). A major division exists between a —Northern Branch— and a —Southern Branch— of Iroquoian. The — Northern Branch— of Iroquoian includes the related —Five Nations— languages known as Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca in the upper St. Lawrence and south side of Lake Ontario areas. See: Floyd G. Lounsbury (1978). Iroquoian Languages. In, Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 15, Northeast. Edited by Bruce Trigger. Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC. Pp. ix, 334-336.

4.0 Aboriginal Dane-zaa

Historical and ethnographic data indicate that the ancestors of the BRFN developed a lifestyle admirably suited to the Peace River environment. For information on these lifeways, there are several significant works to which one can turn.

A major ethnographic work in its own time was anthropologist and linguist Pliny Earle Goddard's report on —The Beaver Indians,‖ published by the American Museum of Natural History in 1916, compiled from fieldwork that Goddard undertook between June and September of 1913 at several places along the Peace River, including Fort St. John.31 The empirical detail is not as rich as Goddard would have liked, he acknowledged there were both difficulties in getting interpreters and finding Beaver consultants at Fort St. John, as almost all of the Aboriginal people were off hunting at the time he arrived.32 Still, there is useful material here, which continues to be used by modern ethnographers. A second volume by Goddard, published in 1917 and based on this same fieldwork, is not useful for the present project, as it deals entirely with Beaver linguistics.33

Diamond Jenness, a well-known Canadian anthropologist, provided a significant amount of material on the Beaver in three separate studies in the 1930s. Publications on the Sekani in 1931, 1932 and 1937, based on fieldwork done in the summer of 1924, included Beaver material, since Jenness interpreted past writers, particularly Alexander Mackenzie, as having referred to the Sekani and the Beaver as one group.34

Since the 1960s, anthropologist Robin Ridington has added considerably to our understanding of the Dane-zaa.35 For broader ethnographic sketch of the Dane-zaa people than appears

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32 Moreover, Goddard pointed out that —The few ethnological notes here presented were mostly secured incidentally to the linguistic work and the collecting of [ethnological] specimens‖ (Goddard 1916:203).


below, the reader is referred to Ridington’s article, —Beaver,‖ found in the Subarctic volume of the Handbook of North American Indians that was published in 1981.36 Ridington’s ethnographic fieldwork among the Dane-zaa in the 1960’s-1970’s was undertaken jointly with his wife, Antonia Mills (then, Antonia Ridington).37

A second major contemporary ethnographic study of the Beaver, based on field research done in 1978-1979 was undertaken by another anthropologist, Hugh Brody. Some of the results of this work were published as a book in 1981.38 Other results appear in a report prepared for Indian Affairs as a 1980 Submission by the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs on the Northeast Land Use and Occupancy Study, which contains the Aboriginal people’s perspective on their traditional land use.39 Perhaps the report’s most useful component is an Appendix prepared by biologist and ethnographer Martin Weinstein, which has an historical as well as a contemporary component, and which is based in part on the use of primary source materials.40

4.1 “Extended-Family Bands” of „Real People”

The Beaver-speaking people in earlier times understood themselves to be members of both a collective of individuals comprising the Dane-zaa (‘real people’) and as members of smaller, family-like groups recognized with names containing the element wǝdǝnǝp (wadane) or people of or people.41 The term wadane is applied to groups of diverse size, and as Ridington has discussed, a wadane could be comprised of a cluster of groups referred to at other times as wadane. Anthropologist Antonia Mills (formerly Antonia Ridington) said that

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41 Ridington 1968:64; Ridington 1981:350, 352. Wadane is the term wǝdǝnǝp when retranscribed into the practical orthography for the Beaver language that has been devised by Marshall and Jean Holdstock. For a key to this practical writing system, see Amber Ridington and Kate Hennessy 2007:464-465, in, Hennessy 2010.
the *Dane-zaa* translated this same term loosely as _those people_ with general reference to where the people camped, \(^{42}\) emphasizing the ephemeral nature of the identity.

In his 1981 *Handbook* article, Robin Ridington explained further the composition of this group:

> …the name used to refer to a person’s *wǝdǝ npe* [ *wadane* ] group was relative to the social space between him and the observer. To a Beaver Indian, one’s *wǝdǝ npe* group and one’s own place in a constellation of kinsmen constantly changing form over time and space was as natural as the movements and changes among the animals upon whom their lives depended…For every person there was a circle of people who were seen regularly and clearly known and recognized as kinsmen. Those on the circumference of an individual’s circle of recognition would themselves recognize ties with people outside his usual range of contact, but because of their mediating ties and a common system of classification they could be aware of one another as Beaver.\(^{43}\)

Ridington further identified in this explanation of *wadane* three means of organization:

(numbers added):

> The *wǝdǝ npe* - group designations can be used either to mean (1) the people who are living together at a particular time (2) or to mean a group or related groups sharing a common history and genealogy, (3) or to mean all the people of an area some distance away.\(^{44}\)

Elsewhere in his work Ridington further discussed the composition of these groups.\(^{45}\) The basic *Dane-zaa* social and territorial unit, he noted, may be called a bilaterally-extended —family band — that included a group of married siblings and their children. It was this basic social unit of a group of married siblings and their children living together from which larger associations could grow. 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.\(^{46}\)

Ideally, the family band attempted to keep sons and daughters within the *wadane* for protection, recruiting spouses from the co-residential group or from among relatives whose families had been split apart by the high mortality rate in Beaver society. Marriage within the

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\(^{42}\) Mills 1981:15-16.

\(^{43}\) Ridington 1981:350.

\(^{44}\) Ridington 1981:350.

\(^{45}\) See Ridington 1968:Appendix 1.

\(^{46}\) Ridington 1981:352-353.
was encouraged (group endogamy), and some wadane groups were highly endogamous, although Ridington’s notes reveal the shallowness of genealogical information in this area, making such a statement difficult to assess. In his 1968 doctoral dissertation, Ridington referred to the wadane as “kinsmen of a particular region,” and stressed the multiple lines of kinship that united the people of a particular territory.

Ridington also explained that the wadane was a flexible social unit, changing as resource availability and demographic necessity required. Larger groups would break up into constituent groups of siblings to have fewer mouths to feed during the wintertime and early spring, when food was scarce. In the wintertime, smaller groups would disperse and go off in different directions, having no contact until the next summer.

Some anthropologists have suggested that this form of social organization existed because it was the most efficacious way to survive in the harsh Beaver environment. These kin-based groups could divide and reunite with the seasons, and therefore facilitated the mobility that was an integral part of Dane-zaa life. In the past, when the ecological pressures of winter survival necessitated greater dispersal of population, the bilateral extended family group was likely an autonomous unit. Larger groupings of related families (nodal kindred groups) came together when the ecology permitted. Those who came together in the summer were likely to consider themselves a single wadane although the wadane was not a permanently viable economic group, and thus its composition was highly flexible.

Dane-zaa people applied the term wadane to related groups sharing a common history and genealogy. When a successful family band continued thriving for several generations, it would usually split into several linked groups who would reunite on a seasonal basis, as conditions were favourable. In this way, Ridington stated, the large wadane group that came together in the summer was, in fact, an evolved form of the wadane group that was an extended family band. Wadane that had subdivided from larger groups retained their sense of relatedness, but would operate separately for part of the year to optimize survival and then reassemble into large groups during the summer.

Group identity did not usually last beyond two or three generations, Ridington noted, because such groups did not have the corporate features, or operational criteria, commonly associated

48 Ridington 1968:64, 80.
49 Ridington 1968:33
50 Ridington 1968:71.
52 Ridington 1968:63-64.
with unilinear descent. Instead, *Dane-zaa* kinship formed conceptual categories of kinship that more easily facilitated the movement of individuals to optimize economic opportunities and survival.

Ridington determined that genealogies among the *Dane-zaa* typically go back only a few generations to successful men remembered at the apices of the family trees. They, themselves, were related back to other such men, but the exact relationships between earlier common ancestors may not be remembered, although it seems from the available data that subsequent marriage reinforced earlier-established kinship bonds.

A *wadane* might also divide into groups along these same sibling-based lines if it became too large to remain a functional hunting unit. Individuals moved between these kinship groups, which were quite fluid and composed of different individuals at different times. Ridington's fieldwork led him to conclude that even though hunting and trapping territories were not considered to be "owned" by the particular *wadane* which used them, each *wadane* had definite territorial rights. Though Ridington did not define what he meant by the terms ownership or rights, the historical data reviewed below support an association of certain groups with certain areas, a relationship between heads of families and territory that is reflected in the historical data reviewed here.

Ridington’s data suggest that permission for use of such *wadane* territories generally had to be sought and given, although he is silent on the ability of small bands to control or to expel intruders in this vast region. Territoriality was clearly less important in times of hunger, for Ridington’s Native consultants stated that at such times, "hungry people would follow on the tracks of others, hoping to find meat." His data also indicate that if one family band was decimated by death, then the remaining band members would reunite with another kin-linked group within the same *wadane*.

The term *wadane* does not refer to a sharply-bounded group of individuals. For example, the composition of a hunting band could consist of members from several *wadane* and change over time. Ridington’s Aboriginal consultants explained that the Prophet River *chisode* *wadane* was devastated by influenza in 1927, after which the hunting territory associated

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53 Ridington 1968:79. (For example: specific situations in which the descent group may be deemed to operate, including occasions for the transmission of group-owned property, such as name titles and other prerogatives; a restrictive criterion that may be applied in terms of the number of ancestors in sequence; a marriage rule).

54 Ridington 1968:81.


58 Ridington 1965-1967:114. This individual added: —Sometimes they would come on an old camp and would boil up the old bones that had been left around. Then they would eat the grease that floated to the top of the kettle."
with this wadane was taken over by a group made up of people from Halfway, Blueberry and Fort St. John (meaning here, Doig). These individuals hunted together at times, but they spent summers at their —home bands’ summer camping places. In another example of group fluidity, Big Charlie’s people, for whom Charlie Lake is named, often camped with Attachie’s band from the Halfway River, and maintained close connections with the Halfway people. Applying Ridington’s definition, it could be said that at times these two groups together comprised a wadane.

Ridington compared names he recorded for wadane in the mid-1960s with those noted by Morice in the late 19th century, and by Goddard in 1913, and found that his own Dane-zaa consultants provided a larger list of named subdivisions than had been distinguished earlier, though many wadane were no longer identifiable. Some of the same names reported earlier were recognized, but generally it appears that the lengthy list of names recorded by Ridington referred to groups at different times in the region’s history of occupation. The inherent fluidity of the social organization of the wadane may have been accelerated by devastating diseases, but Ridington opined that more than social disintegration accounted for an apparent perplexity in the list:

Wutdunne [wadane] have probably always contained people of diverse origins and their identification has been relativistic. They are best seen as generalized place names which tend to persist over time while individuals migrate in and out, only gradually giving up the name of their place of origin and taking on the name of their new location.

Dane-zaa people interviewed by Robin Ridington in the 1960s recognized 15 historical wadane groups hunting and trapping in northeastern BC and northwestern Alberta. Consistent with the flexibility inherent in the social organization, the wadane that existed in the early 19th and 20th centuries are not the same divisions recognized in 2011. Yet, while change in social organization occurred as a result of the cessation of a nomadic lifestyle that took place in the second half of the 20th century, the data reviewed here indicate that the composition of local groups has historically changed both seasonally and from one generation to another.

60 Charlie Lake was formerly called Azide Lake after Aku’s father, but was later changed to Charlie Lake after Big Charlie, who was 6’6‖ and had long hair (Ridington 1965-1967: 239.)
61 Ridington 1968:78.
63 Goddard 1916:208.
Ethnographic reports prepared by Morice (1895), Goddard (1916) and Ridington (1968) provide the names of wadane associated with the Fort St. John region in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Importantly, Ridington points out with respect to the 17 wadane noted by his Dane-zaa consultants in the 1960s that — the names of the list refer to groups in different times and of different geographic and social distance. Among them are the following: 66

- The name — tsachu || or — tsachua ||, referring to — Beavers living near Ft. St. John circa 1915. 67 Anthropologist and linguist Pliny Goddard reported in 1913 that these people were comprised of three small bands of 102 individuals who lived between the headwaters of the Liard, in the north, and the confluence of the Beaver and the Peace in the south. 68

- The name “klue-la” || fish people’ refers specifically to — the present Blueberry Indian Reserve but probably meant earlier the St. John Beavers who camped at Fish Creek near the old Fort St. John. 69 Ridington also noted that “Klue-la people are part of the wadane? called “tsachu” ;

- The name — tsipedunne “, which means ‘muskeg people,’ applied more specifically, Ridington reports, to: 1) the closely knit band of the two brothers Yeklezi and Dechiin who lived on the upper Beatton River (Milligan Creek) and into Alberta c. 1915; or 2) people living north of the Peace River in Alberta. His Dane-zaa consultants in the 1960s said that this wadane was also sometimes known as the — yeklezi wutdune, || yeklezi being the name of a prominent late 19th-century Beaver man who led one of the family bands within this wadane? , At least in the time of Yeklezi, his band was said to be more intermarried than the others ;

- The name — tache, || water running people’ ; The term is sometimes used for the present Doig River reserve and refers to the place where Osborn Creek joins the Doig River. The same people are sometimes called — tea-atsukl, || beaver crying people.’ Ridington notes that these terms appear to be primarily place names.

- The — kleze-ne || were identified as the people who lived south of the Peace around Pouce-Coupe and Dawson Creek at the turn of the century [circa 1900] and the living people who grew up there. George Chipesia and old man Aku72 were called Klezene. Their people are said to have lived on grizzly bear after the buffalo disappeared. 73

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67 Ridington 1968:146.
68 Goddard 1916:208.
69 Ridington 1968:146-147.
70 Ridington 1968:75, 147.
72 Ridington 1968: Appendix 2:150.
73 Ridington 1968: Appendix 1: 147.
● The name —ya-kwonne‖ _lousy house people,‘ was used by outside people to refer to the people camped at Fish Lake east of Prophet River who were led by a man named —Bigfoot.‖ 74
● The name —sakone,‖ also called — shon-kwonne,‖ meaning _toilet house people;‘ was used by groups to refer to these Prophet River people.75
● Ridington noted that the present Prophet River Reserve is known by a recent [in 1968] term —the 232 wadanp‖ 76 [referring to Mile 232 on the Alaska Highway]
● The term —klin-chon-gwa‖ _dog ribs‘ applied to individuals identified as Dog Ribs who moved into the Peace; it was not a local wadanp.77
● The name —dodachin‖ applied to the Moberly Lake Beavers 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;78
● The term Ridington transcribed as —UchUchianne‖ (— McLeod Lake people, long way people‖) and Morice wrote as — Yu-tsu-t’qenn‖ and translated as _people little down the river,‘ 79 applied to the people of McLeod Lake and upper Fraser River; 80
● The name klug-nachi _big prairie people‘ referred to people of the middle Peace River who moved west to the upper river. Ridington said that the first Dreamers were members of this group but became Sekani.81

Additionally, Ridington listed neighbouring wadanp:

● The name —sasusan,‖ possibly referring to the people of Fort Grahame, identified also by Jenness as —sasuchan‖ _black bear people‘ of the Finlay River; 82
● The name na’ane, _people from a long way north,‘ possibly applied to the Kaska;83
● The name tsaa-dze-an referred to the Vermillion people.84 The name “tse-ta-makwonne‖ _this side of the mountain people‘ referred to the people living east of the mountains in the Hudson’s Hope and Halfway River area. Ridington noted that these

75 Ridington 1968:146.
77 Ridington 1968:146.
78 Ridington 1968:146.
79 Morice 1895:28
80 Ridington 1968:146.
81 Ridington 1968:147.
82 Ridington 1968:146.
83 Ridington 1968:147.
84 Ridington 1968:147.
Halfway people identified themselves with this term but others called them *tsekene* [Sekani]. The Halfway people, themselves, Ridington added, use the name —*tse-ta-makwonne*” to refer to themselves [in the 1960’s] and the term Sekani to refer to the people on the west side of the mountains. Another of Ridington’s consultants said that the Halfway people were a composite of several bands, including the Moberly Lake Beavers [*dodachin*] and the people of McLeod Lake [*UchUchianne*], Fort Graham [?,*sasusan*], Kaska, and Sekani.85

In 1895, Father A.G. Morice, an historian and ethnographer, described —*Tsa-dennel* as the Beaver who roam over the prairies contiguous to the Peace River and west to the Rocky Mountains.86 And adventurer H.S. Somerset also noted in 1895 that the "the Beaver or *Tsuten* Indians inhabit the districts between Fort Dunvegan and the Rocky Mountains.‖ 87

This flexible social organization shared by family groups occupying the Peace River region, with marriage rules that reinforced alliances between kin groups, is important to understand when assessing the Aboriginal interests of a number of contemporary First Nations in the Site-C Project Area.

### 4.2 The Need for Mobility

At the time of European settlement in the Peace River region (see section 6.0), the Aboriginal residents were hunter-gatherers. Their economic activities and social organization were intimately and admirably related to the resources and conditions of their environment. Since neither moose nor deer travel in large herds, constant movement in their pursuit dictated the rhythms of life. Harsh conditions and the uncertainty of hunting, commented anthropologist Robin Ridington, particularly during the difficult winter season, constituted an ecological minimum that determined the strategy behind group formation and underlies the Beaver system of belief and action.88 Thus, it was necessary for these people's survival to maintain a seasonal cycle of aggregation and dispersal related to the availability of resources.

The historical documentation supports the conclusion that subsistence was precarious throughout the region. Reports of starvation are not uncommon from the post-contact period to the late 20th century, although there is some dispute among scholars about whether traders used the term —*starving* to mean – *famine*, in its modern sense, or whether it meant simply —*hungry*. The point seems to be moot here. The important conclusion seems to be that food resources were sufficiently low at certain times of the year to cause hardship among even these

85 Ridington 1968:147-149.
86 A.G. Morice (1895). Notes, Archaeological, Industrial and Ecological, on the Western Denes, Transactions of the Canadian Institute, Session 1892-1893.
smaller groups which had fewer mouths to feed. Ridington noted that so precarious was the Dane-zaa’s survival that when different hunting groups of Beaver people met during the summer ceremonial, the customary greeting was —You still alive?‖ 89 Pliny Goddard observed during his 1913 fieldwork among the Dane-zaa that the theme of starvation and survival was echoed in the people’s mythology.90

Searching for game and moving camp when required meant that the people retained few possessions. This is evident in a particularly vivid description of a Dane-zaa party moving camp that G.B. Milligan wrote in May 1915 during his exploratory survey work north of the Peace River:

When an Indian party starts out from the post to their hunting ground, each member of the party, the children and dogs included, has to pack on his or her back part of the outfit. Their packs consist, besides their camp outfit, of principally tea and tobacco and cartridges. The hunters generally go ahead of the rest with an axe, rifle, and light pack, and as soon as they arrive at the camping-ground, leave their packs and go off on a hunt. It sometimes happens, when in a poor part of the country for moose, that they subsist for days entirely on a few rabbits and grouse, and sometimes squirrel. In the spring and summer, when they wish to travel downstream to the post, they usually go by canoe. Being unable to secure birch-bark in large enough pieces, their canoes are made of spruce-bark or —pine,‖ as it is called in the country. They are very small and frail and seldom carry more than one man and his hunting outfit. They are used only for one trip, and that downstream, and being so fragile, are seldom taken upstream. They are convenient, however, as two Indians can make one in half a day. After selecting a suitable tree it is cut down and the bark peeled off in one piece the required length of the canoe. This is fitted and sewn on to a frame of spruce; the ends are sewn together, and the whole thing is ribbed with you willows and spruce. The knot-holes are then gummed and the canoe is ready for the water.91

4.2.1 Trails

A 1915 map of the Peace River Block shows a maze of trails including the Fort Nelson route that extended from the bank of the Peace River at Fort St. John and climbing north up to the

89 Ridington 1968:33.
90 Goddard 1916; 1917.

—Montagneuse River (St. John Creek) and beyond to Fort Nelson. 92 When Jimmy Appaw was a youth in the late 1920s and throughout the 1930s, this Fort Nelson trail was the major north-south route between Fort St. John and Fort Nelson. Portions of the trail remain in the Beatton Airport area and were pointed out to us by Sylvester Apsassin in August 2011. The Fort Nelson trail once connected Fort St. John with an independent trader’s post situated near the confluence of Conroy Creek and the Sikanni Chief River, in the general vicinity of one of the Appaw family’s cabins. Jimmy Appaw recalls the trail being —8 feet or 10 feet wide, wide enough for a sleigh,‖ and confirms recollections of the freight trail reported by some of the White settlers in the book The Peacemakers of North Peace.93 A description of the road found in the 1930 Pacific Great Eastern Railway Survey notes that motor vehicles could use the southern parts of it, at least as far north as Peterson’s Prairie:

A wagon road known as the Fort Nelson trail follows the valley of St. John Creek north-westerly, crossing the north boundary of the Block in Range 20. This road is used by motor vehicles in dry weather as far north as Township 87. From the last mentioned road a branch road, which can also be used by motor vehicles, runs north-easterly through the Rose Prairie district to Peterson’s ranch in Township 87 Range 17 on the Beatton River. From these main roads numerous farm roads and trails branch out to isolated homesteads, and Indian trails or old survey trails follow most of the creeks.94

Other trails connected the Peace River with Charlie Lake, Cache Creek and the Halfway River, and these in turn led to a myriad of other trails connecting bush camps, hunting grounds and fisheries. Trails on the south side connected the Peace with the upper Kiskatinaw, Pine and Moberly rivers, and led to the hunting grounds around Dawson Creek, Pouce Coupe and Grande Prairie. In 1930, BC Land Surveyor H. Pattinson remarked on the numerous access routes in the area between the Halfway River and Stoddart Creek, a fact that made his job easier: —Few new trails were cut as it was generally found possible to penetrate any portion of the area by means of existing trails.‖ 95 The surveyors also noted, —In those localities where

92 Plan of Land Examined in the Peace River Block, 1915, by J.A. Doucet. BC Lands, 19 PGE Locker 1. Joseph Apsassin was a guide on this trail in the summer of 1922. Route was to the east of the highway for most of its length, crossed through several of the Blueberry traplines(cited in UBCIC 1980, Ch. 5, p. 67).
93 Cora Ventress, Marguerite Davies, and Edith Kyllo (1973). The Peacemakers of North Peace. Published by the Authors. Pp. 91-98.
95 H. Pattinson, in Crystale 1930:II: 42.
there are no existing trails the country is as a rule easy of access. The main obstacles to speedy travelling are the river crossings, and those areas strewn with windfalls and fire debris.\[96\] Several BRFN people interviewed for the TLUS spoke about the Peace River crossing at Taylor, where the water was formerly shallow enough to cross a horse. Maryanne Maas pointed out that there were actually two crossings, one upstream from Taylor and the other that crossed to the Pine River and led west to the Moberly. A wagon road along the west side of the Pine followed this southern route in the 1930s, though it was in a poor state of repair at the time of the PGE survey.\[97\]

A trail that meets the Peace downstream from the mouth of the Moberly is shown on the 1915 map noted above.

Edward Apsassin also commented on the abundance of trails that radiated out from Fort St. John, noting one that reached Dunvegan, farther down the Peace River:

> There used to be a trail going down to Dunvegan, along the Peace, Doig side. Doig is down this way, so when they go down the Peace, they head down to Dunvegan. Even from here, there's all kinda trails (EA-11-10).

It was along an Aboriginal trail where the late Angus Davis was born in September 1949. In an interview with him in October 2010, Angus discussed how his family spent their summers cutting trails through the bush in search of feed for their horses, and how his mother stopped only long enough for his birth before carrying on with their travels:

> Yep, every year, summertime, where they camp – they had to cut their own trail to where they gonna make a campsite—where there a lot of feed for their horses, that's where they camp. They camp here and then they go farther north, summertime. At that time, 1949, when I was born—the the people, no wagon, no nothing, my mom tell me, from Blueberry they made it to Halfway Reserve, and they camp with them Halfway People. In the fall time, they started coming back from Halfway. .. Up to Mile 81 somewhere, they come down the Blueberry. There is one big creek there that comes into Blueberry. They camp there and rest the horses. That's where I was born. Mom had a blanket and she had to pack me on the saddle horse to get back to Blueberry Bridge. That's where uncle John build cabin, my grandpa build cabin, Acko build cabin and my Dad build cabin (AD-10-10).

That particular summer travel took the Davis family on a hundred kilometer trip through the bush by pack horse and on foot. They camped along the way in the family’s tipi. The length of the journey was not unusual for Blueberry River families in the 1940s. In earlier times, it is

\[96\] H. Pattinson, in Crysdale 1930:II:51.
\[97\] W.H. Moffatt, in Crysdale 1930:II:36.
said that all the families of the Fort St. John Band, including Blueberry River families, travelled extensively, and their seasonal round often included a trek southeast as far as the Smoky River and Grand Prairie areas, Alberta, for summer moose hunting. While not all families continued travelling in that direction for an annual hunt in the 1940s, members of this band continued to be seasonally mobile in the area north of the Peace River, where families of the Fort St. John Band had registered traplines. In the summer, they erected tipi lodges or canvas tents and camped for several weeks before moving on to the next resource site. This mobile lifestyle was well remembered by the contemporary BRFN elders we interviewed in 2010-2011.

Prior to the 1960s, horses and wagons comprised the modes of summer travel when people travelled to trade their furs, hunt for game or join other Dane-zaa and their neighbours in celebrations. In the late fall, Dane-zaa men from throughout the area would take their horses to be pastured at Montney, returning home on foot. Travel in 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 the furs back to camp with the help of dogs. At Christmas and New Years—at least in the 20th century—families would congregate for celebrations. Once spring arrived, the trappers assembled their fur bundles and headed to Montney to collect their horses.

Concerning the loss of trails, Rose Apsassin opined that only remnants of the old trail system remained:

> When the farmers come in, everything destroyed. When the oil companies come in, everything destroyed. All the old trails are all ploughed out – they are quad trails now. My daughter works archaeology—two years ago she was working down by Taylor, she saw some trails. ‘Mom,’ she said, ‘I see game trails. They either game trails long time ago or peoples’ traveling trails.’ Today, all of them are destroyed (RA-10-10).

### 4.3 Aboriginal Subsistence

Concerning the mixed economy of the Aboriginal Dane-zaa, Brody and Weinstein concluded in their 1978-1979 work on traditional land use and occupancy:

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98 Robin Ridington (1965-1967). Field Notes of Beaver Indians, Area of Peace River in B.C. University of British Columbia Special Collections, Vancouver. Pp. 140. 167. The Alberta hunting trips were reflected in the land-use maps compiled under the direction of Brody and Weinstein in 1978-1979 (see UBCIC 1980); the longer swing south of the Peace, undertaken in earlier times, was not.

We can recognize about 62 species as having had a place in this economy. These include 8 species of ungulates, two bears, four small game animals, 4 grouse, thirteen types of fur mammals, thirteen ducks, two geese, one swan, and fifteen species of fish. Soon after the inception of the Peace–Athabasca fur trade in the late 1700s, the Dane-zaa became reliant upon imported food, such as the tea, flour, and sugar offered by the trading posts. In the 1820s, according to the historical journals, these Aboriginal people made regular trips to Fort St. John, Fort Vermilion, Fort Dunvegan and other posts in search of these items, along with cloth, firearms and tobacco.

Despite the changes brought by contact with Europeans, Ridington observed that until about 1900 the Dane-zaa remained substantially dependent upon exploiting the natural environment, and for the period from about 1830 to 1920 [before settlers and wage labour came available], they were required to conduct their lives within the limitations posed by a resource base that consisted largely of moose. To his analysis we might add that throughout this time trapping provided meat, along with pelts, and thus comprised a significant aspect of their subsistence quest.

In summarizing the traditional (pre-1960) annual round of the Dane-zaa, Brody and Weinstein concluded that the wadane were small and semi-nomadic bands, but their movement patterns were consistent, following rhythms based on five seasons, rather than four. The five seasons consisted of the following activities during the seasonal round:

1) Fall, when larger bands divided into smaller hunting groups to hunt game, primarily moose and deer, for dry meat and grease during the winter;

2) Early winter, when family groups would disperse to the winter hunting and trapping areas for fur bearing mammals;

3) Late winter, when the focus of hunting and trapping would shift towards predatory species (marten, lynx, fox, squirrel, fisher and wolverine);

4) Early spring, when winter furs were traded and the hunting focus shifted to beaver; and

5) Summer, when smaller groups would congregate into larger groups at summer camps and travel, sometimes long distances, to summer hunting, fishing and berry picking areas.

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Towards the end of summer, the new resource gathering year would commence with the bands beginning to engage in the fall dry-meat hunt.102

**4.3.1 Hunting**

Though the struggle to secure sufficient food may have seemed relentless for the *Dane-zaa*, they have always been a meat-eating people.103 They hunted bison on the prairies and woodlands adjacent to Peace River, moose in the muskeg country, caribou in the lower mountain ranges and parklands, and sheep and goats in high mountains.104 These they supplemented with smaller game, some fur-bearing.

Prior to the mid-1800s, the most important food resource for the *Dane-zaa*, and for their eastern Athapaskan neighbours, was the wood bison.105 Alexander Mackenzie reported herds of buffalo and elk (or more likely, moose) along the Peace. Documentary evidence from the late 18th and early 19th centuries indicates that game was relatively plentiful during late spring to fall. Indeed, early explorers' accounts from these times of the year could make the area seem like a land of milk and honey. Sir Alexander Mackenzie, referring to the place along the Peace River where it meets the Pine River flowing in from the south, said:

> this spot would be an excellent location for a fort or factory, as there is plenty of wood and every reason to believe that the country abounds in beaver. As for the other animals, they are in evident abundance, as in every direction the elk and the buffalo are seen in possession of the hills and the plains.106

But by the 1830s, the bison was in decline. Fur traders noted in their journals and correspondence the sharp decrease in the numbers of bison available, a loss earlier historians and biologists attributed to severe winters with deep snow107 and to introduction of rifles.108 Subsequent historians have drawn upon the region’s fur trade records to outline the traders’ perceptions of the process and causes of the depletion of this animal. Their consideration of the

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103 Goddard 1916:213.
108 Ferguson 1993: 70.
historical records has revealed that the central and upper Peace River, once described as major buffalo grounds, experienced a period of intensified competition from 1800-1820, as the Northwest Company, the XY Company and the Hudson’s Bay Company brought in additional personnel to meet the challenges, resulting in a marked decline in beaver and a scarcity of provisions, particularly bison. Trader Daniel Harmon attributed the game decline to —great havock‖ wreaked by Iroquoi Free Traders whose attitudes to the natural resources differed so dramatically from those of the local Aboriginals.109 The Peace River Chief Traders, William MacIntosh of Fort Dunvegan and Colin Campbell of Fort Vermilion, stressed that the upper and central Peace areas were depleted of game from the very first of the post-merger records of 1821-1822. Fort Dunvegan was characterized as —formerly a plentiful place …‖, while the Fort Vermilion District Report for 1822 noted —the exausted [sic] state of the country in large animals.‖110 By December 1833, John Charles, Chief Factor for the Peace-Athabasca District, wrote:

Peace River in Respect of Large Animals, is not the same Country it was in Days long Since gone by, there is no Buffalo in that Quarter now. And the exertion of the Beaver Indians…on their circumscribed Grounds with the encouragement held out by us for the Provisions and Leather has I believe thinned the Moose Deer [i.e., moose] considerably.111

Archaeologists Davis Burley et al also concluded that the absence of reference to bison being killed in traders‘ journals together with the great decline in the proportion of bison bones, compared to other large ungulates, found in archaeological excavation of St. Johns compared with the earlier Rocky Mountain Fort, are significant evidence of the depletion of bison between 1799 and 1823.112 One report opined that six bison were seen around Pouce Coupe in 1879 and that the local Dane-zaa killed one of them.113

Bison was at its prime during the autumn months and, as reported in the historic period, it was in the autumn when hunters slaughtered meat for making pemmican. Goddard describes how bison were hunted by a community of men driving the animals into a pound.114

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110 MacIntosh, cited in Ferguson 1993:71.
111 Charles to Governor and Committee December 1833, cited in Ferguson 1993:72.
Apsassin reported in a November 2010 interview that he had heard of such a —buffalo jump‖ located about 7 miles east of Fort St. John, but wasn’t sure of the precise location.115

The Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Vermilion (Peace River) reports for the 1820s and 1830s include significant data regarding the culture of the Aboriginal groups who frequented the post, including those identified as Beaver (Dane-zaa). It is apparent from these reports that the loss of the wood bison to the Athapaskan groups affected their main food source. It also affected the social organization of those who had relied upon the bison herds and were then dependent upon animals having more solitary habits. Now described as small, independent bands, roaming wherever the prospect of food and fur would take them, the Dane-zaa were constantly on the move looking for new hunting opportunities.116

The Dane-zaa practiced a form of environmental management that enhanced their prospects for finding game: they selectively set forest fires to manage preferred habitats on hunting grounds to encourage new plant growth for grazing ungulates and to warm the soil to extend the plant growth season.117

After depletion on bison, moose became the most significant food species. Anthropologist Pliny Goddard described moose, as well as elk, as difficult to kill, but an important food source. Woodland caribou were important where available, and also provided meat in addition to skins for clothing and for tipis (in the 19th century).118 It is not clear on how widespread caribou could be found in earlier times. In 1930 at the time of the survey of Resources in the Peace River Block, scientists knew little about the distribution of caribou:

Caribou (Rangifer [ ? ] caribou) sub-species undetermined, probably does not occur within the Block [the Peace River Block]. They are found on Mt. Bickford to the west, and a herd was seen last year on Tuskooola Mountain, a short distance south of the Block. The hills within the Block are rather low for the growth of the lichen which forms the staple diet of the caribou. Some of the hills in the southwest corner of the Block may, however, have been inhabited by caribou in the past, during some parts of the year.119

Hares (—rabbits‖) were abundant at times, but subject to extreme population fluctuation over an 8 to 11 year cycle.120 But still it was rabbit, along with beaver, grouse, porcupine, squirrel and sometimes fish that could see people through spells of bad luck.121

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115 Clarence Apsassin, Interview at Blueberry River IR, November 2010.
The primary techniques used in harvesting animal resources were snaring with babiche or sinew, and entrapment. Moose and other big-game animals were hunted with bow and arrow, club, or spear, as well as snares. It was during a portage above the Rocky Mountain canyon on the Peace River that explorer Alexander Mackenzie in 1792 came upon an enclosure which Aboriginal hunters had built in conjunction with snares. Details on the operation of such devises can be found in the fieldnotes of Robin Ridington:

A moose is made of 6 strands of moosehide which are wetted and then twined (not braided). Then it is stretched between 2 trees and dried. When dry it is very strong and relatively stiff. It is fastened on a tree by a moose trail and then a bunch of men go out and form a drive line — just like a fence. To drive the moose through the snare.

Often the snare is put in a draw in the mts. where the moose simply has to go through it. I asked if the moose puts his horns through it too but Fred said no, just his face. When the snare tightens, the moose chokes to death. For Bear, who don't follow regular trails, some grease is put on a pole and the snare is put there. Sheep [mountain sheep], caribou and goats [mountain goats] can be snared too...  

The lesser hunters and even women would surround the moose and drive it to where the better hunters were waiting. Apparently experienced hunters also employed this technique of driving the moose, on occasion, for Peace River emigrant M. Slyman who spoke the local indigenous languages and traded extensively with the local people at this Fort St. John store recalled the old man Wolf hunting in this manner:

Even at an advanced age the Wolf was a good moose hunter: he would stalk a moose, startle it into flight by cracking a stick, then chase the animal on horseback until it passed as close as possible to the old man's camp, when he would shoot it and, having returned to camp, would send others after the meat.

Deadfalls were used for lynx, fox and coyote, as these animals can chew through a snare.

BRFN members interviewed in the 1960s described how in the winter time, their ancestors got

121 Goddard 1916:212; Ridington 1968:19.
beaver by putting a moose hide net in a hole in the ice in front of a beaver house. Then the beaver was chased out into the net. 127

Bear were mentioned during the TLUS interviews for the present study as being especially prevalent on the hillsides north of the Peace and west of the Halfway. An early settler, Douglas Cadenhead, whose family ran a store at the Halfway River, also mentioned this fact in a September 1955 interview. The game that could be found here, he noted, were hunted by his occasional neighbours, Big Charlie (grandfather of today's BRFN's Yahey family) and his band, who — came down and lived for a while on the bear and deer on the hills at the mouth of the [Halfway] river. 128 Goddard described how bear could be killed by the Dane-zaa using deadfalls or holes covered with brush through which the animal fell, then to be speared or shot. 129 The abundance of bear in this area was also noted by explorer Simon Fraser. Describing what he called the "Beaver River," likely a reference to the Halfway, Fraser noted that "the Indians say it is navigable a long way up, and that Beaver, Bears and large animals of all kinds are amazing numerous". 130

4.3.2 Fishing

Fish seem to have been primarily emergency rations. 131 The most obvious effect of the paucity of fisheries is seen in the domestic dog population. The early fur traders noted with surprise that among the Beavers, women rather than dogs were the beasts of burden, for there were too few fish to feed herds of packing dogs. 132.

Members of the 1930 Pacific Great Eastern Railway exploration parties stated that —As a whole the fishing is poor,‖ but noted that Dolly Varden and grayling were taken from the larger rivers but were —far from plentiful;‖ Charlie Lake, however, was full of suckers. BC Land Surveyor J.F. Templeton wrote, —Upper Stoddart creek is foul with their dead each spring‖, 133 and Timber Cruisers G. H. McLean and D.P. Bird described how —Large numbers

129 Goddard 1916.
130 W. Kaye Lamb, Editor (1960). The Letters and Journals of Simon Fraser, 1806 – 1808. The Macmillan Company of Canada Ltd., Toronto. Page 175; Jenness (1937) thought that the —Beaver River‖ was the South Pine [Pine], but this inference seems incorrect. Later scholars like Glenda Denniston accepted its definition as the Halfway.
132 Ridington 1968:20; Nevertheless, the historical journals indicate that Charlie Lake and the stream that drains it were good sources of fish, including suckers.
133 J.F. Templeton, B.C. Land Surveyor. Survey of Resources, Peace River Block, with Special Reference to Agriculture, p. 8. In, C.R. Crysdale, Chief Engineer (compiler), Pacific Great Eastern Railway Lands 1930,
of suckers... ascend Stoddart Creek during spawning season and their dead bodies pollute the water.|| 134

McLean and Bird opined that fish were — moderately plentiful in the Peace River and tributaries of mountain origin. Local species, they reported, included grayling, Dolly Varden, bull trout, chub, ling, whitefish and jackfish, the latter of which could be found in Moberly Lake and Jackfish Lake.135 While surveyor Moffatt who examined the Pine River area found only grayling in that stream in May, he noted that some Dolly Varden and grayling had been reported for the Peace River.136

Other Native fishing spots in the area have also been identified. Carbon Creek, which flows into the Peace west of Moberly Lake, was considered in the 1970s to be one of the best areas to line fish for trout.137 The 1992 study seemed to indicate that fish were no longer as abundant there, or on Moberly River, as they had been in the past. Moose Call Creek was a source of small fish.138

4.3.3 Plant Foods

The 1930 survey of the Peace Block contains a description of some food plants available in that area which indicates an abundance of fruit, particularly berries:

Strawberries, blueberries, raspberries and Saskatoons are a few of the varieties of wild fruit found growing in the Block. Strawberries attain a fair size and raspberries of a flavour generally excelling that of the cultivated variety grow luxuriantly in all burns along the river and creek bottoms and on the bare slopes. Saskatoons are found on the river slopes and are of good size and flavour. Blueberries of the low bush type seem to favour the sandy soils but do not attain the

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Survey of Resources, Report Part II, p. 16. Survey undertaken by the Province of BC, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company and the Canadian National Railways (copy held by the Legislative Library, Victoria BC).


135 McLean and Bird, In Crysdale 1930:II:141.


137 Weinstein 1979:151.

size and flavour that they do in some other parts of the province. Cranberries and soapberries also occur throughout the area.\textsuperscript{139}

The berries noted by the surveyors are among those harvested by the Aboriginal residents. The Hudson’s Bay Company journals from Fort St. John indicate that lush animal feed and abundant berries on the Montney Prairie attracted many Fort St. John people to that area. In August 1890, the HBC journal reported women picking raspberries on both sides of the river, although it is not clear if the Peace or Beatton river is being referenced.\textsuperscript{140}

Plants may have been a less important food source for the \textit{Dane-zaa} than for other Aboriginal groups in BC and Alberta, but clearly berries were dried for winter use. Berries harvested included Saskatoon, huckleberries, blueberries, raspberries, gooseberries, crowberries and cranberries, generally from mid-July to September.\textsuperscript{141}

In the spring, the cambium of poplar tree was also consumed, along with a few roots.\textsuperscript{142} Yet the historical documents provide little information on other Aboriginal plant use.

\section*{4.4 Shelter}

Historical descriptions and photographs of \textit{Dane-zaa} and Cree settlements in the Peace River region commonly report camps consisting of several tipi lodges. In 1909, the Inspector for Treaty 8 commented explicitly that the Beavers of Fort St. John had \textit{very few, if any} shacks or buildings.\textsuperscript{143} In 1911, the Indian Agent for the Lesser Slave Lake Agency reported that the Fort St. John Beaver Indians \textit{live in teepees all year round}.\textsuperscript{144}

Concerning the style of lodging used by the \textit{Dane-zaa}, anthropologist Pliny Earle Goddard reported in 1913 that:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{140} HBC Journal, 29 August 1890. [source]
\item \textsuperscript{141} Weinstein 1979:37.
\item \textsuperscript{142} Goddard 1916:213.
\end{itemize}
the ordinary dwelling of the Beavers was a teepee of the general Northern or Chipewyan type. It has a three-pole foundation but these poles are usually not tied at the place of crossing, as is the case in the Plains since they are either forked or have projecting limbs so that they interlock. The tops of the remaining poles rest in the top of this tripod. Suitable poles are easily found in the North and are not ordinarily moved from place to place but are left standing. Old campgrounds are marked by these poles which, in sheltered situations, can remain standing for years.145

Goddard also commented that the cover of the tipi in former days was of the skins of moose or caribou, an observation that he pointed out was confirmed by Alexander Mackenzie’s diary of 1792. Goddard noted also that bison hides were not used, despite the animal’s presence in this region.146 Photographs of Aboriginal camps in the North Peace corroborate Goddard’s description.

Dane-zaa people interviewed by Ridington in the 1960s mentioned a type of winter home, said to have been used before tipis were common. These old time winter houses were like tipis, but made of poles split and covered with moss and sod, with dirt banded around the bottom. They were said to be big, warm and comfortable. Each winter people would build a new one and stay there all winter.147

Henry Apsassin called this type of shelter a —stick tipi or — stick house‖ (HA -09-11). The remains of such a lodge could be seen at Mile 43 before the area was logged around 1978/79. Sylvester Apsassin’s grandfather, Edward Apsassin, used to build such a trapping in this area in the days before Sylvester was born, but he saw this last one and described it as follows:

It is like a trapper’s cabin…split trees about 8/9 inches wide, arrange them like a teepee, cover all the holes, and put spruce on it – thick spruce – so the wind don’t come through. Stops the snow, once the snow’s packed, you got a little warm place to stay(SyA-09-

Henry Apsassin recalled one situated about a kilometre from Tommy Lakes Road, for he and his friend, —Wild Bill‖ stayed in there – for about a month‖ (HA -09-11).

An earlier form of shelter described by Charley Yahey is noted in Ridington’s work and restated in an article devoted to —Beaver Indian Habitations‖ compiled by local historian Dorothea Calverley. The dwelling made from piles logs consisted of two half-shelters separated by a passageway, with an exit at either end. When entering, or leaving, men and boys used the north end, women and girls the south end. In the centre of the passage way between the two rooms was the fire. Each room is said to have had its own use. The one

toward the east was the "bedroom" or sleeping quarters where the fur robes were spread on the floor. The family slept with heads towards the rising sun, from which they believed dreams and visions came to them. The other or western room was used for storage, and whatever work was carried on inside the shelter. At the heads of the sleepers hung the man’s "medicine bundle" a sacred object, which none but the owner ever touched. 148

Mrs. Beattie, who lived close to the Beaver Indians for many years, gave us a description of the double-lean-to construction in use in the early 1900s. In summer, she said, they were covered with brush, which could be further covered with skins or tarpaulins in wet weather.149

George Robinson, another early settler and trapper in the Peace River circa 1920, reported that he used to come upon remains of another style of shelter in the bush. Long willow saplings were stuck into the ground in a line longer than the height of a man. The top ends were bent into a semicircular form and again stuck into the ground. He described the shelter as like a "pup tent" when covered with spruce boughs, spruce bark or a tarp. The occupants left open the side nearest the fire.150 His description seems akin to that of Goddard who noted the use of temporary shelters made by tying together trees with the leaves on, which together formed a tripod foundation. Additionally, trappers and others who found themselves away from camp would build windbreaks of brush to keep off the wind and reflect the heat of the fire.151

Indian Affairs correspondence from 1933 states that the Fort St. John Beavers did not have a single shack on their Reserve at Montney, but does not mention the existence of cabins in the bush lands.152 A report on the Fort St. John’s hunting groups operating between 1940 and 1945 indicates that these people built cabins for fall and winter use, although the location of the cabin might change over the years as supplies of game and fur-bearing animals became diminished.153

Wood-frame houses began to be constructed on the Blueberry River Reserve in the 1960s. However, families maintained cabins in the area of their traplines for use during winter and spring trapping, summer camping, and fall moose hunting. New hunting/trapping cabins are still being built today.

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148 Dorothea Calverley Collection. 01-053: Beaver Indians’ Habitations. [http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-053.html](http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-053.html); accessed 22 October 2011.

149 Dorothea Calverley Collection. 01-053: Beaver Indians’ Habitations. [http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-053.html](http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-053.html); accessed 22 October 2011.

150 Dorothea Calverley Collection. 01-053: Beaver Indians’ Habitations. [http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-050.html](http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-050.html); accessed 22 October 2011.

151 Goddard 1916:212.

152 M. Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Alberta Inspectorate, Department of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 15 July 1933. Copy in: Federal Court of Canada, File No. T4178-78, Exhibit 66, *Apsassin v. The Queen*.


Prepared by Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
While tipi dwellings continue to be used by some families at summer camps, two significant changes in construction are known to have occurred. Canvas and, more recently, tarpaulins, have been used for tipi covering for as long as the oldest BRFN members can recall, replacing the hide that Goddard said had been in use around Fort St. John until soon before his time (1913). Also, the poplar poles evident in some early photographs have been replaced by spruce. The same poles are now used for wall-tents (—Boy Scout‖ style) and, as was formerly common with tipi lodges, the poles are left at the camp when people move on.

Dane-zaa winter camp, location unknown, n.d. Glenbow Museum and Archives, NA-1315-23
4.5 Graves

Up until the mid-20th century the Aboriginal people of the Peace River disposed of their dead in several known ways: either on the ground or in a shallow grave under a small grave house; or wrapped in bark or canvas, or placed in a coffin, and supported by an aerial structure or suspended from trees.

Hugh Savage, a journalist who travelled the Peace region in the summer of 1911 saw the latter style of grave site near Fish Creek, having walked up the North West Mounted Police trail from Fort St. John. Along with the ruins of a "Klondiker’s winter quarters," he observed near the creek — an Indian ‘grave’ — coffin hung aloft between two trees... 154 Photographs of burials said to belong to two recently-deceased children at Fort St. John appear in the ethnography compiled by Goddard, based on his work with Beaver people in 1913. 155 In both cases, the body was suspended in a sling of cloth supported by a board placed horizontally between two trees. Peace River settler Harry Garbitt (b.1875) described such burials in a 1955 interview and explained that he observed tree burials being used in the winter when the ground was frozen. 156 BRFN members interviewed for the TLUS also mentioned this style of burial, but none had seen aerial graves or the existing remains in their lifetime. Other photographic evidence indicates that this burial practice was used until at least 1930. A photographer with the 1930 Pacific Great Eastern Railway survey made a photo of a grave situated near Murdale, north of Montney. The location of the aerial grave is known, for the surveyors recorded on a map the site and angle of each of the 300 photographs that accompanied the survey report, including this grave. That particular grave was similar to the one photographed earlier by Goddard, although the 1930 photo shows no nearby trees, whereas the 1913 photograph shows the burial being situated in a grove.

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156 Glenbow Archives, D971.23/L832/F.31. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. Harry Garbitt of Moberly Lake, BC, by Isabell Loggie, September 1955.
Goddard wrote that at the time of his visit to Fort St. John in 1913, families used aerial graves only for children and had adopted the practice of interment for adults, with the erection of a grave house over the site.\textsuperscript{157}

A note on the use of grave houses appears in the writings of local historian Dorothea Calverley. With respect to burial practices in the north Peace, Calverley stated that she had been told:

the grave houses were intended to protect the personal belongings of the deceased which were left on the grave to sustain his "shadow" on its journey to the next world. It was the gravest sin to steal such articles, for it deprived the deceased of their use for all eternity. Indians observed the taboo scrupulously, but white men transgressed.\textsuperscript{158}

It is also clear from discussions with BRFN members that until recently, deceased members were interred near the camp where they died. Hilltops were favored locations. When family members died at the same camp, they were buried close together, although some BRFN families did not create fenced burial grounds, for some regard the establishment of cleared and bounded cemeteries to be culturally prohibited. Jimmy Appaw raised this issue in our discussions (JA-08-11) and it was clarified by Sylvester Apsassin, who explained this belief as follows:

\textsuperscript{157} Goddard 1916:222.
\textsuperscript{158} Dorothea Calverley Collection, 01-097: Local Burial Places. \url{http://www.calverley.ca/Part01-FirstNations/01-097.html} accessed 22 October 2011.
We don’t open up the area for our graveyard, and we don’t put fence around it. Because my Grandfather, and Jimmy and all our elders tell us we’re not allowed to build fence around our graves, because if you build a big fence around it, you know, just like the cemetery in Fort St. John, if you do that, it means you are calling for people to die, and you want to fill that up (SyA-08011).

The location of graves of individuals recognized as *Dane-zaa* — Dreamers — are known and revered. Of particular importance to *Dane-zaa* people is the gravesite of Makenunatane, the man whom the Beaver 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. Native consultants indicated that he died in the 1880s. Johnny Chipesia told Ridington that when Makenunatane was dying, he 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. Halfway people in particular have gone to the grave because of its location, but Chipesia, who was in Montney or

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159 Ridington 1988: 77-78.
160 BC, Archaeology Branch, Site Form HfRt-1.
Mutain’s band as a youth, said that Mutain and his people had also gone to the grave as well.\footnote{Ridington 1965-1967:114.} Chipesia described the grave as being along the Sikanni Chief River twenty miles west of the Alaska Highway and the Sikanni Chief River crossing. At the time of a site visit in 1990, no physical surface evidence of a grave remained, although the frames of an associated village were visible.\footnote{It was identified by the Provincial Archaeology Branch as Archaeological Site Form HfRt-1 in 1990, located on or adjacent to Lot 888 at Latitude 57:1430 and Longitude 123:1730.} An unmarked grave of a man said to be a Dreamer is located in the Montney area. Joe Davis described its location as —close to this Montney, on a hill\footnote{Glenbow Archives, D971.23/.L832/F.31. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. Harry Garbitt, Moberly Lake, BC, by Isabel Loggie, Fairview, Alberta, 13 August 1955.} an area visible from the north, although the grave itself is not marked (JoD-11-10). Will Davis explained that this Dreamer died in the Indian Creek area when he —fell off his horse after drumming for 10 days — buried right there\footnote{Glenbow Archives, D971.23/.L832/F.31. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. Harry Garbitt, Moberly Lake, BC, by Isabel Loggie, Fairview, Alberta, June 1956.} (WD -02-11).

During the 1918 flu epidemic, a number of Aboriginal people died just after being outfitted for trapping. Harry Garbitt made coffins for the deceased and buried them in a cemetery behind the Revillon’s fur trade post buildings.\footnote{Glenbow Archives, D971.23/.L832/F.31. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. Harry Garbitt, Moberly Lake, BC, by Isabel Loggie, Fairview, Alberta, 13 August 1955.} Garbitt in a subsequent interview reported that —the burial ground at St. John was in blue gumbo soil on a knoll behind the Revillon buildings.\footnote{Glenbow Archives, D971.23/.L832/F.31. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. Harry Garbitt, Moberly Lake, BC, by Isabel Loggie, Fairview, Alberta, June 1956.} BRFN members interviewed in 2010-2011 described the locations of a number of grave sites, some dating to the 1940s and once marked with small wooden gravehouses. Nevertheless, there is an acknowledgement that the locations of only a few grave sites are known. And because the Dane-zaa of the Peace River region were so mobile, these BRFN state, there is a potential for graves to be located almost anywhere.

In recent years, the BRFN Lands Department has begun to mark the locations of known or reported graves. Burials situated near the Blueberry River bridge are marked, as well as grave sites of known Blueberry ancestors situated at Umback Creek, Aitken Creek, and west of the confluence of the Beatton River (JoD-02-11). At least one of these graves is visited by people seeking luck. Tobacco is offered here as a symbolic pathway to good fortune (SyA-08-11). A graveyard associated with the Yahey family is said to be situated near Charlie Lake, although the location is uncertain, apart from being on the north end of the lake (GY-05-11). Closer to the Peace River is the grave of Attachie. While BRFN members interviewed during this TLU study did not know the precise location of this grave site, said to be situated near the Halfway River, its presence there is of general knowledge, despite its location being vague. Several people associated the grave with the location of a school, and Angus Davis stated:
This what they call Attachie Reserve. Lots of old-timer die in there, but they don't know…. Right now they make a field, they might make a field in on top of the graveyard. Nobody know where the graveyard is. But now, it's right there, right by the river. I they put that place—where -- do you call, Reserve? Lots of old-timer die in there. But they don't know where the graveyard. There all fill in there. Right now they got an airstrip in there. They used to be had a school in there, probably that school is still standing there. They make a big airstrip in there too. But they don't know where the graveyard. Maybe that Hudson Hope road—maybe its top of graveyard. It's by the road, maybe the highway go to top of graveyard. Nobody know (AD-10-10).

Carrie Cadenhead, whose father made the coffin used for Chief Attachie's burial in the winter of 1918, wrote in Peacemakers of the Peace:

I believe that he is buried on the high hill above the flat looking up the Halfway and both up and down the Peace River, that he loved.165

When asked about other Aboriginal graves on the Peace River, besides that of Old Attachie, BRFN members recognized the possibility of graves being situated near the river, but none knew of any precise locations. Gerald Yahey’s response to the question about the locations of graves in the Site-C project area is typical: —No one pointed them out, but there’s got to be some because that’s where the old timer Beaver Indians used to be (GY -05-11).

Richard Apsassin had heard that there were —some graves down from Bear Flats, farther down, there were a couple there, although he had not been told of the location (RA-05-11). Another grave was said to be located on the south side of the Peace, but again the individual who offered the information said he was unaware of the precise location and suggested that it may have been eroded away by the river (CA-08-11).

Edward Shaw, a nephew of Mrs. Frank Beaton of the HBC, told Mr. J. Fildes of a graveyard on the south side of the Peace River that was associated with the Fort. Mr. Fildes speculated during a June 1956 interview that it had probably been washed away, for the last time he saw the graves the river had exposed the skeletal remains. Referring to a graveyard on the north bank, Fildes stated that pans, guns and ribbon were left in grave houses in the cemetery. He did not provide a more precise location.166

Thus, while BRFN members report the potential for graves in the Site-C Project Area, including that of a Dreamer, we must conclude that the location, and the condition of any existing remains is unknown.

165 [Mrs. McDonald (Carrie Cadenhead) reminiscences.] Pp. 16-17, in The Peace Makers of North Peace.
166 Glenbow Archives, D971.23/.L832/F.32. Loggie Papers. Interview with Mr. J. Fildes, Spirit River, Alberta, by Isabel Loggie, Fairview, Alberta.
BRFN members identified agricultural operations as being responsible for the destruction of many of the area’s burials. Speaking of the desecration of graves, Joe Davis remarked: “Farmers just plough over and open up the country.” (JoD -11-10). In former times, a rifle would sometimes be left hanging in a tree along with the corpse. Over the years, noted Jerry Davis, these, too, have disappeared.

Hence, it is difficult to locate graves in the Peace River region. Some styles of graves known to have been used by the Dane-zaa would not necessarily leave physical evidence of their former presence, and the location of others is largely unknown.

Isolated and unmarked, the locations of old graves have merged with the countryside. Nevertheless, BRFN members raise the potential for graves being in the Site-C project area and thus it is recommended that monitoring occur during construction, should the Site-C project proceed.
5.0 Adherence to Treaty 8

A Treaty that would include the northeastern portion of British Columbia was discussed in a Privy Council report of 6 December 1898. This Privy Council report referred to a 30 November 1898 report from the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs (SGIA), which in turn referred to an 18 June 1898 report by the SGIA upon which a 27 June 1898 Minute of Council had been based. The 27 June 1898 Minute of Council authorized the Federal Government to appoint Commissioners with full powers to negotiate a Treaty for those lands adjacent to areas already dealt with through Treaties 6 and 7. 167

5.1 Purpose of the Treaty

Historians generally agree that Canada had two reasons for entering into Treaties:

1) to extinguish aboriginal title to the land and open the territory
   —for settlement, immigration, trade, travel, mining, lumbering and
   such other purposes as to Her Majesty may seem meet; and

2) to ensure the extension of its authority into the district and
   prevent conflicts between the Aboriginal residents and the
   newcomers.168

According to the 27 June 1898 Minute of Council, ―the Beaver Indians of the Peace and Nelson Rivers, as well as the Sicannies and Nihannies Indians, were inclined to be troublesome.‖ In this same document, however, it was also noted that the Department of Indian Affairs —possesses so limited a knowledge of the conditions of the country, and of the nature and extent of the claims likely to be put forward by its Indian inhabitants, that the Minister considers that the Commissioners [i.e. the Commissioners appointed for Treaty 8] should be given discretionary power both as to the annuities to be paid to and the reservations of land to be set apart for the Indians.‖ At the same time, it was noted the Treaty Commissioners must understand it was of the —utmost importance‖ that they obtain from the Aboriginal people to be treated with, their —acquiescence in the relinquishment of the aboriginal title.‖ 169

The Privy Council Report of 6 December 1898 drew attention to the fact that the proposed area of Treaty 8 marked —All on an accompanying map was within the boundaries of British

167 See excerpt from the 6 December 1898 Privy Council Report No. 2749. Library and Archives Canada (LAC). RG 10, Vol. 3848, File 75,236-1. The Province of BC's files concerning this same subject matter are in the BC Archives (BCA), Victoria, and include GR 444, Box 64, File 198/98.


169 Minute of Council, 27 June 1898, No. 1703. Copy in BCA, Victoria. GR 444, Box 64, File 198/98.
Columbia. Consequently, it was deemed important to advise the BC Government of the proposed Treaty, to obtain BC’s agreement as to the actions to be taken by the Federal Government concerning this Treaty, and to intimate BC’s readiness—to confirm any reserves which it may be found necessary to set apart within this portion of the province. It was recommended that a certified copy of this Privy Council Report, and of the map attached, should be sent to the Lieutenant Governor of BC—for the information of his Government.

Charles Mair, one of the secretaries of the —Half-breed Scrip Commission whose duties began where the work on Treaty 8 ended, wrote that the Treaty Commissioners were to have met with the Beaver people at the Hudson’s Bay Company’s post at Fort St. John on the 21st of June 1899. However, Mair noted, because the Commissioners were delayed, they sent word to Fort St. John that the Beaver should—stay where they were until they could be met. When the Commissioners, who had left from Fort Dunvegan (in Alberta), were within 25 miles of Fort St. John, they received a letter from the HBC at Fort St. John—telling them that the Indians had eaten up all the provisions there, and had left for their hunting-grounds, with no hope of their coming together again that season. Mair added that because the Beavers of St. John [Fort St. John], in addition to numerous other groups within the Treaty 8 region, had not been treated with, a —special Commission was issued to Mr. J.A. Macrae of the Indian Office in Ottawa. Macrae met with these various indigenous groups in the summer of 1900 and obtained their adhesions to Treaty 8.

According to the official text of Treaty 8, the —Beaver Indians of the Upper Peace River and the country thereabouts met with Commissioner J.A. Macrae at Fort St. John on 30 May 1900. This text goes on to state that with the help of interpreter John Shaw, these Beaver people assembled at Fort St. John were told the terms of the Treaty as it had been signed on 21 June 1899 by —the Chief and Headmen of the Indians of Lesser Slave Lake and adjacent country. The text also states that the Beaver people assembled at Fort St. John on 30 May 1900 agreed to —join in the cession made by the said treaty and agreed —to adhere to the terms thereof, in consideration of the undertakings made therein.

The Treaty 8 Commissioners could not meet with the Beaver in 1899 because the Aboriginal people had already dispersed to their hunting grounds. Consequently, a volume generated by the treaty commission, Charles Mair's account of the expedition, makes only minor comments

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170 The source of Figure is: BCA, Victoria. GR 444, Box 64, File 198/98.


about the area. He noted that the Peace River was known as the “Uťįįgah, its majestic and proper name, or the Tsa-hoo-dene-desay—‘The Beaver Indian River’—or the Amiskoo eëinnu Sepe of the Crees, which has the same meaning.|| He also noted that the term – Peace River|| came from the peace pact made between the warring tribes of the region. The Commissioners’ report of 22 September 1899 also notes that the dress of the Dane-zaa and Cree was —of the ordinary style,|| not blankets, and that in addition to the use of teepees, some built log houses for their winter lodging. In terms of the manner of the Aboriginal people, the Commissioners noted that the Beavers of Fort St. John were —rather disturbed and ill-disposed on account of the actions of miners passing through their country,|| a statement in accord with the account of —Old Fort|| given by Maryanne Maas and other Blueberry River elders. Concerning the social organization of the Dane-zaa people, the Treaty Commission observed:

None of the tribes appear to have any definite organization. They are held together mainly by the language bond. Their chiefs and headmen are simply the most efficient hunters and trappers.175

The circumstances of the Fort St. John people’s adherence to Treaty 8 is part of the Appaw family history, a story that came down to them after the elders of the family arranged for Jimmy Appaw’s mother, then 13 years old, to marry the aged chief Montney, one of the Treaty signatories. Jimmy Appaw told this story during an August 2011 interview, explaining that his people’s headman, Montney, after ten days deliberation, finally agreed to accept a treaty, a solemn agreement to be in effect forever, a time measured in the story as —until the day when both Charlie Lake and the Peace River run dry:

He took all this area, and territory. He married my mom when she was 13 Years old. He’s the head chief. He arguing with the government ten days. He want to take that Montney. He don’t want to take that reserve. And the Government he want to give him treaty, he don’t want to take that treaty. For 10 days he arguing with the government. [He told them] —See this is all my kids. I’m chief. All these people, millions of Indians here, these my people.||

[Government say, —Do] what I say, you take that one. You say ‘all right, I take that treaty’. You say no, I not gonna take that treaty.

—All this, my people—forever— Charlie Lake [until it has] no water; Peace River [until it has] no water.||

He [Dane-zaa] can go hunt anytime. Any day he kill something, he eat. Any day, he can go hunt, he can go trap, any place he want, he can go. Anything he do, all this things.

And I take that reserve and I take that treaty.
So government said, —Okay, Montney, ten days now, you strong mind. —

[Headman Montney to Government] —What you say, I take you word: _Til Charlie Lake [has] no water, Peace River [has] no more water, til that long.‘
I say, —look you guys, see —at this meeting— — Charlie Lake still has water‖ (JA -08-11).

According to the official Treaty document, a total of 46 —Fort St. John Beavers‖ adhered to Treaty 8 at this time; the following Beaver leaders at Fort St. John are identified as having signed this adhesion on 30 May 1900 by making a mark: —Muckithay‖; — Aginaal‖; — Disisici‖; —Tacheal‖; — Appan‖; — Attachie‖; — Allali‖; and — Yatsoose.‖ 176

The 1900 adhesion to Treaty 8 included only some of the Fort St. John family groups and was limited to recording the names of some of the principal men.177 The Edmonton Bulletin’s 17 September 1900 report on Commissioner Macrae’s visit to Fort St. John and other Treaty 8 communities notes that only about one third of the local Beaver people accepted the Treaty: —The others stated that they did not need assistance now, but if they were ever in need would call upon the _W h i t e M other_ to help them .‖ 178

One of the terms of Treaty 8, in addition to a term allowing Her Majesty the Queen to set aside Indian Reserves —for such bands as desire reserves,‖ was a term that stated:

[The Queen] agrees with the said Indians that they shall have right to pursue their usual vocations of hunting, trapping and fishing throughout the tract surrendered as heretofore described, subject to such regulations as may from time to time be made by the Government of the country, acting under the authority of Her Majesty, and saving and excepting such tracts as may be required or taken up from time to time for settlement, mining, lumbering, trading or other purposes.178

It was historian René Fumoleau’s conclusion, after reviewing numerous documents and oral accounts of Treaty 8, that:

176 Treaty No. 8 Made June 21, 1899 and Adhesions, Reports, etc. Reprinted from the 1899 edition in 1966 by the Queen’s Printer, Ottawa (1969 Reprint). Pp. 22-25 and map. This map, dated 1900, is reproduced in the present report as Figure 6. For a further discussion of Treaty 8 in northeastern British Columbia, see Dennis Madill 1981. British Columbia Indian Treaties in Historical Perspective. Report prepared for and published by the Research Branch, Corporate Policy, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Ottawa. Pp. 41-63.

177 Madill 1981.

The haste of the Treaty Commissioner in securing Indian signatures on a piece of paper removes any illusions that the Treaty was a contract signed by equal partners...the fact remains that Government officials in Ottawa, who drafted the terms of the Treaty, had little knowledge or comprehension of Indians, or their way of life in the Northwest...Without doubt, the support of the missionaries and the presence of the North West Mounted Police encouraged the Indians to put faith in the Government representatives. The Treaty was seen by the Indians as a friendship pact, which would permit peaceful settlement of the country; land surrender or relinquishment of title were not issues for them. However, there were certain basic assurances which they wanted from the Government: freedom to hunt, trap, fish, and move freely. When promises were given that these would be protected, the Indians accepted government assistance, satisfied that their livelihood and that of their children would not be endangered...179

Historian David Leonard states in his Introduction to the 1999 reprint of Charles Mair’s 1908 publication that Mair’s book was special, as it was written by —a first-hand witness to some of the most significant events in the history of Northwest Canada. Still, as Leonard adds, Mair’s work is presented from the perspective of —a strong apologist for the British Empire, whose reputation and expressed world view could warrant his designation as the Rudyard Kipling of Canada. 180

Brian Calliou provides a contemporary indigenous perspective to the evaluation of Mair’s book in his Introduction to the 1999 reprint. Calliou, a member of a Treaty 8 First Nation, notes that Treaty 8 —sets out the relationship between First Nations of the territory and the Canadian state — and adds that First Nations generally declare that this relationship with the Crown of Canada is —nation to nation. Citing participants’ statements in a June 1998 Calgary workshop sponsored by the Canadian Institute of Resources Law and the Arctic Institute of North America, Calliou points out that: —Through the knowledge of the elders, Treaty 8 First Nations view the treaty as sacred, whereby solemn promises were made to share the land and resources in a peaceful manner. 181

While brief comments on this region were made every year after 1900 by Inspector H.A. Conroy in the report of the Treaty 8 Commissioner, these are generally lacking in useful detail, largely because the Indian Agent was based far from the region, and generally only came to visit once a year, in the summer when treaty payments were made. Nevertheless, Conroy’s 1909 report commented that the Fort St. Johns Beaver were —purely hunting Indians and very


few, if any, have either shacks or buildings. Concerning their location, he pointed out that they travelled on both sides of the Peace River, sometimes by horse, and generally did their hunting in the foot-hills of the Rockies. Thus, at the time of the Treaty, the ancestors of the BRFN actively hunted in the Site-C Project Area.

In later years, the Fort St. Johns Beaver would ask for their annuity payments to be distributed at a gathering at the end of May, presumably during spring fishing season. A poster advertising Treaty Day in 1907 announced that it had been pushed up to 5th June that year. Treaty Day at Fort St. John became an occasion when Dane-zaa people from the surrounding area met for an exchange of news, games and music. Elders interviewed for the TLUS recall attending such celebrations in the 1940s and describe them as a time of gaiety when Dane-zaa from the far reaches of the territory travelled to join their relatives at —Where Happiness Dwells.— Among these people were Dane-zaa from Horse Lake, Alberta, and the Halfway and Prophet Rivers, as well as the Fort St. John IR.

In an October 2010 interview, the late Rose Apsassin remembered these Treaty days at Montney that she experienced as a young child:

That used to be our reserve, Montney. That’s where we used to get our treaty money, treaty rations. We all gather there. The last time we were there is 1946. I remembers those times on and off. There used to be a bunch of tipis, powwow all night long—lots of horses.

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184 Rose Apsassin, October 2010, Interview at Blueberry River IR.
6.0 Alienation of Aboriginal Lands

Immediately following the Fort St. John Band’s signing of Treaty 8 in 1900, Aboriginal hunters and trappers in northeastern BC continued with relative freedom to pursue their traditional way of life, for little development was occurring in this part of the Province. Yet the government’s recognition of the Peace River region’s wealth of natural resources that contributed to the signing of Treaty 8 soon led to encouragement of settlement and development, activities that displaced the Aboriginal people and curtailed cultural activities in the Site-C Project Area.

A history of land alienation in the Peace River region was compiled during the 1978-1979 UBCIC study prepared under the direction of Hugh Brody and Dr. Martin Weinstein in connection with the then-proposed Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline. Using the conversion of title as the prime measure of land alienation, the UBCIC study identified six periods important to the development of primary industrial activity:

- **Pre-1928**: the first waves of agricultural establishment;
- **1929-1942**: agricultural and urban extension prior to construction of the Alaska Highway;
- **1941-1952**: including and immediately following the installation of the Alaska Highway;
- **1952-1960**: first period following the commencement of the oil and gas play;
- **1960-1970**: continuation of oil and gas, introduction of rail access from BC and the first significant expansions of the forest harvest;
- **1970-1979**: continuation and maturation of the above.\(^{185}\)

The UBCIC study also prepared a map illustrating these periods of land alienation that was subsequently published in the 1980 book *Forgotten Land, Forgotten People: a report on the Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings in British Columbia*, compiled by Chairman of the Hearings, W. Winston Mair (1980).
This map is referred to during Brody’s testimony on the historic displacement. He described this figure as follows:
A composite map showing Indian traplines and hunting areas in the Fort St. John Region, and the history of crown land alienation: In addition, there were areas adjacent to Fort St. John in the present agricultural lands that were a part of the Doig and Blueberry hunting and trapping heartlands and in the not too distant past. In particular for the Blueberry Band, Charlie Lake which is close to Fort St. John, was a particularly important hunting, camping and fishing site and an important location on the seasonal round.186

Readers are referred to the UBCIC study for a comprehensive analysis of development in these periods of settlement and development. The following section supplements and summarizes that history of land alienation in this area but focuses instead on the Aboriginal people’s response to this development, especially on their adaptation to this encroachment and their ability to continued their traditional ways.

6.1 Pre-1928 Development

The commissioning in 1897 of Inspector J.D. Moodie of the Northwest Mounted Police (—NWMP‖) to build a trail from Edmonton to the Yukon by way of Fort St. John, passing up the north bank of the Peace to the Halfway River, and then continuing north to Cypress Creek and beyond, marked the beginning of the Project Area’s permanent infrastructure. This route is the subject of a thorough report by historian David Mills on the history of trails built by the NWMP, some of which were used by prospectors and others for another few decades.187 The trail’s role in opening the Peace to settlement is of interest to this report, as is the Aboriginal people’s contribution to this development.

Upon his arrival at Fort St. John, Inspector Moodie hired a group of Aboriginal women to make sleighs, snowshoes, moccasins and winter garments for his winter expedition to the Yukon. For his guide and hunter, Moodie hired Napoleon Thomas (Tomas), a man of mixed Iroquois ancestry who is the grandfather or great-grandfather of many contemporary BRFN members, and features in numerous stories of expeditions in the Peace River region. Moodie offered Thomas a salary of ninety dollars a month, with conditions, and medicine for his sick children. While Thomas initially found the compensation enticing, the arduous and dangerous journey soon had him complaining that he could have made five hundred dollars in five months of fur trapping, had he stayed home with his family.188 At one point the snow became

186 Hugh Brody discussing Figure XII. P. 1823, in Northern Pipeline Agency, Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline, British Columbia Public Hearings, Volume 17, Fort St. John, B.C., December 14th, 1979.
188 Mills 2008:61.
too deep to ride and Moodie’s party was forced to slaughter the horses and dry the meat for the
dog-teams. Despite such difficulties, Moodie’s expedition reached Fort Grahame and
established this as a route to the gold fields. It was along this same trail, historian Mills points
out, that hundreds and hundreds of miners and their horses passed through to the Yukon the
very next summer, 1898.189

The influx of miners to the region caused problems with the Aboriginal residents. It is said
that Klondikers stole the Dane-zaa’s horses and scared away the game.190 Some sources
suggest that in retaliation the Dane-zaa blocked this Peace-Yukon trail near Fort St. John and
that this blockade led to the establishment of the Treaty.191 A newspaper account of the event
published in the Alaska Highway News many years later dates the event to 1905 and attributes
the deed to —irate Indians led by Big Belly and aided by the Wolfe—still living [in 1945].‖ 192

However, the North West Mounted Police Annual Report for 1897 provides evidence that the
incident occurred earlier.193 Joe Apsassin, who saw the remains of wagons rolled into Fort St.
John Creek, said in a 1956 interview that some Aboriginal people from Fort Nelson were
responsible, though he believed that ice, not prospectors, may have killed the horses.194

Regardless of discrepancy in the recorded facts of the incident, Blueberry River First Nations
member Maryanne Maas told this story as an example of Dane-zaa resistance and explained
that the name —Old Fort— was derived from the incident:

Those days they hold the White Men back – something like a little
wall. That’s why they call it the old fort. That’s on the Peace River,
where that road is. You see it to the side. You go to the Old Fort
Road (MaM-10-10).

Clarence Apsassin also mentioned the confrontation with the miners and its association with
the treaty. He is of the view that the treaty led directly to the establishment of the Peace River
Block:

The reason they did that—my Mom told me—Mom told me because
they signed the treaty here, they wouldn’t let the gold miners cross,
so they settle that, they sign a treaty (CA-11-10).

189 Mills 2008:66.
190 The Sikanni and Nelson Trail: John Donis Remembers his Days on the Trail. Page 91, in The Peacemakers of
191 Mills 2008:66.
193 Glenbow Archives M4560, File 32. Loggie Papers. Footnote in, Interview with Joseph Apsassin, July 1956, by
Isabel Loggie, Fairview Alberta.
194 Glenbow Archives M4560, File 32. Loggie Papers. Interview with Joseph Apsassin, July 1956, by Isabel
Loggie, Fairview Alberta.
When the gold rush faded and the last miners left the region, a few individuals remained as settlers in the Peace and thoughts turned to making the Moodie trail a more permanent transportation route. Hence, in 1905 construction started on a NWMP wagon road from Fort St. John west. Mills explains in his history of the trail that Fort St. John became the NWMP command and supply depot for crews building the 8-foot wide road that extended west from the fort, with the Peace River and lower Halfway River sections following the old Moodie trail. Aboriginal people visited the police to trade and sell moose, fish and bear, necessary provisions for the construction crew. William Carter, a member of the police force at the time, recalled in a 1956 interview how the men used to gamble with the local Beaver, whom he described as being very fond of the game.

It was not until 1911 that the Dominion Government completed its selection of the 3,500,000 acres of lands that came to be known as the —Peace River Block. They opened the Block to settlement and the first wave of European settlers began to appear. Historian David Leonard, who has written extensively about development in the Peace River region, explains that the acreage comprising the Peace River Block were lands that British Columbia owed to Canada when, as part sponsor of the Canadian Pacific Railway, BC had agreed to provide the CPR with lands along the so-called —railway belt in BC. However, as much of the land was already taken up or not suitable for settlement, the Federal Government decided to provide the CPR with additional lands on the southern prairies, next to the rail line. Leonard further explains that —in return, British Columbia owed the Dominion government 3,500,000 acres of arable land. By agreement and through an act in the British Columbia Legislative Assembly, this block of land was to be located in the northeastern portion of the province off the Peace River.

Dominion Land Surveyors began their work surveying the Peace River Block around Fort St. John in 1911, marking out the land in a rectangular township system, with instructions issued from the surveyor general of dominion lands in Ottawa. Philip H. Godsell was one of these surveyors and recounts this work in his 1942 article published in The Shoulder Strap, the publication of the BC Provincial Police. He reports that a party of surveyors had encountered "Montaignais's crowd" in the Blueberry country, a reference to Chief Montney's band. Godsell said that the Aboriginal residents of the Beatton were angry with the surveyors for —cutting

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195 Mills 2008:79.
196 Mills 2008:86.
197 Glenbow Archives, D971.23/L832, f.32. Loggie Papers. Interview with William Carter, Hudson’s Hope, by Isabell Loggie, July 1956.
down the Beavers [Dane-zaa] trees and sticking iron posts into the land that Chief Montagnais’ tribesmen looked on as their own.|| 201 The official abstracts of the surveys, published by the Minister of the Interior in 1916 as Description of Surveyed Townships in the Peace River District in the Provinces of Alberta and British Columbia do not mention any such Dane-zaa concerns but instead boast of the agricultural potential of the district, commenting on the ideal ranching and mixed farming that could be made, and the good water obtainable year-round from the numerous streams. Surveyor Brenot even commented on the area’s hydropower potential, noting in his 1912 report, ―A dam could easily be built on North Pine River.|| 202

Mention of the resource potential of the region also appears in the May 28th 1915 report of G.B. Milligan who had been employed in 1913-1914 by the BC government in making an exploratory survey north of the Peace River Block. Speaking of Fort St. John, and particularly the Plateau to the north, Milligan wrote that land was being rapidly taken up, with fifty or sixty settlers already on the ground, several of whom were growing vegetables, wheat and barley. His exploration of the area took him over —Beaver Indian trails,|| a network of communication routes —which run in every direction, as a result of the Indians being continually on the move, opening up new trails and hunting new ground and following the moose about.|| 203 And while the lands farther north of Fort St. John at that time remained the exclusive domain of the Aboriginal people, Milligan noted that they had no villages and spent their time travelling in hunting bands, with a leader selected among themselves, sometimes following game as far north as the headwaters of the Fort Nelson River.204.

The settlers’ rush for land and resources was clearly the basis for the March 1912 Edmonton Journal’s description of the Peace River country as —The Last Great West,|| 205 a frontier ready for resource extraction. At the same time, the population of the Dane-zaa was decreasing and they kept to their Aboriginal ways of hunting and trapping. Treaty 8 Inspector H.A. Conroy pointed out in his report on the District for 1911 that the Aboriginal people had suffered severely from a measles epidemic during the winter of 1910-1911; 68 people were known to

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204 Milligan 1915, British Columbia 1929:19.

205 This —Last Great West|| quotation was used by historian David Leonard as the title of his comprehensive study published in 2005 as The Last Great West: the Agricultural Settlement of the Peace River Country to 1914 (Detselig Enterprises Ltd., Calgary, Alberta). See also David Leonard 1995 (reprinted in 2000). Delayed Frontier: The Peace River Country to 1909. Detselig Enterprises Ltd., Calgary, Alberta.
have died and many more whose names were unrecorded were assumed to be dead, as well.206 The figure is shocking at any level, but especially so when considered alongside the area’s total population. Only 103 individuals collected annuity at that time, 207 estimated to be about one third of the population. Illness and death in the winter of 1910 was not the first epidemic to affect the Dane-zaa. Historian David Leonard documents a series of epidemics of influenza, smallpox, measles, whooping cough, scarlet fever and tuberculosis, in addition to starvation, that had already distressed the Aboriginal population in the 19th century.208 Several years later, in the winter of 1918, influenza reached into the Aboriginal communities and devastated the population even more. An account of this time is particularly relevant for this TLUS study for the author, Carrie Cadenhead, describes the death of many Halfway River people and the assistance her family offered their neighbours at this time, building a coffin for the band’s deceased leader and tended to the sick:

Our door opened one day and in walked Peter Attachie, son of the Old Chief Attachie, who was chief of a group of Beaver Indians. The present school district is named after him; I believe that he is buried on the high hill above the flat looking up the Halfway and both up and down the Peace River that he loved. Well, Peter just dropped in a chair and said, ‘Dick dead, Burbank dead, Attachie, my father dead, women sick, me sick.’ I went out on horseback to look for the camp. Loose horses had covered the tracks of the women’s skirts in the snow, so I had a time finding the camp! An eight year old girl who wasn’t sick yet had moved them thirty miles down the Halfway to the top of our big hill on the upper level.209

Not only were non-Aboriginal settlers coming into the Peace in the early 20th century. A small band of the Saulteau who travelled west to avoid treaty settled at Moberly Lake circa 1913, and soon expressed their desire to come under treaty.210 The following year, while surveying Reserves in the Moberly Lake area, Donald Robertson reported that a number of the Beaver people of Fort St. John also wished to have land at the east end of Moberly Lake, an area rich

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209 [Mrs. McDonald (Carrie Cadenhead) reminiscences.] Pp. 16-17, in The Peace Makers of North Peace.

in fish and game. In March 1915, Robertson wrote that 25 St. John Beaver had settled there. After the Fort St. John Dane-zaa people’s adherence to Treaty 8, the next notable date in their history of interaction with non-Aboriginals was the establishment of the Fort St. John Indian Reserve No. 172 at Montney. In April 1916, members of the Fort St. John Band chose 18,168 acres of rolling prairie land located less than ten miles from the Peace River. Dane-zaa family groups for whom this Reserve was set aside included the direct ancestors of the contemporary Blueberry River and Doig River First Nations. BRFN members interviewed for the TLUS describe how after the allotment of the Reserve their ancestors continued to spend the winter and spring months on their traplines, followed game during other seasons, and congregated periodically in the summer at the Montney Reserve, an ancient gathering place known in the Dane-zaa’s language by a name translated as ‘Where Happiness Dwells.’

Anthropologist Robin Ridington was told that the Beaver gave this place this name because it was the location where they met their relatives, and because they thought of the place as an earthly reminder of the end of what they called Yagatunne, the 'trail to Heaven'. Augustine Jumbie said that at this place:

people danced tightly packed into circles around their fires. They danced and play gambled. They had lots of fun. They courted and told stories. They honored those who had died recently. They celebrated the birth of new people into their world.

The Montney Reserve [IR 172] was originally administered by the Lesser Slave Lake Indian Agency in Alberta. Between approximately 1916 and 1934, the Lesser Slave Lake Agent visited the Montney Reserve to make Treaty payments once each year, in the summer when the Agent knew the Dane-zaa would be getting together here. The distance between the Indian Agent and the Fort St. Johns Band, in addition to the nomadic nature of the Aboriginal families, meant that comments about the area in the Alberta Agency's reports in the published Department of the Interior Annual Reports are brief and generally unhelpful. It was not until 1934 that the British Columbia Inspectorate of Indian Affairs established a Fort St. John Sub-Agency and placed a local doctor in charge. The first years of the twentieth century produced few first-hand observations of the Aboriginal people in the Peace River region. Some contain useful material, particularly the most

212 PARC 975/30-5-168a, cited in Saulteaux First Nations and Arctic Institute 1995[?]:22.
voluminous of these sources, the journals of F.W. Beaton,215 who ran the Hudson’s Bay Company post at Fort St. John between 1902 and 1928. While his journals are not as rich as those of his 19th century predecessors at Fort St. John, the Beaton journals provide a window to the Aboriginal people’s continuing reliance on hunting and trapping and the gradual encroachment of settlement on that lifestyle.

Within a decade of 1911, when the regional population of this area totalled less than two thousand, there was a tenfold increase in population. The authors of the 1980 UBCIC study who reviewed the events of this period point to a 1930 report authored by Frank Kitto of the National Development Bureau which refers to the influx of settlers during this early period as an —invasion‖ of land seekers, not all of whom wished to settle, but most of whom recognized the resource potential of the region.216 Expectations of rail connections spurred settlement, especially in the Pouce Coupe, British Columbia and Grande Prairie, Alberta, areas prior to 1920. Failure to complete the rail connections in as short a time as possible led to stagnation in settlement, until bumper agricultural crops in the Peace River region attracted more investors, along with farmers. 217 Land south of the Peace soon became alienated from Aboriginal use.

By the late 1920s, non-Native settlers were coming to the Peace region in greater numbers and clearing land for farming. Fort St. John became an agricultural community. Dane-zaa

members interviewed by Ridington in the 1960s reported that as a result of the increasing non-Aboriginal settlement, their people stopped using some of their traditional lands during their seasonal round, and moved farther into the bush, away from settlement, particularly to areas north of the Peace.218 The Beaton journals support Ridington’s conclusion that the ancestors of the Blueberry River people adapted to the changing circumstances and altered their patterns of land use. For example, the Hudson’s Bay Company records indicate that the area around the Pine [South Pine] River below the Peace was a principal place where Joe Apsassin219

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215 Duncan Cran notes on page 394 of his piece on —Early Surveyors,‖ in The Peace Makers of North Peace (1973), that Frank Beaton’s name has one —t,‖ despite the river’s name having two.


219 According to a 1956 interview with Cree speaker, Joe Apsassin, he became orphaned after a measles epidemic killed other members of his family at Grouard, Alberta. He later became a Hudson’s Bay Company employee, and during his employment with the company in 1895, came to Fort St. John where he married the sister of Old Wolf, a local Dane-zaa band leader. See: Isabel Loggie interview of Joseph Apsassin, Fairview, Alberta, July 1956. Original held by the Glenbow Archives, Calgary, Alberta. M4560, file 32; Ridington 1965-1967.
(grandfather of the current BRFN chief) hunted and trapped for most of the first two decades of the 20th century.220 Beaton's journal contains numerous references to Apsassin and his band hunting on the Pine, particularly for beaver, and having camps both on the river and on the other side of it. Several times, Apsassin brought in furs from the Cutbank [Kiskinataw] River, which flows north-east into the Peace from its southern side, east of the Pine River and close to the Alberta border, and from the Clearwater River area of Alberta. Only one of these references gives an idea as to the location of a camp, however: in March 1904, Beaton recorded that he —went down below the North Pine River [i.e., Beatton River] to Joseph Apsassin's camp and made a very good trade.‖ 221 This would indicate that Apsassin's camp this particular time was near the confluence of the Beatton with the Peace, rather than farther north. But after 1920, Apsassin is only reported arriving from the north. He may have shifted the primary emphasis of his trapping from the south side of the Peace after 1918, on account of diminishing furs in that area, but his move north from the Peace River to the Beatton River watershed didn't result in unencumbered trapping. Apsassin's use of the upper part of the Beatton River's watershed precipitated a dispute with a White trapper in 1925 in which Apsassin accused the other trapper of laying out poison near Apsassin's trapline. At the time the incident took place, Apsassin was reported trapping 100 miles from the Fort St. John Reserve. He was thus likely in the northern areas of the Beatton River watershed, although the exact location was not reported.222 When Joseph Apsassin made his initial application for a registered trapline, in July 1930, he applied only for a line to the west of the Beatton around Nig Creek.223 Land south of the Peace, as well as Apsassin's former camp near the mouth of the Beatton, had already been alienated.224 While the historical record suggests a second reason why Apsassin headed north to trap—the pressures of the fur trade had also resulted in the area about the Peace being largely depleted of fur bearing animals—Aboriginal trappers in the Peace region traditionally adapted to fluctuation in the availability of wildlife by constantly changing their harvesting location.

220 Beatton Vol. 6:04/04/1908; Vol. 7: 10/09/1909, 19/11/1909; Vol. 9:08/10/1911, 17/12/1911, 28/12/1911; Vol 10:13/05/1912, 30/10/1912; Vol 11:30/11/1913, 11/01/1914, 14/05/1916; Vol. 12:01/03/1918; Vol. 14:22/03/1921.

221 Beatton Vol. 3:17/03/1904.


Typical Dane-zaa camp along the Peace River showing use of dogs, horses, meat racks and tipi lodges, c. 1930. Russell Apsassin astutely noted when he viewed this photo in October 2011 that the tipi residents were using poplar for their tipi poles, instead of spruce, which has been common in more recent times. Glenbow Museum and Archives, NA-1040-52.
6.2 Agricultural and Urban Extension Prior to Construction of the Alaska Highway, 1928-1940

Frank Kitto, reporting to the Department of the Interior in 1930, described how the Peace region—settled up with astonishing rapidity, particularly during 1928 and succeeding years. He commented that before the end of 1929 homesteaders had—squatted on land north across the Beatton River and as far north as the limit of surveyed lands. Interest in the area consequently resulted in the Dominion Government dispatching more survey parties to the scene to sub-divide additional territory in an effort to keep up with the homesteaders settling the region north of Fort St. John. At the time of Kitto’s report on the Peace he noted that roads and wagon trails intersected the region, linking the new rail system from the east with a preexisting river and trail systems, carrying newcomers more easily into the Peace River region, a bonus for those contemplating settlement and development:

Secondary roads and wagon trails radiate westerly to Cache Creek, Halfway river and Hudson Hope; easterly to Beatton River, the Alberta boundary and Fairview; and northerly to St. John Creek, a tributary of the Beatton better known locally as the Montenay, Blueberry River and on to the Fort Nelson river system.225

The 1930 Pacific Great Eastern Railway Survey found that 53% of Township 85 Range 19 was either occupied by the Fort St. John Reserve or otherwise alienated. Township 86, Range 19 was 72% occupied, for having good agricultural potential, the surveyors noted that development was well advanced. Speaking of the St. John Indian reserve, the report author commented that it:

embraces beautiful tract of agricultural land and that—under other circumstances this fertile area would now be producing a high quota of the district crop. It is hardly necessary to add, however, that in Indian hands no attempt is being made or is likely to be made to bring the land into production.226

By 1930, Taylor Flats and the vicinity of the Fort St. John townsite was 70% under cultivation. A map prepared by the PGE Survey showing —Land Alienation appears here on the following page.

As a result of the influx of settlers into the Peace River, the Fort St. John Band members experienced greater competition for resources, including fur-bearing animals. Surveyor W.H. Moffatt wrote in his report that fur bearing animals had declined in recent years, but they remained a source of income to Aboriginals and settlers alike.227 Conflict between trappers soon erupted. BC had introduced the registration of traplines in 1925, with considerable debate as to whether indigenous trappers should be required to adhere to the Game Act. Indian Agent Harold Laird argued that the Act had no application to Aboriginal trappers and defended their right to hunt and kill game —as long as the grass grows and the water flows.228 Fur prices remained high at the time, regardless of the world-wide depression later in the decade, and for some, life on a northern trapline appeared lucrative in comparison to the poor wages being offered in the city.229 While regulations were intended to provide conservation for the resource, administrators of the system soon realized the limitations of the Game Act and regulations concerning traplines. Constable A.T. Batchelor of the Hudson’s Hope Detachment of the BC Police Game Division advised his superiors in April 1928 that the regulations didn’t serve either the trappers or the animals very well. He noted that Aboriginal trappers were generally unaware of them, and those who did could not read them. Moreover, Batchelor commented how it was —almost impossible to force them to stay on a given line, especially since they depended upon their fur catch and hunting for subsistence and moved their family as required.230 Some lines were registered away from Dane-zaa and Cree trappers simply because they did not understand the registration system. A list of trappers granted licences between 1 July 1927 and October 1927 included residents of Taylor and Bear Flats, areas traditionally associated with the Dane-zaa but alienated early in the history of Peace River settlement, circa 1912 and 1917, respectively.231 Some of these residents registered traplines situated to the north that conflicted with areas used by the Aboriginal hunters. Jack Ardill, who shared a trapline along the Peace extending from Farrell Creek to Halfway River, beginning about 1920, awoke one morning to find a Native hunting party camped beside his cabin near a spring, carrying on their hunts on the hillsides north of the Peace, just as they had always done.232 Ardill’s memoir of the time indicates that his subsequent discussions with the Aboriginal hunters led to an

228 BCA, GR 2085, Box 2, File 7. Indian Commission W.E. Ditchburn to the Department of Indian Affairs, 6 October 1925.
230 Constable A.T. Batchelor, Hudson’s Hope Detachment, BC Police Game Division, to the O.C., D Division, BC Provincial Police, Game Branch, 23 April 1928. BCA, GR 1085, Box 8, File 6.
agreement that —they would never hunt on my lands.‖ 233 Photographs from this time show the Fort St. John people practising a mobile lifestyle, erecting tipi lodges in the summer and packing goods on horseback and by dog teams. A letter written by the Inspector of Indian Agencies in July 1933 described how —the White people who have settled in that part of the country have driven the Indians away from the Fort St. John Reserve and it is necessary for them to go away up North for the purpose of hunting.‖ 234 The historical records also indicate that trapline registrations associated the BRFN family groups with more restricted areas than had been used in previous decades, as evinced in the Beaton journals and reflected in the subsequent ethnographic investigations of Ridding.235 The initial application for a trapline permit for Charlie Yahey, ancestor to the contemporary Yahey family of Blueberry River, was made in August, 1930, and commenced —at a point approximately 40 miles up Blueberry R., 6 miles north of River, thence parallel to river for a distance of 30 miles.‖ 236 The area is not unlike the current area of the Yahey trapline.237 The Wolf band's first application for a registered trapline was made shortly after, on October 15th, 1930. Wolf's comparatively long line encompassed the area west of the Beatton watershed, but also extended east of the Beatton River as well. The initial application was apparently for one of the heterogenous type of hunting band identified by Ridding. Some of the people in it would eventually wind up in other bands, which is typical of the fluid nature of social organization in this area, with band composition changing seasonally and from one generation to another.238 A second trapline was purchased for the use of Wolf and Band in September 1938.239 The other sibling group identified by Ridding as composing the modern Blueberry

234 M. Christianson, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Alberta Inspectorate, Department of Indian Affairs, to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 15 July 1933. Copy in: Federal Court of Canada, File No. T4178-78, Exhibit 66, Apsassin v. The Queen.
235 The modern wadane of Blueberry River composed of three separate family groupings are now extensively intermarried, but can all be traced separately back through surviving documentary records, so that many of the lands traditionally used by them can be identified.
236 BCA, GR 1085 Vol. 31, File 2.
237 The initial application form was filled out, likely by the Indian Agent, in the name of Charlie Ohae & Olla Mosquita. The constable who typed up the top part of the form then reversed the names and inaccurately transcribed the spelling of Yahae's [Yahey] name as written, so that the application wound up in the name of "Olla Mosquita and Charlie Chae."
238 BCA, GR 1085, Vol. 29, File 1. Old Wolf's band was at that time identified as constituting "Jack Appin, Chapasia, Chapasia's son, Johnny Chapasia, Peter, Duncan, John Wolf, Jim Wolf". The band was reconstituted when the application was reprocessed in 1935 was for Old Wolf, Jack Wolf, Dan Wolf, Dan Askah, Peter Davis and Angus Hunter.
239 BCA, GR 1085, Box 43, File 1. D.M. MacKay, Indian Commissioner for BC, to T. Van Dyk, Inspector in Charge of D Game Division, Prince CA.,
River Band is the family of Joseph Apsassin. Apsassin, a Cree, made his initial application for a registered trapline, in July 1930.

Weinstein was told that whereas the people of the modern Blueberry Band had traditionally used the western areas of the Beatton River's watershed, the people of the Doig Band had traditionally used the lands to the east.\textsuperscript{240} The documentary historical evidence, while seldom able to identify \textit{exact} places of importance to these people, is nevertheless rich enough to permit adequate verification of the general points elicited in the anthropological field work. But the Fort St. John records from the period prior to 1930 also indicate that family groups subsequently identified as Doig used resources in areas later associated with Blueberry River, and vice versa, even though the registered traplines reflect a more discrete use of territory and its fur resources, at least in the record books of the Game Division.

Historical records also indicate that some family groups continued to follow another traditional Aboriginal practice in the region, of not trapping the same line regularly every year. This, of course, created problems once trapline registration became required. The Game Warden's report of November 6th 1933 noted that —Davis Boy\textsuperscript{241} had, despite the existence of a trapline in his name, regularly changed the place he trapped each winter. The warden reported that:

\begin{center}
Davis Boy and Meal have a registered trapline on the headwaters of Moose Creek; last winter they were along the Blueberry River and I do not know where they are this season.
\end{center}

Thus, an individual who was the ancestor of many Doig Band people also trapped an area generally associated with families of the Blueberry River Band, the Blueberry River itself.

For other parts of the Peace River, the appointment in 1934 of Dr. H.A.W. Brown as a part-time "sub-agent" at Fort St. John facilitated the administrative task of handling trapline applications in a timely manner.\textsuperscript{242} So did the Department's embarking on a policy in 1934 to purchase lines held by non-Native trappers for the Bands if and when such lines became available. Still, in the 1930s, Indian Affairs recognized —the most important trapping problem\textsuperscript{243} being the needs of the people of Northeast BC, who were —almost entirely dependent upon trapping for their livelihood. Dr. Brown recognized what he perceived to be serious flaws in the registration system and pointed out in April 1938 that he found —band\textsuperscript{244} traplines to be impractical due to the limited influence of the chiefs over —the young recalcitrant Indians who

\begin{footnotes}
\footnotetext{240}{Weinstein 1979:10.}
\footnotetext{241}{BCA, GR 1085, Vol. 22, File 2.}
\footnotetext{242}{LAC, RG 10, Vol. 6735, File 420-3c 4. Memorandum, 4 October 1934.}
\footnotetext{243}{LAC, RG 10, Vol. 6735, File 420-3C 4. Memorandum, 4 October 1934.}
\end{footnotes}
roam over the whole territory irrespective of inter-band agreements as to family trapline boundaries and kill what beaver and other fur they happen to find.244

Yet as pointed out by the 1980 UBCIC study, a consequence of causing Aboriginal people to own the resource base individually was that they could then sell it individually. And thus a new threat emerged:

If an individual sold a trapline, therefore, there was a loss not just to him, but to the entire Band. The progressive restriction of Indian land use was therefore compounded in a very serious manner by the possibility of sale, and many traplines have been sold in that way and have had just that consequence.245

It was the opinion of the UBCIC report authors that Department of Indian Affairs correspondence from the 1930s reveals that:

The progressive restriction of Indian land was not only occurring as a matter of unbridled and unregulated economic process, it was also occurring with the complicity of the very officials whose task it was to protect Indian people against the impact that would hit them.246

Another impact that affected the Aboriginal trappers of the Peace was hunting tourism that brought wealthy Americans to the area in the 1930s for trophy hunting. Surveyor Knox Freeman McCusker, who later laid out the route of the "tote road" which eventually became the Alaska Highway, gained his knowledge of the northern Peace in these years.247 The 1930s was also the time of the famous Bedaux expedition—a group of wealthy adventurers led by millionaire Charles Bedaux mounted an expedition to cross northern BC with Citroën half track vehicles and over 100 head of horses.248

6.3 Construction of the Alaska Highway, 1941-1952:

Authors of the 1980 UBCIC report opined that the Alaska Highway is distinct from other sectors—inasmuch as it has played a facilitative role, spurring activity of broad diversity and geographic penetration and changing the character of the northeast with some permanence.249 This present review supports that conclusion.

244 LAC, RG 10, Vol. 6735, File 420-3. H.A.W. Brown, Indian Agent, Fort St. John to C. Pant Schmidt, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Calgary, 6 April 1938..


Construction of the Alaska Highway from 1942-1945 was the topic of an academic symposium in 1982 that marked the Highway’s 40th anniversary, an event that brought together leading authorities to discuss the history of the route. Papers presented and subsequently published as *The Alaska Highway: Papers of the 40th Anniversary Symposium*, edited by Dr. Kenneth Coates, explore the following topics: the rationale for and fate of the early proposals to build the road; the personalities and issues of the actual construction; the role of the Highway in reawakening government interest in the north; maintenance of the route after the war; and finally, the impacts of the Alaska Highway, including the changes it brought to the lives of the local Aboriginal residents of the north.\(^{250}\) Of particular note to this TLUS report are three papers discussing the impacts of the Alaska Highway on the Aboriginal people by scholars Kenneth Coates, Julie Cruikshank and Richard Stuart.

A significant factor of change was the sheer number of construction workers brought to the region: writing of the Yukon, anthropologist Julie Cruikshank notes that more than 34,000 men came to a relatively isolated part of the world where only a few thousand people made their home.\(^{251}\) Two regiments of Army Engineers were sent to Fort St. John where the population had been 2,500.\(^{252}\) For the First Nations, the influx of newcomers meant the introduction of more diseases against which they had no immunity, competition for and disturbance of game resources, and environmental degradation.

Another factor pointed out by these symposium authors that also impacted members of the Fort St. John Band was the chain of airfields built across the north. *Circa* 1940, the federal government built the Beatton Airfield located near the upper Beatton River as an emergency airstrip, part of the Department of Transport’s —Northwest Staging Route— that would connect airports across northern Canada and provide the shortest route to the Orient. Once WWII began, Canada offered the staging points to the United States military to provide aircraft support for Russia in its defense of the Eastern Front. A refueling and servicing airfield constructed at Fort St. John also became part of the war effort.\(^{253}\)

Historian Kenneth Coates points out that employment opportunities associated with the Alaska Highway provided the Yukon Aboriginal people with short-term seasonal labour that fit well with their continuing reliance on traplines. Such work, he notes, was consistent with the indigenous people’s past experience as guides, wood cutters and packers.\(^{254}\) But to avail


\(^{252}\) UBCIC 1980: I:12,


themselves of this employment they relocated, and once the road was completed they continued to live along the highway, abandoning the river communities where they once worked on riverboats. While documentary evidence of the Fort St. John Band’s involvement in construction work has not been found during this research, the oral history of those interviewed for the TLUS reports that, as in the Yukon, this generation continued to work as packers and guides. The late Rose Apsassin spoke of this in an October 2010 interview: —Lots of our Elders, my Grandfather [Joe Apsassin] used to freight from Peace River to Hudson’s Hope on a boat, bringing supplies and stuff, with Johnny Beaton [of the HBC] and all of them.] A lso, like the Yukon, the riverboats ceased operating after the highway had been completed. Unlike the north, however, the Fort St. John people did not leave behind their earlier homes as a result of highway construction but incorporated seasonal employment into their annual round, returning to their winter homes when the cost of supplies had been obtained.

Prior to the creation of the Alaska Highway, the Aboriginal people maintained bush camps at Fish Lake, Trutch, Simpson’s on the Upper Halfway, Doig River and Blueberry River, among other places, and people travelled from these camps to their hunting and trapping grounds, and to the summer gathering place at Montney.255 Ridington was told that the Halfway people separated into family groups for trapping, and that no central base location was used by the Band.256 The present Halfway Reserve, allocated in 1925, was not actually occupied as a village site until 1961. Before that time, the main village of the Band was at Stoney, on the Chowade River.257 For many years it was a tipi village, and it eventually became a village of scattered log cabins. During the summer months, Aboriginal people throughout the region took employment as packers on the Peace River or worked as field hands for local farmers to supplement an income based on trapping and subsistence based on hunting. In 1943, the HBC closed its post at Nig Creek near the upper Beatton, as the distances between the traders and trappers had been shortened by road access.

With construction of the Alaska Highway and auxiliary roads in the 1940s, the use of horse and wagon became common among the Fort St. John Aboriginal people for transporting goods, and sometimes for moving camp, while the use of motorized vehicles was not uncommon among the settlers. The road-side locations of cabin ruins that date to this time indicate that construction of the Beatton Airport Road altered the Aboriginal settlement pattern, as the road provided horse and wagon access to bush country formerly accessible only by foot, horseback and by dog team. Horses continued to be the usual mode of travel in1940s-1960s; it would be another decade before vehicles would become generally owned.258 While the new highway

256 Ridington 1965-1967: 140.
258 It seems that few BRFN families owned vehicles at the time of Ridington’s and Mills’ ethnographic fieldwork among the Dane-zaa in the mid-1960s, for Ridington (1965-1967) noted that Dane-zaa often called upon him for
facilitated further development and brought a new wave of settlement to the north, the cost of vehicle ownership was out of reach for Dane-zaa trappers.

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 sale of the Reserve was the focus of an article by Steve Roe and students of Northern Lights College. Hugh Brody also discussed the circumstances of the surrender of the Reserve in his testimony before the Northern Pipeline Agency’s 1979 Hearings relating to the proposed Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline. In discussing the surrender of Montney Reserve, Brody stated, —The idea of moving people out of the former Reserve location was that it was surrounded by farmland and it wouldn’t support a hunting and trapping economy. Rather, they were given lands to the north in bush country."

After the Department of Indian Affairs sold Indian Reserve No. 172 to the Veteran Affairs Department in 1948 for apportionment to returning WWII veterans, most families moved north to the area where traplines had been registered in the 1930s. No longer was Montney a summer gathering place for it was auctioned off to WWII soldiers who wished to farm. Speaking of the agricultural potential of Montney for the returning soldiers, the Alaska Highway News wrote: —The reserve has been held a long time. It has never been used by the Indians and has been utilized as a grazing range for farmers’ cattle."

The newspaper elsewhere explained that the Aboriginal people once had been the sole occupants of the large prairie that stretched from the Peace River to the Beatton River, but had been —pushed back up toward the Blueberry when the Peace became settled in the early part of 1900."

6.4 Commencement of the oil and gas play, 1952-1960:
Few of the local histories available for the Peace Region provide information on the development of the oil and gas play in the 1950s. The large and long Peace River local history compilation, Peacemakers of the Peace, assembled in 1973, pertains to the earlier decades of the 20th century. The numerous accounts of local pioneers or their descendants focus on the —home-grown transport. Jerry Davis stated during the 2011 TLUS interviews that Dan Apsassin was the first BRFN man to own a car (JD-10-10).


261 Roe et al. (2003).


development of the region, particularly the fur trade and agriculture, not the story of the oil and
gas play that took years of sporadic investigation before flowing from the ground.

Stories in the *Alaska Highway News* indicate that preliminary petroleum exploration in the region
began in 1944, with the public questioning who would develop the north and when. Headlines
listed in an Index264 of the *News* from the mid-1940s records the cautious optimism of the times:

—Oil Company Scouts Conclude Survey—Much Virgin Territory
Covered by Whiteman—Indians doubtful of Results|| (12 October
1944);

—Oil Barons Ready to Trap Peace Basin When they Get Permission
(4 October 1945);

—Drilling has Started in P.R. Block—Possible horizons of Gas and
Oil at 5,000 feet, Say Experts|| (18 August 1949);

—Oil Zone Hit at Taylor Flat, But No One is Very Excited|| (30
August 1951);

In November 1951, however, the newspaper announced: —FLASH: Oil Was Struck|| (1 st
November 1951).

By December 1951, the *Alaska Highway News* had declared the region to be embroiled in a
—Feverish Oil Hunt—Widespread Over Peace|| (13 December 1951). Articles chronicling the
events of the remainder of the decade document the relentless evolution of the industry: agreement
of a pipeline to take the oil south (16 December 1954); introduction of the multinationals, Imperial
(6 January 1955) and Texaco (14 April 1955); construction of an $18 million plant at Taylor (1
March 1956); extension of a pipeline to Fort Nelson (23 April 1959); and, at the end of the
industry’s first decade, the announcement : —North Peace Oil, Gas and Power—Vital to Economy
of Provintell (5 January 1961).

For the Aboriginal residents of the Peace, the oil and gas play again brought seasonal employment.
The late Rose Apsassin recalled it as a busy time for her people:

    1952 is when they start that pipeline down here and power line—all
    the Natives were working down there. In 1952, the BC Hydro
    power line and the McMahon Pipeline, the one in Taylor right now,
    the plant, that pipeline going through – a lot of Indian people were
    working there (RA-10-10).

Older BRFN members’ more common memories of this era concern life on the trapline. Jerry
Davis’ story is typical of individuals born during the 1950s, when the petroleum industry came to
the Peace, a time that remained for the Blueberry River people securely rooted to an Aboriginal
lifestyle. In September and October 2011 we visited Jerry Davis’ boyhood winter home, Pete
Davis’ small log cabin situated alongside the —Mile 31 Road|| —since construction of the Alaska

264 Prepared by staff of the Fort St. John Public Library.
Highway, places along roads in these parts have been known by mile markers: Mile 31 is thirty-one miles along the Beatton Road. The Davis family of six travelled here each winter in mid-November, —as soon as the frost started coming, —and left again in March or April, — before the roads got too rough —for their horses and wagon. During the coldest months the temperature could drop to 40-50 degrees below zero, but an airtight heater kept the cabin warm and Jerry’s father had chinked the walls well with moss and covered the windows with plastic. Pete Davis’s cabin functioned as their headquarters on the trapline. Jerry’s father usually set out traps just a few kilometres away from the cabin. Occasionally, the boys would accompany their father farther out, sleeping rough on a spruce bough mattress next to a big fire. Jerry’s mother remained at home preparing meat and watching the younger children. A fire would be built outside the cabin, as well, partly for warmth, but also to melt the bloodied ice from the blade of the knife that would build up as his father skinned moose. —In the summer, —Jerry Davis stated, —we lived all over the place. We had team horses and camped all over —at Blueberry, Mile 34, Peterson’s Crossing. We’d dry [moose] meat and hides for the winter— (JD-09-11).

It was during these years of the Davis family’s travels that the tentacles of oil and gas exploration reached far north of the Peace. The drive for natural gas, the authors of the 1980 UBCIC commented, created —a wide and somewhat unpredictable penetration on the land.— We were reminded of this statement during our October 2011 visit to the Wolf/Davis family trapline when Jerry Davis pointed to a wide swath cut cleanly through the northern boreal forest and recalled ironically that his Dad marveled at how the new seismic line provided him with fast access to a hunting ground. The more negative impacts of such lines became known as their presence in the north increased.

In the midst of the escalating oil and gas developments that had begun in the Fort St. John region in the mid-1940s, new Indian Reserves for the —use and benefit of the St. John Beaver Band of Indians— were established, shortly after St. John IR 172 was surrendered. Privy Council Order-in-Council 4092 of 25 August 1950 set aside Beaton River IR 204 (883 acres), Blueberry River IR 205 (2,838 acres) and Doig River IR 206 (2,473 acres) for the Fort St. John Band. 266

265 UBCIC 1980:II: Oil and Gas.

266 See Privy Council Order-in-Council 4092 dated 25 August 1950. On file with the Indian Land Registry, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Vancouver Regional Office. Instrument X13415. When the Fort St. John Band in 1977 split into the Blueberry River Band and Doig River Band, IR 204 was divided equally between the two Bands, with the northern parcel of this IR going to the Doig Band and the southern parcel going to the Blueberry River Band. See Division of the Fort St. John Band, 20 July 1977 (approved by the Minister of Indian Affairs, 8 August 1977). On file with the Indian Land Registry, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Vancouver Regional Office. Document 074003
It was also in the 1950s that the BC Department of Lands initiated the regulation and control of Crown range in the Peace Region. This encouraged stock raising in the region and led to the transformation of brush land into grazing lands.

6.5 Continuation of Oil and Gas, Introduction of Rail Access From BC and the First Significant Expansions of the Forest Harvest, 1960-1970:

The next period important to the development of primary industrial activity as identified by the 1980 UBCIC study is marked by an escalation in oil and gas, the introduction of rail access, and the first significant expansion in the forest harvest.

A Pacific Great Eastern Railway resources survey of 1930 had reported 3,850,800 MBM of Merchantable timber in the Peace River Block. The 1953 inventory by the BC Forest Surveys and Inventory Division nevertheless found a total of 9,218,277 acres of productive forest land, and once the Pacific Great Eastern Railway had extended their service to Fort St. John in the late 1950s, timber could be exported more efficiently from the Peace. The Railway added service farther north to Fort Nelson in the early 1970's. Concurrent with the connection of the Peace River with southern and eastern markets was improvement in high production sawmill technology, and construction of a mill at Dawson Creek.

The BC Department of Lands and Forests Annual Report for 1960 stated that for the first time, the BC Legislature had voted funds for pasture development in the Peace River District. Work completed that year included twenty miles of fencing, along with eleven stock-watering dugouts, and 28 miles of combined fire-guards and trails. In addition, 88 acres were cleared, broken, and seeded. Another 73 acres were brushed out and piled preparatory to breaking and seeding. While the Annual Report stated that the Aboriginal people were showing — a growing awareness of the need for range management and the value of protecting their grazing privileges, the affect of such clearing and fencing on trapping and travel was not noted. To the north of the Peace River, the Forest Service added eleven miles of fencing the next year, and readied another forty miles, a trend that continued throughout the decade, despite

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occasional setbacks resulting from drought. By 1970, the Forest Service had constructed almost 200 miles of fencing.

Some BRFN members explained that their people’s direct relationship with the Peace River was more tenuous in the 1950s and 1960s than it had been in previous generations. They cited several reasons for this increased alienation, foremost among them, their people’s removal from Fort St. John IR 172, which had been less than ten miles from the river. Alice Pyle recalled that after the people left Montney IR 172, —they all moved, they all moved north to their traplines (AP -08-11).

Lana Wolf, born in 1951, raised this issue when asked about her personal use of the Peace River:

I am sure the older generation will have more stories on it. When they sold that Montney in the 40s, we were pushed north. In my generation, we didn’t come to town until 1960, somewhere, maybe once a year. No vehicles – hard to get here. Us kids, anyways, came into town maybe once a year. They don’t know what radio is, what television is. Dad bought a transistor radio and Maryann turned on the radio and—it’s talking! (LW -11-10).

Others, too, mentioned a lack of vehicles as an obstacle to travel. Farmers’ fields and range land fences blocked horse trails, and wagons competed with motorized vehicles on the roads.

The northern route to the trap grounds was a hike or ride to Buick, north of Blueberry River, where the trail connected to the Beaton Airfield Road heading to the northeast and to the Mile 73 Road heading to the west. This was also the route to some families’ trap grounds situated farther north. The occasional vehicle along the Mile 73 Road provided transportation to the Highway, for at this time, few BRFN members owned a vehicle. Jerry Davis recalled that Dan Apsassin (brother of Edward Apsassin and son of Joe Apsassin), a big game guide, bought an old vehicle in the 1960s, followed later by Tom Appaw and Henry Apsassin.

The late Angus Davis explained that he and his father used to walk to the highway and wait until a vehicle came along, but if it didn’t, they camped out for the night by the road and continued walking and waiting the next day:

That time I was about 13 years old [c.1962]. That’s how I started traveling with my Dad. We walk all the way to the highway and sometimes we walk to our cabin. If a vehicle come, like those gas well people come, they come give a ride to our cabin. We stay down there until we [are] out of groceries, then we come hitchhike back. We gotta hitchhike down over here, from there we walk all the way to our home. Sometime, like we hitchhike, sometime there’s no vehicle, we have to sleep outside by the road til the

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vehicle come. And those people they know us, those gas men, they
know us and our cabin, and when we’re camped by the road, make
fire, when they come, they stop, so we get a ride with them (AD-10-10).

Martin Weinstein in his 1979 testimony before the Northern Pipeline Agency Public Hearings
spoke about the consequence of road development and industrialization of the north on the
Blueberry people in the 1960s-1970s.274 He noted foremost the problems that development
produced for the BRFN’s access to hunting areas. Distant travel was now necessary for them
to maintain their hunting economy. The proliferation of farmlands around the Reserve area
meant that their old trails, including horse trails, had been cut off by fencing. Hence, people
switched to the road system for travel with their horses and wagons, competing with logging
trucks and those of the oil and gas operations.

BRFN members also experienced impacts on their way of life caused by BC Hydro’s construction of
the Bennett Dam, which flooded the upper Peace River beginning in 1968. Among the impacts of
this dam, BRFN members interviewed during the TLUS reported loss of hunting and fishing
grounds. Studies of the impacts of this dam on neighbouring First Nations have been prepared by
Yvonne Dorothy Harris275 and by Mary Koyl.276

6.6  Post 1970s : Continuation and Maturation of Industrial Development

Post-1970 there was a proliferation in the development of transportation infrastructure and
seismic line networks north of the Peace River in the heartland of BRFN trapping grounds.
Travel on the road system with horse and wagons became at first uncomfortable and then
dangerous. 277 As a result, in the mid-1970s the people of Blueberry River began purchasing
motor vehicles to travel to their more distant traplines. Jerry Davis commented that a by-
product of a proliferation of used vehicles was that there was no collective history of motor
mechanics, and as old trucks and cars broke down, they were abandoned on the Reserve. He
bought his own first vehicle in 1973, a 1956 Chevrolet that cost him $100.00. He had saved the
purchase price by working on a farm at Buick for $5.00 a day. Without vehicles, people paid
$25.00 for a taxi ride to Fort St. John (JD-10-11).

274 See Weinstein 14 December 1979. Testimony before the Public Hearings, Northern Pipeline Agency: Alaska
Highway Gas Pipeline, Vol. 17, pp. 1825-1826.
Planning, University of British Columbia.
277 See Weinstein 14 December 1979. Testimony before the Public Hearings, Northern Pipeline Agency: Alaska
Highway Gas Pipeline, Vol. 17, pp. 1825-1826.
6.7 Development post-1980

Maps prepared by the BC Oil and Gas Commission and available online, together with commercially-prepared maps, indicate that there has been dramatic oil and gas development in the Fort St. John region since completion of the UBCIC study of 1980 (see map on following map showing the complex network of access roads, seismic lines, logging trails and oil and gas facilities in the immediate environs of the Blueberry River Reserve). As well, industrial logging continues to remove timber from the environs of Aboriginal traplines.

From the BRFN perspective this development has meant reduced habitat for game and consequently infringement upon the Aboriginal people's chosen lifestyle. These concerns were expressed by the late Angus Davis in a TLUS interview conducted shortly before his death:

But now, we got lots of beaver East Creek, but now like, all the Mennonites move in that side and we just only had here and there little bit. They log, they log, and all over the place they log our trap line. And there's all the winter animal, they got no place to go and they move out. But there's lots of beaver yet in those creek. But they—and us wherever we, we got the old cabin—they don't bother the timber close to that, but the rest of the place they just tear right down. And there's so many gas well in our trap lines—and the animals, where the well, they [the wells] make a noise, like a space ship, so the animal don't want to get close to those noise, so they just move up. So wintertime, where we going to trap? We got here and there little place. That's only place they left over. Where there is small timber. But the animals wouldn't stay there, they got to move out (AD-10-10).

A similar sentiment was expressed by BRFN Council member Malcolm Apsassin:

Those things [trapping] are getting pushed out of the country, have to go up north. There’s a few animals that come through here, hang out here. Its like us. We’re stuck here, we can’t get away, this is their country, this is their land, the wildlife, like caribou. The industries that come around here, they really don’t care. The Native people don’t push animals away, we have respect for animals. We don’t just go around shooting animals for nothing (MlA-11-10).
7.0 Contemporary BRFN TLU Activities and TEK

The data presented in this section is from interviews conducted with Blueberry River First Nations members between October 2010 and October 2011. It reflects the culture of the BRFN as experienced by these people in their lifetime.

Another major contemporary ethnographic study of the Dane-zaa, based on field research done in the late 1970s, was made by another anthropologist, Hugh Brody, and published as *Maps and Dreams* in 1981. Parts of the book are unusable, however, for this study, even though. Brody supervised research conducted with BRFN members, among others. Much of the book uses fictitious names and creates an artificial type of community, attempting to conceal the identities of both people and places. Other chapters contain useful material, particularly one entitled —traplines and traps, although the documentary material is not cited. While the text indicates that some primary sources were used, they are not listed in Brody's bibliography; for that information the reader must turn to the 1980 UBCIC report, co-authored by Brody) and the 1979 report of biologist and ethnographer, Dr. Martin Weinstein, which appears as an Appendix to this 1980 report. The most valuable thing in the *Maps and Dreams* book for this present study is the resource use maps, compiled from 1978-1979 field work with the Dane-zaa people. However, with the exception mentioned below, it is not known which BRFN members compiled maps for that study.

It is apparent that the UBCIC research project supervised by Brody and Weinstein among the Blueberry River people between 1978-1979 elicited statements about lands which had been used in the 1960s-1970s, rather than knowledge of the historical use of the land. This was confirmed during an October 2010 interview with Edward Apsassin, who compiled some of the maps for the UBCIC study:

> At the time when we did the maps, we were told to interview people where they hunted. They said 'this is where we hunted, this is where we hunted.' Circled it around. Yet when I heard stories from old people, they didn't just hunt one place. They went further. They made 10 pairs of moccasins, they came back with one (EA-10-10).

Martin Weinstein told the Alaska Pipeline Pipeline Hearings in 1979 that the contemporary band hunting territories as compiled from the individual map biographies tended —to conform to watershed boundaries, as the maps resulting from that study appear to show. Clarence Apsassin, who also worked as a map maker for the UBCIC project in 1978-1979, commented that in recording an individual’s land use they restricted the mapping to areas where there was not serious overlap between BRFN hunters and individuals belonging to other bands, such as Doig, Halfway and Prophet River. —We did that out of respect for tribes surrounding us, Apsassin explained (CA-11-10), noting that his people traditionally hunted a much more

expansive area and that some hunting during the time of the 1978-1979 mapping project also occurred beyond the territory discretely associated with the individual bands.

Information elicited from BRFN members during preparation of the TLUS indicates that the hunting and trapping areas identified in 1979 and 1980 and noted above continue to be used. Indeed, these areas comprise the families’ most noteworthy hunting and trapping areas. They are, nevertheless, not the only areas used by these hunters. What became apparent through the TLUS is that seasonal mobility practised by contemporary BRFN hunters more closely reflects harvesting patterns as they were the time of the Treaty in 1900, when the Aboriginal people travelled unimpeded to far-flung areas, than those documented for the 1950-1970s, when hunters travelled by horses, wagons and dog-teams along routes then restricted and impacted by settlement and development.

Sections 7.3-7.8 discuss the contemporary subsistence activities generally practiced by BRFN but include reference to the BRFN’s engagement in these activities specifically in the Site-C Project Area (see Appendix A: Land Use Maps). This discussion is meant to be illustrative, not exhaustive.
7.1 Traditional Ecological Knowledge

As is common throughout the world, the indigenous people of the Peace are known by names associated with the natural world, including species of fish, animals and plants. These people have particular knowledge of the dynamic resource ecosystem in which they live, an understanding transmitted across generations and practised in their daily lives, a body of experience that today is known as —Traditional Ecological Knowledge—or TEK.

Such information is culturally embedded. It underlies the BRFN’s deep concern for wildlife and guides their response to industrial development and appropriate mitigation, especially when they perceive the cultural and aesthetic values of their northern homeland to be threatened. The BRFN’s relationship to the world is complex. A good place to begin understanding that relationship is with the books and articles of Robin Ridington, who delved into the spiritual dimensions of the Dane-zaa people’s connection with the natural world in the 1960s-1970s. His comments on the Dane-zaa view of hunting illustrate the path that his work provides:

The Beavers traditionally viewed hunting as a complex pattern of connection between the trails of people, animals, and primarily celestial bodies. Like many Native peoples….they believed that events must take place in the mind before they can be realized in substance. They believed that stories about the activities of supernatural beings in mythical time provided essential information about the unfolding of events in ordinary time and space.

Dreams were essential to Beaver technology. The individual hunter was expected to dream the point of contact between his own trail and that of an animal. In order to facilitate this essential dream experience, hunters slept with their heads toward the place where the sun was expected to rise in the morning. The sun’s path was believed to be the trail of Saya, the culture hero and a spiritual personification of the sun. Saya’s own vision quest is credited with first establishing the relationship between hunters and their game.

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Beaver oral traditions describe Saya as the first man to follow the trails of animals.280

Hunters’ traditional ecological knowledge also extends to the identification, management and monitoring of the game itself. During the 2010-2011 TLUS research, Dane-zaa and Cree hunters pointed to such things as game tracks and trails, the slope of a moose’s neck and the color of its innards, the thickness of a beaver’s lodge, along with the absolute number of animals seen, as indicators for assessing the state of this world. Such knowledge comes into play frequently, for besides being a community of hunters, the BRFN actively participate in monitoring programs sponsored by the BC Oil and Gas Commission to provide local knowledge on the health of the environment.

In the Peace, where the cultural foundations of the Dane-zaa are bound to the presence of animals, particularly moose, knowledge about the health of the environment has always been a matter of life and death, individually and culturally. Throughout section 7 will be found examples of this local knowledge.

7.2 Travel and Access

When the oldest Blueberry River members speak of their early life in the 1930s and 1940s they tell of their family being on the move, travelling from spring till fall between bush camps and Reserve communities, and settling for the winter months in a log cabin on the family trapline. They also speak of the resourcefulness of their parents eking out a living in the Peace countryside, searching for game, fur-bearing animals and horse feed. In an August 2011 interview, Jimmy Appaw, age 84, emphasized this semi-nomadic lifestyle that he experienced in his younger days, moving from place to place along a network of regional trails:

Old days, you got a cabin some place, you gonna live in old summer cabin, you got a pack horse, you gotta move around, go to hunt different area, different area. Where you gonna stay winter time, you got a cabin there. Around October, you come back your cabin, you gonna stay there all winter. Where there is a good place, lotta animals, lotta fur (JA-08-11).

This mobile lifestyle recalled by Jimmy Appaw relied upon horses, wagons and dog-teams for travel and packing furs. BRFN members raised in the 1950s and 1960s experienced the last years of using dog-teams for winter trapping, a mode of travel eventually replaced with skidoos, an expensive vehicle designed for efficient travel on snow and ice and well-suited to a countryside strewn with seismic lines. This change in transport was mentioned by Will Davis in a February 2011 interview:

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We had a lotta horses that time. Summertime, we would hunt with horses. In those days, early _70s, only a few people start buying vehicles. We used team horses and wagon to get to Buick Creek store to get groceries. Dad and my brothers, Angus and Jerry used dog teams. When I started trapping, I used the horses and then the skidoo. By end of the _60s, middle of _60s, was when they quit using dog team. The last persons to use dog team was my Uncle John—John Yahey and Roy Apsassin. Those were the last two persons I remember who had dog teams. Society started changing and it came [to be] out of the question there [to use dog teams] (WD-02-11).

Walter Apsassin explained that men would walk ahead of the dogs to make the trail:

They make snowshoe trail, it gets hard, then the dogs can go on it. That's the way that people do it long time ago. They go ahead one day, make snowshoe trail, next day, dog team will go behind. Four dogs can pull moose like nothing on a toboggan. We helped him going up the hills. We had to push like crazy going up the hills, but he made it. We're just pushing that sleigh too, not toboggan, sleigh, small sleigh. Whole moose in there—dog pulling that (WA-05-11).

Will Davis' brother, Angus, spoke about his own dog-team during our October 2010 interview and described making the toboggan that the team pulled:

My Uncle, he got a dog team, but me, I had two dogs. My grandpa, he made a homemade toboggan for me. I had two dogs, two sleigh dogs. Used birch for the toboggan. Chop it, make it about 1 inch thick. Where they going to bend it, they put it in boiling water, softens the wood so they can bend it up (AD-10-10).

Lingering in Edward Apsassin's memory of the 1960s is the sound of a dog-team returning home. —I remember my grandfather [Edward Apsassin] used to be on the trap line and just before Christmas they came back with dogsleds,[[he said,]—you can tell because at night you hear the bells](ED -11-10). Apsassin's family stopped using dogs for pulling sleighs in the 1960s. Other BRFN members said that their families continued to use dog-teams for visiting winter trap grounds well into the late 1970s, after which time skidoos became common.

The distance between places could be exceedingly far, as it must have seemed for young Will Davis when he travelled to the hospital in Fort St. John, his broken arm wrapped securely in moose hide:

It was around 1972 or 1973, my dad was hunting and that time my brother Jerry wouldn't let me ride those horses. They went to the store with wagon, with team horses, and while they were away, I would grab my Dad's saddle horse, put the bridle on and then scare it off down in the meadow. I would tell my mom _that horse is gone, let me go look for him._ I would find that horse way across the meadow, ride bareback, race all the way back to camp. Would keep
doing that. The fourth time, I chase that horse over there, and I got on him and was running back with that horse to the camp and that horse fall down with me. I was airborne like this and I land on the ground like this and broke my arm. I went back to my mom and tell my mom that I broke my arm, that horse fall down on me. My mom, when I push on my arm, right here it bend, my arm bend. My mom was making a moose hide, she cut off a dry piece, big enough to wrap around my arm like a cast and then she would rip a pillowcase up and then she would wrap it really tight. From our camp to Buick Creek store was about five miles. I walk five miles with a broken arm. In those days, if you gotta go to the hospital you gotta phone the Indian Affairs and they send you a taxi. So at Buick Creek, me, Louise and Mom, we got to Buick Creek Store and Louise call Indian Affairs and from then Indian Affairs send a taxi to Buick Creek to pick us up to take us into town. They would take x-ray of my arm and they put a cast on it. A little wee cast – cause that time I was what, maybe about 10 years old. I still remember that very clearly. When Dad came back from hunting that evening, my sisters—Maryanne and them—told Dad what happened and he was mad. And that night, Indian Affairs drove us back as far as the car could go. From there to get back to camp we have to walk at nighttime, five miles in the bush. We get back to camp. He has the fire going in the tipi, I was really tired, and in pain. My Dad said, in our language, _give me your other arm, I’m going to break that one too_!!!(WD-02-11).

Beginning in the mid 1970s, a few more Blueberry River families supplemented their horse and wagons with motor vehicles, purchases made possible by the high price of furs at that time. Will Davis, for example, recalled 1978 as an especially good year, because a lynx pelt fetched $1000—he sometimes trapped four or five a day—and his 1974 Thunderbird 2-door hardtop cost him only $800 (WD-02-11). Apparently, only two other vehicles were owned by Reserve members at this time. Jerry Davis also recalled the 1970s as the time when BRFN members began purchasing second-hand vehicles and mentioned that he was the first in the community to apply for a drivers license (JD-10-11), even though he found the cost of insurance prohibitive and his car remained uninsured. For these men, and others who bought vehicles, the geographic extent of their hunting and fishing increased, and trips to Fort St. John for supplies, and to the Peace River for hunting and fishing, once again became viable.

—Quads,\_\_\_an off\_\_\_road vehicle suitable for travel through rough terrain and for hauling game to the road, has been the vehicle of choice for many hunters in recent times. It is also a familiar form of transport around the Blueberry River Reserve. Quads and skidoos are carried as cargo on pickup trucks for hunting along back roads and for checking traplines and cabins.

Ownership of pickup trucks is now common among BRFN members, making possible day-trips to hunting grounds and fisheries along the Peace River and elsewhere, including places
not so easily accessible in the 1950s-1970s when vehicles were rare. Several BRFN members reported moose hunting around Tumbler Ridge, south of the Peace River, and in the Grande Prairie area of Alberta, a known Dane-zaa hunting area used prior to the 1930s. Pink Mountain, a two and a half hour drive north from Blueberry River is also a favorite moose and buffalo hunting area, and a prime recreational camping area for families wanting respite, while Butler Ridge near the Peace River attracts hunters searching for sheep and goats. As noted below in sections 8.0, day hunting for moose and elk also occurs along the Peace River in the Site-C Dam Project Area. Referring to his hunting southwest of the confluence of the Pine and Peace rivers, Stratton Adekat noted, —I stick more or less close to the oil roads, they provide good access with a vehicle, then we use quad to get into the bush‖ (StA-11-10).

7.3 Big Game Hunting

The BRFN hunting map published in Maps and Dreams indicates that while a very small number of Blueberry hunters operated east of the Beatton, around Osborn Creek in particular, during the 1970s, most of the Blueberry hunting was concentrated in the area west of the Beatton River and north of the Alaska Highway. The upper part of the Beatton River swings to the west, and the maps indicate that few of the Blueberry hunters operated north of it. Likewise, only two of the Blueberry hunters operated west of the Blueberry watershed, towards Pink Mountain, in the environs of the headwaters of the Beatton and Halfway Rivers.281

Today, BRFN owns a ranch at Pink Mountain, a drive of over two hours duration from the Blueberry River IR. BRFN members refer to it as one of the best places for recreational and subsistence hunting. A lodge, plus cabins, tipi poles, and many meat racks provide the infrastructure required for harvesting and preserving game, and for camping in a sublimely beautiful setting. Curtis Apsassin noted during a May 2011 interview that he had been to Pink Mountain the previous weekend looking for moose and rabbits, and had seen some grizzly bear, as well (CuA-05-11). Peter Yahey also spoke of Pink Mountain as prime hunting territory. It is one of the places he hunts caribou. —All the way up the Halfway River and Cameron Creek, Graham River, all these hills in here," he noted, pointing out good hunting grounds (PtY-05-11).

Sporadically over the past decade, BRFN has sponsored community hunts on Pink Mountain to ensure that everyone has a sufficient quantity of meat for winter-- especially elderly women, some of whom live off-Reserve. With a modest budget for gas and supplies, Maryanne Adekat organized one such two-week, Pink Mountain family camp, and arranged for hunters to bring in the moose and for women to cut it. —In the end, it worked really good," she noted. The community came together around an Aboriginal activity, adults instructed younger members in the traditional arts of tracking, shooting, and butchering game, and everyone went home well

provisioned (MaA-02-11). While not all families require Band assistance in stocking their freezer, the camp provided an intergenerational cultural experience, for young and old alike, far away from the ubiquitous intrusion of television and the stresses of daily life on the Reserve.

Will Davis accompanied groups of school children to Pink Mountain and showed them —how to live off the land, how to skin a moose, how to set rabbit snares, how to set camps out, how to camp out, all these things," he explained (WD-02-11). His brother, Jerry Davis, took children out to his trapline for the same purpose, and showed the youngsters how to put up a tent, and how to cut and cook meat for their dinner (JD-10-11). Teaching children how to recognize the tracks of animals and how to track them are regarded as survival tools, skills that are retained as being important to the past, present and future economy.

7.3.1 Moose

As Jerry Davis stated during one of our interviews, —Without moose, we will not live.‖ Moose are large animals with an average weight of 900 - 1,200 pounds, but the bones are large, too, so after butchering, the supply of meat is less. Out of a 1,000-pound animal, the hunter may get about 500-600 pounds of meat (StA-11-10). These animals are nevertheless common in the Peace River country, so BRFN hunters are presently able to hunt what they require, although they note the increasing limitations and impacts on these animals’ habitat.

Blueberry River people were raised on moose and it remains the preferred food for all occasions. In a discussion on the availability of meat, Will Davis spoke of how it has always been like this for the Dane-zaa:

My Dad [Pete Davis] was the last person who had a cache beside our house there for meat in the wintertime, above ground cache, to keep it frozen, an above ground cache. Dad would tell stories, when I was trapping with him: how they would have a cache in every old camping ground, all the dry meat, all summer, they would make dry meat and leave it there for the winter. And then when the times get hard, they’d eat it, they just go there, and that’s what they eat in the wintertime.

Blueberry was so poor, Christmas Day was just another day. We didn’t have no turkey. Moose nose soup, that’s what we had for dinner Christmas Day. We didn’t go hungry; Dad was a good hunter, we had lots of dry meat (WD-02-11).

Herbie Apsassin explained for the illumination of BRFN’s coastal-based consultants that in making soup from a moose’s nostril the cook cleans it well and that the resulting soup is much like clam chowder, at least in consistency, and is a highly-regarded, tasty delicacy served on special occasions.
Older BRFN members speak of the times of their youth in the 1950s and 1960s when summers were spent hunting with the family. Angus Davis stated: "—Summertime we move out, we make summer camp and they hunt and they kill so many moose—they make a dry meat and make moose grease, that’s for the winter. That’s how we lived‖ (AD -10-10).

Walter Apsassin also recalls his younger days in the bush as "—good times," and takes pride in his family’s resourcefulness:

Every spring, we go to trap up there with horses, take team horses, pack horses. That’s our life. We make money spring time, we got no traps summer time. Summer time, there’s no trapping. Then we go in the bush, make some dry meat. Stay out in the woods all summer. Fall time, when school start, we come back. We don’t stay on reserve, we stay in the bush, wherever the moose is. Bear grease, moose grease, all kinds of grease we used to make (WIA-05-11).

The general pattern has not changed too much, but with the use of vehicles the amount of time spent summer hunting has decreased, and is now concentrated into weeks, not months, and opportunistic kills at other times of the year occur more frequently during drives around the 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.

To make dry meat, the men butcher the animal for the women to cut into thin filets and hang from a rack to dry over a smudge fire of poplar. Today, people speak of "—wet dry meat‖ an d —dry dry meat,‖ for the former is half dried, sealed in plastic bags and frozen, while the dried variety, pulverized into smaller bits, 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 process the meat themselves.

How the meat is preserved depends partly on the season it is hunted. Some BRFN members hunt in the spring, when the animals are thin, but the meat is so dry that making —dry meat‖ is the best use for it (HW-05-11). Summer and fall are the best seasons for moose hunts. Curtis Apsassin (CuA-05-11) prefers to wait for the animals to get in better shape, around July, —when they start to get back into their protein‖ (CuA -05-11). While some people hunt during the rut in mid-September to November, the meat can be too strong at this time (SyA-09-11). Moose usually rut during the first or second week of September, especially if there’s been a heavy frost, and are "really active‖ during the third week (SyA-10-11).

A discussion with Sylvester Apsassin in October 2011 reviewed the BRFN moose hunting seasons:

DK: Do you hunt during the rutting season?
SyA: Yeah, we do. If it’s during the heart of the rut, we kill small bull moose – two year-old or less. We don’t shoot bigger bulls
because the meat smells like sulphur when cooked on the stove. We kill dry cows late in the fall. Those ones are awesome, they’re in really good shape. We kill cows with calf in late October, early November, once the calf can survive on its own. Those one’s there are really fat. Really good meat too, eh, they’re nice and soft.

DK: Is that the best time to get a cow?
SyA: Yes, it is. That’s the best time to get a cow.

DK: How are the animals in the spring, like after Christmas?
SyA: We can kill moose and elk right up until the middle of March. You’d be pushing it beyond that because they’ll be full of ticks…They’d be pretty thin.

DK: So you’d have to be pretty hungry to do that?
SyA: Yeah. So that’s why we always try to kill at least one moose before the second week of March. So that way, we have our food supply until summer time… Hunting season for Native People starts end of June…Prime season after that…Dry meat making season in July and August.

In addition to hunting moose at Pink Mountain, on back roads and seismic lines that have been cut through the areas of the family traplines, or along the Beatton Road, BRFN members hunt along both banks of the Peace River. During the October 2010 – October 2011 interviews, they delineated some of these areas on personal map biographies. Together, these maps show consistency in the areas identified as prime moose hunting grounds.

During a May 2011 interview, Hank Williams spoke of driving along the Peace looking for game; it became clear from his interview and those of other BRFN members that people are on the look-out for moose year-round:

We went driving around and saw a couple. This time of year [May] they got the ticks, they’re not in good shape, not edible. Some people get them for dry meat now, but not good for regular eating. They start being good to eat in July and August. Old timers talked about summer moose hunt – they all get fat on willows. Some probably born by now; it depends on the area. And if it’s too cold, they’ll calve later. If it’s too hot, they’ll calve earlier (HW-05-11)

That same month, Peter Yahey and friends took a drive to Farrell Creek, a hunting area where Peter regularly kills moose, to check that area’s herd. Though he saw lots of cows, he didn’t shoot them, and explained:

You got to wait until summer, they are too skinny [in the spring] and you don’t know if they have calves with them. Calves are too small to walk with them, so the cows leave them and walk around on their own at this time (PtY-05-11).
Dan Apsassin had been hunting in May also, but pointed out that he specifically looks for dry cows at that time of the year (DA-05-11).

Where moose can be found at particular times of year is part of the Blueberry River people's TEK. Some of this was explained by Sylvester Apsassin during a discussion on the calving islands in the Peace, the focus of considerable discussion during the TLUS:

> Moose are close to the river in spring time – calving time – March - May. In March, pregnant cows will abandon their 1 yr olds on the banks of a creek. April/May is when they calve. They’ll go to an island to have their calf. Next year they will go back to the same place where they were. Moose don’t live in one area – need lots of food, calf goes toward water, when calf gets bigger and can run away from animals, cow moose moves to a different area where there’s an abundance of food, where there is tall grass (SyA-11-10).

To this can be added Curtis Apsassin’s explanation why the calves are born near water:

> All the wetlands are calving areas – muskeg and stuff like that. It keeps the [predator] animals from smelling them when they have them in a moist spot. These are calving areas along the Beatton – there are a lot of wet areas along the Beatton that are calving areas (CuA-05-11).

Clarence Apsassin added, —When they are calving, they go to thick bushes; and springtime, when the rivers are opened up, they go there for drinking water (ClA -11-10). Garnet Davis has observed calves on the Peace River islands and suggested that while moose are here, he has seldom seen deer on the islands, and emphasized the habitat’s importance for moose (GrD-11-10). The suggestion was put to Sylvester Apsassin that when it comes to calving time, the moose will drop its calves wherever they happened to be. He responded:

> SyA: No, that’s a Whiteman’s theory...They’re not like domestic cows. I’ve never seen a moose, or elk, or deer drop their calf in the middle of a field. ...Because animals, predators, coyotes, wolves, bears – they like to attack them when they’re vulnerable like that. So then they have to calve where…there’s water…where they can’t be smelled (SyA-10-11).

At one time moose were scarce around Charlie Lake and the hunters had to travel to Cache Creek, knowing that game could be found there, as Angus Davis recounts in the following anecdote:

> They used to camp right here in Charlie Lake. And there is hardly any moose. My grandpa [Charley Yahey] say they can’t find a moose. They got to take a pack horse, they go all the way to Cache Creek, that’s where they find the moose. They camp over there. That’s the only place they find moose. Round here, there’s hardly anything, that’s what my grandpa said, Charlie Yahey, he told me (AD-10-10)
On the north bank of the Peace River, BRFN hunters pointed to Cache Creek, Halfway River, and Farrell Creek as prime moose hunting areas.

The Cache Creek road winds north from Bear Flats, joining with similar back roads heading up this creek and over to the Halfway. In October 2010, Straton Adekat described how he had been there a few weeks earlier looking for moose. Game is plentiful up Cache Creek and the hunting is easy from the road (StA-11-10; LW-11-10). He also noted that the hunting is good along an old mining or logging road that leads down the Halfway and is accessed from Mile 68 on the Alaska Highway. The hunters go by pickup truck and carry a quad for heading off into the bush (StA-11-10). Another moose area is up Farrell Creek Road which twists back to the Halfway Reserve. One part of it is where game can be found is along Haystack Road, Adekat noted, a route that will eventually take you out to the Halfway (StA-11-10). Tracey Paquette mentioned the lower end of this large moose hunting area, near Bear Flats, as the area where she hunted with her husband and his father in the late 1990s, before she had several children to tend to (TP-05-11).

Straton Adekat and several other BRFN hunters harvest moose on the north side of the Peace River during day-trips from their home on the Blueberry River Reserve. For Garnet Davis, however, a Blueberry River member currently living on the Halfway Reserve, moose hunting on the north shore is generally from one of several base camps, the locations of which he identified in October 2011 during a reconnaissance of the country he had described in a February 2011 TLUS interview.

One of the main camps used by Garnet Davis is located on Farrell Creek about 25 km upstream from the Peace River. It is used as a staging area for moose hunting and for fishing rainbow in ---Chinaman Lake, to the north, and at the confluence of the Halfway to the south. A fire pit, tent area, meat rack and table remain from the camp, items refreshed each year when the hunters come to dry meat. A bear carcass strewn on the ground indicated to Garnet that non-Aboriginal hunters had been using the site—Native hunters would have taken the hide, he stated. Garnet Davis commented that Wolverines usually come around during the winter to clean up bits of moose hide left around the camp.
Another camp is located on the north bank of the Peace River east of Farrell Creek (57° 15' .977N/ 121° 28' .690W). It is among the places where Garnet Davis takes groups of elders to camp for two to three weeks while he hunts. It is an ideal location, a rocky and sandy flat tucked below Highway 29. It is also a favorite among non-Aboriginal hunters and a group of them had taken over the camp ground during our visit in October 2011 (see photo above).

Garnet also mentioned a camp on the east side of Farrell Creek, about a kilometer upstream, but the site on the Peace is preferable for its privacy, size and its magnificent view south towards the Moberly (GrD-10-11). In the past he has used another situated just west of the mouth of the Halfway River, but it is too close to the road and therefore only good for a two or three night camp (GrD-10-11).

BRFN hunters also kill moose south of the Peace. Both sides of the Pine River were identified by the TLUS participants as particularly good hunting areas, but the area west of the Pine River’s confluence with the Peace is currently used more frequently. Straton Adekat is one of the hunters who visits the Pine River area regularly. He described his winter route as follows, as he marked his hunting ground on the map:

I cross the bridge here [at Taylor], across the Peace, then there's an ice bridge-- that's a railroad—where that goes across somewhere in
here—that crosses over the tracks a few time, follows up the Pine River. And the road ends up close to Chetwynd it comes back on the highway (StA-10-10).

The cut lines, mining and forestry roads all provide good access to the moose and elk hunting areas on the south bank of the Peace. Straton Adekat discussed how he and his wife, Maryanne, take the truck in there and hunt from the many roads. In the fall, he'll sometimes take a quad [all-terrain vehicle] and use a long rope attached to the vehicle to haul the moose out of the bush. The winter time is the best, though, for as long as the Pine River is frozen, the ice road provides easy access from the Taylor Bridge. If he hunts the Pine River area in the summer, he'll approach from the south, but at that time of the year hunters can’t get north to the confluence (StA-10-10; StA-11-10).

Sylvester Apsassin also spoke of the access provided by the numerous roads on the south side of the Peace, including those in the area of Peace Island Park, just downriver from where Pine River empties into the Peace. He stated that he has hunted all through here, on horseback, foot and by quad. Some places to the west of the Pine River are too swampy for quads, but the hunters will go on foot to get to a really good hunting area, or wait until winter (SyA-11-10). Sylvester Apsassin’s sister, Tracy Paquette, recalled going here with her husband and father-in-law (TP-05-11).

One of the reasons why this area is so popular, stated Straton Adekat, is that animals hang around there year round. Hence, the lower Pine River is where he knows he can get a couple of moose each winter (StA-10-10).

BRFN hunters also get moose farther west towards the Moberly River. A road past Boucher Lake leads to an area where they hunt both elk and moose (StA-10-11; MlA-11-10). This area was familiar to Winston Apsassin for his grandfather has a cabin on Long Lake and he spends a couple of weeks each summer hunting in that area with his mother’s family. It is something he has been doing since a child:

    My Grandpa’s trap line, his cabin is right here (indicating) and that’s where he hunts, all in this area. Right down through the south bank of the Peace and hooking back to the Pine again. There’s a trail that leads right to the Moberly, to his IR here. Horses and stuff, back in the day, I used to go there when I was a kid, back in the day. We used to drive and go hunting for moose all over this area. Especially close to the river, that’s where they hang out. Moose, deer, even some rams here, up in these high areas (WiA-11-10).

Speaking of this hunting area, Winston provided the following description of the 2010 camp that the family set up around his grandfather’s cabin and their success in hunting:

    We pulled 7 moose out of this area, and 1 elk. We were camping there for two weeks (he was there for 2 weeks, family stayed for close to 1 month). This happened just this past summer, 2010, like in August. Made dry meat and moose hides out of the meat of the moose. Pretty good hunting back there . . . Pulled in tents and
trailers and went camping out there. Shared the meat amongst the group — everybody gets their share. Didn’t get any other moose. Never went back [after August 2010], because of the hunting season. We don’t hunt moose as a trophy, more for the meat, hide, clothing, footwear—plus we practice our traditions and culture while are doing it (WiA-11-10).

Successful hunting requires the right equipment, skill, and above all—from the Blueberry River people’s perspective—the proper respect for the animals. Sylvester Apsassin explained this —respect— in a November 2011 interview:

I have good luck with hunting. I make sure my kills are clean and I respect the animal. That’s what the old timers say. That way I gets good luck. If you don’t do that, you’re never going to have good luck. The worst thing is, —You never sell it—never sell your moose—never sell your meat, never— (SyA -11-10).

Among a hunter’s equipment is a horn that sounds like a cow moose and is used to call the animals to the road. It is made from a piece of birch bark, cut and peeled from a living tree and fastened together, funnel-shaped. In former times, explained Straton Adekat, the peg fastenings were made from Y-shaped pieces of spruce root. His own moose horn has plastic fasteners, but he noted that horns are often more disposable: a hunter can make such a horn any place in the bush where a birch tree can be found, and thus there is no need to pack one when heading out to hunt (StA-11-10). Another way to call in a moose is to rub a dried, moose shoulder blade against some willows. It sounds like a moose rubbing its horns. Straton mentioned that the sound imitates that of the moose removing the velvet from its antlers by rubbing them against the tree, and is an attraction to the other moose. This method is especially popular among the younger hunters, he stated (StA-11-10).

The first moose that a boy kills is a time of abundance, but not for the boy himself to partake. Tracy Paquette commented that her son, Josh, hasn’t yet killed a moose. When he gets one, she’ll distribute it to all the elders and host a feast, in accordance with tradition (TP-05-11).

Regardless of what time of year a hunter is out to kill a moose, the animal is first sized up for health. Jerry Davis sketched what he described as a good moose: —When you want to shoot a moose, you look at it. If there’s a hollow behind its neck, it means that its skinny and that moose it’s not very good. (JD drawing a healthy moose.) This is good— (JD -11-10).

BRFN members are highly concerned about the level of contaminants entering the food chain. They are especially concerned about the sickness that they see in some moose carcasses, 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 (DA-05-11). Joe Davis explained during a May 2011 interview that people are becoming skeptical about the safety of eating moose meat, because of the well sites: —I want them to fence the well sites off, but you get rain and it spreads out. Animals drink water and eat grass. Those chemicals they bring in, they say they are good, but we don’t know that. We don’t know what we eating.‖
BRFN members are also concerned about the general reduction in hunting areas due to development. This became a topic of conversation in a May 2011 interview with Dan Apsassin and his uncle, Richard Apsassin:

DA: depends on area we hunt, you know, some areas are good, some areas are getting bad. Some of the areas we have been hunting are starting to turn out not so great. So we usually end up putting up 6 or 7 moose a year.

DK: So the areas that are turning out not so great—what is all that about? What is happening?

RA: Livestock.

DA: livestock and logging

RA: and all these oil and gas wells. The gas and oil are taking more land than they should. They are driving animals further away.

DA: Mostly disturbance.

7.3.1.1 Leather Work

Leather work is an Aboriginal craft practiced well by about half a dozen BRFN women who do it regularly. This craft is also known to a number of others. Everyone agrees that it is a tremendous amount of work. For those who are willing to do it, there are plenty of hides available and a ready market for everything that is produced. It is also a profitable business: a pair of beaded moccasins sell for between $160.00 and $200.00, depending upon the quantity of bead work; a tanned moose hide sells for $1,200.00. Ten pairs of moccasins can be made from a single moose hide (LC-10-11).

Louise Cardinal is one of the women who proudly carry on this tradition. When she feels good, Louise stated, she tans from 10 – 15 moose hides at a time. Occasionally she tans deerskin or even a grizzly bear hide. She and her husband sometimes travel north to sell the tanned hides. And it is common for her to have standing orders for tanned hides from First Nations’ sewing groups in the Yukon. One particularly profitable year she made $10,000.00 in this venture. She also takes orders for beaded gloves, moccasins, coats and mukluks. When not working as a bus driver, her husband assists in this work and Louise has recently trained a couple of young nephews.
Louise described her leather work in a May 2011 interview and brought along samples of the product (see photo):

The other day, I went to that place where they’re teaching kids how to do traditional dance and all kinds [of things]. People start ordering. I just start getting scared cause I don’t have much hide done. What if they want it to early? I tell them them gotta give me time… And they want wolf paw, bear paw beads and stuff like that. So it’s so hard. But, I’m happy doing all that. This year I make quite bit money out of that (LC-05-11).

How to tan hides and make moccasins is a skill that Louise learned as a child, for it was their daily footwear:

We all wear moccasins, that’s all we wear. That’s how I know how to make moccasins, these baby moccasins, we had to make them, sew them, patch them up. We never did have no store bought shoes until we started going to school (LC-05-11).

The scrapped hide is tanned with grease of some sort. Louise’s mother preferred to use moose brains, and Louise herself prefers bear grease, but she has found that cooking oil also turns out a good leather. The trick in making good moose leather is to work the hide well, she explained, and smoke the hide over a fire made from the stump of a spruce that has fungus growing on it. It is becoming harder to find such wood (LC-05-11). It is also necessary that the tanning be done in the summer. Skins tanned during cold weather are inferior.

A place where Louise and her husband go looking for bear to make the grease she needs for her tanning is south of the Peace, between the Pine and the Moberly, including the area around Stewart Lake (LC-05-11). For warmth, the finished moccasin has beaver fur around the ankle opening, so she needs to have this fur on hand, as well.
Tracy Paquette is one of the younger women who has learned how to tan hides; this skill was taught to her by her mother Virginia Apsassin. She recalls one year when they made 16 hides in two weeks, for Tracy a record (TP-05-11).

Some younger BRFN men also have knowledge of leather work. Winston Apsassin stated that among his family’s summer camp near the Moberly, they usually have —four moose hides going every summer, [italics] and sometimes — all going in one day[italics] (WiA -11-10).

### 7.3.2 Elk
Elk are common along the Peace and the herds are increasing. While there never used to be very many a few years back, now they are coming back (StA-10-10). Straton Adekat observed that elk can be seen near the Pine River all year round, and he is able to take an elk out of that area every winter (StA-10-10). A small herd is presently hanging around the Blueberry River and Beatton River, as well (CuA-05-11).

There is 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 (StA-10-10; MA-11-10). Some hunters come in through Jack Fish Lake Road and go to the mouth of the Pine, a regular place for summer camping while elk hunting here (CuA-05-11). Dale Chipesia recalled hunting the areas near both the Moberly and around Bear Flats with his family when he was about 9 years old (DC-05-11). —Lots [italics] of elk have been seen and killed in the area south of Peace Island Park (SyA-11-10).

On the north side of the Peace River, the farmers and ranchers allow First Nations people to hunt because the elk destroy the crops. The farmers and ranchers will call them and ask them to take a few (GrD-10-11). A common area for hunting elk if on the upper Cache Creek Road which comes out at Bear Flat. They can be shot from the road (StA-10-10).

Another elk herd is found up the Halfway River (StA-10-10). About 45 animals comprise the herd currently in the Farrell Creek area (SyA-11-10). Elk are also found in the area east of Butler Ridge (CuA-05-11). Father upstream on the Peace, around Williston Lake, there’s only lots of elk and no moose, for the moose have left the area (StA-11-10).

Hank Williams expressed concern about the elk calves that are born on islands in the Peace:

> Where they will build the dam, it’s a good calving area for moose and elk on the islands. It’s shallow for the animals to cross. They cross all over the place. Right now it’s too high, they wait until the calves get bigger. Calves are being born there now (HW-05-11).

To call an elk, explained Herbie Apsassin, —the hunters rub a wet rope or shoelace across old tin coffee can with a – it works good[italics] (HeA -11-10).

While elk is not uncommon in the areas, some BRFN members stated that they do not care for the taste and therefore don’t hunt it very often. Hank Williams get them infrequently, for his
mother, May Apsassin, doesn’t care for the meat, although he enjoys the occasionally steak (HW-05-11).

7.3.3 Caribou

Sylvester Apsassin pointed out that the Peace River valley is too far south for caribou. Caribou are occasionally hunted in the Nig Creek and Beatton River areas (SyA-10-11; CuA-05-11), and around Pink River and the Graham River (PtY-05-11). Their migratory route is generally between the Prophet River and Sikanni Chief River (CA-08-11) although a herd can be found along the Cameron River (GrD-02-11). According to Jerry Davis, they used to be more common in those areas, but the noise from forestry and the petroleum industry is scaring them away (JD-11-10). He notes that —you are lucky to see one in a month. They are moving around steady cause of the noise (JD-11-10). Speaking of the Beatton River caribou, Curtis Apsassin stated: —Sometimes you run into them and sometimes you don’t.‖ While he didn’t shoot one in 2010, he took some photographs (CuA-05-11).

A herd of caribou can be found on the mountain west of Butler Ridge, in the area known locally as —Caribou Mountain,‖ because of the presence of the animals there (PY-05-11). This is an area where Pat Yahey hunts frequently.

The animal’s constant travel was also noted by Sylvester Apsassin who commented about the caribou’s movement and how elders use the habits of the caribou in instructing young community members not to eat too quickly:

Caribou are a distinct animal—they are born here [indicating a sketch he has drawn on the map he is working with]; they will circle around like this, counterclockwise to the sun. And then if they are born here [again, referring to his sketch], they will give birth here—straight north to where he is born. Then next one will do the same, and the next one, the same, and so on. So that way, the circle shifts, becomes larger year after year. . . He’ll come back to the same area in 15 days. And they will travel 1,500 miles during this 15 days. They eat and run. Sometimes when we get too busy, instead of eating at the table, people will just stand there and eat really fast as they can and they’ll just be out the door. He says, “You guys are just like caribou—you don’t stop and eat, you just eat and run, eat and run!” (SyA-10-11).

7.3.4 Deer

Henry Apsassin remembers different species of deer being in the country in earlier days. According to Henry, they had short tails, looked like moose, and were larger than either the mule or whitetail deer seen today. The Native species, he stated, has —been mixed-up‖ with the newcomers. Besides the whitetail having the distinctive tail, the difference between mule and
whitetail deer is easy to spot in the fall: mule deer turn grey early in the season; whereas
whitetail stay orange into October, and rut in November (SyA-10-11).

Those BRFN hunters who go after deer know they’ll find one around Farrell Creek. This is
where Shawn Davis shot a record deer, which he pointed out was the —second biggest buck of
that year in northern BC 2008- 2009—scored in at 9X8‖ (SD -10-11). The Cache Creek area is
also well-known for an abundance of deer. It is in this area that Joe Davis has done some
hunting, especially when he is after an animal to enter the —buck deer contest,‖ where hunters
compete for the biggest horns (JoD-11-10). In fact, deer are common all along the north bank
of the Peace River in the study area (LC-05-11).

Curtis Apsassin occasionally hunts deer in the summer, but doesn’t bother with them in the
late fall, for like many other BRFN people, he doesn’t much care for them, when compared
with moose (CuA-05-11). There was a time in Will Davis’ life when things were hard and he
went after deer: —I remember one time, when times was hard, we gotta hunt anything, deer,
moose, because we want to hunt with horses—we get deer or moose, but moose is our No. 1
animal‖ (WD 02-11).

7.3.5 Mountain Sheep and Mountain Goat

Hunters in the Davis and Yahey families go after sheep on Butler Ridge and other ridges to the
west. In an interview of February 2011, Will Davis commented on some of the successful
hunts they have made here, along with some that produced less results:

That’s where my brother got a nice ram two years ago or a year ago.
There’s some big rams there we like to get, but . . . I was up in there
in the mountains, me and Wayne Yahey and Leon my nephew—we
went over there and tried to get those rams and we couldn’t find
them. They are bush rams, they are hard to hunt – they stay in the
timber all the time (WD-02-11).

—Bush rams‖ or — timber rams‖ (WiA -05-11) are notoriously hard to kill. Pat Yahey has hunted
Butler Ridge, as well as the ridge to the west, sometimes with his brothers, Jerry and Joe, and
several others. They camp out while hunting. The last time he hunted here for mountain sheep
they were unsuccessful, even though there are —lots‖ of sheep in there (PY -05-11). Several
years ago, Peter Yahey accompanied Jerry Davis on a search for sheep wintering grounds and
located an area behind Halfway where the animals were wintering (PtY-05-11). In the winter,
noted his brother, Jerry Davis, the sheep come down low. Garnet Davis has made two-week
long camps in the Butler Ridge area while hunting in July (GrD-02-11).

Mountain sheep and mountain goat are meats eaten during times of celebration. Richard
Apsassin explained:

if it’s a gathering in the community, somebody will get a buffalo,
somebody will get the elk, a sheep and a goat—one of each—and
everybody can figure out what they want to eat (RiA-05-11).
7.3.6  **Buffalo**

It has been around 150 years since bison (known locally as —buffaloll) were common to the Peace River, but today BRFN hunters kill them on Pink Mountain. Nevertheless, it is a matter of controversy whether buffalo (wood bison) are native to Pink Mountain or recently re-introduced. Will Davis explained this as follows:

There’s lots of buffalo on the Band’s [BRFN] Pink Mountain lands. The buffalo were there forever—that’s the story I know. But nobody put buffalo in there. They weren’t planted, nothing. Far as I can remember, they were never planted. Now it’s, you’re probably looking at 5,000 buffalo, 3,000 for sure. They’re going north, across Sikanni, up towards the Bessa River, where I guided, they are in there now too. They migrate back and forth. I think they are increasing. My advice is that they are scaring the moose and elk out of the area. They are a nuisance, they killed I don’t know how many of our horses. They have buffalo hunters every year. . . we can get buffalo anytime we want. The best meat to get is that yearling buffalo. Buffalo was main food of my people a long time ago . . . (WD-02-11).

Curtis Apsassin is one of the hunters who likes buffalo. In the fall of 2010, he was a member of a party of hunters who killed a female buffalo and divided the meat among all who were camped at Pink Mountain. He took his own portion to a meat shop where it was processed into steaks, sausages and jerky (CuA-05-11).

7.3.7  **Black Bear**

Bear dens can be found all along the slopes on the north side of the Peace River, east of Farrell Creek. Garnet Davis hunts them here, and up the creek, as well. October is a good time to get them for they are fat, he explained during a TLUS interview. The fat is highly regarded for its healing properties (GrD-10-11) and also for use in leather making (LC-05-11). During the TLUS project, a BRFN member was encountered with a dead bear cub that had been bothering the Pink Mountain camp. Asked if she liked bear meat, she pointed to her long dark hair and commented that it was the bear fat that she wanted—her mother had rubbed it into her scalp when she was young. She believes that the bear fat is responsible for the healthy hair she has today. Louise Cardinal hunts bear for the hide as well as for the grease that she then uses in her tanning work (LC-05-11; LC-10-11).

Several BRFN people mentioned bear hunting on the south side of the Peace as well, including the area between the Pine and the Moberly, and around Stewart Lake (LC-05-11). Others have gotten bear on the west side of the Pine River, in the Monias area (TP-05-11).

May Apsassin recalled one time when her father killed a bear that came around their hunting camp in Alberta and how she helped her mother prepare the grease for packing on the horse for their trip back to Doig:
The bear come around—my Dad [Charlie Dominic] kill a bear, and us ladies we take the fat off after my Dad skin the bear and he take the meat off. He leave all the fat to the side. We cut the fat off the bear hide and we make grease out of bear fat. We used to clean all the bear guts, everything, we take it to the creek and we wash it, wash it. It was just like garlic sausage, the bear guts. We cleaned it, we make sure we don’t make any holes in it. Mom put it good and she make sure it’s dry. And after she finish making the bear grease—we boil the bear fat—and after it cool up—and she put the hole in that end, and she pour the bear grease and [it filled] all around the bear guts, all just full of bear grease. And she cool it off many days and she wrap it up in some kind of hide. That way it don’t break and the horse pack it, and all the dry meat, and take back to Doig and put it in the cache (MyA-05-11).

7.4 Small Game Hunting
BRFN members have a long history of hunting small game for both pelts and for food. In former times, they trapped wherever they knew animals to be abundant and moved frequently to conserve the resource. After the registration of traplines circa 1925-1930, hunters set their traps in assorted areas, as required by fluctuations in the animal populations. Edward Apsassin mentioned this practice in an October 2010 interview and offered his view on the common use of territory:

Even after—-the Native people continued to trap elsewhere even after they registered the traplines. We hear stories about people trapping up the Sicanni – Johnny Chipesia, people from Moberly, Desjarlais, all trapping together. Over here too, people come to this area, people welcome them. They said the more the merrier. Can’t draw a line to say this is Blueberry land… That’s society trying to bring us into the main stream society. They started to say ‘hey, you get out of my trap line.’ That’s the kind of influence from the churches and the government (EA-10-10).

Some of the common use of traplines continues today. For example, hunters from the Yahey and Davis families spoke about sharing the resources found within their traplines, how they trapped and hunted in one another’s trapline areas. Similar comments were heard from the Apsassin family, as well. BRFN members’ views on traplines being seen as hunting territories were also addressed by Hugh Brody during his testimony at the Public Hearings associated with the proposed Alaska Highway Pipeline project in 1979. Importantly, as Brody pointed out in this testimony, people do not feel a sense of —abandonment when the low price of furs results in them not actively trapping, as is largely the situation in 2011:

They [Peace River First Nations] feel very strongly about them [traplines] 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, partly because I think they were encouraged so to feel during the registration process, that the trapline is their land, for their exclusive use for hunting and trapping. So in a way, the Indians often understand a trapline as something like a family hunting territory and the combination of traplines is something like a Band hunting territory. This means that when people challenge the Indians for not having trapped for two years, say on a trapline and therefore clearly not using it and not needing it, they are misunderstanding what traplines are about. Similarly, when people seek to compensate people for loss of traplines because they are losing the furs from the trapline, they are failing to understand what the trapline is all about. You can't compensate a trapper who thinks that his trapping area is a hunting area by giving him the price of the furs that he would have been harvesting, were he to continue to do so. There is therefore, a tremendous confusion over the whole trapline business that exists in the region. When Indians at the hearings got up and said, "Don't spoil our traplines", or "The pipeline is going to wreck our traplines", they weren't thinking simply of marten or squirrel. They were thinking of the assault upon the one area that they feel is still theirs as an exclusive hunting region.282

7.4.1 Beaver

Beaver meat is a food eaten by BRFN members in the spring. Edward Apsassin remembers how the hunters would be gone for a month hunting beaver. They'd returned with dried beaver meat—the whole animal (EA-11-10).

Will Davis described a few of the methods used to kill beaver:

Only way to get beaver now, you gotta chop a hole and then you gotta set a trap or snare. Mostly beaver is in the spring time when the ice start breaking. In spring time, you can shoot or set a trap or snare. Lots of beaver now. Annual beaver take: shooting, 5 or 6 a day. That's a lot of work, you gotta flush them out. You use a board, stick—my dad used a stick, beaver tine, a nail about that long. Like I said, beaver, you know, it's a lotta work. Over a year, would take a lot of beaver. I get them for food and sell them for fur and then the beaver castor, you can sell them too, if you want. They are really good for bait. I mix it with whitefish sometimes, but I really like the straight castor for my bait (WD-02-11).

Several of the TLUS participants mentioned that the time of the year when beaver are in their prime is very specific. —It’d be too late to go for them now,‖ stated Hank Williams in a May interview. He hunts them in March or April:

Still be ice, but they will chew a hole in the ice and then come out looking for something to eat. Then I shoot them. After the leaves come out, no more beaver. Then they have the little baby ones – meat doesn’t taste bad (HW-05-11).

Sylvester Apsassin prefers eating the beaver’s tail and back feet, but considers the rest of the animal good eating as well:

Cut ‘em off, get a stick, put it on the fire, but don’t burn it, cook it like this (indicating) it bubbles up, the hide will bubble away from the meat, then you can eat the meat. We don’t eat the bones. Cook beaver tail on an open fire – skin will bubble away from the meat. Try to eat it every spring, because in the springtime they are not as fat as summertime. Summertime, the beaver get fat, fat. Today is the 22nd –open Water—which means all the ice is melted, where they can come out and start eating. Catch them on the 27th, 28th, they’re too fat. You go kill them while he’s under the ice, his meat has a little less fat. The fat is a laxative, instant ExLax! (SyA-11-10).

The important thing to remember about having a meal of beaver meat, advised Sylvester Apsassin, is to —always drink hot tea when you eat the beaver meat, not water – that’s where the laxative comes in. Beaver meat is dry, like eating raw cocoa, but it tastes really good (SyA-11-10).

When trapping or snaring beaver in the winter, the hunter first finds the animal’s —run,‖ the trail from their house to their food supply. This is done by tapping the ice and finding out where the thinnest place is located. That’s where the hunter then places his trap or your snares (SyA-10-11). The other way is to mark the place before winter sets in. Garnet Davis explained that he puts dry poles where the deepest part of the run is located. Then, in the winter, he brushes away the snow around the poles and chops through the ice, knowing that they mark the appropriate spot (GrD-10-11).

Asked about beaver south of the Peace River, Winston Apsassin told how his grandfather showed him how to set snares for beaver dams all up and down the Moberly River. His grandfather’s cabin at Long Lake provides a base from which to trap beaver as well as larger game (WiA-11-10).

Hunting beaver is not restricted to the Blueberry River men. Louise Cardinal and her sister, Bella, enjoy a day’s beaver hunting, too:

I have trapped, still do. I never kill much, cause I think my eyesight is going. I shoot at it, shoot at it. I could get the boys to get it for me, but everybody’s all busy all over the place, doing their own things. But…. I just go. I get some friends and we go shoot
beavers. I got my sister, Bella, along with me. We go wherever we find a beaver dam (LC-05-11).

In May of 2011 Louise Cardinal stated that she had already killed four beaver, and always manages to get an even ten.

The price for beaver pelts has dropped in the past two decades, resulting in some BRFN trappers feeling discouraged. Rick Apsassin used to trap them in the 1980s, and has done so sporadically since then, but points to low prices, too many farmers, and a late spring as reasons why he stayed home this past year. —But there’s a lot of beaver in the Blueberry River‖ he stated (RkA-05-11).

In recent times most people simply shoot beaver when they are ready for a spring feed of the meat. Curtis Apsassin hunts them along the Beatton River. He considers the tail to be the best part (CuA-05-11). But it is the opinion of some BRFN members that the flavour of the beaver meat is being affected by pollution from oil and gas in that area (JD-11-10).

It was clear from discussions with BRFN members that there are many ways to cook beaver. The following sounds particularly appealing:

Kill a baby beaver, skin it, take out guts out, stuff the carcass with potatoes, turnips, onions, and then roast him like a turkey with tinfoil over it. If you ever eat that, you’ll be back here every spring! (SyA-11-10).

The beaver castor glands are sold and used to bait a trap (WD-02-11).

Beaver is used as a weather predictor: —If you’ve got a beaver that make food two places, gonna have a long winter‖ (SyA-10-11). Apparently the winter of 2011 is destined to be cold, for beaver on the Wolf/ Davis family trapline are already cutting extra wood (RW-08-11; JD-10-11).

7.4.2 Muskrat

May Apsassin enjoys a meal of muskrat and there are lots in the north Peace. She puts it in the oven, turns it once, and it is ready to eat (MyA-02-11). Muskrat meat makes you thirsty; one must drink coffee or tea, or you’ll get the laxative effect (SyA-11-10).

7.4.3 Porcupine

Porcupine are not plentiful but older people like the taste and eat it when they can (RA-10-10). Jerry Davis spotted the tracks of one on Butler Ridge in 2010 and intends to go back for it. Straton Adekat has also started seeing more porcupine tracks. He hasn’t eaten it —for years,‖ but it is like rabbit, in that if he comes across it while moose hunting, he’ll take it home for dinner.
The reduction in porcupine was noted commonly, mostly without explanation; however, Sylvester Apsassin attributes this fact to what he regards as the local Game Department’s poor management:

The reason why there’s no porcupines is the game wardens, 6 or 7 years ago, without telling anyone in any of the bands, just dropped off 15 cougars in the Rose Prairie area – up the Beatton. Even Straton seen a cougar here two, three weeks ago. They are trying to get the cougars to clean up on the deer. But there’s too many farm animals for them to clean up on the deer (SyA-11-10).

A porcupine can be killed by running it down, flipping it onto its back and stepping on its throat. It is easy if you know what you are doing. That way the hunter is safe from the quills, as they are not on the animal’s underside. Then the carcass is toasted over a fire to remove the quills and skinned before cooking. Garnet Davis killed one in July of 2011 on Butler Ridge. The elders eat them, he noted. They are coming back but he observed that porcupine eat fresh pine, so with the pine beetle moving in, the porcupine may be threatened (GrD-10-11).

Jerry Davis described porcupine as —a little strong.|| But it needs no thing more added to the pot than some salt to boil up a good meal. —It’s definite taste, but it is good. A little strong. Lot of peoples like it, but the taste is strong,|| he stated (JD -11-10).

**A Story about Porcupine told to Sylvester Apsassin by his grandfather:**

God had left over parts when He made the animals, so He gave the porcupine teeth like a beaver (that’s why he’s always gotta chew on stuff), claws like a bear, a mind or soul like a moose (so that way he would rut like a moose). That’s what He did. Give him a tail like an otter. And made him to be vegetarian, too (SyA-11-10).

**7.4.5 Rabbit**

Angus Davis was raised in a family who understood the importance of harvesting a mix of resources in an environment subject to variation and fluctuation. —Before we kill moose,|| Angus Davis cautioned, —we look for a rabbit trail and we snare rabbit before we get a moose. That keeps us going until we get a moose (AD -10-10). It is good advice for surviving in a hunting economy. Providing the rabbit population cycle is on the upswing, rabbit could mean the different between hunger and starvation, for a moose kill is less predictable.

When asked where they kill rabbits, many BRFN people replied, —out the back door,|| indicating that they could be killed frequently and easily. The population cycle hit a low in 2000, but they are coming back again (HA-09-11). Virginia Apsassin lived on the south side of the Peace River in the 1970s-1980s and recalls snaring rabbits —anywhere,|| although they were especially numerous around the —Honey Farm|| and Del Rio (VA -10-10; RA-10-10).
While rabbits seem abundant today, Edward Apsassin says they used to be more plentiful and have suffered from the use of pesticides:

Rabbits used to be abundant. After they started logging this area, and putting pesticides, they didn’t have the rabbit 7 year cycle anymore. Then they started to come back and he’s seen a lot of sprays again. I think they’ve killed the rabbits off. There was a cycle, it was 7 years, there were millions. If you drove down, years ago, down, up the Alaska Highway towards Blueberry, there was just dead rabbits all over, there was so many. And we ate a lot of rabbits. Now, around here, there’s not that many. If you go up north to Sekanni, in that area there’s tons of rabbits. Some people go up there for rabbits (ED-10-10).

The old method of snaring rabbits using a snare on a spring pole is still the preferred way (CuA-05-11), although Winston Apsassin mentioned using a No. 2 trap in addition to the regular wire snare (WiA-11-10), and Sylvester Apsassin stated that he takes his .22 along on a hunt to use for rabbits (SyA-11-10). Rabbit continue to be eaten regularly.

The year 2011 has been good for rabbit hunters, especially those hunting along the Halfway Road. Garnet Davis stated that he shoots rabbits in fall time, but snares them in February. While currently there is not a market for the fur, Garnet noted that the older people used rabbit fur to insulate gloves and mukluks. He hunts about 15-20 year and, when elders request them, he’ll provide four or five at a time (GrD-02-11).

### 7.4.6  Hoary marmot or whistler

BRFN members don’t hunt as many —whistler‖ as they once did, but it is known to be a favourite food among their Halfway relatives. Indeed, Jimmy Appaw reported that the Halfway people are jokingly but fondly referred to as —Whistlers‖ Concerning the animal, Jimmy stated, —Big ones, you can dry them, make dry meat – they’re pretty good.‖

Speaking of whistler, Garnet Davis noted, —They’re really good in August before they go into hibernation,‖ and he mentioned Pink Mountain as one of the places he hunts them. He sometimes dries as many as 20 to 30 at a time and uses the fat for trapping. He stores the rendered fat in a jar and dries the meat (GrD-10-11).

### 7.4.7  Squirrel

Squirrels are occasional snared or shot for their pelts, but their fur has seldom fetched a good price. Will Davis recalled, however, that his father started him off on a life of trapping by shooting squirrel:

And I remember the very first year I when I start trapping, I used to trap squirrels. When Dad bought me my first single shot .22, I was
so excited. He would buy me a whole bunch of short shells, and I would go straight across the river, climb a bank, and there’s a little timber patch there. That’s where I would shoot squirrels—twenty five cents a squirrel. In five days I would maybe catch five squirrels. And then I would set snares for them, I used those poles. I would take my $1.25 to the store and come home with only two cents. Those were the days (WD-02-11).

While previous generations ate squirrel, people interviewed for the TLUS stated that the meat is tough and tastes too much like pine tree (SyA-11-10).

7.4.8 Lynx

Lynx meat is —awesome,‖ stated Sylvester Apsassin, ―you gotta smoke it really nice, and then it tastes no different than turkey; it has white meat like turkey, too‖ (SyA -11-10). His assessment of the meat was shared by other trappers.

Speaking of 1978, a time when lynx prices were five times what can be obtained from fur buyers today, Will Davis recalled how he and the Yahey brothers used their traplines commonly and brought in three or four lynx every couple of days for the season. Today he traps, but not in the same quantities. He blames the growth of fur farms for the severe reduction in prices, along with the success of the anti-fur movement: —Environmentalists are hard on the trappers,‖ he stated. Nevertheless, BRFN trappers continue to trap lynx for its valuable fur and delicious meat.

Randy Yahey trapped 48 lynx in 2010 and estimated that his brother got another 40 lynx by the time of the February 2011 interview. Lynx are plentiful north of the Peace and although today they don’t bring in the $1,500 a pelt Randy Yahey recalls receiving in 1980, he was expecting $300 each for the ones he had in hand (RY-02-11).

7.4.9 Marten

The marten population in the Prespatou area is currently very good, a fact that Will Davis attributes to a forest fire cleaning out that area about 25 years ago:

I don’t know why, but Marten like a burned area. . . You start trapping November, December, January, February, March, you only trap five months. It’s a hard way to make a living, but it’s the way we were raised, the way I was raised. I would pick a big spot there, setting traps. Sometime I get, every two days, I get maybe two (WD-02-11).
7.4.10  Fisher
Fisher have decreased in numbers in the last two decades. Jerry Davis attributes this to the oil and gas development in recent years. He caught one, in the early 1990s, near Prespatou Lake (JD-10-11).

7.4.11  Wolverine
Wolverine has a ferocious reputation and according to BRFN members it is well deserved. Their pelts are the most valuable today, partly a reflection of the difficulty in trapping this animal. Hank Williams called them —smart‖ and — dangerous‖ and said that they are best hunted with a gun or strong trap (HW-05-11).

7.5  Fishing
Under the generic English term —fish,‖ the people of Blueberry River subsume more than a dozen edible species found in local waters. A few of the younger men who fish for sport with a rod and line have a broader knowledge of nomenclature and distinguish whitefish, Dolly Varden (bull trout), rainbow trout, grayling, lake trout, kokanee, and ling (burbot) from the less desirable jackfish, suckers, walleye, pike, and squawfish. Yet, for others, the relative importance of fish contrasts with the BRFN’s considerable reliance on game, and is reflected in their ambivalence about using specific names for fish—fish is fish—were told by several individuals.

Fortunately, it is no longer the threat of famine that motivates people to fish, as the Dane-zaa mythology suggests was once the situation, and today fishing continues to be a valued albeit sporadic activity, a pursuit that offers the bonus of a change to the predominantly meat diet, along with a good day’s diversion. For some of the professional guides and serious

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283 One BRFN fishermen refer to ling or burbot as —lynx cod.‖
outdoorsmen among the BRFN, fish is a noteworthy component of their sustenance harvesting; for others, fish is obtained through recreational fishing, bartering with southern Natives, and for at least one BRFN member, by buying it at the local Safeway.

*Dane-zaa* speakers sometimes use the term —*klue-la*, meaning 'fish people,' to refer to the family groups or *wadane* of the present Blueberry Reserve, a fact recorded by Ridington in the 1960s and confirmed by contemporary elders. In earlier times, the term likely referred to the *Dane-zaa* of Fort St. John who camped at Fish Creek, a stream otherwise known as Stoddart Creek that drains into the Beatton River from Charlie Lake, at the southern end of Montney Prairie. It seems that sucker is the fish being referenced in the ethnonym, although when asked what type of fish his parents harvested at Charlie Lake, one respondent stated, —I don’t know what kind of fish, but we ate them anyway.* Until recently, a lack of regulation concerning the non-Aboriginal Charlie Lake dwellers’ lack of sewage treatment kept some BRFN people from fishing in Charlie Lake, but increased awareness of the problem lead to new directives which have resulted in the fishery’s improved health. Yet, Straton Adekat noted that someone planted carp in the lake, which now competes with the native fish to the detriment of the latter.

Although fish seems to have been an supplementary type of food supply to most *Dane-zaa*, even before the settlement period, the documentary evidence indicates that Beaver from many bands used Charlie Lake to fish. They dried their catch for storage. This was recalled by several of the BRFN members interviewed, some of whom participated in fishing in this lake and the streams at its foot and head. Lana Wolf is one BRFN member whose recollections of fishing a stream near Montney in the 1950s are especially vivid.

They put willows in the creek and they use it as a net and someone would come up the river and go down towards where they have this willow in the water. I remember my grandfather took us out one summer and did that. I remember it as clear as it happened yesterday. He took us out in a buggy and there were 4 of us and my grandmother and Charlie. He put lots of willows in the creek and he told us to go up the creek and come towards the willows. There were lots of fish, I remember. They were squealing because the fish were around their legs. He said, —Keep coming, keep coming.* He must have got a dozen. I remember they were quite big. He threw them in a pail. After he got what he needed, he lifted the willows out of the creek. They made fire and they boiled those fish. I always remember that. . . They do that in Fish Creek (LW-11-10).

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284 Ridington 1968:146-147.

285 Ridington 1968:146-147.

286 The journalist Hugh Savage commented during his visit to Fish Creek in 1910, —Fish Creek . . . does not contain many fish worth the name* (Savage 1910, in Peace River Chronicles 1952:264).
Pat Yahey also spoke about the fishery in the creek draining Charlie Lake and identified the species caught as suckers. Virginia Apsassin mentioned both the sucker and small species of whitefish that can be found in the creeks around there (PY-02-11).

Edward Apsassin recalled an innovative technique he first saw his father use to capture suckers in Fish Creek. He placed a gunny sack in a shallow stream and then spooked the fish to swim into the sack. Once the sack was full of fish, he hauled it from the stream and the family would have suckers to dry and to eat fresh (EA-11-10). This method is still used occasionally during the spring spawn whenever people want a meal of suckers.

Some of the older BRFN members recalled the tedious job of eating suckerfish in their younger days, using their tongue to dislodge the cooked flesh from the skeleton and then drawing from their mouth a myriad of bony shapes offering appeal to young children. A myth common to many parts of North America recounts the tale explaining how animal shapes can be found in the sucker’s bony head. Virginia Apsassin remembered doing this as a child, but it was especially the delicious taste of smoked suckerfish and the flavourful heads made into soup that she recalled, along with the —balloon— found inside the fish that could be toasted on a stick before the fire. These bony fish, obtained from streams in the Beatton River watershed and on the Peace River, have a low economic value to the BRFN today and are caught only occasionally for making soup.

Dan Apsassin seems typical of the younger BRFN members who fish in the Peace River and tributaries. He works regularly in the oil and gas industry where he has developed a group of friends who share his love of the outdoors. Together they pack up their camping gear and spend —every other summer weekend— looking for big fish. A buddy’s father loans the friends a boat, launched at Taylor and loaded with fishing gear. They cruise up and down the Peace River and camp out if the fishing is good and the evening gets late. Dan and friends practice —catch and release— fishing —keep the pan-sized and larger ones and throw the others back for another time. Only occasionally does he preserve any for later use, preferring to eat them fresh. His mother and grandmother, however, expect some for their freezer (DA-05-11). His uncle, Richard Apsassin, agreed that his elderly mother still enjoys a feed of fish and it is his elders’ requests for country foods, along with a satisfying day’s outing, that keeps him fishing, too (RiA-05-11).

Asked for the location of especially good fishing spots on the Peace, Dan Apsassin mentioned that they stop the boat at any good pool formed by a back eddy, hop ashore and try their luck, a fishing strategy also offered by Malcolm Apsassin. Nevertheless, Dan noted that a number of places upstream from Taylor can be counted on for having fish, such as the mouth of the Halfway, where fishing for whitefish is particularly good, and a place where Dolly Varden (the term preferred to —bull trout—), suckers, trout and grayling can also be caught (DA-05-11). So plentiful are fish at the mouth of the Halfway that Sylvester Apsassin lamented, —I wish I had a net!— and rattled off a list of species he catches on the Peace, including —jackfish, pike, pickerel, walleye, Dolly Vardens, bull trout, rainbows, all kinds of fish.— He occasionally joins friends from Moberly during his fishing trips to the Peace River and takes his boys along to learn the art of fishing.
Another fisherman, Garnet Davis, also mentioned the mouth of the Halfway as a good place to fish. Among the BRFN, Garnet is referred to as a professional hunter, but he supplements hunting with fishing and keeps the elders and others well supplied. In February 2011, at the time of his first interview, he had been ice fishing at the Halfway River the previous week, with a simple hook and line, first using an auger to cut through the thick ice. He pulled four Dolly Varden out of that hole, but though a good catch, it didn’t equal the 13 he caught in one day the previous year. It is his opinion that stocks of Dolly Varden are declining. Garnet Davis mentioned also a few other particularly good places for ice fishing, places situated farther upstream: the mouth of Cust Creek, Gravel Creek and Dunvevy Creek, all places where Dolly Varden and lake trout can be harvested during the winter. Ice fishing begins soon after the river and streams freeze in late November and continues until the spring thaw. Garnet Davis is a member of the Blueberry Band who currently lives at Halfway, so these Peace River streams are conveniently located. He noted that he used to camp for several days at a time on the west side of the confluence of the Halfway, but it was too close to the road, so he prefers camping about 10 kilometres farther upstream, a spot he uses for both fishing and hunting (GrD-10-11).

Dolly Varden is a fish that can be caught year-round, Garnet Davis observed, and he fishes year-round, not just during the winter. At other seasons he visits the Halfway River for rainbow, grayling, ling cod, sucker, kokanee, jackfish, and squawfish, too, standing on the riverbank and fishing with a rod and reel. In the fall he sets a long line near Dunlevy Creek, although this is mostly recreational and he lets them go. Occasionally he goes up this way with a Moberly friend who owns a river boat, stopping along the Peace to fish wherever the constantly changing river has formed a new pool. June and July is the time he catches the bottom-feeding ling as they ascend the river and these can be found commonly in the Halfway. They like the dirty water, he explained, and come up the river after the snow melt. The ling is skinned and filleted before cooking. September is a good time to harvest whitefish.

During a follow-up interview in October 2011, Garnet Davis provided the following information on the months he fishes and the species harvested:

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Prepared by Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
On the May holiday weekend in 2011, elders Gerald Yahey and Eileen Wokley headed to the Peace River to fish. Eileen said she needed a break from cleaning up after her grandchildren and both she and Gerald enjoy throwing in a line for rainbow, whitefish, and grayling. They may have a few favourite spots, but Gerald commented that —from Ft. St. John you can fish all the way up to Hudson Hope. Wherever you want to stop – doesn't have to be one spot. The difficulty with fishing on the Peace River is not finding a favorite spot to fish, but rather not finding a place to camp. —Everywhere I go, he stated, – too many camps and too many people on weekends. Where we used to go, sometimes there’s 15 holiday trailer in there. Eileen added that despite this frustration, they simply like to fish, and if they are not out hunting, they can be found fishing (EW-05-11; GY-05-11).

In October 2011, Garnet Davis contributed the following identification of species he personally fishes in rivers and creeks situated in or adjacent to the study area.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>River/species</th>
<th>Pine River</th>
<th>Moberly River/lake</th>
<th>Cache Creek</th>
<th>Halfway River</th>
<th>Farrell Creek</th>
<th>Lynx Ck.</th>
<th>Cameron Creek</th>
<th>Dunlevy Creek and environs</th>
<th>Williston Lake</th>
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BRFN members identified the Halfway River as a highly-important fishery. Fishermen can be found both at the mouth of the Halfway River and along its banks. Peter Yahey visited the lower Halfway River in May 2010, a few weeks earlier than Gerald Yahey, but the water was still too muddy to fish with a rod and reel. He nevertheless lists it as one the particularly good fishing streams in the Peace region (PtY-05-11).

Fishing also occurs upstream along the Halfway River and in the headwaters in the vicinity of Pink Mountain, an important area for fishing, hunting and gathering by the people of Blueberry River as well as neighbouring bands. The Halfway River is known to be a major spawning stream for bull trout. Among concerns expressed by BRFN members about the Site-C project is the fate of these fish if impounded by the dam.

BRFN members also mentioned fishing on the Peace at the mouth of the Beatton River. They stated that this spot and a stretch farther downstream on the Peace River is especially good for walleye. According to Malcolm Apsassin, the health of the Beatton River system has suffered from the affects of the oil and gas industry, so it is difficult to fish locally; thus, he relies instead on the Peace and Halfway rivers for fishing (MIA-11-10).

Jerry Davis also relies on the Peace River fisheries instead of the local Blueberry River for his fish supply. He, too, notes that fish stocks in the Blueberry River are depressed, a fact that he also attributes to the oil and gas industry. Asked where on the Peace he fishes, Jerry said that he uses a hook and line to fish from the banks along the Halfway River, and to fish from a boat in the Peace Reach, all the way up to Williston Lake. —All these backwaters (indicating) are good for fishing,‖ he commented, pointing unsystematically to the streams flowing into the Peace River. —They go right up in the mountains – the Dolly Varden; rainbows also go up the streams‖ (JD -11-10). This was also the opinion of Straton Adekat who stated that there is —fairly good fishing, anywhere on the Peace‖ (SIA -11-10).

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BRFN members also fish to the south of the Peace River. Straton Adekat mentioned that there is good walleye fishing in Gwillem Lake, near Tumbler Ridge (StA-11-10), and several members described fishing pike in Moberly Lake.

While the fish considered to be the best for consumption are Dolly Varden and rainbow trout, whitefish and suckerfish are also obtained for baiting wolverine and beaver traps, sometimes mixed with beaver castor (GrD-10-11).

7.6 Bird Hunting

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 are available for easy harvesting. Hence, when asked where she goes for ducks and geese, Lana Wolf replied —Anywhere there is water—.

Waterfowl (Canada goose, Mallard, Goldeneye; Merganser) are particularly abundant in the spring and fall, but are killed only in the spring time, Sylvester Apsassin noted, for they are too fat in the fall (SyA-08-11). Will Davis stated that one of the favorite places for shooting ducks in the spring is around the two small lakes on the Blueberry River Reserve (WD-02-11). Curtis Apsassin stated that he hunts geese and ducks at the small lake known locally as —Horseshoe Lake, situated near the Beatton Bridge, and goes here in the spring when the migrating birds first come in (Cu-A-05-11). Jerry Davis estimated there were 300 Canada geese on Prespatou Lake when we visited this site in October 2011. Personally, he kills several a year for a change of diet (JD-10-11). Ducks and geese can also be shot on the north bank of the Peace River around the mouth of Wilder Creek, an area known for good bird hunting (DA-05-11; RiA-05-11).

None of the BRFN members interviewed for the TLUS eat song birds. Trumpeter swan, however, continues to be eaten occasionally by a few individuals (JD-09-11).

The term —chickens— when used in the Peace River region refers to several types of grouse: Ruffed grouse, sharp-tailed grouse and spruce grouse. BRFN people commonly kill them for food by shooting them in the head using a .22 rifle (CuA-05-11; WiA-11-10). Curtis Apsassin observed that if you go for a drive on any back road you’ll see —chickens— (CuA-05-11). They are killed mostly in the spring and fall, although Sylvester Apsassin explained that they generally wait until fall:

> Prairie chickens and Spruce hens are all over this country. Spruce hens live where there’s timber and then they will live where there’s a hillside—that way they can eat the bugs off of the new willows. We don’t kill prairie chickens then until August – September, let their babies grow up. With the wild chickens, the father raises the babies as well as the mother (SyA-11-10).
Chickens are the best. A lot of people here eat them. I shot about 8 this year. They are worth plucking. Best time of year for Prairie Chickens? Any time, but early spring is good, after spring they have their little ones. The chickens are all over, just walk down the fields and get what you want’ no special place (HW-05-11).

7.7 Plant Foods and Plant Medicines

All of the people interviewed during the TLUS of 2010-1011 eat Native plant foods, particularly berries, and some also use plants for their medicinal properties. When the subject of plants foods and plant medicines was raised during the TLUS interviews, respondents commonly stated that they pick berries in the fall and that the fruit is preserved in jars or by freezing. Berries are still abundant in this region, as Will Davis described in a February 2011 interview:

Right now you can go – find patches of blueberries and high bush cranberries, low bush cranberries – mostly in pine tree areas. High bush cranberries, you find it in timber. Patches of blueberries are all over. Raspberries are in old cut blocks Huckleberries—lots on south side of Pink Mountain – you can fill up 5 gallon pail in half an hour. Saskatoons – lots in the Montney Hills, north of Ft. St. John. The old Reserve, used to have lots of patches all over. Berry patches are along the river. Saskatoons are northeast of Charlie Lake, in the hills up here (indicating) (WD-02-11).

Louise Cardinal also mentioned the area north of Montney and Charlie Lake as being particularly good for Saskatoon berries, as well as low bush blueberries (Viburnum edule), but she and others pointed out that berries are plentiful in the whole Peace River Valley. People pick gallon of berries in August and September when the fruit is ripe. Saskatoons (Amelanchier alnifolia) are ready in August and chokecherries around the end of August or early September (LC-05-11). Even those who do not preserve fruit still pick berries. Curtis Apsassin stated that he used to pick alongside his late mother, but now he simply picks huckleberries, blueberries and strawberries by the handful and enjoys them fresh (CuA-05-11).

Some area where BRFN members formerly picked abundant quantities of berries are no longer good. Blueberries used to be large and plentiful around Nig Creek, before the days of oil and gas, commented Virginia Apsassin: —No more berries in there, too many well sites. It kills all the berries. Even though industry says it's not – it is too! Industry denies it!! (VA -10-10). The oil and gas industry is seen to have had a major affect on the health of the environment north of the Peace River. Describing what is likely Rubus chamaemorus, Lana Wolf spoke about the large quantities of cloud berries that would be picked in the Charlie Lake area,

287 The scientific identification of plants mentioned in this section has been made on the basis of description only. Specimens would be required to confirm identification.
particularly along Fish Creek, a place no longer available or productive. —They used to eat lots of cloud berries, the white berries, a cluster of white berries,‖ she said. —My grandmother said they used to make baskets for those from birch trees. Then they would pick the cloudberries and then used horses to pack them out‖ (LW -11-10).

Some BRFN members reported picking berries along the Peace River. Louise Cardinal said that she picks chokecherries (*Prunus virginiana*) and Saskatoons around Bear Flats every year. They grow abundantly close to the road. She puts away sufficient quantities that —About this time [May], I have to get rid of them, so I give them away to my family cause there’s new ones coming‖ (LC -05-11). Blackberries are picked along the hillsides on the north side of Bear Flats (GrD-02-11). The berries once grew so abundantly here, said Pat Yahey, who picked berries here with his family when he was a boy, that the ground looked burnt, for it was so black with berries (PtY-02-11). Farther upstream, low bush cranberries (*Viburnum edule*) can be found in the Hudson’s Hope area (LC-0511).

Sylvester Apsassin opined that the chokecherries are bigger around the Peace River than around Blueberry River. His grandmother, mother and his wife all preserve chokecherries, often putting away ten gallon of this fruit for winter use (SyA-11-10). On the south bank of the Peace, Saskatoon and chokecherries are said to be abundant in the Monias area (LC-05-11). Straton Adekat stated that raspberries, Saskatoons, blueberries and high bush cranberries (*Vaccinium vitis-idaea*) are all plentiful along the Pine River. In quick time he could harvest a dozen quarts of Saskatoons, but would need a longer time for strawberries, and raspberries would require being there just when the berries were ripe, and no later, for they would simply fall apart (StA-11-10). Tracy Paquette recalled picking with her mother in the area south of Taylor Park. Moberly Lake and the area to the north were the areas where she picked berries with her grandmother (TP-05-11).

Farther to the west, around Butler Ridge, can be found huckleberries (*Vaccinium spp.*) and high bush blueberries (*Vaccinium spp.*), while the growth of Saskatoons is restricted in that area (GrD-10-11).

Malcolm Apsassin reported that berry picking was generally combined with other activities. With reference to the Peace, he stated: —Wherever there are camping areas along the Peace – they would camp where they would go fishing or hunting from there, [but] they would do a combination of things, including berry picking‖ (MIA -11-10).

The banks of the Halfway River are mentioned for the availability of mint (*Mentha arvensis*) and Labrador tea (*Ledum groenlandicum*), both used for brewing beverages (GrD-02-11) .

Other plant foods mentioned during the TLUS interviews included: —wild rhubarb‖ (TP -05-11) or cow parsnip (*Heracleum maximum*) and water parsnip (*Sium suave*) or —wild carrot‖ a plant common around the Peace region’s creeks (MaM-10-10; VA-10-10; RA-10-10). In the late spring, BRFN people commonly eat the sweet cambium layer of poplar, scraped from the tree (Syl-11-10; MyA-05-11). Rose Apsassin mentioned that earlier generations dug —wild potatoes‖ along the Peace River, but her elders never said precisely where (RA -10-10).
Individuals interviewed for the TLUS commonly relied upon at least several home remedies involving plants. None were mentioned as being harvested specifically in the Study Area. Different people reported the same use for a number of plants, but it was apparent that some remedies were specific to individuals or families. It was also clear that the spiritual aspects of healing were as important as the plant itself. Some people spoke of praying to the plant, asking for its help, and making offerings of tobacco.

7.8 Cultural Revival Camps
BRFN members interviewed during the TLUS draw parallels between the traditional summer gatherings that brought people together in the times before the surrender of the Fort St. John IR 172 and the camp programs that are held today. Both have been occasions for celebration, attended by people from several bands for singing and gambling, and for sharing food and stories.

The history of the camps was recalled by Richard Apsassin:

Us and the elders from all the reserves, we camp at Bear Flats for five or six days every year. It's coming up in July. We're having one at our ranch at Pink Mountain and one at the Doig. We have it now in each community. It's just to get together, like the elders used to [when they] migrate say from Charlie Lake. We had teepees all over the lake here until the war veterans came home and then they kick everybody out—all these little reserves (RiA-05-11).

May Apsassin noted that an important aspect of the cultural revival camps is to instruct the children in traditional culture (MyA-05011). Such —camps are held at Bear Flats and at Pink Mountain.
8.0 Some Specific Places in the Site-C Project Area Identified by Contemporary BRFN Members as Having Cultural Significance

The following sections present excerpts relating to site-specific information about the Site-C project area provided by BRFN members during Kennedy and Bouchard's 2010-2011 TLUS interviews, summarized by Stacey Klinzman and Zachary Romano. The information has been categorized by Sharon Keen using an ethnographic (TUS site) site typology that identifies site activity and is organized in geographical areas.

The focus of the information included here relates to contemporary resource harvesting. It is this information that was delineated on biographical maps of land use in the project area that BRFN members prepared during the TLUS interviews. Importantly, the information that follows should be regarded as representative of land use, rather than exhaustive. Other places of traditional activity could very likely be noted by the people interviewed and additional BRFN members could likely add to the land use that has been recorded. The spelling of personal and geographical names contained in these excerpts may require revision.

8.1 Peace River and Beatton River

Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting/Trapping, and Fishing

*Plants*

- There are lots of saskatoons in the whole Peace River Valley, both sides (SyA-11-10)
- Lots of chokecherries; Bigger around Peace River than around Blueberry IR (SyA-11-10)
- Lots of plants in the Peace River valley that are gathered (SyA-11-10)
- Berry picking areas. We’d camp in berry picking areas and my parents [Edward and Norah Apsassin] would pick berries (MIA-11-10)

*Fishing*

- SD gets rainbow, grayling and bull trout. Caught suckers too, but let them go. Fishes where the Halfway hits the Peace. Also fishes at Lynx Creek, near Hudson’s Hope – gets rainbow, dolly, grayling here. Mostly catches rainbow. Caught some whitefish on the Peace, but too small to keep (SD-10-11).
- Where the Beatton River comes into the Peace, there's a fishing spot that is real good for pickerel, a.k.a. walleye; other Native fish you get it in the Peace River are pike, grayling, and trout--they are caught in the same way the Whiteman catches them, with a hook (StA-10-10)
- Farther downstream [on the Peace] from the Beatton there is fairly good fishing, any place on the Peace (StA-11-10)
- I personally fished on the Peace and all over the place--I fished anywhere there is access to the River along the Peace; just about anywhere, there’s not just one spot (MIA-11-10)
- Wherever there are camping areas along the Peace – they would camp where they would go fishing or hunting from there. They [Blueberry people, including MIA's parents, Edward and Norah Apsassin] would do a combination of things (MIA-11-10)
- Mouth of Beatton is also a good fishing area—they catch the same kinds of fish here as they do at the mouth of the Halfway (SyA-11-10)
- Other than Charlie Lake, we fish usually on the Beatton (LC-05-11)

**Hunting/Trapping**

- All over, where I can hunt, I hunt. Anywhere (WD-02-11)

**Transportation**

- Artifacts all up and down the Peace River. All the rivers and creeks are important to our people. The river was a major highway - easy to go up and down with a canoe. With a dog team in the wintertime (JoD-11-10)
- Where that proposed dam is also where they crossed, you can cross with a few horses. Pine River. There's also a crossing by Taylor Flats, someplace in the area of the bridge. (SyA-11-10).

**Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour**

- There are moose-calving islands all the way from the Moberly and the Halfway rivers, and extending down as far as Taylor, and to the Alberta side. Plus elk live on these islands as well (SyA-11-10).
- June, that’s where the moose have calves [on Peace River islands]. I’ve seen them there. Maybe get away from the coyotes. Certain islands you see moose calves. Rarely you see deer (GrD-02-11)
- Moose, elk and deer are near the Peace River in winter, near that highway that goes to Hudson’s Hope – they need to drink when they eat, so they'll be near the river where there is open water. The creeks are frozen, and there is not enough snow. When the streams melt, the moose will move away from the river and the pregnant cows go to the islands to calve (SyA-11-10).

**Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps**

- Edward Apsassin [CA's grandfather] used to talk about his father, Joe Apsassin, camping around mouth of the Beatton where it empties into the Peace; Edward also camped all over this area here. Can't pinpoint just one area (CA-11-10).
Aboriginal / Non-Aboriginal Interaction

- I worked with Keystone from Vancouver – did that animal count where Site-C is going to be. Every day they see animals, wolves, wolverines. If the dam goes through, where would they go? It’s a really good area. You can drive from Ft. St. John to Lookout Point – see all kind of animals, bear, moose, deer (HW-05-11)

8.2 Taylor and Old Fort

Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting/Trapping, and Fishing

Plants

- Lots of berries around Taylor Hills; saskatoons, chokecherries, and gooseberries; picked here in 1940s-50s —CA’s biological mother [Marianne Maas] still picks berries today, all over (CA-11-10).
- My mom [Virginia Apsassin] and us used to go way in the back -- The Taylor Park, there’s a road, she used to take us up there to go pick berries. Blueberries, saskatoons, all that stuff (TP-05-11).

Hunting/Trapping

- SyA started hunting in areas close to the Peace River with his —real dad] [John Calahaison] and uncles when he was 6, 7 years old [in early 1970s]. His dad taught him to hunt and skin properly. They don’t segregate themselves to just one area (SyA-11-10).
- The most recent time SyA was hunting around Peace River area was two years ago, in 2008. He got a cow moose with no horns and no baby, about 10 miles southwest from Taylor and about 3 miles south from Pine River (SyA-11-10).
- GrD doesn’t go much farther downriver past Bear Flats—hunted from Taylor down; mostly private property, so got permission to hunt there a couple of times (GrD-02-11).
- Grandfather [Edward Apsassin] said when they used to stay at Taylor Flats, they would have to trap for beaver. In those days, beaver was worth more than anything else (SyA-11-10)
- First time I moved to Taylor, I used to go to snare rabbits. That’s on the Peace River. Used to snare rabbits there – get up before the White Man get up (RA-10-10)

Landforms

- Taylor Hills known by the place name „Saskatoon-On-the-Side-of-the-Hill’ due to the abundance of these berries (CA-11-10);
- Name of 40-50 acre upper bench above Taylor called a term in Dane-zaa language meaning „Butt-Sticking-Out”; as you’re coming from Dawson Creek, you cross the Peace River, you come across and there’s Taylor, there’s the plant [gas plant], then you
go through, you come up the hill and start into Ft. St. John. It is like a point (EA-10-10).
- Fording site at Taylor called 'Long-Distance-River' (RA-10-10; MaM-10-10).

**Transportation**
- Horse fording site across the Peace River, upriver from Taylor (MaM 10-10).
- Peace River Crossing by Taylor/ Old Trading Post: There’s a church down below. The place where the bridge is today. Down from that is an old church used to be a trading post--Old Fort Road goes down to the Church. That's where the river crossing used to be (CA-11-10).
- Taylor Horse Crossings: There’s another one at Taylor, where the South Pine River comes in, they go across there too. Come from Moberly way (MaM 10-10); That’s not the only place they used to cross, by the river bridge over in Taylor, that was the main place to cross through Monias to Moberly Lake (RA 10-10).

**Habitation Sites : Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps**
- Old Joe Apsassin’s camping and trapping on the Peace River near Taylor, and up the Kiskatinaw and Pine rivers is an important aspect of the Apsassin family history (RA-10-10; CA-08-11).
- Old Joe Apsassin Camping Areas: Camped at the mouth of the Beatton, at Taylor Flats, at Baldonnel and in Ft. St. John. The people camped both on the Old Fort [north] side of the Peace, and on the south side of the Peace. The people were camping here before the Fort was built, that’s why they made the fort there, so they could trade back and forth with the people (SyA-11-10).
- Across from the Old Fort, Old Joe Apsassin [RA's grandfather] had a cabin (RA in MaM-10-10).
- CA’s other grandfather told him they used to live around Taylor Flats, trap around the Peace River and up in Kiskatinaw to look for beaver and stuff like that (CA-11-10).
- My mom [Virginia Apsassin] used to camp all over the place with her parents, Nora and Edward [Apsassin]. They used to camp around in that area, at Taylor, a long time ago--my grandmother [Norah] old me they always used to be camping there (TP-05-11).

**Recreational Sites**
- Beside the park at Taylor, and right beside where the arena is, they would gather to have dances and powwows. That would have been in TP’s grandparents’ [Edward and Norah Apsassin’s] time--grandmother [Norah] said they would all gather and dance for 7 days and nights. Drum and sing and dance (TP-05-11).
Site of Taylor Rodeo grounds: in at least the 1940s-1960s, BRFN families included camping here as part of their annual round and attended the Taylor rodeo--Tommy Wells came along – he had a rodeo down in Taylor Flat, Lawless Rodeo, they call it. Our people used to travel from all the communities to Taylor (CA 11-10)

Camped here on way to Dawson Creek rodeo in the 1940s-1950s (SyA-11-10);

Aboriginal / Non-Aboriginal Interaction

—Old Fort is said to be where the Dane -zaa people stopped the White gold miners [Klondikers] from ascending the river (MaM-10-10).

8.3 Pine River Area

Places Associated with Animal behaviour

Mouth of the Pine is where all the game hangs out – they know where to cross where it’s not too deep (HW-05-11).
Elk are coming back - never used to be very many a few years back, now they are coming back (StA-10-10).

Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting/Trapping, and Fishing

Plants

Blueberries, cranberries, Saskatoons, strawberries, raspberries: Just about anywhere on the Pine River. Blueberries, low bush and high bush cranberries (StA-11-10).
Saskatoon and chokecherries in Monias area (LC-05-11).

Fishing

Pine River fishing hole: Cross the Taylor Bridge and there‘s a road going up the [Pine] river. Go up the road, and you can walk in there and there’s a good fishing hole where they get all kind of fish in there. Fished there last year [2010] and year before [2009] (PtY-05-11).

Hunting

Significant moose and elk hunting at mouth of Pine: lots of moose, elk, deer (CuA-05-11; StA-10-10; MIA-11-10).
Elk and moose hunting in area between Pine and Moberly rivers (SyA-11-10; CuA-05-11)
StA hunts there with Blueberry people and with Moberly people (StA-10-10).
Moose on both sides of Pine River; SyA uses quad in this area for hunting during day-trips from BR (SyA-11-10).

Elk on south side of Pine; always get one here (SyA-11-10).

South side of Peace River, west of Pine, use of boggy area: Lakes and creeks used for hunting beaver, muskrats, geese (CA-11-10).

Rabbits snared, especially around the —Honey Farm,‖ Del Rio and – anywhere‖ along south side of Peace River in 1970s (VA-10-10; RA-10-10);

Hunting by Pine River and north to Moberly: both elk and moose in here by the Pine. There’s elk in there all over, elk and moose. Mule and white tail deer in there as well. (StA-11-10).

Get bear on northwest side of Pine in Monias area, as well as Stewart Lake and between Pine and Moberly (LC-05-11; LC-10-11; TP-*).

—Lots of elk seen and killed in area south of Peace Island Park. Accessible by roads; killed one here as recently as 2008 (SyA-11-10)

Pine River: moose and elk can be seen here all year round Elk are coming back - never seemed to be very many a few years back, now they are coming back (StA-10-10).

Hunting on East Side of the Pine: Moose – (drawing area all the way down to the river on both sides.) Steep land. (HA: lotta elk) Lotsa elk in here, this area in here. South side (WA & HeA -11-10).

Hunting/Trapping

In early 1900s, old Joe Apsassin trapped on Taylor Flats and up the Pine and Kiskatinaw rivers (CA-11-10; RA-10-10)

Grandfather [Joe Apsassin] trapped up the highway and up and down the Peace River. They used to also trap along the Kiskatinaw River, up towards Moberly (RA-10-10).

Beaver Trapping on South Side of Peace River: Monias or Kiskatinaw River. RA says Kiskatinaw ( MaM-10-10)

8.4 Fort St. John and Charlie Lake Area

Food Harvesting: Plants, and Fishing.

Plants

Lots of saskatoon berries north of Charlie Lake; ripen in August and September (LC-05-11).

Pick mint for tea around this lake (PtY-05-11).

There’s a lot of chokecherries where —Louise [Louise Cardinal] and them livell [south from Hwy. 29, west from southern portion of Charlie Lake, and between Wilder Creek and Tea Creek] – we go there for them (MA, in GrD-02-11).
Fishing

- Charlie Lake is a well known place for suckerfish; caught in gunny sacks and willow blockades placed in streams here (PtY-05-11; EA-11-10).
- GrD doesn’t fish in Charlie Lake. Too polluted (GrD-10-11).
- Somebody put carp in Charlie Lake and they kinda took over (StA-11-10).

Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps

- Indigenous name for IR 172 [at Montney, about 10 miles north from Fort St. John] means, in Beaver language, 'Where-Happiness-Dwells' (LW-10-10; EA-11-10; SyA-11-10).
- The people got together [at Montney] for powwows, celebrations, marriages, back then. At these gatherings, elders selected who you were going to marry (CA-11-10).

Ceremonial and Religious Sites: Graveyards

- Charlie Yahey’s family graveyard is somewhere on the North side of Charlie Lake. It was never pointed out exactly; GY thinks the people buried here died around the time of the flu [1918] (GY-05-11).

Transportation

- Ft. Nelson Trail used to go due north from Ft. St. John, up headwaters of St. John Creek and goes up right through current Blueberry River community, to the junction of Buick Creek and Blueberry and, up Umbach, up to Nig Creek, Conroy, to Hudson Bay Post and to Seccani Hudson Bay Company. Goes all the way to Fort. Nelson (JD-11-10).
- There’s a guy [named Peck] who used to own a place they used to swim horses across. Peck’s got a cabin in there. They want to get across so they swim the horses [area of Peace River between Tea Creek and Wilder Creek] (GrD-02-11).

Landforms

- This area, where Ft. St. John is, was called 'House-in-the-Spruce' (or, 'Place-of-the-Spruce') in Beaver language (EA-10-10; EA-11-10).

Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps.

- Camping was North of Charlie Lake. Every spring, for fish here, people camp from all over, like Doig, at the North End of Charlie Lake, fishing, before her time. In her time, already they became little Bands… (LC-05-11)
8.5 Bear Flats and Cache Creek

Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting/Trapping, and Fishing

Plants

- Went to Bear Flats to get Saskatoon berries on the north side, beside the road; LC still goes there – chokecherries, Saskatoons, on the side above the road. Gets chokecherries and Saskatoons on Bear Flats every year. Saskatoons ready in August; chokecherries end of August, September (LC-05-11).
- Native blackberries, just north of the Bear Flats around Cache Creek (GrD-02-11; RiA-05-11)).

Hunting/Trapping

- Common area for hunting moose and elk on the upper Cache Creek Road which comes out at Bear Flat. Shooting from the road (StA-10-10; LW-11-10).
- Area east from Cache Creek has lots of deer, but few people hunt them (StA-10-10).
- StA hunts on upper Cache Creek Road which comes out at Bear Flat. Moose and elk. Also deer, both mules and some white tail. Hunt elk there because the elk destroy the feed, hay, and sometimes the farmers and ranchers will call them and ask them to take a few (StA-11-10).
- PtY hunts in Bear Flats/Cache Creek area. Good deer hunting, lotta elk and deer, moose too, but have to ask for permission from farmers there, as they want someone to shoot the animals because the animals damage their fields, oats, barley, just lay in it (PtY-05-11).
- Further up Cache Creek we hunt sometimes for elk, too (GrD-02-11).
- Dad and mom in the 60's used to work for Bentley who owned land on Bear Flats. Dad used to hunt there--for moose--at Bear Flats (CA-11-10).
- RiA has hunted deer in hills behind Bear Flats/Cache Creek area a couple of times. Usually goes to lower Cache Creek for moose and deer (RiA-05-11).
- We used to go to Bear Flats out towards Hudson’s Hope and do monitoring and hunting. TP went with her husband, Bobby Paquette and his Dad, Robert Paquette. Hunted for moose. Last time TP was in there hunting moose with them was 1997 (TP-05-11)
- Lots of elk, moose, deer and wolves near Cache Creek (SD-10-11).

Fishing

- Bear Flats fishing area good for rainbow trout (CuA-05-11);
- Yes, camping, most time stay the night or the weekend on the Bear Flat area (GrD-02-11).
- Dolly and rainbow found at the mouth of Cache Creek. Cache Creek is the farthest downriver from the Halfway that GrD fishes (GrD-10-11).
Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps

- SD has camped at Bear Flats, 2-3 days at a time (SD-10-11).
- My father [Pete Davis] used to camp where Cache Creek comes into the Peace on the east side (MaA)

Recreational Sites

- Bear Flats used for Elders/ Youth Summer Camp: —That's when we go to that park – Bear Flats. We cook over there, there’s about 4 of us, 5 of us. All these people are gathered there. Kids and elders. And they have drumming, signing and activities they do there…They used to do that all the time and so they opened it up again. They get that tradition happening again. It’s so nice, tents all over! (VA-10-10).
- Most of the time the kids are in school and it’s hard for them to get traditional teachings except in summertime, so they have a camp, elders gather, load up everybody and they all go. That’s one of the purposes of the Bear Flats elder’s camp (WA-11-10).
- Bear Flats— that’s where we camp to teach the students. That’s started recently (MyA-05-11).

8.6 Halfway River and Attachie

Food Harvesting: Plants, Fishing, Hunting, Trapping.

Plants

- GrD uses mint and wild Labrador tea picked close to the Peace, downriver from the mouth of the Halfway (GrD-02-11).

Fishing

- Good fishing for Dolly Varden and rainbow at mouth of Halfway River (LC-05-11)
- Halfway is a significant fishery for: jackfish, pike, pickerel, Dolly Varden, bull trout, rainbows, all kinds of fish. SyA goes there often to fish (SyA-11-10).
- Any place on the Halfway River is good for Dolly Varden, trout, pike, brown trout, grayling, walleye (StA-10-10; StA-11-10).
- Grandpa [Charlie Yahey] and dad used to go down there [to mouth of Halfway]. Used to take the wagon there. PY fished there with his family when he was about 13 (PY-02-11).
- PtY often fishes where the Halfway hits the Peace River. Lotta people fish in there all the time. Popular spot; PtY was just over there about 2 weeks ago [i.e. mid-May, 2011], but the water was a little too dirty (PtY-05-11).
• Lots of fishing at the mouth of Halfway – Dolly Varden, suckers, trout, Arctic grayling and white fish; a lot of whitefish. It's a particularly good place for whitefish. We usually drive up to Halfway and go up the Cameron here, there's a few good spots down there—Halfway. That's where the fish travel (DA-05-11).

• Down Halfway there’s a lot of places for fishing, ice fishing. We went ice fishing last week. Four Dollies. No nets used at Halfway; use ice augers. Drop a line. A lot of these areas coming down to Peace have good fishing holes we used. But River changes every year. Getting rainbows and Dolly Vardens. Gets Dolllys all year, winter time, last week ice fishing they caught four. But they are going down every year. Last year, one day I caught 13, about this time (GrD-02-11).

• Fished for Dolly Varden at Halfway River. Cameron River, where it hits the Halfway—about ten miles from where the Halfway joins the Peace River. DK: Fish during other winter months? Fish for dolly varden during January and February. Uses ice auger. Rivers start freezing in November. DK: Other species targeted when ice fishing? Harvests rainbow during October in the Halfway River. (GrD-10-11).

• Ling cod: Fish for Ling cod in Halfway River when it’s dirty during July. —They like the dirty water. DK: Fish for ling cod in the Peace? “June-July is the only time we get ling cod – when the river comes up” (GrD -10-11).

• Sucker: Found in the Halfway River and Cameron River. Doesn’t intentionally catch them – —too many bones. DK: Do you recognize different kinds of sucker fish, or is there just one kind of sucker fish? —Just one type I know of… It’s kind of blackish on the top, whitish on the bottom. DK: How long do they get? “Get some big ones in Halfway.” As long as 18 inches. Use them for wolverine and beaver bait in the wintertime. —We grind them up. Harvested during July -August. (GrD-10-11).

• Kokanee: —You do get Kokanee up here…They’re reddish fish…We get them in Halfway, where peace hits Halfway, or Cameron hits Halfway, in that area. Not harvested directly in the Peace River. RB: Native word for Kokanee? —Not that I know of. Get kokanee in July -August. (GrD-10-11).

• Rainbow: Harvests during August, September and October before the river freezes. —Get them in Halfway – Chawode and the Peace River. Doesn’t get them in the spring. —Never caught a rainbow when ice fishing – just dolly varden. (GrD -10-11).

• Whitefish: —Chowade’s got lots. We don’t really take whitefish. DK: take them for bait? —We don’t catch them that often. Halfway River has whitefish too. —My auntie, Marianne [Adekat], and her husband, Stratton, go to High Level [Alberta] every year and bring whitefish back. Whitefish caught in June, July and August – further up Chowade (GrD-10-11).

• Grayling: Found in the Halfway River and the Cameron River. Use hook and line to catch them in July and August. —They have a high fin in the back. (GrD -10-11).

• Pike: Pike in Halfway a long time ago, but not anymore. (GrD-10-11).

• Jackfish: Jackfish found in Halfway. —Lots of bones. Harvests them in July -August. Doesn’t get them often. —Sometimes, they swim into a back channel, and then we block them off with a log, and just use rocks to hit them…Most people cook them with bacon, like pike. Not a popular fish. (GrD -10-11).
Fishing on Peace: Go fishing up the Halfway and all the way up to Pink Mountain. Fish are disappearing in the Blueberry River—whiteman pollution. Has fished in Peace River – hook and line and in Peace Reach and up to Williston Lake, up the streams. Dolly Varden, Rainbow (JD-11-10).

Fishing along the Peace: Hudson’s Hope/Taylor; we fish from the Halfway, by Attachie. Usually we go in from this side, there’s a break there, all in this area we… Then the other…. Mostly we get Dolly Varden, rainbow. Then we get fish from Moberly Lake. Dolly Vardens they got in September (LC-05-11).

Fishing and Hunting on Moberly Lake Side/Attachie: He would hunt more on Moberly Lake side. On this side, Taylor Bridge, up along the river, they would fish there a little bit. Where the Halfway River comes in to the Peace River, they would fish there. Halfway too. Attachie. They got suckers – Mom used to make sucker soup (MIA-11-10).

Hunting/ Trapping

Birds? We hunt Ducks and lots of geese in springtime mostly in the Halfway area (GrD-02-11).

Rabbits: DK: Getting many? I know they go in cycles. GRD: Certain areas, there’s lots. There’s lots this year, Halfway every road we go on. Shoots them in fall times. Right now we snare them (in February). Can’t sell their fur. The older people they used to use them to insulate gloves, mukluks… That much I know. Still eating them. Gets 15-20 year. When hunting for elders if they want rabbits, get them 4 or 5. (GrD-02-11).

Straton got some rabbits for his mother-in-law (MaA-10-10).

RA: I used to go up to Halfway to make dry meat -- this summer we didn’t go, too much activity up there. Gas wells, logging, it’s just one big mess (RA-10-10).

In 2009, SyA shot a moose about 2 miles downriver from Attachie (SyA-11-10).

Moose hunting near mouth of Halfway River (LC-05-11).

Hunting Along Bear Flats to Attachie: (Draws) They hunt up and down the road, because the private land owners don’t want them on the land. When he used to live in town, they would hike up and down the hills hunting for deer (JoD-11-10).

Hunting Area: (Hudson’s Hope map) Halfway, they protect that one area. I hunt there – it’s good for everything. There’s lots of elk around here. Get one a year? I get elk anytime I’m hungry. I go to hunt and I get meat. We got to look around for the right kind to, if you know how to hunt. You can go kill anything. DK indicates Halfway Ranch. We hunted all around the Halfway River, Birch Creek, this whole area. Right on top, that’s where I got my sheep. Rocky Mountain foothills. Butler Ridge – mountain sheep. (JD-11-10).

Elk and Moose Hunting on West Side of River: Gets elk as well on the west side of the river. There’s starting to be a lot of elk in there too. It’s quite boggy, but they hunt with horses, we cross. Sometimes they camp down here – right across form Halfway, there’s a well site that goes quite a bit, this one Brownridge [?] We hunt this area quite a bit. Elk and moose. The reserve ends right here, and we can go down there’s a lake,
Grandbridge, there’s a lake here. We hunt all this area, all the way down, close to the Peace. (GrD-02-11).

- **2010 Moose Take:** (DK asks where SyA has killed moose this year) He has killed 7 moose so far this year. He’s feeding a lot of people, feeds his mom’s family—his Dad died in 1992—also feeds Herbie Apsassin, his other sisters, his brothers and all his own 5 sons. His youngest son is 17; his oldest, 24. (DK asks if any of the moose he killed this year were from the present study—close to the Peace River). SyA: —No, not this year. (DK: What about last year?) Last year [2009], SyA shot a moose over here (indicates site on map, on north side of Peace, about 2 miles upriver from Attachie, which is at the confluence of the Halfway River with the Peace). On top of the hill there, going towards that look out thing, before that you turn off, going toward the upper and lower Cache [Cache Creek]. There’s lots of elk in this whole area through here [presumably this is where he was indicating the area south from the lower portions of Pine River, on the south side of the Peace]. And this is a moose kill site [referring to site near Attachie], (DK asks when this was). SyA responds that it was in—end of July, first week of September, something like that. (DK asks if moose are close to Peace River at certain time of year). SyA responds that this happens in springtime. (SyA-11-10).

**Ceremonial Sites**

- **Graveyards on Attachie Reserve:** And this guy is name Murray [?] Attachie. This what they call Attachie Reserve. Lots of old -timer die in there, but they don’t know….Right now they make a field, they might make a field in on top of the graveyard. Nobody know where the graveyard is. But now, it's right there, right by the river. I they put that place—where -- do you call, Reserve? Lots of old-timer die in there. But they don’t know where the graveyard. There all fill in there. Right now they got an airstrip in there. They used to be had a school in there, probably that school is still standing there. They make a big airstrip in there too. But they don't know where the graveyard. Maybe that Hudson Hope road—maybe it’s top of that graveyard. It's by the road, maybe the highway go through top of graveyard. Nobody knows (AD-10-10).

- **Chief Attachie is buried near the confluence. Imagines there’s a lot more burials. Back in the old day, they weren’t buried, they were up in the air (JoD-11-10);**

- **My grandfather told me that there was a dreamer, Attachie, that was why they call that place Attachie. He was buried somewhere in the hills, don’t know if on the east or west side of river (DA-05-11).**

- **Attachie Graveyard:** I heard some Attachie. You see that Mary Attachie in Doig, I mean Jerry Attachie, his dad, his great grand pa is buried in there somewhere. They say Attachie is buried in there. Robin knows it. They call that place Attachie on the map. That’s why Jerry Attachie go see us when we camp in there, he say his grandpa was buried in there (MyA-05-11)

- **Jimmy, up that Peace River, that Old Attachie, long time he buried over there. They’re talking about people died long time ago. Are there any graves over there?... That Attachie**
school, gotta be a lot of guys buried around there too. Used to be sign, Attachie School. Highway sign right there. (JA-08-11).

- **Graves where Halfway runs into the Peace**: We went down there, quite a ways up, with a boat, rubber boat. Halfway River down there, Holy Shit, that rocky mountains --any kind of other boat don’t make it, but we got a little boat, little boat can make it (JA-08-11).

**Transportation**

- Nice drive along the Halfway River, old logging or mining road. Dip down in there with a quad or even with a small pickup you can get in there - moose and elk. That's the area west of Cache Creek. Was just out there a couple of weeks ago. Another one we usually go on this might be the one here, not sure, end up, comes out by the Halfway River, goes back in here. Starts on road west of Farrell Creek and then back in there, that direction - another moose area (StA-10-10).

**Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour**

- Wild horses all along the Halfway River, both sides (SyA-11-10)

  - **Moose Calving Season**: Moose close to the river in spring time – calving time – March - May. In March, pregnant cows will abandon their 1 yr olds on the banks of a creek. April/May is when they calve. They’ll go to an island to have their calf. Next year they will go back to the same place where they were. (SyA-11-10).

  - **Moose Calving on the Peace River islands**: SyA grandfather used to tell him that in spring time, when the green grasses are just starting to appear, the moose will be around the water over there [along the Peace River].—SyA says this is because there are no predators that can come around – the moose can watch easily – water all around. Moose/elk, when they are under attack, the first thing they do, they run to open water. There’s open water all around those little islands [in the Peace River]. That’s the reason they can escape—so that way their mortality rate is not that high. SyA says s that moose calving area is wherever there’s islands. Probably as far as Hudson Hope, they’ve got elk and moose problems there - too many. And downriver there’s lots—at Silver Valley on the Alberta side [about 25 miles east from BC/Alta. Border and about 15 miles south from the Peace River], SyA’s friend in Alberta said he had some big bull moose on his property and SyA went there and got a couple (SyA-11-10).

  - **Effect of Flooding from Site-C on Moose Calving Habitat**: RB asks what might happened if Site-C is built and the water floods out the moose calving area?. SA states this is a good question, and it is exactly what he asked the government [earlier in 2010]. They said they would make man-made islands for those moose. SyA: —That’s what they said but I don’t believe that for one second.|| When SA went to the meeting at the cultural center in Ft. St. John, he asked all these questions. He said at that meeting that he has the right to hunt that valley – doesn’t matter whether he hunts there every day, as he has the right to hunt other places, as well. They think that we should be hunting a place every day, expressing our Treaty rights. RB asks how long ago this meeting was. SyA replies this meeting was February 2010 at the Ft. St. John cultural center (SyA-11-10).
Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps

- Attachie: Attachie was named after his Grandma Nora’s relatives; Nora’s cousin, Alice Attachie, married Murray Attachie. (SyA-11-10). (Herbie points out that SyA was raised by his grandparents)
- Attachie and Semi Nomadic Travels: See that’s why, that Attachie School, that Attachie, they all go there, they go camping there, they go back up to Halfway go up to Ft. St. John, then to Doig, long way to travel by horse. They go up there live with people and they come back. Doig People and Blueberry people they trail with them. They make dry meat, make bunches, pick berries and all these good thing together they do. Come in winter they all come back to their home where they going to winter and that’s where the camp. If they want a cabin they build a cabin, axe and swede saw, that’s how they build it. (MyA-05-11).
- Camping at Halfway River: We used to go camping up the Halfway River with the Halfway people. They’d tell us to … we’re going to go this day, go set up camp. We’ll be there a week later – they used to pack horses. (TP-05-11)
- Hunting and Camping up Halfway: This is Halfway right? This is Attachie, Bear Flats… Halfway River. We used to go way up this way, here somewhere. We’d have to cross… cause the Reserve Was on this side. I think we went way over here somewhere, about here, camping for the summer. She would camp for the whole summer, until the end of August, until school would start again. That’s where I learned how to do moose hides, make dry meat, and scrape flesh, berries. We used to camp with the Ackla, Hunters (Annie Hunter and her husband Bob from Halfway), Louise Jackson, Lois Wokeley (TP-05-11).

8.7 Farrell Creek

Food Harvesting: Plants, Fishing, Hunting, Trapping.

Fishing

- General fishing at mouth of Farrell Creek (TP-05-11; CuA-05-11).
- Used to go fishing at Farrell Creek area. (Marks map). Hook and line fishing. Usually go hunting along the hilltops back here in the fall time (marks map) – hunts for deer; there’s plenty there. (CuA-05-11).
- Farrell Creek: — Farrell Creek, they’ve got rainbow and grayling and… squaw fish – in the Halfway too. They’re like a sucker.\(\text{Tornado}\) - force wind hit Farrell Creek area last year. A place — Halfway people use a lot. (GrD -10-11).

Hunting and Trapping

- Farrell Creek Road – hunts moose around the Halfway (CuA-05-11). Starts on road west of Farrell Creek, and then back in there, that direction - another moose area (StA-10-10).
Farrell Creek Road: Moose area. Take you all the way back into the Halfway Reserve. We go hunting along the Farrell Creek road once in awhile too. One part of it is called Haystack Road. Eventually take you out to the Halfway (StA-11-10).

Hunting at Farrell Creek: Yep. We hunt all over. Sometimes we go from Farrell Creek, go through the Halfway Reserve and come out Alaska Highway. We all hunt in this area (indicating). West side of the lower Halfway. Moose and elk (WD-02-11).

Farrell Creek: Hunting along there (JoD-22-10).

Personal Hunting Practices: Hunted from his truck in this (indicating) area (hills around Farrell Creek/ Cache Creek). Hunted for moose. Last did it two years ago. He mostly goes north now. Got a couple of cow moose down on Farrell Creek. Got a cow moose. (DC-05-11).

Plans for Hunting up the River: Past Farrell Creek, there’s a bank –you glance across and see a sheep trail is down to the river. Cause mostly sheep licks are down by the river (DA and RiA05-11).

North side of Peace– goes near —Farrell Creek‖. Shot record deer here —second biggest buck of that year in northern BC 2008/09. Scored in at 9X8.‖ (SD -10-11). Shot moose and elk at the headwaters of the Farrell Creek. —Took one moose here last year.‖ (SD -10-11).

Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour

Springtime they went over the Farrell Creek, saw lots of moose but didn’t shoot there. Gotta wait until summer, they are too skinny and don’t know if they have calves with them. Calves too small to walk with them so the cows leave them and walk around on their own (PtY-05-11).

Elk herd of about 45 animals in this area (SyA-11-10)

Elk take each year: (DK asks how many elk SA kills each year by Peace). He replies that he usually kills 2 per year – he would like to kill more but they are smart. Did not hunt elk in the Peace River area [within the present study area] during the last couple of years, although he did see a —whole bunch of elk‖ —probably about 45 of them—in the Farrell Creek area [about 10 miles downriver from Hudson Hope]. (SyA-11-10).

Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps.

Camping in Farrell Creek Area: Camped out there two times, me and the boys camp hunting sheep. One year they did a sheep study there, that’s where my brother got a really nice ram, 42 inch ram. That’s a good ram. And the one that got away, they were bigger. That’s the smallest one he got. That’s why we’ve been, now this is the second year we’re trying to get these rams up there (WD-02-11).

GRD’s Hunting Areas/Camping and Hunting at Farrell Creek: [Marking map] Halfway’s right here - all this area going doing towards Peace, where Cameron runs into Halfway, along the river all the way down…. (mark on map) There’s another road comes into Hudson’s Hope, Farrell Creek. (GrD-02-11).

Farrell Creek Camp/Moose and Deer: Camp down at Farrell Creek, there’s a road in there somewhere. All this area we hunt it, from Halfway along the West side of the
river, on horses. Camp sometimes at these little lakes. On top there, there’s a road
turn-off. I hunt that area. Hunts moose and deer. Camping in the fall for game, late
July – August, sometimes right through September. Last year, they were three weeks in
there. (GrD-02-11).

- **Three Week Hunting Trips/Elders Participate:** DK: Day trips for hunting around
  Farrell Creek? GRD: No, hunting trips last pretty much two-three weeks, camping and
  hunting. A lot of the elders come from Halfway to camp with them (GrD-02-11).
  (GrD-10-11).
- **DK: Camp members?** GRD: Clifford Akla [?], his uncle Jerry Davis, Richard Okie,
  Freddy Akla [?]. Mom and them camp with us too, and Lorena Okie. We do the
  hunting and they do the drying. **DK: Staying in tents or cabins?** GRD: We just bring
  tents – no cabins there. Sets up drying rack. Got pictures of it – what we do (GrD-02-
  11).

**Transportation**

- **Access Road to Farrell Creek/Camp is on West Side of Farrell Creek:** DK: accessing
  by this road? GrD: There’s a road goes back to Halfway here, a back road. The camp
  is up on the flat above the river when you turn off. Sometimes there’s places you can
  drive down to the river and we camp there sometimes by the river before Farrell Creek.
  Camp site is on the west side of Farrell Creek (GrD-02-11).
- GrD: We usually camp around here too, close to Peace, Farrell Creek area, down to this
  area where Halfway run into Peace. Accesses the hunting area through the road that
  runs to the Peace. From Halfway there’s a road that comes across, two roads, one goes
  to Hudson’s Hope, the other… hits the highway towards Hudson’s Hope, and these
  creeks, Farrell Creek, he hunts all over this area. Cameron [Creek?], this area…..
  (GrD-02-11).
- **Horse Hunting by Farrell Creek:** By Farrell Creek, this area we hunt. We still do it,
  we cross the river with horses. We’re spend a week up there with horses. They cross
  the Halfway with horses. There are a couple of times I hunt with Moberly people in
  this area, where the Moberly River comes in here. Hunts for moose here. Some
  Blueberry people, like Jerry Davis (GrD’s his Uncle), comes with them quite a bit.
  (GrD-02-11).

8.8 **Butler Ridge**

**Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting, Trapping.**

**Plants**

- **Huckleberries/Blueberries at Butler Ridge:** Butler Ridge, back in here. Every year.
  A lot of the elders go there for huckleberries and those high bush blueberries. Not
  much Saskatoons; mostly huckleberries and high bush blueberries. (GrD-02-11).
**Hunting**

- **Use of Peace River**: I do hunt around Butler Ridge, Hudson’s Hope area. Hunts all over lower Halfway Reserve and across all the way down. Good hunting area. (JD-11-10).

- **Hunting together**: We hunt together when we do a study on sheep, that’s when I got my sheep. I will never forget that day [I got that sheep]. It’s the best meat you can get. (JD-11-10).

- **Hunting**: Hunting at Hudson’s Hope to Butler Ridge, behind Butler Ridge. When we go with Garnet, we used to take use horses. Now we use quad. Uses quad quite a bit. Get a little bit away from Hudson’s Hope because of the farmers, get permission from the farmers’ lands. (JD-11-10).

- **Getting sheep on the ridge**: See these mountains. In winter, sheep come down low – Hackney Hills. (JD-11-10).

- **Sheep at Butler Ridge**: Goes down Butler Ridge for sheep. We went out there--that’s where my brother got a nice ram two years ago or a year ago. There’s some big rams there we like to get, but. I was up in… before I went to the mountains, me and Wayne Yahey and Leon, my nephew, went over there and try to get those ram and we couldn’t find them. They are bush rams, they are hard to hunt – they stay in the timber all the time. (WD-02-11).

- **Butler Ridge is good for sheep**: We saw this trail on the side of the hill. We walked all this area—saw the sheep trail when they were doing the windmill study. Windmill folks said they saw sheep droppings. They didn’t see a sighting. We were talking about coming up this ridge and walking along here to see if there is any game. (DA and RiA-05-11).

- **Porcupine** – there’s no porcupine right now. They just disappear. I do eat it. Last week I went hunting up to Butler Ridge and I see a porcupine track, I want to go back for it. Porcupine cooking methods: you have to burn it first. When we burn it, take all the quills off. Then boil it up by itself, with salt. Good meat. It’s definite taste, but it is good. A little strong. Lot of peoples like it but the taste is strong. (JD-11-10).

- **Porcupine**: disappearing. Last year I only see maybe 3 in the Butler Ridge area. Porcupine, the elders like it. I notice that there’s more porcupine in M_____ Lake area, up the highway past Fort Nelson. The last time we went there, in a day, we see three big ones. (GrD-02-11).

- **Sheep**: Got a ram in the Butler Ridge area. Usually hunt sheep 171 area, Nora Pass. Last year, got two rams. My uncle got one last year. (GrD-02-11).

- **Sheep Hunting at Butler Ridge**: Before that we go further towards Butler Ridge, we camped in there too for two weeks, I think, we camped in there (July). They hunt sheep in there (GrD-02-11).

- **Hunting at Halfway River and Butler Ridge**: That is Farrell Creek Road – usually goes to hunt around the Halfway – he marks the area on the map. My Brother lived at Halfway so we would hunt there. There’s the Halfway Ranch, Farrell Creek Road, and Butler Ridge, Kobus Creek – walk along the top of Butler Ridge looking for sheep. Did
you usually go after sheep each year? Sheep in past 6 Months: 0 sheep caught in the past six months. This year he will try hunting sheep (CuA-05-11).

- **East of Butler Ridge**: Lots of moose and elk in the area east of Butler Ridge. (CuA-05-11).
- **There are —bush rams|| on Butler Ridge; they are hard to hunt as they stay in the timber all the time** (WD-02-11)
- **Hunting caribou near Butler Ridge**: Camped on —Other side of Butler Ridge, up the creek, just behind Butler Ridge, in between Butler ridge and Caribou Mountain. Lots of caribou.|| (PY-02-11)
- **Calls this —Caribou Mountain|| Gives Beaver name for the caribou. There are some caribou there.** (PY-02-11).
- **Two areas he hunted frequently**: Ridge west of Caribou Mountain and along Butler Ridge. (PY-02-11).
- **Last hunted there in 1978-79 with his brothers, Jerry and Joe. Stay over night. Five or 6 of them went, left the vehicle and went up to the ridge after sheep. Camped out. Hunted mountain sheep but didn’t get any. Lots of sheep in there.** (PY-02-11).
- **Went in there in 1982-83. Got animals there during that trip (unclear how many). —Kids hunt there now.|| Accessed this area with a quad — —4-wheeler.|| Wayne/Sherri/Guy go there now (MA) Coal miners are in there, so there are lots of roads. Use quad.**(PY-02-11).

**Landforms**

**Butler Ridge Waterfall**: There’s a creek in there, there’s a bridge in there. We hunt sheep in this area too on Aylard Creek (GrD-02-11).

**Transportation**

- **Trail to Butler Ridge**: HA: another one goes to Butler Ridge. (HA on RY-02-11).
- **RY**: Before Treaty was signed, when they gathered in Montney Reserve, that’s August time from Ft. St. John, they all go to, then they go to Butler Ridge for easy hunting and berry picking. Mile 67, Stoddard Creek, is one of the main trails. There’s a creek ______. Trail heads right to Butler Ridge. (RY-02-11).
- **RB Asks RY to Clarify Trail to Butler Ridge Using Map of Charlie Lake**: RY shows where trail at Mile 67 traverses. Sometimes over 500 saddle horses would go along the trail, they’d go across the highway, they would go to Butler Ridge and camp. RY draws trail to Butler Ridge. Around Halfway River and Cameron Creek, there’s a trail to the mountain. (RY-02-11).

**Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour**

- **Moose calving on islands**: Moose used to calve near Hudson Hope. People used to hunt there., people from Halfway. Use to hunt around Butler Ridge. We took my dad
down there. We took a packhorse. Blueberry and Halfwat took moose from down there. (PY-02-11).

Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps

- **Butler Ridge**: He and his uncle Jimmy came back from Butler Ridge, camped there, two in the morning, went down and found an old camp. Someone camped there along time ago. Found old cans. Went back and told his grandmother. Recalled people living there a long time ago. A lot of people got sick and died there years ago. —Lots of trapping here. Recalls CMTs in the area — people marked trees. Doesn’t know the Beaver name for Butler Ridge. Pat used to camp here. Moose also calved near Butler Ridge. (PY-02-11).

8.9 **Hudson’s Hope**

Food Harvesting: Plants, Fishing, Hunting, Trapping

Plants

- **Berry Picking in Hudson’s Hope/Dunleavy Area**: Low bush cranberries in the Hudson’s Hope area. Sometimes down toward Dunleavy, there’s fruit trees. (LC-05-11).

Fishing

- **JA**: Fishing along the Peace, yes. Up from Hudson Hope (JA-10-10)
- **Mention Fishing locations?**: Fish from Ft. St. John you can fish all the way up to Hudson Hope. Wherever its good and you want to stop – doesn’t have to be one spot. Fishing with hook and line, fishing rod. All kinds of fish – whatever’s there. Rainbow, whitefish, grayling… (GY-05-11).
- **Fish at Dunlevy (RW-02-11)**
- **Fishing along the Peace River**: Wildred Davis—sometimes go from here over there. Fished there after the dam was constructed at Hudson Hope. Camped over night on the River. Caught Dolly Varden and Rainbow. Good spot near the waterfall at the confluence of Dunlevy Creek and Dresser Creeks. —Fish can’t go up, so it’s good. (PY-02-11).

Hunting and Trapping

- **Shawn Davis**: DK: Do you hunt down in the Peace? Hunts there 4 or 5 times per year along the north and south side. Last 5 years – 1 deer from the north side of the Peace; 2 moose, 1 elk from the south side of the Peace. North side of Peace, hunts near Hudson Hope. Goes here every year. Last at Butler Ridge earlier this year for moose, elk and sheep. (SD-10-11).
Ceremonial and Religious Sites

- **Graveyard:** Lower section of Hudson’s Hope where old Hudson’s Hope is. There is a Wagon trail on the opposite side of the river. Theresa’s grandfather told her the story when she was a teenager. Chief wasn’t alive then. He was already buried somewhere. Probably 100 years ago. (CA-08-11).

Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour

- The moose are all around there – there’s open water. Not enough snow. The moose and elk and deer are close to Peace River. Near that highway that goes to Hudson’s Hope – not enough snow and they need to drink when they eat. That’s why you’ll see them. The creeks are frozen so they’ll be near the river. When the streams melt, the moose will move away from the river and the pregnant cows go to the islands to calve (SyA-11-10).
- **Mule Deer Along the Hudson’s Hope Road:** Hundreds, thousands of mule deer. Drive the Hudson’s Hope Road, see a lot of mule deer. (WA-11-10).

8.10 Moberly River Area and Del Rio Area

Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing.

**Plants**

- **Berry Picking at Moberly Lake:** We used to go hunting over here and then there’s that…where’s Moberly here… This is Moberly right? Oh, yeah, see, right even here, Moberly Lake, around here, we went picking berries right here, with my GM Boudrie, along here and we picked a lot of blueberries. (TP-05-11).

**Fishing**

- **Fishing at Stuart Lake/Hunting and Berry Picking Between Moberly and Pine:** We go fish over there, Stuart Lake. (DK: here’s the Moberly). It must be somewhere here. I think it’s in here somewhere. Goes between Pine and Moberly for deer and elk. Good fish in Stewart Lake. We still go over there, we look for bear. Bear grease is good for moose hides. It's a good thing GP is gone, cause he’d be sad. Going into Stuart Lake on Rio Grande? Not Kiskatinaw, Braden Road we use. Rainbow, that’s all they got last time, but they say there’s all different kind of fish. Stewart Lake for fish and between Moberly and Pine for bear and berries (saksatoons and choke cherries). My husband like choke cherries cause when he was growing up there’s lots in that area. Goes in that area for elk and deer. Everywhere you go, there’s farmers’ fields. That’s why we have to go far away to go hunt. (LC-05-11).
- **Shawn Davis:** DK: Do any fishing in the Moberly? —Just in the lake. Never tried in the river. (SD -10-11).
- **South Side of Peace River:** Sometimes goes for fishing on south side. (GrD-02-11).
- **Moberly**: —My dad used to fish there (Robert Paquette [?])...Used to set out nets with some of the elders from Halfway. Used nets in Moberly Lake to get lake trout. — They told me there’s another lake below Moberly. They’d catch pike up there. Used to be a lot of pike up there. || **Rainbow in the Moberly. Cousins fish there often.** (GrD -10-11).

**Hunting and trapping**

- **Hunting Between Moberly and Peace**: Does a lot hunting between the Moberly and the Peace. Marshy area. —Just day quad trips, coming from the Moberly – there’s a bunch of cut lines he and his buddies from Moberly go down. Do a lot of hunting in this area down here too (indicating); all these roads here – gas line roads—we go down with quads – moose. (CuA-05-11).
- Hunts on Peace between Pine River and the Moberly River. Hunting moose and elk. Came close to river and far away, used cut lines back in there - cut lines for seismic or mining or forestry, logged out areas in there. Has hunted here with Blueberry people and with Moberly people over the last 15 years (StA -10-10).
- **Hunting by Jack Fish Road**: Hunts on the Peace between the Pine River and Moberly River. Moose and elk. Elk are coming back. Used cut lines, mining and forestry roads. Hunts with Blueberry people and people from Moberly. Dotted line is an old trail along the Pine River, eventually it hits a high grade road near the RR tracks, back in here somewhere, from the RR tracks to Chetwynd, it’s all high grade road. High grade means all weather road, graveled with culverts. First part near the Taylor Ditches is not an upgraded road, used winter and late fall. Can’t get across unless the ice freezes up on the Pine River. You gotta get across the Pine River, there’s a road up the hill there. Cross the Peace, take the trail on the south side, cross the Pine. Drive across the ice. Hunts there in the wintertime. Goes in the summertime, we come around this way but can’t get all the way in. Between Chetwynd and Moberly Lake, Jack Fish Lake Road. Two trails, kind of a Y, cut across the Moberly River, another once goes straight on. This is westernmost hunting. Hunts to the west and down in here along the road. Doesn’t know exactly where that road is. This red one going back across this way is a road going across the Moberly River. Comes straight up and then back – there’s a Y there. (DK following StA’s pencil line.) Didn’t hunt very far off the road, unless quad or skidoo – mostly getting from the truck. Quad hunts once in a while, in the fall time. (StA-11-10).
- **Beaver?** Lot of it in Long Lake and Moberly River – Grand Father cabin in on Long Lake. Used to trap Beaver there and up the Moberly. They’d canoe it. Grand Father showed him where he used to snare a lot of beaver, because they have beaver dams all up and down the Moberly (WiA-11-10)
- **DelRio**: Where it crosses the Moberly River, it’s all bush, there’s a lot of moose in there. The Moberly Lake First Nations people go to hunt through that whole area. (HA: you and your grandpa Albert did too). (DK: request that WA draw the area on map.) Follow the river all the way up the Pine. And even some across here somewhere. I’m just going to…all this in here. It’s all bush. (WA & HeA 11-10)
• **Hunting Near Grandfather’s Cabin:** My Grandpas trap line, his cabin is right here (indicating) and that’s where he hunts, all in this area. Right down through the south bank of the Peace and hooking back to the Pine again. There’s a trail that leads right to the Moberly, to his IR here. Horses and stuff, back in the day, I used to go there when I was a kid, back in the day. We used to drive and go hunting for moose all over this area. Especially close to the river, that’s where they hang out. Moose, deer, even some rams here, up in these high areas. The elders call mountain sheep — timber rams. Has seen the rams, but has not gone ram hunting. Had the meat once, didn’t really like it — he’s a moose eater. Hunted near Grandfather’s cabin when he was young, late 90s and early 2000. (WA & HA 11-10).

• **2010 Moose Take Near Grandfather’s Cabin/Family Camp Out:** We pulled 7 moose out of this area and 1 elk. We were camping there for two weeks (he was there for 2 weeks, family stayed for close to 1 month). This happened just this past summer, 2010, like in August. Made dry meat and moose hides out of the meat of the moose. Pretty good hunting back there. Myself, mom, some from Blueberry and cousins from Saulteau— about 30 of us out there. Pulled in tents and trailers and went camping out there. Shared the meat amongst the group – everybody gets their share. Didn’t get any other moose. Never went back, because of the hunting season. We don’t hunt moose as a trophy, more for the meat, hide, clothing, footwear, plus practice traditions and culture while you are doing it. (WA & HA 11-10).

• **Annual Moose Take in Del Rio Area:** This year, he personally got 8 moose, 2 elk, couple of deer – just him. Gives it away to other people who need it. He helps other people out, skinning and hauling. Imagines some people got 10 moose this year. Get them in the fall, before they start to rut – people hunt them there while they are still fat. (WA-11-10).

• **Activities at Grandfather’s Cabin:** Drawing racks set up – 4 moose hides going every summer. 4 moose hides sometimes going in one day. (WA-11-10).

• **Del Rio:** Brother- in-law, Herbie Apassin’s dad, used to live in Taylor, we used to go hunting with him. Cross that river. We used to cross that ice (?) bridge, to the Del Rio area. Don’t know what it’s like there now – maybe farm lands, logging blocks in that area. (MIA-11-10).

• Moberly Lake. There’s a road across that Taylor Bridge, as soon as you cross the RR bridge, you turn to your right, right at the end over, where you cross that river. (All reviewing map, looking for, Taylor, RR bridge). RR is somewhere up here. Don’t go across the RR bridge, go across the main bridge, across the main bridge, at the end of the main bridge you turn to your right. The minute you cross that main bridge, you turn to your right, and then you cross this creek here, somewhere (MIA-11-10).

• (HeA: Del Rio area is mega wealth now, oil wells, roads. Wells, roads, everything. Getting a lot of natural gas and oil out of there. When it rains, you don’t want to be back in there, once you get stuck in there, you never come out. The roads are just ______. The mud is just sliding all over the place sticks to your tires. I hunted all over out there – Boudreau Lake all the way to the Peace River. Quading around over there. Many years.) (HeA-11-10).
MIA: Indicates bridge on map. There used to be houses in here. (HA and MA: Go up the river, cross right here and then go that way, where this red line is, that’s the road.) MA: I remember, it was a long time ago. Anyways we cross this river and go around here like this and the hunting area was north of the Pine River. (MIA-11-10).

(RB asks MA to circle the hunting area on map) All hunting area over here. The whole area. Right here, that’s where they kill moose (right here). When we come down this area, used to be Winter Road, that’s where we kills moose, somewhere around here. MA: That whole area, the people hunt in that Moberly Lake area, and trap. There may be someone’s trap line from Moberly Lake is in that area (RB: Desjarlais) Hunted with his Herbie’s Dad in the early 80s. (Del Rio is where MA drew that circle.) That’s the only area south of the Peace where he went hunting. That’s the only area he went hunting because, we had to hunt from HA’s Dad’s place. When we are home, we hunt closer to home, go further north, until it was clear-cut by Dept. of Lands, clear-cut logging areas. People go quadding around and chase animals out. Too many pipelines, too many open areas. From Old Reserve right over here, we used to hunt in this area, and people used to live here in log houses. (MIA-11-10).

Hunting: There are both whitetail and mule deer [in that area north from eastern end of Moberly Lake] but mostly mule deer. —Oh, and then besides that, I’m the hunter in our family. That’s right, yes I am. I hunt everywhere – you name it, I’ve been there. If I likes an area, I go there.‖ He hunts in Del Rio [name of oil & gas field area; see further discussion below], across from Taylor—you go across [the Peace River from] Taylor here, below Park, and down to the southwest. He remembers wherever he kills a moose or elk. (SyA-11-10).

Highway 29 [which follows right along north side of Peace River, between Hudson Hope and Bear Flat, and crosses Peace at Hudson Hope and proceeds down to Moberly Lake] -- killed a big bull moose this summer, moose hit their car, almost killed them—this was just past —Cameron Lake[on 1:250,000 topo, this is the lake indicated along west side of Hwy. 29, and its northern end extends almost to the Hudson’s Hope District Municipality Line]—there’s a moose lick there. HA confirms this, and notes there’s another moose lick nearby; SA points out that HA knows about this because his wife used to live at East Moberly, and HA lived there with her. (SyA-11-10).

Hunting around Del Rio: This is awesome, wicked for elk. South side of the Pine, Peace Island Park [just downriver from where Pine River empties into the Peace]. Roads all over the place. (DK asks him to draw a circle around hunting area). He said he hunted all through there, on horseback, foot and using quads [all-terrain vehicles]. Some places it is too swampy for quads. Lots of muskeg. They would make their way through the swampy area to get to a really good hunting area. Hunted moose, elk—lots of elk in that area. (SyA-11-10).

Shawn Davis: (looking at Charlie Lake Map): —Good hunting on the South side of the Peace for moose, elk and deer.‖ Goes there with father -in-law. —Seen lots of animals there.‖ Last there in 2008 (SD -10-11). —On the south, I go through the Chetwynd side.‖ Hunts there with father -in-law (non-native, wife is from Driftpile (Alberta) –
Shawn is married to their daughter). No quads, so doesn’t go down to the river. (SD-10-11).

Ceremonial and Religious Sites

- Graveyard: DK: I’d like to get back to this Dreamer’s grave again. So your mother, Theresa, mentioned it was somewhere near the mouth of the Moberly? She used to tell me the Moberly River come this way, Peace River hit right on the hill somewhere, that’s where there’s burial grounds. And nobody’s supposed to touch that. DK: North side or south side? South? Well the way that she described it was here’s Peace River, here’s Moberly. Moberly hits that River here (points to map). DK: On the South. Right here on the hill somewhere. It’s not on top of the hill, its right here somewhere. DK: At the confluence?. Could have eroded, who knows, I haven’t been there. I’ve never seen it. But I know the story, that’s where he’s buried. The Great Leader, that’s what they used to call him. Yeah, he’s a Dreamer. He’s like Charlie —Yahee‖. (CA -08-11).

- Story about the gold rush and the Dreamer who predicted the White’s return and this Dreamer’s death, and what he says about where the grave may be located: “So anyways, go back further in the 1800’s, in mid 1800’s. The story goes, when the first Whiteman came up here, there were trying to go through here with the gold rush. That’s what you call (Cree word) —shiny metal‖, and you can’t really say gold in Cree, I don’t think. So, the tribes here got together, and they lived in Taylor Flat, and they waited for them to come back, because they knew they were gonna come back. And they tried to come across Peace River and they stopped them right there. And then they turned them around and they went back and then the latter years is when the treaties came to be in late 1800’s – 1898, 1897, 1896 – but it started in 1870-something I believe, or 1868 maybe. I don’t have the exact time, but it’s difficult in our language to precisely tell what time it was. The only way we know is when the great-grandfathers were alive at the time and would pass the stories on, and that way there was about 10 generations, and that’s how I know back that far. And they buried this, umm, its like (Cree word) —a guy that knows something from the Creator‖. He’s a spiritual man. He’s a Dreamer. And this leader, that was buried over there, between, cross the Taylor, or uh, the Peace River. They used to call it, not (Cree word) —saskatoons‖, in Cree I remember that word. (Cree word) —on the side of the hill‖, that’s how it was described, and that’s where they used to pick berries.. And from there, that’s how I know where the old fort is. The old fort down below, over there. They used to cross just above there, and then they’d hit the Moberly River that comes down like this, and it was shallow there, and that’s how they used to cross. And they used to have to build rafts to put the wagons on and pull them across, and that’s how they did it. So anyways, he’s buried there somewhere, this great leader. He wasn’t the Chief really. He was just a leader of the People, because he was a Dreamer and he knew that, and that’s how he knew those guys were coming back. And they used to live in Taylor Flat all over there, and there’s
a Buffalo jump, just -- they call it buffalo jump, just down Taylor somewhere, I don’t know where exactly. Jerry — Attachiel will know that better than me. And that’s another place they used to call the Buffalo jump, they chased the buffalo over the hill. And that was a long time ago when they didn’t have any guns. This Dreamer was from over here. He was one of the leaders that stopped the gold rush days. He was a Dunne-za. I wouldn’t know if he was Sekani, my mom didn’t tell me that. He was just our people. That’s how you would describe him (CA-08-11);

- **No Graves near where Moberly River Runs into Peace River:** RB: You know where that Moberly River comes in to the Peace River? JA: Yeah, that’s where they gonna build a dam. They took me down there three times already. RB: Oh, you’ve been there. JA: Three times already, and Taylor. RB: Did you ever hear about a grave there, where the Moberly comes into the Peace River? Did they ever talk about graves there? JA: No. I talking to those Moberly, but nobody, nobody camping over there in Moberly River. _____ Saulteaux Band. I told him about, but Martin Desjarlais his horses they stay down there, and where Moberly River run into Pine River. Yeah, nobody camp over there the Moberly river. That’s why they took me down there (JA-08-11).

- **DK: Jimmy, I just want to be really clear, you know, cause they are talking about building a dam on the Peace, so I want to make sure if there are any graves that you know of along the Peace River.** JA: Yeah, that’s why they take me over there too. DK: Yeah? That’s why they took you there? JA: Yeah. I never see it around there. Charlie Lake, anyway, somewhere in that area. A lot of [people] buried old days. But this river right here that big hill, I don’t think anybody camp around here before. Nope, nobody round here. But Moberly River I don’t know. You want to be back up too far anyways, not too far. I don’t want to go walk that thick bush over there (JA-08-11).

**Transportation**

- **Wagon Trail Shortcut to the Indian Reserve:** This whole area our people used to use. Along the Peace River, from Moberly Lake there’s a wagon trail a shortcut to the IR. There’s a crossing where they used to take the wagons and pack horses to the IR. After that, they used Charlie Lake Road, where it used to be in the 60s. People used to go the rodeos, came from everywhere. (CA-11-10).

**Places Associated with Particular Animal Behaviour**

- Moose all year round in area on south side of Peace River, due south of Farrell Creek (SyA-11-10).
- Moose Calving on Peace River Islands from Hudson’s Hope down, even far into Alberta (SyA-11-10)
In spring time, when the green grasses are just starting to appear, the moose will be around the water over there [along the Peace River] (SyA-11-10).

Lakes South of the Peace River, north of Moberly River: “When it’s really hot, bull moose hang out there; when it is warm they go in the water to cool off. They get lots of vegetation out of the water. They like that when they get the grass out of the water‖ (CuA-05-11).

Elk are coming back - never used to be very many a few years back, now they are coming back (StA-10-10).

Wild horses in the area south of Peace River and north of Moberly River that had belonged to the late Don Peck, who died c.1980 (SyA-11-10).

**Habitation Sites: Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps.**

*Reason for Separate Tribal Areas on Brody and Weinstein Map: (RB: maps show circles North of the River) They did that our of respect for tribes surrounding us. This area Dawson to Gwillim Lake to Moberly Lake was all of our people, we were interrelated. Back then, you don’t leave your relatives out. Priests and Indian Agents don’t know those things, so they just give us names. Territory covers all of Northern BC, all up to the Rockies going up towards Prince George. Moberly Lake people they more camp that way, us too. New generation doesn’t know the history (CA-11-10).*

JA: I was there three times already. North side of the Peace River, Moberly River come down over here, I’ve been here with horses. I’ve been with the horses all over that area, hunted with saddle area (JA-10-10).

Goes on the south side of the Peace with Moberly members (GrD-02-11).

Sometimes hunt on south side of Peace. Freddie A. used to live down there too - he has two kids from West Moberly. I hunt with him in that area, too (GrD-02-11).

They were living on the Moberly Lake IR 169 and hunted all over, by vehicle and by horseback, and around by Boucher Lake. Were hunting on horseback right along the Peace River (SyA-11-10)

Jimmy Appaw: I’m almost 84 now. Oldest man here. Of seven Reserves. I was in Moberly, my boy’s living over there. I been to Halfway all the time, lived in Prophet River, Fort Nelson. Telling those guys about it months ago. JA talks about working and guiding in the upper Peace River (JA-10-10).

### 8.11 Peace Reach and Above

**Food Harvesting: Plants, Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing.**

*Activities Farther along the Reach: Schooler Creek: elk/sheep/moose/whistler: With horses, they camp back in here. For elk, they planted elk in there. They take horses back in there, up Schooler Creek. Elk up on this area here, unnamed mountain west of Butler Ridge. Elk, sheep and moose here. The elders got some whistler up there (GrD-02-11).*
StA: Around Williston lake, there’s only lots of elk. Moose have moved away from there – they need to look for swamps for calving and there are no islands for them to have their calves. They calve in the swampy areas (StA-11-10).

Fishing in Peace Reach/Dunleavy Creek: Ice fishing at mouth of Dunlevy Creek (GrD-02-11).

All these inlets [Williston lake reservoir] can be used for ice fishing (Gravel Hill Cr./Cust Cr.); caught a huge ling cod, 1.5 ft round, lake trout that are 3 feet long (GrD-02-11).

Fish Dolly Varden in spring as well (RW-05-11)

Some people say they got a lot of mercury in them [Peace Reach]. So we usually let them go, take the smaller ones, like the dollies. The bigger ones, we let them go, they got too much mercury in them. (GrD-02-11).

Fishing in Dinosaur Lake (LC-05-11).

Williston Lake: Fishes at Williston Lake where Dunlevy Creek runs in. —Ice fishing in fall time. Sets out lines at night and takes them out in the early morning. — Too much mercury right now they’re saying…They look like catfish…3-4 feet long…We let them go. (GrD-10-11).

RB: High levels of mercury because of the dam: —Because of the dam flooding out the spruce, made the mercury high. Takes lake trout here in January -February. —Big dollies here too. Catfish only fish affected by the mercury from the flooding caused by the dam. —Pat Yahey might know…Outfitter from Hudson hope…When they let the dam go – like they stopped the water flow – the go in there, and they pick fish from below the dam there. The live one’s they pick up. (GrD -10-11).

Dunleavy Creek: Ice fishing for Dolly Varden. (GrD-10-11; RW-02-11).

Habitation Sites : Villages, Resource Camps, Travelling Camps.

Traveled the country when he started to work. (points to where he’s worked). Moose/Deer along the Peace: Oh, yeah, that’s where the go in boat, Peace over here. Way up the Peace River. … That Dam back up to Ft. Ware, Ingenika, there’s a reserve down there. Over 100 miles back up. Back up that reserve, I was working for Carl Brothers up there [guiding]-- I know all that area too. (JA-08-11).
9.0 Harvest Study

An earlier study of Aboriginal land use compiled by anthropologist Hugh Brody and biologist/ethnographer Dr. Martin Weinstein in 1978-1979, completed with the help of BRFN members Clarence Apsassin and Edward Apsassin, indicated that the Blueberry River people were an active hunting and trapping community at that time. Testifying before the Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings in 1979, Dr. Weinstein stated: "Everybody, whether they were eighteen or sixty, indicated the same range of bush activities and that is an extremely significant indicator of a living economy." Country-food, Weinstein noted, continued to dominate the members’ subsistence choices.

A questionnaire these researchers used in 1978-1979 to survey the amount of country meat consumed at Blueberry found slightly over 3,000 pounds of meat per annum per hunter of moose, bear and deer. The beaver harvest totaled another 230 pounds of edible meat per hunter. When small animals were added to these figures, the researchers found that on average a Blueberry River household had available to it 3,500 pounds of meat per year.

9.1 Contemporary Harvesting and Subsistence

A questionnaire designed to elicit data concerning how much game BRFN people are presently harvesting was not successfully executed during the TLUS. A few younger members who filled out the form provided the responses —lots— all the time—and everywhere to such questions. There was a general reticence in providing such data. Nevertheless, during their interview some BRFN members provided quantification of their resource harvest. One woman upon hearing one of her brothers’ response to questions concerning the amount of moose taken commented later that he was —under-reporting. Most elders choose not to respond to questions about quantification and suggested that they —get what they want, when then want it—and —where it has not been impacted by industry—where they want. Efforts to have the Harvest Study carried out independently by the Liaison Workers were similarly unsuccessful.

Unequivocally, moose remains the —Number One animal in the diet of the BRFN. When Sylvester Apsassin (one of the Community Liaison Workers) was asked how often he eats moose, he replied, —Every second day—but added that —it would be nice to eat it every day. Sylvester Apsassin is typical; BRFN members eat a lot of moose. Sylvester’s mother, Virginia Apsassin, agreed and told how she uses every part of the animal:

288 UBCIC 1980: Appendix I, Ch. 5: 85.
If I can, I eat it every day. We used to eat bush meat 3 times a day. Moose meat and bannock, rabbit or chicken if there’s no moose. Prairie chickens. These days, we still have a lot of meat. Right now I’m making dry meat, it’s drying. We don’t throw away anything. We eat the marrow, the nose, the jaw, everything. Not like these [White] hunters. They go to mountain, they cut off the hindquarters, the horns, the neck and they throw the rest. Us, we don’t (VA-05-11).

Sylvester Apsassin also is likely typical of BRFN members in the amount of game he harvests. He reports that in 2009 he killed nine moose, although his average over the years is six. At least a couple of those animals come from the proposed Site-C project area. He generally takes two elk a year (from the Site-C project area), but deer only occasionally, as he prefers moose. A couple of dozen rabbits provide some variety to family meals, along with several beaver, lynx, half a dozen fish (from the Site-C project area) and —chickens‖ — whenever he wants them. The community buffalo hunt at Pink Mountain provides some of that meat, too.

Individuals hunt moose not just for themselves but for their extended family and, in the case of Garnet Davis, for the community at large. Garnet hunts at a professional level and kills about 20 moose a year, with the majority coming from the Farrell Creek and Halfway River areas, hunting that he regularly undertakes from a base camp situated along the Peace River (in the Site-C project area). The amounts of other species that Garnet harvests are relatively higher than those of Sylvester. In addition to the more commonly consumed moose, elk, deer, rabbit, sheep and beaver, Garnet Davis also hunts porcupine and whistler, foods still enjoyed by community elders. This is in addition to fish (including about 100 rainbows and a couple of dozen Dolly Varden) and dozens of game birds.

One BRFN family reported being a part of a summer hunting group that camps and hunts in the Moberly River area. This is a time when skills and family traditions are passed down to younger members. As an example of the successful hunts this family undertakes, Winston Apsassin reported that at one such camp, in 2009, they harvested 7 moose and 1 elk in a two-week period, all from the Site-C project area.

Contrary to the situation in the Beatton River and Blueberry River areas, where oil and gas and forestry have impacted game habitat, none of the hunters interviewed for the TLUS reported problems with moose hunted in the Site-C project area. The TLUS area comprises an important part of the total harvesting area used by the BRFN.
10. Site-C Project: Expressed BRFN Concerns

BRFN TLUS participants were not asked whether they want the Site-C dam to be built or not; nevertheless, people offered their views on the issue. No one interviewed for the TLUS spoke in favour of the Site-C Clean Energy Project. Instead, BRFN members shared their perspective about potential impacts on the natural resources of the region and expressed deep-seated concerns about the health of the animals in particular. Following is a summary of the concerns raised by BRFN members interviewed during the TLUS, followed by some of their statements.

- **Impact on animal habitat:**
  - Loss of habitat, especially moose calving areas;
  - Increased opportunity for predators;
  - Forced relocation;
  - Death of animals due to drowning;

- **Impact on Fish:**
  - Decline in fish stocks associated with operation of earlier dams expected to increase;
  - Bennett Dam said to have caused more silt in the water making it more difficult to fish;
  - Bennett Dam said to have added toxic metals (mercury, iron) to the water which has affected the fish, resulting in a recommendation that people not eat much of them;
  - Fish habitat in the upper Beatton River watershed and Blueberry River watershed already impacted severely by oil and gas industry, farming and logging;
  - Fish habitat in Charlie Lake has been impacted by pollution resulting from settlement and recreational use;
  - Conflicts with settlement have made some fishing spots inaccessible or unusable;
  - Belief that toxic sap from submerged remnant trees after logging project area will potentially harm fish;
  - Increasing competition for Peace River campsites with non-Aboriginal fishermen will impact opportunity to fish

- **Lack of Trust in Process:** “Government Lied!!!”
- **Construction:**
• Jobs will not go to small, local contractors;
• Too few training/education opportunities being offered.

• **General Impact of Site-C:**

  • **Sacrifice of homeland for southern/foreign benefit**
    • Increased density, noise in area (more hunters = less game)
    • Creation of dangerous recreational/ hunting area;
    • Loss of natural beauty and wildlife;

  • **Loss of cultural landscape: Peace River equals “Beaver River”**;
  • **Loss of opportunity for interband and family socialization and cultural exchange**;
  • **Loss of a portion of harvesting area**;
  • **Loss of identity: lifestyle devalued.**

Summary Comments raised by BRFN members during TLUS interviews:

• Lots of elk in the Peace River Valley…Elk are awesome swimmers…No problem, elk and moose, if they make that dam – but what about the bears? What about the rabbits? See right now, the bears and rabbits can swim across this river the way it is right now, no problem. But, what if it gets wider? It’s gonna get harder for them…See those islands you see all along here? That’s where, in the springtime, those cow moose are with their calves;
• Building of the Peace Canyon Dam affected his hunting area – further up there’s places they used to hunt towards Dunleavy from Hudson’s Hope that changed.
• Where they are going to flood, there is a lot of moose and deer in the area. Cow moose will cross river and calve in the islands to be safe from bears;
• Where they will build dam, it’s a good calving area for moose and elk on the islands. It’s shallow for the animals to cross. They cross all over the place;
• The dam will take away the habitat for the moose and elk. Where will they go to calve? They will have to go to other places, and the wolves and bears will have a feeding frenzy.
• —I agree with those wind farms--better than that dam, because of the impacts of that dam[;]
• When they are talking about that Dam, and I live too close to it. I’m just not happy with it. Somehow if they don’t want to put it up, put it somewhere else;
There’s a road goes back to Halfway here, a back road. It’s starting to be more, probably more roads and more people if they build the dam;

Every day I see animals [by the Peace River], wolves, wolverines. If the dam goes through, where would they go? It’s a really good area. You can drive from Ft. St. John to Lookout Point – see all kind of animals, bear, moose, deer.

We all shared the land, there’s no boundaries, no matter how much you put in on there. It’s just the areas we go practice our treaty right in the area that’s getting affected. The footprint is getting smaller. Dam going in will be devastating to Blueberry River people and the folks from Saulteau;

The Halfway River goes through the Pink Mountain Ranch, lot of their water sources come from there and that’s where they fish all the time. Whatever fish is left in there, that’s all going to be left in there. If they all disappear, no more;

Once that dam put in there, there’s going to be no more fish in the rivers. I have a lot of issues about the dam – I might not see problems but my kids might down the road. A lot of people I know are against it. I have a lot of White People friends, they’re completely against it;

We had lunch in there where they going to put the dam, going to cut 500 metres in there, took pictures, talked about it. My uncle, James Appaw said not a good idea to put dam in there. Williston Lake, I heard they can’t eat no fish, there’s some kind of iron or something on them. Can’t eat more than one or two. That’s going to happen to these fish down the road;

Because of the dam flooding out the spruce, made the mercury high. \[Takes lake trout here in January-February. \[Big dollies here too.\] \[Catfish only fish affected by the mercury from the flooding caused by the dam;

Difficult to win against government. I don’t want the dam there. That’s the first trading post on Ft. St. John – it’s in the history books. Cover up where Ft. St. John started? They’re doing it just for money. Government doesn’t care

Long time ago, they were going to build that dam, they promised them they were going to have free power. Bennett Dam. Then when the bills came, it’s not even free. We have to pay for it. You know how much power I’m paying right now, $197 a month;

We had meetings and meetings. These hydro promised us a lot of things. We supposed to pay power for 5 years and then after that free power. After we finish paying for the poles. That’s it, never happen;

Grandfather Edward Apsassin said that the government lied about the dam. Saulteau Band, Moberly Lake, Halfway, Blueberry and Doig—we’re supposed to get free hydro. My grandfather Edward told me that and Nora [his wife] told me and she said don’t believe the Whiteman – they will always lie to you.

That’s what… this thing, what’s going to happen. Last year we were camping at Bear Flat and I say to them, look, what they going to do about this dam coming, this going to spoil all this area, I say to them. Me and M____ we were talking about it. M was talking Beaver with me;

Communities haven’t benefited from development in the area.
Weather changed. Migrations of animals changed. Haven’t seen animals there for 20 years;

Dam drove herds towards Blueberry;

[Building Bennett Dam] He use the dynamite. Now all this river go through that hole. Peace River. That river, no water, nothing, just frogs. That’s where they build the dam;

Social impacts will be huge. More money will mean more alcohol, more drugs;

It’s all camping ground in there [at dam site]. We drove down there, where they going to make a dam, one time, really steep hill, right to the bottom;

It’s a shame if they make that dam. There’ll be backwater right to the Reserve. The way I look at that Bennett Dam. It’s hard on animals. Inside of that area for five years _______ seven years, Bennett It’s hard on the animals, they moved but they cannot cross where they…. I seen a caribou trying to get out of the water, but all these floating logs. He made it over some, but he can’t make any more, trying to get out of the water, for 14 hours he was in the water. Next morning, he was gone, don’t know if he get out or drown. The water goes high and goes down, where they let it go in the dam. But it is rough, like late in the fall when it’s windy, the waves are up to 15 feet, 8-15 feet. Sometimes, even there’s some Reserve up the lake, they want to cross to the trap line across their reserve, way up in Ingenika. They want to go across but these floating logs, they have to wait at least one month if the logs move.

Dokkies [family] used to have a trap line along the Peace, right beside the Bennett Dam – Also, the West Moberly Band. They got a moose hunting area there, and trap line cabins – that’s going to be damaged when this take place;

Pre- Bennett Dam Crossing Place: Right where the dam is, people used to go through there with backpack—just where the dam is. Where the dam is, the river used to be way down and there used to be a mountain across. They used to go across on it, put your legs like this and you keep going, that’s how they take their stuff across, the whole family, that’s how high the river was. He’s talking about the Bennett Dam, not Peace Canyon. That was a crossing place there, a long time ago.

Around Williston Lake, there’s only lots of elk. Moose have moved away from there – they need to look for swamps for calving and there are no islands for them to have their calves. They calve in the swampy areas.

Big damage for farmers, that’s where the richest soils are for farming. When they took the land away from us, we didn’t have a say in it. They moved us way up in Timbuktu. They build that dam there…. They’ll go back to… Mother Nature will take it back.

It cost more and more and more the power with the HST and all that BS --the government keep adding everything. But it’s not giving us, raising our pension. I don’t know how they expect us to live. I can’t work now myself. I can’t work.

Some Reserves they get free hydro – but they fight for it. They won’t let them go through there. So they got no choice. We can do that too, we can block up everything here, the roads, they can’t go through. You know, they gotta do something.

I used to go up to Halfway to make dry meat - this summer we didn’t go, too much activity up there. Gas wells, logging, it’s just one big mess.
Government is destroying our way of life and he’s not helping us with... to change our lives -- to use electricity and gas and work. It’s just unbearable. We’re the elders who are getting stuck in the middle. The young generation they’re getting their education and doing things. . . . Us elders here are the ones who suffer. We didn’t have a chance to get an education. We couldn’t stay one place to get educated;

And that Williston...The Halfway they also have a trap line right north side of Bennett Dam and that’s going to be damaged too when it’s flood. The Halfway River will go back up long ways and that’s going to flood a lot of timber area. If these chiefs and all of them together fight for it, they'll make it they stop it. I think they were trying to make people get a job and stuff, but when the job is done, then what?… There were no jobs. There were nothing;

There’s 200 and something Band members living on the Reserve here and about 300 living off the Reserve. A lot of the younger generation is living off the reserve, working at whatever they can or taking courses and going to school. That’s another thing the Site-C could do, make sure we have something towards college education. For our future generation can get trained and get a job, a better job. I’m sure they can afford to spare a little bit money for scholarships. So today our children here and grandchildren their future is at stake right now. They can’t go out and trap wintertime. They gotta have a job. They gotta have education to get the job. So therefore...we don’t have the money to do it. The Indian Affairs gives us just enough to go to school until the elementary is done. After that, they don’t give us money to go to school with. So these are the things the government gotta think about. To think about our education to change into our new way of life;

And the power, we’re not going to use it, it's going to be sent to the U.S. If we were going to be getting the power free or we were supplied the power, it wouldn't be too bad;

Maybe the Bennett Dam or Peace Canyon Dam changed the weather;

There’s a lot of big buck deer in that whole valley, the Peace River Valley—where they are going to flood it out—they should just cancel the whole project [proposed Site-C dam]. Why not put a dam in the Fraser? Its got steeper valleys;

If that Dam was built, it will be a shame for us Natives to hunt around in that area. The animals probably might have to move. But all the, what you call the feeding grounds all;

Lotta people drown in that Lake, white people, Indians. These logs, they never log it off – they are submerged. They put that dam, the water went up. The trees when the roots get wet, they shoot out. He has seen the tree shooting roots out of the water. That’s why all the logs are floating for years and years, they are supposed to be cleaning it up;

The Dam will screw up a lot of things. People have been there for generations. Lot more burial sites in this area;

I am totally against it. That Bennett Dam they made promises to Native People, free power, and stuff like that, but it never happened. They just want Native People to
approve it. Them days Native people wasn’t very educated in those days. People like Hydro took advantage of people;

- A lot of these people are pretty ignorant. But if they need your help, don’t want their land to flood, yeah, come and join us. Even BC Hydro can spit out a little money, it’s going to go the same way. The content of Native people is probably 1%. The jobs will go to White companies, their buddies. It’s not going to benefit us. They’ll spew out al little money to justify it. It’s not real respect for our people. To really respect is to share everything, right from the meat of the project. Otherwise, it’s another stealing the land and that’s it. Chief and Council, hopefully there will be some more things like this so people can be heard;

- She know the other dam at Moberly Lake, (Bennett Dam). She say they spoil everything, they kill all the animals, too much water. Her husband was guide for Tim Kylo and that’s where he talk about this back water, you see bunch of elk, moose, just drown, when that back water full. They try swimming, they die and he see it;

- Other problem is the toxic sap from the trees they will cut down or that die and bleed. Can you drink the water after the area is flooded? Is that going to be good for the fish?

- It’s a shame if they make that dam. There’ll be backwater right to the Reserve. The way I look at that Bennett Dam. It’s hard on animals. Inside of that area for five years_______ seven years, Bennett It’s hard on the animals, they moved but they cannot cross where they…. I seen a caribou trying to get out of the water, but all these floating logs. He made it over some, but he can’t make any more, trying to get out of the water, for 14 hours he was in the water. Next morning, he was gone, don’t know if he get out or drown. The water goes high and goes down, where they let it go in the dam. But it is rough, like late in the fall when it’s windy, the waves are up to 15 feet, 8-15 feet. Sometimes, even there’s some Reserve up the lake, they want to cross to the trap line across their reserve, way up in Ingenika. They want to go across but these floating logs, they have to wait at least one month if the logs move. (Map of Hudson’s Hope) If that Dam was built, it will be a shame for us Natives to hunt around in that area. The animals probably might have to move. But all the, what you call the feeding grounds all.

- Doesn’t want them to flood the Peace – too much history of his People;

- I was just there on Sunday. I look at that place, the water level is… There are going to do a terrible misstep for a lot of wildlife. This beautiful country is going to go down.

The concerns raised by BRFN members during the TLUS are consistent with those raised during the 1982 BC Hydro Hearings concerning the proposed Site-C Dam in British Columbia. At that time, BRFN elder, Edward Apsassin, stated the following, as translated by Clarence Apsassin:

He says he doesn’t want the dam because it’ll cause difference in weathers and it will put out a lot of land in the Peace River area, all good land…He says if you guys build the dam you’ll destroy all the land in Peace River. That’s where we used to hunt long, long ago,
and we still do sometimes, when we get time to go down there; and you'll flood out good land. Won't be able to use that any more.291

Harry Chipesia [from Blueberry River] stated, as translated by Chief Kelvin Davis from Doig:

...if that Peace River got flooded, how—we used to have good hunting around there, and that's all going to be gone, and all that—fur-bearing animals are going to be gone, there is not going to be very much—any good any more.292

Clarence Apsassin stated:

I strongly oppose—I don't want that dam, I really don't, because it affects us in a lot of way. We won't be able to hunt where we hunt before, because of the sports hunters that will be coming around and killing off all of our animals... BC Hydro has been building dams all over the place. They have been building and building and they have been talking to our people saying we are going to compensate you for this, compensate you got that, but it never sis happen. It always will affect us in many ways...hunting and trapping is very important to us. It is our way of life. If you build that dam, you will destroy our way of life.293

He continued:

We want that are for us, because we live off the land. We don't destroy it. We cherish nature. We don't give a dam about that dam....It is going to chase away all the moose that hang around in that area, deer. You go by there, I bet you I can count 30 to 40 moose easy. That's where they always hang around, is the Peace River area, because that's the best place for them to hang around...You're going to flood out a lot of traplines up that way, and our hunting territories, our old burial grounds. We don't want that to happen. How would you like me to go build in your cemetery and destroy all the cemeteries? That is just the same thing as our burial grounds, you are doing the same thing. We don't want that to


293 Series 2, Vol. C-6, p. C344, C346, C
happen. We cherish our burial grounds and our old people and our—they are our way of life, these old people. They tell us what to do, because they know, they know better.294

Malcolm Apssassin stated:

I don’t think I would like that dam to be built in there, cause it will just ruin our life. It will ruin our hunting, our trapping. We will just go down the drain. We will have no place to trap. I am still young, and I have a long ways to go, and I’ve got my family to raise, and if that dam comes up, it will just ruin our life. That’s all I got to say, thank you.295

294 Series 2, Vol. C-6, C351.
Appendix A: Land Use Maps

This Appendix consists of a set of maps illustrating contemporary land use as practiced by BRFN members in the study area (as defined in section 2.2) and reported during the TLUS interviews. BRFN members carried out some of these activities while camped at locations identified on these maps. These camps have been used while hunting, fishing and recreational camping. Other activities reported here and marked on the map biographies were carried out during day trips from the Blueberry River Reserve. A general discussion of contemporary land use practices appears here in section 7.0.

The following maps are included in this Appendix:

- Map showing TLUS Project Area, BRFN (2010) Consultation Area, and BRFN (1979) Hunting Area
- Resource Harvesting Compilation

The following theme maps are included here:

- Moose Harvesting
- Elk Harvesting
- Deer Harvesting
- Caribou Harvesting
- Bear Harvesting
- Plant Food Harvesting
- Fish Harvesting
- Mountain Sheep Harvesting
- Wild Horses

The locations of camp sites have been indicated by the use of a triangular —camp— icon.
Map showing location of 2010-2011 TLUS Study Area (in red), 1979 BRFN Hunting Territory (in red), and 2010 BRFN Consultation Area. Base map provided by BC Hydro.
“Without moose, we will not live.” Jerry Davis, 2010.
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Appendices
1.0 Introduction

1.1 Traditional Use Studies

A Traditional Use Study ("TUS"), also known as a Traditional Land Use Study ("TLUS") or a Traditional Land Use and Occupancy Study ("TLUOS"), provides systematic documentation of an Aboriginal community’s lifeways to clarify the specific relationship existing between people and their lands, territories and resources, past and present. Use of the term “traditional” links current “land use” practices to the past. ¹

Such studies can be comprehensive and can attempt to document the cumulative knowledge of an Aboriginal community throughout its traditional territory, a long-term undertaking that is time and resource-intensive but of immense benefit to a community.

Or, such studies can be project-specific and can attempt to document Aboriginal knowledge in the context of a single-project application or project-specific regulatory process. This latter type of TLUS is less time-consuming and has a geographically-narrower focus, generally the area of the project’s direct impact. The Blueberry River First Nations TLUS for Site-C is the second type of study, i.e. it is project-specific.

The main question to be addressed by a project-specific TLU study is, “What Aboriginal use exists or existed in the project area?” While such studies generally have narrow spatial parameters dictated by the proposed project in question, and the budgetary and temporal constraints of the TLUS, this approach does not exclude developing a more general understanding of Aboriginal land use, specifically the relationship between the practitioners of land use and their environment—which is known as the “traditional ecological knowledge” of a community, the cultural and historical context for the mapped information showing “land use,” that is, the “how” and “why” land use does or does not occur.

The intergenerational aspect of TLU studies, which places contemporary land use within the historical context of a particular society, has several objectives. It facilitates a community’s self-awareness of the history and significance of their chosen sustenance and economic activities, and therefore their identity and cultural viability. It thus focuses more clearly the consequences of various responses to external factors of change. Such a study also provides a means by which the Aboriginal community can identify and articulate areas of potential cross-cultural discord. In the case of the BRFN Site-C TLUS, members of the BRFN were especially articulate about past conflicts relating to the relationship between increasing settlement and development, and BRFN traditional uses of the lands and waters.

For proponents of development, whose values, beliefs and expectations are different than those of the Aboriginal residents, a TLUS can facilitate a greater understanding of a community’s response to development and provide guidance with respect to common ground upon which

consultation and negotiation can be built. This requires a proponent to be sensitive and responsive to the qualitative aspects of TLU data.

Experienced practitioners of TLU studies agree that there is not just one way of compiling a TLUS. Nevertheless, Terry Tobias’ recent book *Living Proof: the essential data-collection guide for indigenous use-and-occupancy surveys* (2009) is a useful guide discussing some of the complex issues encountered in compiling the map-biographies that are a component of a TLUS. Tobias draws upon the opinion of many TLUS practitioners and presents a broad array of opinion from these experts on what constitutes “best practices” for a subject that has no “boiler-plate” and for which there is “no one-size-fits-all” solution.²

Map biographies attempt to show the “what” and “where” of land use and as such present an illustration of an individual’s practice of harvesting traditionally-used resources. They record use and occupancy data that shows “Traditional Land Use” within a specified geographical area for a specified time, often said to be the lifetime of the individual, yet captured in a short time. Such maps are usually produced as a result of a brief, single-session survey. The short duration of the interview means that “even the best map biography is truly only a glimpse in that it necessarily remains a simplified and incomplete representation of a respondent’s life on the land.”³ This is one of the limitations of the approach. Such a limitation needs to be mitigated, Tobias cautions, by appropriate flexibility in “all dimensions of the methodology” and importantly “keyed to the (specific cultural context and research) problem.”⁴

It is the consensus of TLUS practitioners that one must respond appropriately and with flexibility to the situation encountered in the Aboriginal community. The application of any methodology must take into consideration not just the objectives of the study but also factors which may determine the level at which the project objectives of a specific research can be realized in a particular community, that is, the current cultural context of the study. These may include the level of community engagement in the TLUS project, the community’s support for its elected leadership, and the members’ views on—or knowledge of—the proponent’s development. Such factors can influence the reliability and validity of TLUS data.

As discussed below, consideration of such factors resulted in the decision by BRFN’s consultants, Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants, to use the methods described herein. BKRC’s methodology sought not only to compile map biographies but also to draw upon different types of data—historical, ethnographic, interviews, and maps—to present a layered view of past and present land use. This approach was consistent with the methods referred to in the BRFN/ BCH contract.

It is the view of BKRC and other practitioners of TLU that project-specific reports should integrate ethnographic interviews with contemporary members of First Nations and materials from the literature, including ethnohistorical documentation from archival sources, along with ethnographic materials from earlier studies. The strengths of such an approach are the following:

a. Such an approach will provide a much more comprehensive picture of land use, particularly in respect of the history of such land use over time;

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² Tobias 2009:11.

³ Tobias 2009:38.

b. The archival/historical materials can serve as a cross-check of the ethnographic data that is obtained in the field;

c. The historical data may be incomplete or silent and require complementary data from the members of the society in order for the data to be interpreted fully, particularly in areas where land use continues.

Importantly, the use of different types of data (historical, ethnographic, interviews, and maps) to present a layered view of past and present land use draws upon the strengths of some data to offset the imprecision or paucity of other data.

The overall aim of a TLUS is to compile accurate information that is representative of the knowledge, interests and concerns of the community regarding the area being impacted by the proponent’s development.

2.0 Blueberry River First Nations TLUS

2.1 Study Purpose

As part of the consultation process with the Blueberry River First Nations in relation to BC Hydro’s Site C Clean Energy Project, the two parties agreed that a Traditional Land Use Study would be undertaken. The purpose of this TLUS was to assist in documenting the First Nations’ traditional knowledge, use and occupancy of the Study Area in order to assess the Project’s potential impacts on BRFN’s treaty rights and ability to continue practicing section 35(1) rights and traditional activities and interests. Such rights provide protection to the existing Aboriginal and treaty rights of First Nations people in Canada. More specifically, the stated objectives of the research included the following:

- identify, map and record the BRFN’s traditional knowledge, use and occupancy within the Study Area;
- assist in the identification and evaluation of the Potential Impacts of the Project on BRFN’s section 35(1) rights and their people’s ability to exercise such rights in the Study Area;
- inform BC Hydro’s studies, investigations and the environmental and socio-economic impact assessment related to the Project; and
- facilitate the development of potential mitigation and accommodation measures where applicable.

BC Hydro provided to the BRFN a standardized contract being offered to First Nations whose leaders/advisors expressed an interest in compiling TLUS data for the above-noted objectives.
2.2 Engagement of the Consultants

In August 2010, BRFN’s advisor, Shakir Alward, asked Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants to consider undertaking a TLUS relating to the Site-C Clean Energy Project on behalf of the BRFN. While Bouchard and Kennedy had not previously undertaken ethnographic field work with this particular community, they had undertaken some archival work on behalf of BRFN’s legal counsel in 2003. In response to receiving first a July draft and later a 26 August 2010 (incomplete) draft of a BRFN/ BCH contract relating to the TLUS research, the consultants advised Alward that they could not anticipate fully what would be achievable, due to their unfamiliarity with the community, but would use a methodology appropriate to the situation in an effort to meet the study objectives as set out in the draft.

Shakir Alward advised the consultants that GIS technical support for the TLUS would be available locally and that the consultants would have access to previous studies undertaken by the First Nation. The consultants were also advised that they were being offered a fixed sum and that half of BC Hydro’s total TLUS funding for this project would be retained by the BRFN.

BKRC and BRFN signed a contract dated 27 August 2010 agreeing to undertake two traditional land use studies—one relating to BC Hydro’s Site-C Project and the other relating to BC Hydro’s Dawson Creek/Chetwynd Transmission Line Project (“DCAT”) (see Appendix 1).

BKRC subsequently, in April 2011, received a copy of the final BRFN/ BCH contract of 2 September 2010.

2.3 Carrying out the TLUS

2.3.1 Step One: Defining the Study Area(s) of Work to be Undertaken

BKRC’s 27th August 2010 contract with BRFN specified that two studies would be undertaken: Site-C and DCAT. BKRC advised BC Hydro that interviews for the DCAT study would be undertaken at the same time that interviews for the Site-C TLUS were being undertaken, in order to maximize efficiency and reduce costs.

On 8 September 2010, BCH requested that BKRC provide them with Terms of Reference for the DCAT-TLUS. These were submitted on 24th September 2010; BCH responded by sending to BKRC a copy of a map setting out a study area for the DCAT-TLUS, the area of the proposed transmission line project. The results of the DCAT research were presented by BKRC to the BRFN and to BCH in January 2011.

Kennedy, on 27 September 2010, asked BCH what was required for the Site-C project to begin (along with DCAT) and was provided with the name of the Project Officer, Hugh Smith. They had initial contact on 28 September 2010. Smith and Kennedy discussed the Site-C TLUS project, including what should be defined as an appropriate Peace River Study Area for the TLUS, along with issues of methodology. The conversation resulted in the decision that the area examined for the TLUS be similar to that being addressed by scientists in other fields. This discussion was followed by an email request from Kennedy asking for an electronic copy of a map of this proposed Site-C Project Study Area. Smith referred Kennedy to the Site-C maps found on the BC Hydro website.
BRFN’s 2 September 2010 contract with BC Hydro affixed a map of the Blueberry River First Nations’ Consultation Area as it was identified in 2010 by the BC Oil and Gas Commission (this had not been included in the August draft provided to the consultants). The area delineated on the Oil and Gas Commission map lies north of the Site C Project Area and includes only a small section of the Peace River, and nothing south of it. The consultants’ familiarity with an ethnographic overview of “Beaver,” as published in the Sub-Arctic volume of the Smithsonian Institution’s *Handbook of North American Indians*, together with their previous archival work on the area as well as the new research undertaken to date, had suggested that the bounded OGC “Consultation Area” for BRFN was not a reflection of indigenous land use or an appropriate Study Area for the Site-C TLUS.

Following Smith and Kennedy’s discussions of 28 and 29 September 2010 concerning the Study Area, and Smith’s 28 September email concerning the Consultation Committee, Kennedy included in her 30 September 2010 Work Plan reference to the agreement of the Study Area (Appendix 2). For the purposes of the TLUS, the Consultative Committee consisted of the following individuals: BC Hydro Project Officer, Hugh Smith; BRFN’s consultant, Dr. Dorothy Kennedy; and BRFN advisor, Shakir Alwarid. Alwarid requested that Kennedy deal directly with Smith on issues of methods and progress.

Thus, the Study Area to be addressed by the Site-C TLUS was determined by agreement with BCH to be an area similar to that being used by scientists of other disciplines, comprising a roughly ten mile strip along the Peace River from Taylor upstream. Consequently, this became the Study Area referenced in the consultants’ discussions with BRFN elders and community members beginning in October 2010. Investigations focused on this area, but this focus did not necessarily preclude discussion of BRFN members’ land use in any other area.

Following further discussion with Hugh Smith concerning use of a questionnaire for eliciting the TLU data (see Appendix 2), BC Hydro on 25 October 2010 accepted the 30 September Work Plan.

This agreed-upon Study Area was subsequently referred to in the following documents:

- Kennedy’s progress report of 1st December 2010 submitted to the BCH Project Officer and to the BRFN representative, Shakir Alwarid (Appendix 3), and acknowledged by Hugh Smith of BCH, 7 December 2010.
- It was also set out in the 4th November 2010 “Memo to BRFN Members” that Kennedy prepared to better acquaint potential BRFN participants with the Project objectives (Appendix 4). This Memo was sent to the Community Liaison Worker and the BRFN Beaver language translator.
- The 4th November Memo was sent also to the BRFN Administration and to Shakir Alwarid, who passed it along to the Whitehorse-based communications company he hired to compile a BRFN community newsletter relating to various projects being undertaken by Chief and Council. That newsletter was eventually distributed several months later (unfortunately, the author of that newsletter inferred that the TLUS was complete, despite being advised to the contrary).
- The Study Area was also mentioned in the 4th November 2010 memo entitled “Role of Community Liaison Worker(s) in Completing Interviews for TLUS” (Appendix 4) which Kennedy prepared to help facilitate the Liaison Worker’s preparatory work prior to the consultants’ November return visit to the community.
As well, the Study Area was mentioned in Kennedy’s letter to BRFN Chief and Council of 31 October 2010 (Appendix 5).

The Study Area was also referenced at the 19 April 2011 meeting in Victoria with BRFN, BCH and the consultants.

In September 2011, a year after the inception of the BRFN TLUS, Debbie Seto-Kitson of BC Hydro raised, as an issue of contention, the delineation of the Study Area. The consultants made Alward and the BRFN Chief and Council aware of this disagreement. While the BRFN/ BCH contract allowed for the appointment of a mediator to settle disputes that arose during the TLUS, no such action was undertaken to resolve this disagreement.

The Study Area addressed in the 6 November 2011 Site-C TLUS report submitted to BCH and the BRFN is the same as the area of focus for the Traditional Use interviews.

### 2.3.2 Review of Existing Information

Undertaking archival and library research has been a significant component of this Traditional Land Use study, as the BRFN did not have historical or earlier-recorded ethnographic information on-hand. Moreover, the BRFN elders’ strong and generalized statements concerning land use made to the consultants during the October 2010 field work suggested to BKRC that the interview data might require a complementary review of the cultural context in which this seemingly-generalized land use was said to have occurred.

During the project, Bouchard and Kennedy Research Consultants undertook archival or library research in the following institutions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Victoria, BC</th>
<th>British Columbia Archives; University of Victoria McPherson Library and Special Collections; Legislative Library; BC Land Title and Survey Authority; BC Archaeology Branch.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver, BC</td>
<td>University of British Columbia Library and Special Collections; Federal Court Registry; Appeals Court Registry.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fort St. John, BC</td>
<td>North Peace Museum and Archives; Fort St. John Public Library.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawson Creek, BC</td>
<td>Dawson Creek Municipal Library; Dawson Creek Archives.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Researcher Stacey Klinzman undertook the first research work in Calgary, guided by terms of reference prepared by Kennedy setting out types of information to be compiled, along with the geographical scope of such data. Sharon Keen undertook most of the Victoria-based research under the direction of Randy Bouchard, who coordinated all the documentary research. Bouchard alone, or with Kennedy, undertook the remaining archival and library work in Vancouver, Fort St. John, Dawson Creek, Calgary and Edmonton. Bouchard also contacted by email and by telephone the institutions listed in the chart above.

Numerous documents were obtained during the research and organized broadly by subject and tabbed for relevance. Searchable PDFs were made of the most significant documents and maps relied upon in preparing the report of findings. Many of these are referenced in the 6 November TLUS report.

The background research work indicated that considerable change in land use patterns had occurred over time. Thus, the working hypothesis that emerged from the onset of this research was that the 2010 BRFN Consultation Area map did not reflect the full extent of BRFN traditional land-use activities either today or in the past.

As well, the literature review strongly supported the over-arching concern expressed by BRFN elders concerning land alienation, an issue that had been raised in an earlier, comprehensive land use study undertaken with BRFN members in the late 1970s. The extent of this factor’s affect on the BRFN’s use of the Study Area became more apparent as the archival research proceeded.

As a result of research carried out in conjunction with the Site C project, and in response to a request from the BRFN, Kennedy and Bouchard prepared for the BRFN a separate report presenting historical evidence collected to date concerning the geographical extent of territory. This report supported the recommendation that the BRFN Consultation Area be revisited and
revised. That report is entitled *Blueberry River First Nations: Traditional Territory* and is dated 31 August 2011.

A limitation of the Site-C TLUS research is that time and budgetary constraints have meant that not all of the historical and cultural information obtained during the archival component of the project has been used in compiling the 6 November 2011 report.

### 2.3.3 Community Engagement

The consultants’ first visit to the BRFN community occurred between October 24th and 29th, 2010. At this time, BRFN Administration appointed Herbie Apsassin as Community Liaison to work with the consultants and to facilitate interviews. While it was initially understood that the Community Liaison Worker would be covered by the BRFN’s half of the TLUS funding, this arrangement was altered after the first field trip to Fort St. John and subsequently the consultants paid for this position out of their own funding. This was an unexpected project cost.

The consultants had an informal introductory meeting with Chief Joe Apsassin on 24th October 2010, their first day in the Blueberry community, at which time the Administrative Assistant, Leonora Blue, gave them a tour of the BRFN Administration Office and introduced them to staff. The community and the consultants did not know one another. Thus, prior to their first visit, the consultants asked the Liaison Worker to arrange for the consultants to host a BRFN community lunch on 24 October 2010 to introduce themselves and to discuss the Site-C TLUS project’s Terms of Reference. While the lunch did proceed, an unfolding tragedy that same day involving a BRFN member made it entirely inappropriate to give the presentation at that time.

Nevertheless, the consultants’ discussions with several elders present at the lunch indicated that people were not familiar with the TLUS project. A sign on the door of the lunch room indicated “BC Hydro TLUS,” inadvertently creating a misconception that the consultants were employees of BC Hydro. One individual expressed open hostility that “BC Hydro” was present on this particular occasion. Nevertheless, the consultants considered it appropriate to remain and chat individually with a few people who offered them the opportunity to do so.

By mid-afternoon, one of the cooks for the lunch, who was herself a BRFN elder, joined the consultants and was soon joined by two other elders, so the consultants introduced the project to these individuals and undertook an interview with these three women. This allowed the consultants to familiarize themselves with the depth of these elders’ knowledge of BRFN social organization, band history, and their use of terminology, as well as their use of the Study Area. The elders stressed the common use of an extensive territory and their use of any available resource. At the end of the interview, the consultants requested that individual interviews be carried on the next day in Fort St. John and be focused on elders’ personal use of the Peace River Study Area.

It was agreed that one of the elders would meet the next morning in Fort St. John with the consultants at the hotel where they were staying. A small meeting room was reserved at the hotel for this purpose of the interview, to be followed by other interviews to be scheduled by the Liaison Worker. The elder appeared at the agreed-upon time, accompanied by another individual. A few minutes later, other people appeared and soon there was a room full. A telephone call to the Liaison Worker (who was not able to be in Fort St. John that morning)
revealed that the meeting had been arranged by the elders and not by him. Notwithstanding, the consultants took the opportunity to review with the group the project objectives and methods to be used and explain the need for individual interviews. While the consultants suggested that meetings with these individuals would be rescheduled at a later time, no one appeared interesting in leaving—it seemed to the consultants that the elders’ group regarded TLUS methodology to consist of a one-shot group meeting.

Attempting to make the best of a difficult situation, the consultants tried to lead a group discussion about the BRFN’s historic use of the area and, importantly, the methods they wished to be use for the TLUS, while at the same time being respectful of the elders’ views. The elders were highly reluctant to consult the 1:50,000 maps of the Study Area that the consultants showed them, and advised the consultants that the use of these maps was inappropriate. People were more comfortable viewing the 1:250,000 maps which showed larger sections of BRFN territory and allowed visual reference to entire watersheds. By lunch, a dozen people were present, including several men who were highly critical of the study objective to record personal land use data of a site-specific nature. As these men stated, “We hunt everywhere! We get berries everywhere!"

A soup and sandwich lunch was provided to all by the hotel’s catering staff. Additionally, because people had come in to the meeting room at different times during the late morning, many of these individuals appeared to view the consultants as agents of BC Hydro—despite being made aware of the consultants’ arrangement with BRFN—and took the opportunity to speak about their dislike of BC Hydro and the government, their perceptions of what they believe to be these institutions’ broken promises, and the general alienation of Aboriginal lands and rights.

A call from the Liaison Worker during lunch informed the consultants that the elders had agreed among themselves that each person attending this meeting should be paid a $200.00 a day attendance-honorarium. After lunch, and a quick trip to a nearby bank, the consultants paid this money, collected their names and everyone left.

Kennedy called the Liaison Worker to explain that the project could not be undertaken by hosting group meetings with $200.00 per-person honoraria, such as the one that had occurred, but they would pay honoraria for individual interviews, if required. The Liaison Worker agreed to arrange for individual interviews the following day at the Blueberry River community, both before and after a lunch hosted by the consultants.

The next day, the Liaison Worker discovered that only the large Administration Hall was available that particular day for the consultants, and not a smaller meeting room where attendance could be more closely controlled. While the Liaison Worker had asked for certain elders to meet with the consultants at pre-designated times, unfortunately three of them showed up together. Because these elders wished to speak together with the consultants, Kennedy and Bouchard decided to make the best of it and proceeded with the interview. By lunch of that day a group of ten people had joined an outer circle in the hall. A telephone call to the Liaison Worker, who had not been able to attend, alerted him of this situation. He advised the consultants that the elders had decided they wanted another day of attendance-honoraria to be paid to those who came to the hall.

After lunch, the consultants decided to give the presentation that they had hoped to have given two days earlier. To assist in explaining the needs of the research, the consultants hired a Dane-
zaa (Beaver) language translator, who was now among the group, for her help in clarifying the role of the consultants, the study objectives and the study methodology. After the discussion concerning the project objectives and methods, the interview continued. At its conclusion, however, the people in the hall did indeed expect to be paid an attendance honoraria and this was done.

It was after the last of the attendance-honoraria had been paid that an Aboriginal man who had been listening to the interview approached the consultants, telling them, “I can show you where I hunt on the Peace River.” It was this statement that convinced the consultants that the project objectives could be met. They interviewed this man and recorded a map biography of his personal use of the Peace River Study Area.

The consultants recognized, on the basis of what had transpired over these three days, that the membership had not been consulted in the design of the Site-C TLUS project, nor had they been asked if they had any interest in meeting the objectives as set out in BC Hydro’s standardized contract. This is seen as a limitation that affected the study.

Upon their return to Victoria, Kennedy wrote to the BRFN requesting a contract amendment to repay the unexpected $5,700.00 (comprised of $4,200.00 in attendance-honoraria and $1,500.00 in Community Liaison Work) that the three days had cost the project (Appendix 5). The consultants absorbed the $860.00 cost for three days of community lunches.

The group meetings arranged by the BRFN elders did provide the consultants with an opportunity to introduce the TLUS to the community elders and to learn about these members’ strongly-held views on the Site-C project. But it was clearly apparent that the members had difficulty separating the consultants from BC Hydro. Indeed, one elder stopped Kennedy in the washroom to implore her, “Please don’t build the dam.” However, it was recognized that the study could be possible with more focused community support, more effective facilitation, and flexibility on the part of the consultants and their methodology.

Kennedy spoke to the Community Liaison Worker about the needs of the project and prepared for him a statement that he could give to potential participants, should he, himself, not feel comfortable verbally explaining the project and the Study Area to other members of the community. The written statement was also sent to Shakir Alwarid and the BRFN Administration.

The consultants met with Chief and Council on 22 February 2011 at Blueberry to further discuss TLUS project needs, including access to information and the need for effective facilitation. They also met with Chief and Council in Victoria in April 2011 to further discuss problems encountered in completing the research, specifically meeting the people who should be interviewed, the lack of response to completing a harvest study, and the varied response to the mapping component. Kennedy followed up in May 2011 by providing a list of people who had been interviewed individually, and/or who had attended one of the group meetings, and requesting assistance from the Council in learning the names of others with knowledge of the Study Area. Also in May 2011, the consultants arranged to host another community lunch and prepared a poster of the event for the Administration to circulate. The objective of the community lunch was to provide an update on the Site-C TLUS project (and to introduce another TLUS project being undertaken for the BRFN) and request additional assistance in meeting the project deliverables.
The consultants conducted interviews during the following visits to the Fort St. John area:

- 24\(^{th}\) - 29\(^{th}\) October 2010;
- 18\(^{th}\) – 23\(^{rd}\) November 2010;
- 22\(^{nd}\) – 28\(^{th}\) February 2011;
- 24\(^{th}\) – 29\(^{th}\) May 2011;
- 9\(^{th}\) – 12\(^{th}\) August 2011;
- 26\(^{th}\) – 28\(^{th}\) September 2011;
- 11\(^{th}\) – 14\(^{th}\) October 2011.

This additional time in the community allowed for remaining questions relating to the Site-C Study Area to be verified with community members, with the able assistance of another Liaison Worker.

The consultants also attended a BC Hydro community presentation on 23 February 2011 at Blueberry.

### 2.3.3 Selection of Participants

In October 2010, BRFN elders initially determined the selection of participants by independently arranging amongst themselves for meetings with Kennedy and Bouchard to be with groups of people and not individuals, as the consultants had requested. Hence, in October 2010, the consultants attended group meetings held at the Blueberry River Administration Hall and at the Quality Inn in Fort St. John.

In November 2010, the consultants advised the Community Liaison Worker, and Chief and Council, of the need for individual, or two-person, interviews. Kennedy provided the Liaison Worker with a written copy of the project objectives.

Study participants for subsequent interviews in November 2010 and February 2011 were selected by the Community Liaison Worker, Herbie Apsassin; study participants selected for interviews in May, August, September and October 2011 were chosen by Community Liaison Worker Sylvester Apsassin. Selection was based on several criteria, including:

- BRFN membership;
- Availability during the study’s time framework;
- Participation in traditional activities;
- Knowledge and use of the Study Area, or knowledge and use of other areas.

Names of individuals interviewed were checked against a list of BRFN on-Reserve members provided by the Administration staff to confirm membership.

Once discussions with the community elders had been undertaken, younger people were introduced to the consultants. It is these younger people who more actively harvest traditionally-used resources; their information contributed significantly to meeting the objectives of the project. The younger generation of today’s BRFN members, having both access to vehicles (trucks, quads and skidoos) and personal mobility, has easy access to the Study Area by means of the region’s many access roads.
Some members contacted by the Liaison Workers for interviews chose not to participate. Some members expressed disinterest in supporting what was perceived either as a “BC Hydro Project” or a “Chief and Council project.” Some people who agreed to be interviewed expressed distrust in their local government and the sincerity of both BC Hydro and Chief and Council in having the work done. Others identified as potential participants were not interviewed because of either scheduling or social problems. Those who participated voiced sharp and sincere concerns about the Site-C project.

2.3.4 Conduct of Interviews

A total of 40 BRFN members (30 men and 10 women, ranging in age from 32 to 84) were interviewed between October 2010 and October 2011. Two of these interviews remain incomplete due to scheduling difficulties. All interviews were conducted by Kennedy and Bouchard, usually assisted by BRFN members Herbie Apsassin, Sylvester Apsassin or Marianne Adekat. Respondents, with the exception of members of Chief and Council, were provided with honoraria ranging from $50.00 to $300.00.

One interview was conducted in the Dane-zaa language with questions translated by Marianne Adekat, as were answers, when English was not used by the respondent. All other interviews were conducted in English. Additionally, Ms. Adekat provided translation services to the assembled members at a group meeting in October 2010 at which the consultants explained the project and asked for input from members concerning methodology.

Interviews were conducted mostly at the Administration Hall, with the exception of sessions with elders who preferred to be interviewed at home. Each interview session generally lasted between one hour and four hours (the latter including a site visit). Several individuals were interviewed more than once to confirm information and to elicit additional data. To ensure the accuracy of information, the consultants requested permission to voice-record each interview.

Stacey Klinzman, Zachary Romano or Dorothy Kennedy prepared a summary of each interview with data categorized into topics. The accuracy of pertinent sections of the summaries was confirmed by Kennedy during preparation of the final report. It is a limitation of the study that the project funding was not sufficient to allow full transcripts or full verification of the summaries.

Two respected elders interviewed for the TLUS have since died: Rose Apsassin and Angus Davis.

Each interview began with the consultants’ introduction of the project explaining the following: sponsor of the project (BRFN), funding of the project (BC Hydro), the role of the consultants (outside professionals, hired by BRFN), the format of the final study (in a report prepared for Chief and Council and BC Hydro), and the objectives of the interviews (documenting the BRFN’s members knowledge and use of the proposed Site C project area).

During the interviews, only one member raised an issue and specifically requested confidentiality; nevertheless, the information was not germane to the TLUS, and thus the project director has not been required to address the issue in compiling the report.
Each interview was semi-structured and open-ended, with the consultants initiating topics designed to elicit information on the respondent’s biographical data, general participation in traditional activities, and more specifically, the harvesting of country foods, along with the individual’s personal land use in, and knowledge of, the TLUS study area. Hence, the consultants sought to address both “Where do you hunt?” and “Have you ever hunted in the study area?” Categories reviewed included:

- If the participant exercises their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- Areas within the study area where the participant exercises or has exercised their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- If there are other areas used by the participant to exercise their Treaty rights, including hunting, fishing and gathering;
- Types of animals, fish and plants harvested by the participant;
- Preference for and use of country foods;
- Project-related concerns.

Those participants willing to map information were provided with the appropriate map sheets. The scoping sessions undertaken in October indicated that the number of “types” of resources being currently harvested would not be large, an assumption confirmed by the subsequent interviews. The mapping indicated a consistency of reported use among respondents.

Many of the site-specific uses identified in Schedule C of the BRFN/BC Hydro contract were not reported in interviews with BRFN members as being specific to the delineated Study Area (Appendix 6). For example, due largely to the distance between the contemporary BRFN community and the Peace River—a situation that has existed only since the 1940s (due to the loss of IR 172)—none of these BRFN members reported travelling to the river to specifically gather firewood as an activity carried out at a specific location, apart from the collection of firewood gathered at any campsite. Nevertheless, due to pollution in streams local to the BRFN Reserve, individuals did report driving to the Peace River specifically for fishing. Use of the Study Area is predominantly on a day-basis, although precise quantification of this assumption has not been possible. More follow-up work would be required to address this limitation and to provide information beyond the statements of relative importance given in the 6 November 2011 report. Additionally, mention of “earth gathering” in the Study Area provoked the response that the use of red paint (or other) was not traditional to BRFN and was instead associated with other tribes’ traditions.

Flexibility in the structure of the interview permitted the participants to raise points or speak of related issues, and allowed the interviewers to explore areas requiring more detail or terminate avenues of discussion where the respondent indicated no knowledge or displayed fatigue with the line of questions. While the aim of these project-specific studies was to obtain representative data in a short period of time, it is nevertheless viewed as a limitation of the study that more follow-up interviews could not be undertaken. Undoubtedly, additional information would likely be recalled in follow-up interviews. Nor is it assumed that the 40 members interviewed during the project reflect all BRFN members who have knowledge of the study area. In order to accomplish these objectives, a more comprehensive and costly study would be required.

To offset the community’s reticence in providing harvest data, including kill sites, the consultants relied extensively on the use of direct quotations and attributed information from the interview participants, more than might appear in other TLUS reports. It is the consultants’ view,
based on four decades of experience, that a statement by an identified individual carries much more weight than a dot on a map, especially when such a dot is devoid of cultural and historical context.

In the BRFN’s report, specific information contributed by individuals is indicated by use of an identification system that refers to the individual and date of interview, for example, “SyA-11-10” refers to an interview with Sylvester Apassassin in November 2010. The initials used for each person’s identification are listed after his/her name as listed on page v of the 6 November 2011 Blueberry River First Nations Site-C TLUS Report. During the preparation of the report, Kennedy asked representatives of the BRFN Administration and the Lands Department to confirm the spelling of the participants’ names. It was subsequently brought to the consultants’ attention that one individual identified himself by his nickname rather than by his registered name.

During the TLUS project, a major concern of the membership that the consultants identified was a profound distrust in the regulatory process. Thus, the consultants promised that their report would contain the members’ concerns about the Site-C project both generally (especially, additional land alienation) and specifically (especially, environmental change, including impacts on animals’ habitat), along with their personal and attributed information on land use.

2.3.5 Map Production and Digitization

Prior to commencement of the project, the consultants acquired multiple copies of an extensive set of both 1:50,000 and 1:250,000 maps for capturing site-specific and area-specific TLUS information.

However, during the October 2010 “scoping” sessions with groups of older BRFN members, these individuals advised the consultants that 1:50,000 maps were too detailed and that they found such maps too contrary to their view of the landscape, which focused on watersheds and open plains. Individuals preferred marking maps at the scale of 1:250,000 and consulting the more detailed maps only when absolutely required to clarify information for the consultants’ benefit. Given the nature of land use in the project area—hunting and fishing over large areas—the use of 1:250,000 maps was appropriate for documenting the specific resource-based activities that contemporary BRFN members practice within the Study Area.

The consultants provided each respondent, or couple (on those few occasions when two individuals were interviewed together), with a set of maps (92A, 92B, 92P) to mark up. The scoping sessions indicated that the geographical area of these maps would capture most site-specific activities in the Site-C project area. Other maps were available to the participants as required.

The consultants encouraged BRFN members, under controlled guidance, to map site locations and activity areas discussed during interviews. The number of activity types was small enough (an assumption made during the scoping sessions and confirmed during the interviews) that polygons and labels could be applied to the map without undue clutter. The use of polygons, although not exact, permitted the respondents to delineate use areas in a (mostly) single, brief interview period. This approach also mitigated the fact that the usual responses to the question, “Have you ever hunted/fished/gathered plants, etcetera, along the Peace River?” was “Our
people hunt, etcetera, wherever they can,” or, “We hunt everywhere!” Some elders, however, chose not to engage in this activity, stating emphatically, “We hunt everywhere,” and their preference was respected. Some of these individuals nevertheless described specific-use areas during their interview. These areas are noted in the lists of activities found in the report’s section 8.0, arranged by geographical area and classified using an Ethnographic Site Typology which the consultants (and two of their colleagues) put together in the early 1990s. One individual chose to represent his hunting area with a line and explained that he hunted widely and regularly in the environs of the indicated area. Those people who agreed to mark their personal resource-harvesting activities by means of polygons were very familiar with maps. The consultants wrote the name of each individual and the date of the interview on each map and the participant was asked to sign the map. It is a limitation of the study that follow-up confirmation was not possible with all participants due to the high costs of working in the north and the unexpected costs that became the responsibility of the consultants.

The project director confirmed the completeness of mapped information in August and September 2011 by listening to sections of the voice-recording of the pertinent interview and comparing the recording with the placement of polygons. Some adjustments were made at this time, particularly with respect to fishing areas which had been under-represented on the maps when checked with the interviews. As the BC Hydro/BRFN contract specified that mapped information would be that used personally by the respondent, and not what (s)he had heard about past use, maps appearing in the report have been restricted to that information. The consultants opine that such an approach severely limits the recognition of the BRFN’s attachment to the area. Unfortunately, the unexpected financial burden on the consultants to produce the maps used in the report (and to pay for Community Liaison and for community participation) meant that this “extra” layer of information could not be mapped for the report, even though it is presented and discussed in the report. The consultants view this as a study limitation correctable only through the availability of funding and technical support.

It is viewed as a limitation of the map-biography approach that an individual’s use of an area in the previous week would receive visual weight, whereas the historic, centuries-long, widely documented use of an area now largely alienated could be under-represented by not being a current personally-used place within a Study Area. Hence, the consultants strongly support the necessity and importance of TLUS research that includes comprehensive discussions of the cultural and historical context of contemporary use. Considerable data on historically-used areas have been included in the two reports compiled during the Site-C TLUS. While sites/areas mentioned in the historical literature could also be mapped, the unexpected financial demands of the project were significant and thus the consultants could not map such information. Nevertheless, historical maps have been included and referenced in the two reports prepared during this project.

In July 2011 Kennedy explained again to BC Hydro that the there was no local BRFN GIS technical help available and asked for Hydro’s assistance in the expensive task of preparing the land use maps for the report. (As noted in the Workplan, the consultants had been told that a BRFN GIS technician would be available to prepare the maps, but it appears that such capacity has not yet been developed.) Hydro refused such help, apparently because BC Hydro had given BRFN funds beyond those that were provided to the consultants. In September 2011, however, BC Hydro agreed to provide an electronic base map of the Peace River region that the consultants could take to a map maker. The project director, with BC Hydro’s permission,
provided these digital files to Davenport Maps of Victoria for their use in plotting the field data, using the original maps to prepare specific digital maps of resource harvesting. The data input was verified against the field maps by the project director. These maps were shown to representatives of BC Hydro, BRFN, BCEAO and CEAA at Kennedy’s presentation of the study findings in Vancouver on 30 September 2011.

Field visits for verification of all interview data were not conducted due to budget limitations. One day was spent in the field with two members to locate precisely the areas where one of these individuals had camped for hunting and fishing in the study area. Other activity-site locations, including camps mentioned by other participants, were marked on topographical maps and discussed during recorded interviews.

2.3.6 Harvest Study

On 30 August 2010, Shakir Alwarid informed BKRC that he could not confirm whether the BRFN had previously completed a harvest study or not. The consultants had removed such a task from the draft BCH/BRFN contract for which they were asked to provide completion dates. They later agreed that if one didn’t exist, they would include such inquiry in their field work. Subsequent inquiries made by the consultants with the Lands Department and with BRFN Councillors could not confirm the existence of such a study.

However, during the TLUS interviews, BRFN members indicated a general reticence in providing harvesting data. Most elders choose not to respond to questions about quantification and suggested that they “get what they want, when then want it” and—where it has not been impacted by industry—“where they want.” Some became angry. Some younger members responded and these figures have been used to indicate trends in harvesting and consumption and provide examples of typical and “professional” harvesters. The consultants recognized a general suspicion among BRFN members concerning BC Hydro’s interest in such data and exercised judgment how systematically they could pursue such information without jeopardizing continuation of the TLU interview itself.

The consultants considered the possibility that BRFN members might be more willing to cooperate in this aspect of the study if presented with a written questionnaire, thus distancing the task from the face-to-face questioning of the investigators. Drawing upon questionnaires that can be found online and have been used for Aboriginal harvest studies, the consultant adapted one to elicit data concerning how much game BRFN people are presently harvesting, and where this is occurring (Appendix 7). But this questionnaire was not successfully executed during the TLUS. A few of the younger members who filled out the form independently provided the responses “lots,” “all the time” and “everywhere” to such questions. The inconsistent recording of the data meant that it would not be representative.

Additionally, in May 2011 the consultants hosted another community lunch for a “project update” and suggested to the BRFN Administration that they would offer a financial incentive at the luncheon for members to complete the harvesting questionnaire. At the request of the administrator, the consultants prepared a poster announcing the lunch and project updates (Appendix 7). The relatively low attendance suggested that the event was nevertheless not well advertised and/or there was little interest among the membership in receiving the consultants’ project update. Two questionnaires were completed after lunch. Subsequent inquiries among
individuals interviewed during the May field work indicated that the former explanation may hold more weight—the members were unaware of the hosted event.

The consultants also considered that BRFN members might be more willing to cooperate in this aspect of the study if presented with the questions by a community member. Efforts to have the Harvest Study carried out independently by the Community Liaison Workers were similarly unsuccessful as neither man wished to include this task in their facilitation role.

Similarly, the consultants’ efforts to record kill sites in the Study Area was met with great disinclination. When the Community Liaison Worker—who had been very forthright in mapping his personal land use within the Study Area—would not continue marking kill sites when requested explicitly to do so after having indicated a few such sites, the judgment was made to abandon this line of inquiry.

In short, quantification of harvesting could not be completed beyond the information contained in the 6 November 2011 report. The absence of this evidence is not for want of making an effort to obtain it. It is a limitation of the report that such data could not be compiled sufficiently to present fully a quantification of resources harvested either generally or in the Study Area. The reader is cautioned that the incompleteness of this evidence does not mean that BRFN members are not actively harvesting in the Study Area or do not take an interest in the management of that area.

It is the consultants’ opinion that a separate study undertaken without a focus on recording “traditional use” (perhaps a game management study) might possibly be more successful in obtaining harvesting data. Nevertheless, it is also the consultants’ opinion that such a project would require community input in the early stages of the project design.

2.3.7 Community Verification Process

During the time of the project, follow-up interviews were undertaken with some individual members where information remained uncertain.

The consultants hosted a BRFN community lunch on 24 May 2011 to provide members with an oral update on the progress of the TLUS that began in October 2010.

Kennedy also gave a project update, along with a PowerPoint presentation on the historical data, to BRFN Chief and Council on 7 August 2011. This update and presentation of findings was given to membership at the BRFN General Meeting held on 8 August 2011. In addition to questions about additional work that could be undertaken, BRFN members raised questions and discussed the data presented.

A PowerPoint presentation on the TLUS findings was presented to representatives of BC Hydro, BCEAO, CEAA, and the BRFN Chief and Council, on 30 September 2011, at the BC Hydro Site-C offices in Vancouver, BC. This presentation followed the structure of the report and included a large number of the maps prepared for the report. A question and answer period followed the presentation. Shakir Alwarid requested that the consultants submit the final report as soon as possible.

The consultants visited Blueberry River again in October 2011 to obtain further community verification (and carry on work on another project); however, the presentation to the general
membership was cancelled initially due to a funeral, and then to closure of the Administration Office. Instead, a meeting was held with a Council member who did not attend the 30 September 2011 Vancouver presentation, along with one of the Community Liaison Workers, and thus there was an opportunity for a further review by community representatives. At this time, the consultants also verified specific information with individual BRFN members who had participated in the study.

The consultants made digital copies of each voice-recorded interview for return to the individual study participants.

2.3.8 Reports to BC Hydro

In addition to the written reports submitted to BC Hydro (see Appendix 3), Kennedy and Bouchard attended a meeting with BRFN and BC Hydro in Victoria on 19 April 2011. At that time, Kennedy provided an update on the project and spoke about issues that had arisen. These included:

- The need for better community liaison;
- Some people’s reluctance to compile map biographies and be specific in delineating land use;
- The general reticence to quantity resource harvesting.

The next month, May 2022, the consultants returned to the Blueberry community to address these issues again.

The consultants also provided updates on the project’s progress to the BC Hydro Project Officer, as requested. The consultants were subsequently informed that comments made by the consultants to the Project Officer concerning the number of “types” of uses practiced in the Study Area by the BRFN may have been misunderstood and it was decided by Alwarid and the consultants that further information on the study findings would be best obtainable by Hydro through the end-of-the-project presentation and in the Report.

A PowerPoint presentation on the TLUS findings was presented to representatives of BC Hydro, BCEAO, CEAA, and the BRFN Chief and Council, on 30 September 2011. At that time, Kennedy responded to questions from those in attendance. No additional questions were forthcoming from BC Hydro at that presentation.

The consultants provided BC Hydro and BRFN Chief and Council with a copy of the consultants’ completed BRFN TLUS report on the 6th of November 2011.

3.0 Review of Methodology by the Project Director

It is my professional opinion that the 6 November 2011 BRFN TLUS report accurately reflects the knowledge, use, occupation and concerns of the BRFN members surveyed during the compilation of the TLUS research focused on the Site-C project area. Work on a second project for the BRFN has allowed the consultants to confirm that the participants in the Site-C TLUS
were representative of the community, as had been indicated by the Community Liaison Workers.

It is also my professional opinion that we made our best effort (based on forty years’ experience) to achieve the objectives of the Site-C TLUS project. We used a methodology that was appropriate to the task and to the cultural context in which the investigation occurred—a community displaced from earlier residency nearer the Peace River, distrustful of governments’ processes, harbouring great concerns about alienation of natural habitat, unfamiliar with the TLUS program to which it had been committed, and vociferous in their aversion to BC Hydro’s Site-C Clean Energy Project.

It was the consultants’ promise to BRFN members interviewed during the project that they would prepare a report that reflected the knowledge and concerns of the community. It has also been our duty to ensure that professional standards have been maintained. In full consideration of the highly-charged forum in which the study was undertaken, we felt compelled to consult a broad array of data to contextualize the information reported by the BRFN members. We have applied “tests for truthfulness” to both recorded and oral information.

We have also been forthright in reporting specific issues concerning components of the project that could not be overcome with the time, budget and co-operation of the community. BC Hydro had been made aware of these issues.

The second traditional use study that the consultants are presently completing for the BRFN has not encountered the same set of issues. Importantly, the community is more familiar with the consultants and their methodology, the Community Liaison work is now effective, and in general the members do not express the same level of dislike for the proponent.

It is hoped that BC Hydro can appreciate the cultural importance of the qualitative data shared by the BRFN community, compiled during this TLUS project and presented in the 6 November 2011 TLUS Report, and allow these data to better inform their on-going relationship with the Blueberry River First Nations.

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy
Anthropologist
12 January 2012
Contract of Service

This Contract of Service is dated for reference the 27th day of August, 2010.

Between:

The Blueberry River First Nation ("BRFN")

And:

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard
Doing business as Bouchard & Kennedy
Research Consultants (the "consultants")

Whereas:

Blueberry River wishes to obtain the best existing evidence in support of its Aboriginal Rights and Title interests in relation to the area of the proposed Site C Clean Energy Project (the "Project"), and to the area of the Dawson Creek-Chetwynd Area Transmission Project;

And whereas:

The consultants have acknowledged experience and expertise in the cultures and history of the First Nations of British Columbia, and in particular in the preparation of Traditional Land Use studies;

It is hereby agreed:

That the consultants will produce and provide Blueberry River with a comprehensive and detailed report which documents BRFN’s Aboriginal Rights and Title within the environs of the Project area. This contract includes the preparation of a text report with accompanying bibliography and copies of documentation and other forms of source information upon which the report is based or stated opinions are founded. This will include copies of recorded conversations, field notes and map biographies where available.

The consultants will adopt a methodology appropriate to the elicitation of cultural information among members of the BRFN, and take into full consideration the requirements of the BRFN’s contractual agreement with the British Columbia Hydro and
Power Authority concerning the production of a Traditional Land Use study for the Project area.

During fieldwork and archival research performed to complete the Site C project report, the consultants will also undertake research and prepare a report addressing the BRFN’s Aboriginal Rights and Title in the environs of the Dawson Creek-Chetwynd Area Transmission Project. The consultants will prepare a report summarizing the BRFN interests in the Transmission area.

In exchange for this research and these reports the Blueberry River First Nation will pay the consultants Dr. Dorothy Kennedy and the consultant Randy Bouchard a total of $115,000.00 for the two projects: $100,000 for the Site C Clean Energy Project’s TLUS study, and, $15,000 for the Dawson Creek-Chetwynd Area Transmission Line study.

Payment for the research projects will be made by Blueberry River in the following installments set out as follows:

a) A retainer of $50,000 for the TLUS study is payable upon execution of this contract and the BRFN’s receipt of funds from BC Hydro;

b) A final payment of $50,000 is due upon completion of the report and receipt of the funds from BC Hydro;

c) A payment of $15,000 is payable for the Dawson Creek-Chetwynd Area Transmission Project upon receipt of funds for this project from BC Hydro;
The consultants will provide brief reports on the progress of the assignment and work still to be done at intervals identified in the BRFN contract with BC Hydro.

Blueberry River First Nation
Per:

<signatures removed>

Chef

Bouchard and Kennedy Research Consultants
Per:

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy

Randy Bouchard
WORK PLAN

BLUEBERRY RIVER FIRST NATION TLUS
SITE C CLEAN ENERGY PROJECT

Prepared for:
Blueberry River First Nation
&
BC Hydro and Power Authority

Prepared by:
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil.
171 Bushby Street, Victoria, BC
bcilp@shaw.ca

30 September 2010
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1. Introduction

As part of the consultation process with the Blueberry River First Nation ("BRFN") in relation to BC Hydro Power Authority’s ("BCHPA") Site C Clean Energy Project, the two parties have agreed that a Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS) would assist in documenting the First Nation’s traditional knowledge, use and occupancy for the purposes of assessing the Project’s potential impacts on BRFN’s treaty rights and ability to continue practicing section 35(1) rights and traditional activities and interests.

Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants ("BKRC") will perform as a contractor to the Blueberry River First Nation for the preparation of a Traditional Land Use Study concerning the region of BC Hydro’s proposed Site C Clean Energy Project.

BKRC’s responsibilities for preparation of this TLUS are described in the agreement between the contractor and the BRFN of 27 August 2010, and include the production of Deliverables set out in section 4.0 of the BRFN’s TLUS Agreement (herein “the Agreement”) with BC Hydro and Power Authority, and the production of information that will permit a close working relationship between the parties concerning the progress of this study, as set out in section 3.0 of this same Agreement.
2. **Project Organization**

Research and report preparation relating to the Deliverables will be performed by BKRC staff under the direction of anthropologist, Dr. Dorothy Kennedy. BKRC will provide project direction and be responsible for meeting all contractual requirements for the TLUS project, and for the final quality assurance. In conducting this work, BKRC will report to Shakir Alwarid, BRFN representative. The contractor will advise him of technical progress, project needs, potential problems, and recommended solutions.

Identification and contact information for the project team is provided in Table 1.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Team Member</th>
<th>Resource/ Task</th>
<th>Contact Information</th>
<th>Email</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dr. Dorothy Kennedy</td>
<td>Project director/ researcher/ analyst/ report writer</td>
<td>Bouchard &amp; Kennedy Research Consultants 171 Bushby Street, Victoria, BC V8S1B5 250-384-4544 (ph)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bcilp@shaw.ca">bcilp@shaw.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Anthropologist)</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Randy Bouchard</td>
<td>Field work supervisor/ researcher/ analyst/ report writer</td>
<td></td>
<td><a href="mailto:rtbouchard@shaw.ca">rtbouchard@shaw.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Linguist/ethnographer)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stacey Klinzman</td>
<td>Researcher/ report writer</td>
<td>250-384-2502 (fax)</td>
<td><a href="mailto:bcilp@shaw.ca">bcilp@shaw.ca</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Historian/ lawyer)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Described below is the process that BKRC will use to maintain the study’s objective approach and provide scientifically and socially accurate information, using well-accepted methods and high standards to produce reader-friendly and concise TUS data.
3. Project Tasks and Delivery

This work plan was developed to outline the project organization, identify project objectives and goals, identify technical resource specialists, describe project tasks and deliverables, and provide a project schedule. The work plan will provide guidance for conducting the project and developing the TLUS. The work plan is a living document and may require changes or amendments as the project progresses.

Immediately following the submission of a draft work plan for BRFN and BCHPA review, Kennedy will seek agreement with the two parties concerning the scope and methods described below.

3.1 Component #1: Community Engagement and Communication

BKRC will prepare a community newsletter for circulation by the BRFN notifying and informing the community of the TLUS and providing contact information. (7 October 2010)

A kickoff meeting between Dr. Kennedy and Randy Bouchard of BKRC and the BRFN representative(s) will occur as soon as it can be scheduled with the First Nation (preferably before 30 October 2010) and include a discussion of the project area, timeline, and scoping plans for community engagement, along with the following:

- directions from Chief and Council concerning the communications process with BRFN members;
- data collection and exchange protocols, including use of a community liaison assistant and interpreter;
- confidentiality issues or requirements;
- participation in Consultative Committee with BC Hydro;
- identification of community members for participation in TLUS (availability of membership lists of on/off Reserve members);
- the availability of cultural and historical information in the possession of the BRFN;
- scheduling of on-going verbal and/or written reports to community members;
- internal review process;
- compilation of information for community archives.

Subsequent meetings or telephone conferences will focus on specific project elements, such as issue identification and alternative developments, and respond to BRFN queries or concerns.

In order to determine most fully the potential impacts of the project on the treaty rights of the BRFN, the joint Consultative Committee (as set out in sec. 3 of the BRFN-BCHPA Agreement) will agree on the extent of the TUS project area that the contractor will use for the TLUS. A set of 1:50,000/ 1:75,000 maps will be obtained to capture site and area specific TLUS information obtained through interviews with community members and through archival research.

Our approach is one of continuous coordination to maximize efficiency and minimize delays, and most importantly, to ensure that we are meeting the BRFN’s and BCHPA’s goals, objectives and timeline. The contractor will work with the BRFN to ensure that the Nation is fully informed of the study’s progress through monthly reports. Hence, the contractor will provide, at the discretion of the BRFN, information for the BRFN representative to convey to the
Consultative Committee, and will participate in such a Committee, if requested, and as agreed upon between the parties.

The highly-trained and skilled BKRC support staff will be required to keep logs tracking work progress, as appropriate to the task.

### 3.2 Component #2: Archival Research

Effective TLUS require challenging data collection and analysis. A significant component of such projects is the compilation of archival information that complements and/or contextualizes interview data elicited from contemporary members of a First Nation. Such data are necessary for determining fully the nature and extent of the traditional use and occupancy of a study area by a First Nation.

The historical record can be used to allow a determination of the time of contact and provide evidence of Aboriginal occupation of the project lands at the time when the Crown asserted sovereignty over those lands. Archival information provides an independent set of data that can be used for improving the validity and reliability of other data, particularly in areas where a First Nation has experienced linguistic and cultural loss, or physical relocation. It especially facilitates greater understanding of the intensity and exclusivity of use and occupation, for archival data, where available, reflect the interests and perspectives of the authors, which are not necessarily those of contemporary Aboriginal groups with contemporary concerns. Such historical documentation carries its own problems and requires assessment as to its authority and biases, uncovered through standard “tests for truthfulness” based on a review of the authorship, date, circumstances and benefactor of any particular item.

It is proposed that compilation of archival data begin in early October 2010 with a review of material kept on-hand in the substantial BKRC archives.

The process for new archival work requires the following steps:

**Step 1:**
Prepare terms of reference setting out types of information to be compiled, along with the geographical scope of such data:

- historical and ethnographic data containing information relating to land and resource use;
- information from these sources relating to cultural practises that influence or reflect land and resource use.

**Step 2:**
- use computer online databases at archives/libraries, in addition to bibliographies and secondary works to locate primary and secondary reference information;
- obtain Band Council Resolution to obtain access to restricted federal and provincial government records;
• submit Freedom of Information requests for access to restricted government files deemed to hold information relevant to project objectives;
• prepare and submit Research Agreement document with BC Archives for files not yet "opened."
• locate identified materials and contact holding institution for availability and access;
• arrange for microfilmed material to be sent through inter-library loan;
• analyze data gaps and conduct new searches.

Archival and government records to be investigated for applicability to the BRFN TLUS will include but are will not be limited to collections held by the following institutions:

**Victoria**

BC Archives: holds local histories; archived provincial records, including trap line files not of "open" status (will require Research Agreement with BC Archives); microfilmed copies of federal records; oral history collection; historic photographs; newspapers; vertical files.

BC Land Title and Survey Authority: historical maps

University of Victoria McPherson Library

**Vancouver**

Union of BC Indian Chiefs Research Library: files of the Northern Pipeline Agency hearings; files of the Alaska Highway natural gas pipeline hearings (incl. Hugh Brody and Dr. Martin Weinstein study)

University of British Columbia Library and Special Collections (Dr. Robin Ridington notes)

Federal Court Registry, Vancouver: documents, reports, testimony submitted in *Joseph Apsassin et al. v. Canada*

**Fort St. John**

Ministry of Environment Office (Peace Region): game and trapping records (may require FOI request)

**Calgary**

Glenbow Museum and Archives: oral history collection; records of the Slave lake Agency; settlement histories/ diaries

Arctic Institute: social scientific reports relating to Peace River region
Edmonton
Alberta Public Archives: Peace River histories; trader and settlement histories/diaries
INAC Regional Office
University of Alberta Archives: theses on Peace River region

Winnipeg
Hudson’s Bay Company Library: for materials thought potentially relevant but not available on microfilm for interlibrary loan; HBC post journals and correspondence not on microfilm.

Ottawa
Library and Archives Canada: for materials thought potentially relevant but not available on microfilm for interlibrary loan, including unfilmed RCMP records relating to Peace River disputes; and unfilmed RG 10 Indian Affairs files.
INAC Central Registry files: (requires BCR) BRFN files relating to forestry, fishery, right-of-ways, etc.
Court Records Office of the Supreme Court: files relating to Blueberry v. Canada

Step 3:
• review relevant literature and order copies of relevant files;
• following document leads;
• maintain detailed lists of collections examined, order and confirm the completeness of files; note full reference information on document;

Step 4:
• assess primary and secondary documentary evidence for reliability;
• code information summarize documents retrieved, noting appropriately the parts of a document;
• arrange documents in chronological order;
• compile bibliographic entries for materials ordered;
• creation of database or summarize information specific to themes or issues;

Step 5:
• copy and arrange archival materials for First Nation’s archives, if desired.

It is important that archival research begins prior to commencement of interviews and that both historical and ethnographic resources are reviewed. It is not important, however, that this component be completed before interviews begin. Information obtained during this archival
component of the research process provides the contractor with a general understanding of the cultural practices of the First Nation. Materials obtained from archival holdings can also form the basis of interview guides and allow the contractor to quickly find common ground for dialogue in an unfamiliar community. It also reveals the presence of historical factors that may have impacted the consistency of use and occupation, and migration in and out of the study area by the First Nation, and thereby highlight significant avenues for discussion with Nation members.

Locating an independent set of historical and archival data also facilitates cross-checking of the two forms of data—documentary history, obtained in this component of the TLUS process, and oral history, obtained in component three. Both components are critical to the TLUS, particularly when such studies are undertaken in concurrence with controversial regulatory reviews. One of the roles of the investigator in such a study is to determine the level of consensus between the two forms of data and provide hypotheses for the lack of congruence when found. It is important to keep in mind that the existing historical and ethnographic record is incomplete and does not provide an exhaustive record of Aboriginal land use.

An Interim Report will be provided to the BRFN on or about 19 November 2010. A report on Archival Research will be provided to the BRFN at the end of December 2010.

3.3 Component #3: Community Interviews

The contractors will request a BRFN membership list to ascertain the social composition of the community and resident families. This list, along with input from the BRFN project representative, will provide direction on the number of individuals and/or task groups to be interviewed and thus help ensure that the study is representative of the First Nation. It is anticipated that an initial meeting with an elder’s group or cultural committee will facilitate preparation of an interview schedule and determine whether some individuals wish to be consulted along with family members. The contractors will make a best effort to arrange times convenient to the community members and document all such attempts. It is anticipated that a community liaison person/translator will be available to assist with scheduling.

BRFN’s contractors are well-experienced interviewers requiring only a general interview guide to serve as a checklist to confirm the comprehensiveness of the interview process. It has been our experience that in territories the size of the BRFN’s, the traditional economic practices and ecological knowledge, along with names of major land forms, are known commonly by numerous community members, with more specialized knowledge of subsistence resources, territories and camp locations being held by those who travel and live in the micro environments. The parameters of an interview will reflect an assessment of an individual’s best potential contribution to the overall study, based on information provided by the FN liaison person, a referral from a fellow community member, or an initial meeting with between the BRFN member and the contractor. Recording geographical and land use facts often requires the involvement of numerous individuals whose contributions reflect both collective and individual repertoires of knowledge. The plan is for the interviews to be representative of the population in terms gender and age divisions. Off-Reserve member living in nearby communities will be contacted as to their availability, as well.
Linguist/ethnographer Randy Bouchard will conduct the field work required for this project, possibly assisted by Dr. Kennedy, as time and budget allows. Prior to commencing the interviews, the contractor will review the phonology of the Aboriginal language with a speaker of the language to aid in the transcription of Aboriginal places names and terms relating to concepts and practices of land use. Bouchard will also discuss the orthography that is in common use by the community.

The contractor will request permission to tape-record all interviews, regardless of whether information is provided in English or Dane-Zaa (or other indigenous language). A copy of the interview tape will be returned to the BRFN consultant for review and retention. Hand-written notes will also be taken during each interview. The contractor will discuss the TLUS project objectives with each participant and canvas the individual's views on confidentiality and/or public distribution of the data.

This objective of these community interviews will be the production of TLUS data as defined in section 1.1.k of the BRFN/BCHPA Agreement. The number of interviews and the scheduling of them will be dependent largely upon the level of interest and support provided by community members. Randy Bouchard's 45 years of experience interviewing Aboriginal people, and his facility with indigenous languages, should assist greatly in fostering the community's interest and participation in the study.

Bouchard will make an initial "meet and greet" trip to the BRFN community, hopefully in late October 2010, at a time convenient to the Nation, and plan to start interviews during that visit. One of the purposes of this first meeting will be to assess more fully the number of individuals/family groups to be interviewed and the geographical parameters of the land use data they may potentially offer. TLUS work always requires repeat visits to participants to confirm information and elicit new data not recalled in earlier interviews. The project is sufficiently funded for the contractor to make a number of trips to the community, each trip of at least a week's duration. Each person interviewed will be contacted for a follow-up meeting to confirm the completeness and accuracy of information provided during interviews.

A strong focus of the interviews will be on the elicitation of an individual's personal experience of the project area, in addition to their family's historical use of, and oral traditions about, the project area. The contractor will provide direction and assistance to the BRFN member in compiling map biographies of personal land use within the agreed upon project area. Maps used will be at a scale of 1:50,000, or, as required. Single copies of field maps will be used for each individual or family group throughout the interviewing period. This will assist in maintaining the discreteness of the individual contribution, and improve the confirmation of woolly information. It is also anticipated that use of Google Earth and BC Hydro aerial photographs will assist BRFN members in their identification of areas holding cultural significance. The latter will be requested on an as-needed basis, for areas where cultural information is highly detailed.

BRFN's traditional association with hunting and trapping provides an immediate topic to use for initiating the interviews. We propose starting the investigation by reference to the available trap line overview maps of the '930s-1960s that are held by the BC Archives and confirm the names and affiliation of registered owners. Coincidently, this exercise will guide the potential selection of the Game Division files to request through the Ministry of Environment. Discussions will also include identifying the locations of present and former BRFN trapping/hunting cabins and campsites within the project area. The contractor will focus interviews on recording the BRFN members' knowledge.
and use of distinct places within the project area, both named and unnamed in the indigenous language, including the locations of specific resources, routes used to access these resources, and the locations of any associated land-based myths, ceremonials or beliefs. Yet, a comprehensive TLUS requires that the investigator elicit site-specific information as well as data relating to general land and resource use. Topics for discussion include the current use of country foods and their harvesting locations, the past and present social organization, settlement patterns, and concepts of property and ownership. Consideration of such topics is required to later inform the potential impacts of the project on the Nation’s treaty rights and overall cultural resources. This particular TLUS project will also include a harvest study to ascertain both the numbers and locations of game/ fish harvests, to the extent that BRFN members are willing to share this data.

Information summarized from the extant ethnographic record located during component #2 will be checked with BRFN members during component #3 for their comments. We have found that the use of such information can trigger an individual’s recollection of personal knowledge, or challenge long-held beliefs for further contemplation and discussion. Of particular assistance will be resource-use maps prepared with BRFN members by Hugh Brody and Dr. Martin Weinstein in the late 1970s, and the ethnographic data of Dr. Robin Ridington from the 1960s, some of which we have obtained previously from the UBC Special Collections, and from Ridington’s doctoral thesis completed at Harvard University.

Descriptions of places recommended for further investigation, including ground-truthing, will be recorded on standardized TUS inventory forms. While interviews will start in the fall of 2010, it is anticipated that little ground-truthing will be necessary or possible until the late spring of 2011, due to local weather conditions.

3.4 Component #4: Mapping

BKRC will produce clear copies of map biographies produced at the scale of 1:50,000 for BRFN land use within the study area. BKRC will work together with the BRFN representative to arrange for maps to be digitized in a form compatible with BC Hydro/ BRFN requirements. Map biographies and interviews will be completed by 30 June 2011, as per section 4.1.f of the Agreement.

3.5 Component #5: Report Preparation and Finalization

Project Deliverables as noted in section 4.1.g and 4.1.f of the Agreement consist of both a “methodology report” (due 31 July 2011) and a “public report” (due 30 September 2011). Submittal dates and review periods are as stated in the Agreement.

The contractor will follow several steps toward the production of these two reports:

Step 1:

- Using the results of the archival research and ethnographic interviews, set out relevant historical facts after discerning which facts are pertinent to TLUS study objectives.
Step 2:

- Prepare report setting out study scope and objectives, and the discerning logic of the issue examined; include section on research methods and chronology, including sources examined and an evaluation of those sources reviewing sources, and discussion of problems encountered during the study and resolution to them.
- All resource information exempt from public release will be separated and filed separately.

Step 3:

- Conduct analysis by identifying central themes, constructing the historical/ cultural narrative and framing it within the historical and ethnographic context (The Project Director will be responsible for analysis of data);
- Prepare chapters relating to the cultural and historical context: including, settlement patterns; economic pursuits; material culture; religion (The Project Team will prepare sections of the reports and the Project Director will review and edit each resource section and work with the writer/editor to complete sections. All research specialists will be responsible for providing complete references used in their resource citations to the Project Director);
- Summarize site-specific land use within the project area; tables will be used for indicating presence or absence of resource by resource information;
- Provide information on specific sites of cultural significance within project area.

Step 4:

- Forward draft reports to BRFN for 30-day review period (distribute sections of draft reports to community as directed by BRFN representative);
- Review draft findings with BRFN representative;
- Discuss draft findings with Consultative Committee representatives, as requested by the BRFN;

Step 5:

- Revise reports as appropriate for public distribution;
- Edit report and prepare camera-ready copy;
- After the clearance to print, reproduce reports for distribution by the Consultative Committee (provide digit and hard copies).
Step 6:
- Respond to further queries raised by BC Hydro through the Consultative Committee.

Step 7:
- Additional follow-up requested by BRFN and/or BCHPA may include requests for supplementary information and the ground-truthing of culturally-significant sites identified by BRFN members.
Welcome back, Hugh.

At the request of Shakir Alwarid, I have appended a response to your comments on the 30 September 2010 work plan, along with another copy of the work plan, as well as CVs for myself and Randy Bouchard. (As stated in the response document, I thought that perhaps a different version of WORD might be responsible for the page numbering issue, but since I have not found a problem, I wonder if reference to sections of “the Agreement,” as defined in section 1.0, might have been mistaken for the work plan? Regardless, here is a PDF, so all should be resolved.)

Shakir asks that I deal directly with you on questions of methods and progress, so please let me know if you have any further questions. We are heading up to Fort St. John next Tuesday, October 26th, to host a lunch with interested community members, familiarize them with the project, and begin our interviews.

Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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MEMO:

Response to BC Hydro’s Comments on Blueberry River First Nation 30 September 2010 Work Plan

Date: 20 October 2010

To: Hugh Smith
   Project Manager,
   Site C Clean Energy Project
   BC Hydro and Power Authority

From: Dr. Dorothy Kennedy
   Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants,
   On behalf of the Blueberry First Nation

Shakir Alwarid has asked me to respond directly to your email acknowledging and commenting on the TLUS Workplan I submitted on 30 September regarding work to be performed on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nation relating to the Site C Clean Energy Project. Please find below my response to your three comments.

1) The Table of contents page numbers suggest this is a much reduced version of another document; she might want to correct the page numbers.

   I printed out the workplan as sent to you and find no problems in the page numbering. I wonder if different versions of WORD might account for the problem you encountered. This work plan for the Site C project was not summarized from a larger one. Regardless, I have made a PDF of the work plan for you, so that issue should now be resolved.

2) Appendix B of the TUS indicates development of an interview questionnaire/guide. Dorothy's proposal suggests that only a general guide and check list is required. It would seem to me to be important to thoroughly document this component of the work and that such a guide should be prepared prior to commencing interviews?
Yes, we propose using “a general interview guide to serve as a checklist to confirm the comprehensiveness of the interview process,” and not prepare an interview questionnaire. There are several points I feel need to be made in response to your concern about this approach, and upon reflection, I now realize that I should have addressed these more directly in the work plan. The decision not to prepare a questionnaire, an ordered set of mandatory questions, relates to three factors: (A) acceptable professional standards; (B) experience of investigators; and (C) the use of culturally-appropriate methods:

A. Acceptable professional standards

Questionnaires are an appropriate tool for inexperienced researchers involved in TLUS, particularly when such studies include the participation of First Nations’ members or students to provide learning opportunities for these individuals through interaction with community elders. Lists of mandatory questions assist novice researchers to address, though rigidly and—I suggest—superficially, the necessary topics included in TLU studies. But while this technical tool may guide and organize the discourse content, it is the development of shared understanding of the project objectives between the investigator and the respondent that facilitates the transfer of traditional use information. Citing Paul Lazarsfeld, one of the great pioneers of survey research, the author of Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative\(^1\) writes: “variability in how interviewers ask questions is the key to good interviewing, and not a problem to be solved by standardization.” It should also be noted that questionnaires do not ensure rigour or comprehensiveness. As Mishler reports, analytical studies on the use of questionnaires that have examined whether interviewers actually ask the questions on a question schedule found that deviation commonly exists, resulting in meaning being altered and comparability destroyed. It is thus more important that an inquiry be fixed in its meaning, rather than its wording, an objective that can be accomplished best by an investigator with a good understanding of the scope and objectives of the project, good language skills, and a checklist for guiding study parameters.

I concur with the opinion that a questionnaire is a poor substitute for an experienced, trained professional, whose knowledge of the subject and internalized methods comprise the best guides to productive discussions with First Nations’ members. Rather than adhering, or not, to a script, the experienced interviewer uses more dynamic methods to keep Aboriginal respondents engaged in the systematic process, and ultimately more supportive of the project objectives. Such methods include the use of structured dialogue to produce the contextual basis for interpreting traditional land use data. Along with this approach, the research assumptions of the investigator are set out in a methodology report that comprises a section of the final TLUS report.

---

A checklist of topics to be addressed is accompanied by application of techniques designed to build up a set of shared assumptions, specific to the study. Some of these techniques are as follows:

- gaining first an understanding of the expected parameters of an individual’s knowledge, both in terms of geographical extent and cultural capacity;
- obtaining knowledge of the names and locations of both indigenous and local toponyms (place names) that Aboriginal consultants will use to associate land and resource use data within the study area;
- confirming use of vocabulary and indigenous terminology as part of the interview process to develop a shared understanding of meaning;
- directing and refocusing the structure and scope of the subject matter to correspond with the comfort level of the respondent’s personal knowledge and the structural pattern of the experience of the individual;
- employing a checklist to confirm comprehensiveness;
- asking appropriate questions appropriately, based on the ability and/or style of the community member, including the respondent’s fluency in English;
- allowing time for illustrative stories and anecdotes;
- confirming and cross-checking information by restructuring questions, for not all questions mean the same thing to all respondents;
- monitoring and discussing changes of land and resource use over time to distinguish personal knowledge from family history;
- using previously-elicited information appropriately to prompt for confirmation or refutation; and, importantly,
- knowing when a question has not been understood.

In short, interviews that are conducted by experienced professionals are more flexible and allow the investigator to draw out more fully a particular individual’s knowledge of land and resource use, and develop an awareness of the integration of that knowledge within a particular cultural framework, the two aspects that together comprise contextualized TLU data.

Through repeated reformulations of questions and responses, the investigator and the respondent together strive to arrive at meaning and fulfill the objectives of the project—the production of TLU data. Inasmuch as we also propose tape-recording, the investigators can review interviews and notes made during the interviews and conduct follow-up interviews, as necessary, thereby ensuring coverage of all required topics. A checklist, not a questionnaire, is thus the only instrument that we will need to achieve the project objectives.

B. Experience of investigators:

**BRFN Consultants**
Both Randy Bouchard and I have been conducting interviews with Aboriginal people for 40 years (in Randy’s case, 45 years). I append CVs setting out some of the many
reports we have produced. Much of this research has focused on the elicitation of
traditional land use data, including place names and site use, along with settlement
and resource use patterns. In the decade of the 1970s, when we lived about eight
months of each year on Indian Reserves while interviewing and recording elders’
knowledge, the topic that we now call “traditional land use” was called
“ethnoscience” and “land use and occupancy”. Our work in this area continued in the
1980s when government and industry began including such information in
archaeological assessments. In the early 1990s, after we introduced the American
concept of “Traditional Cultural Properties” to BC’s Heritage Conservation Branch,
we helped develop the provincial guidelines for what are now called Traditional Land
Use Studies. As well, we created the ethnographic site-type typology to be used in
categorizing culturally-significant places, and undertook the pilot study among the
Ditidaht First Nation to test its application. Ultimately, on behalf of BC’s Ministry of
Forests, ourselves and the accounting firm, Deloitte Touche, carried out in 1997 the
formal review and critical evaluation of the methods and standards that had been used
by First Nations and their consultants in the initial $30 million that the province spent
on the Traditional Use Sites program, and made recommendations for the much
needed improvement of project methods and deliverables.

C. Use of culturally-appropriate methods

Culturally-grounded norms of behaviour guide how individuals—both investigator
and respondent—enter the research situation, decide what is appropriate to say, and
provide the basis for their understanding of what is said. Asking questions is not the
usual method for the intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge in
traditional Aboriginal societies. This is particularly the case in areas of the Province
considered culturally-conservative, i.e., where members have retained use of the
indigenous language, where a selection of traditional activities continue, and where
opinions and beliefs about the environment reflect a world view distinct from that of
most residents of the province.² Some elders consider it rude and off-putting to be
examined in the direct and repetitive manner that a questionnaire provides. Such
“rudeness” is expected of outsiders and generally accommodated, albeit grudgingly.
Yet other community members tire quickly from the repetition of questions or
sometimes become dispirited by their negative responses to a particular set of
mandatory questions, with the effect that the process undermines the individual’s self-
confidence, and leads to an early termination of the interview.

The use of the approach set out above allows room for the telling of stories and
anecdotes, a social environment that is more akin to traditional information exchange,
despite being created by the investigator for the purpose of data collection. Such

² For a discussion of the integration of practice and belief in culturally-conservative individuals, see
discussions provide context-grounding for information focused on an individual's pattern of land and resource use.

3) The last few bullets in appendix B of the TUS agreement relate to possible follow-up on queries by BC Hydro staff, possible provision of supplementary information and potential desire for ground truthing. Although uncertain at this time could these points be included in the workplan as potential tasks?

Before making the PDF, I included the follow-up, supplemental information and ground-truthing in the work to be included in the BRFN's commitments.
Thank you Dorothy for your response to my queries, your comments add considerable clarity to the work plan. Specifically in regard to the value of a detailed questionnaire, your arguments on the benefits of a flexible dialogue as opposed to a rigid question process are very persuasive. On rethinking the issue I understand and concur with your approach.

I hope your trip to site and initiation of meetings with elders and respondents goes well. I gather it may be snowing up there but clearing toward the end of the week.

Hugh

Hugh Smith

Environmental Assessment

Site C Project

8th Floor 333 Dunsmuir St.

Vancouver, BC

(phone numbers removed)

This e-mail (including any attachments) is confidential. If you receive this email in error, please notify us immediately by telephone or return email, and delete this e-mail and destroy any copies. Thank you.

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Dorothy Kennedy

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<phone numbers removed>

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APPENDIX 3
PROGRESS REPORT:
Traditional Land Use Study
Submitted on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nation

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy
12/1/2010
The following report summarizes work completed to date on the Blueberry River First Nation's (BRFN's) Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS), further to this First Nation's Agreement with BC Hydro. Progress of the Project's tasks and deliverables conforms with the Bouchard & Kennedy workplan submitted 30 September 2010.

Component No. 1: Community Engagement and Communication; and No. 3: Community Interviews

The discussion that follows indicates clearly the need for flexibility in the Project workplan. Completion of tasks in this component was impacted strongly by the occurrence of unforeseen community events and certain cultural mores of today's generation of BRFN elders.

BRFN appointed Herbie Apsassin as liaison person for this TLUS project. His duties were to arrange scheduling and introduce consultants Dr. Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard to BRFN members.

BRFN administration decided that the community would be best informed of the TLUS project objectives by Kennedy and Bouchard hosting a lunch with BRFN elders, rather than meeting with Chief and Council as had been initially proposed in the workplan. However, the tragic death of a BRFN member resulted in our planned first trip to Blueberry being postponed for a week. Once flights were rescheduled, we arranged with the appointed liaison person to hire cooks for the lunch and inform BRFN elders of the event to occur at the BRFN Administrative Center on 24 October 2010. We had prepared notes for a presentation, introducing ourselves and the project objectives during lunch. But unfortunately, immediately upon arriving at the Administrative Center, we found out that the liaison person had not been made aware that the day selected for the lunch conflicted with the meeting the RCMP were having with BRFN members to discuss the recent tragic death of one of their members. In such a small and tight-knit community, events like this affect all members. Thus it became very apparent that the planned presentation would be inappropriate, especially concerning the fact that this was a community where we were not known, other than to one or two Councillors who knew of some archival research we had undertaken on BRFN's behalf in 2003. Moreover, a sign on the meeting room misguidedly announced a planned meeting concerning "BC Hydro's TUS."

Nevertheless, after a lunch attended by 24 individuals and discussions with several of those present, we arranged to discuss the Project and to begin interviews with three BRFN elders who were there and were willing to talk with us, despite the unfortunate situation we had come upon. Several other elders listened to our discussion and to our explanation of the Project's objectives and, importantly, our relationship to the BRFN Chief and Council and to BC Hydro.

As an aside, we would point out that the BRFN elders were initially confused about our role. This confusion was based not on the fact that we were speaking English; indeed, language was not a barrier, even though we had anticipated that it might be. Rather, it immediately became clear that the elders seemed to want a forum to voice their strongly-felt concerns not only with BC Hydro's already-constructed dams in that region but also with the proposed Site C Project. Thus there were some difficulties in focusing our discussions onto this Site C Project.

Elders have considerable influence in a community such as Blueberry River. When we arranged to do a few interviews with off-Reserve members in a meeting room the next day at our hotel in Fort St. John, it appears that the elders had contacted one another and also members of their respective families. We ended up hosting 16 BRFN members for lunch at the hotel. They insisted
on common discussions with about 12 of these people, with approximately half of them contributing to these discussions.

Interviews with BRFN members the next day resulted in our hosting 23 people for lunch at the Blueberry Administration Offices, with 12 people listening in on our interviews. We arranged for one of those present, a fluent speaker of the Beaver language, one of the two indigenous languages spoken in this community, to explain to this group of elders the terms of our contract with the First Nation and the objectives of the project: that our Agreement with BRFN Chief and Council specifies that we undertake individual interviews--our usual practice--and that now we had heard from a number of elders, we would return to the community in a few weeks to continue our interviews on a private, one-to-one basis, either in the individual's home, or in the Blueberry Administration Offices.

The workplan identified several topics to be discussed at the initial kick-off meeting. These are listed below, along with a note on the results of subsequent discussions:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Discussion Topic Noted in Workplan</th>
<th>Progress</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) directions from Chief and Council concerning the communications process with BRFN</td>
<td>Report to Shakir Alwarid;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Met informally with Chief Joe Apsassin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) data collection and exchange protocols, including use of a community liaison assistant and interpreter;</td>
<td>Herbie Apsassin assigned to consultants as liaison person;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>MaryAnne Adekat acted as interpreter, as required</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memo given to liaison worker and interpreter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Newsletter prepared by 00000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) confidentiality issues or requirements;</td>
<td>None raised</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Participation in Consultative Committee with BC Hydro;</td>
<td>Response document sent to Hugh Smith re: not using questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) identification of community members for participation in TLUS (availability of membership lists of on/off Reserve members);</td>
<td>Obtained list of on-Reserve members;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Herbie Apsassin hired to identify people to be interviewed and do scheduling of those individuals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) the availability of cultural and historical information in the possession of the BRFN;</td>
<td>One BRFN member raised concerns about how the data were to be used; however, after the Terms of Reference were explained to him, the interview proceeded and was completed without problems.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) scheduling of on-going verbal and/or written reports to community members;</td>
<td>No firm date set for next field trip; dependent upon community events early in 2011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) internal review process;</td>
<td>Information confirmed with individuals in follow-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
up visits;
Reports to be reviewed for administration under the direction of Shakir Alwarid

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>9) compilation of information for community archives.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical materials scanned to PDF files and distributed to a couple of interested people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While interviews had not been planned to begin immediately, the workplan needed to be altered to accommodate the community's evolving understanding of the Project. We finished the afternoon with interviews of three BRFN elders having knowledge of the Project area.

These initial scoping sessions provided us with a greater understanding of the community. They allowed us to make a preliminary assessment of several factors that assisted the later individual interviews:

- nature of collective identity of the Blueberry River people viz a viz neighbouring First Nations;
- social and political divisions within the First Nation;
- the areas used commonly and frequently by BRFN members;
- use of local geographical names;
- state of language use;
- broad environmental concerns of the community;
- relationship between traplines and land use;
- use of country foods in the diet

Prior to the second field trip, we requested that the liaison person review carefully with us the Project objectives, as set out in a "Memo to BRFN members," so that the BRFN members being interviewed would better understand the project objectives and methodology. And we asked the liaison person to sign an Agreement which set out his duties concerning the scheduling of more interviews when we returned to the community. Additionally,

We undertook our second field trip between 17-23 November 2010 and were able to conduct individual interviews under more controlled conditions. The Project area used interviews focused along both banks of the Peace River, and the river itself, from approximately Taylor upstream to Hudson Hope. This area of concentration had been determined during the scoping sessions as comprising part of the common area of BRFN members' land use, at least in contemporary times. A set of 1:50,000 maps for all of traditional Beaver territory was on hand, and consulted when necessary for land use beyond the area identified in the scoping sessions. People preferred looking at the 1:250,000 maps in order to have greater context for the section of the Peace River of concern to the Site C project.

Whenever BRFN members being interviewed indicated that they had knowledge and/or personal experience of the Site C project area, we provided each interviewee with pertinent topographical maps and had them indicate their hunting, trapping, fishing, berry-picking etc. sites on these maps. Site-specific information predominated these discussions, and most interviewees also offered information learned from their own elders and through their own practices. The archival research (see component No. 2 report) provided a cross-check of the land use data.
Interviews were tape-recorded. Medicinal plants in possession of BRFN members that were shown to the consultants were described and photographed for identification.

BRFN members also provided an accounting of the numbers of game animals harvested annually, including animals taken in the project area.

**Component No. 2: Archival Research**

Archival research was undertaken by Randy Bouchard and Stacey Klinzman, under Bouchard's direction. A report on Archival Research will be provided to the BRFN at the end of December 2010. In sum, work completed to date includes:

- Prepared terms of reference setting out types of information to be compiled, along with the geographical scope of such data;
- Used computer online databases at archives/libraries, in addition to bibliographies and secondary works to locate primary and secondary reference information;
- Followed up leads by phone and email and ordered pertinent documents;
- Organized materials on hand and began compilation of document matrix;
- Undertook research of collections held by the following institutions, either in person or online:

  - British Columbia Archives, Victoria (trapline files)
  - University of Victoria McPherson Library
  - BC Archaeology Branch, Victoria
  - University of British Columbia Library and Special Collections (Dr. Robin Ridington's 1960s fieldnotes with Blueberry and other First Nations)
  - British Columbia Legislative Library (transcripts re: 1982 Site C hearings)
  - Federal Court Registry, Vancouver: documents, reports, testimony submitted in *Joseph Apsassin/Blueberry Band et al. v. Canada*
  - Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary
  - National Energy Board Library, Calgary
  - Library and Archives Canada (online search)
  - Indian and Northern Affairs Library, Ottawa (1979 pipeline hearing transcripts)
  - INAC Central Registry files (already on-hand documents)
  - Fort St. John Public Library (vertical file of historical documents)
  - North Peace Museum and Archives, Fort St. John (local histories etc.)
  - Dawson Creek Public Library (online search)

- scanned documents and created searchable PDF files
Thank you Dorothy, I have received the report and will read it shortly. I am back at work and happy to be here.

Hugh

-----Original Message-----
From: Dorothy Kennedy
Sent: December 7, 2010 4:24 PM
To: Smith, Hugh
Subject: RE: Progress report

This e-mail (including any attachments) is confidential. If you receive this email in error, please notify us immediately by telephone or return email, and delete this e-mail and destroy any copies. Thank you.
Thank you Dorothy, I have read your report and have no questions, I agree that there is a need to be flexible in undertaking tasks of this nature and your schedule of activities reflects this need. Despite scheduling issues you appear to be off to a good start on interviews.

Hugh Smith

Environmental Assessment

Site C Project

8th Floor 333 Dunsmuir St.

Vancouver, BC

<phone numbers removed>
Thank you Dorothy

Hugh

Hugh Smith

Site C Project

8th Floor 333 Dunsmuir St.

Vancouver, BC

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From: Dorothy Kennedy
Sent: 2010, December 31 11:30 AM
To: Smith, Hugh
Cc: ‘Shakir Alwarid’
Subject: Progress Report re: Archival Research
Importance: High

Happy New Year, Hugh and Shakir:

Appended please find a Progress Report concerning the archival work we have undertaken on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nation for their TLUS relating to BC Hydro’s Site C Clean Energy Project. This report comprises the 31 December deliverable, as set out in the Nation’s contract with BC Hydro.

Best regards,

Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Happy New Year, Hugh and Shakir:

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Canada V8S 1B5

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Thank you.
PROGRESS REPORT:
TLUS ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

Submitted on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nation

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy
12/31/2010
This Progress Report summarizes the archival research undertaken to date by Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants (BKRC) for the Blueberry River First Nation’s (BRFN’s) Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS), further to this First Nation’s Agreement with BC Hydro, and in conformity with the Bouchard & Kennedy work plan submitted 30 September 2010.

The following account of progress corresponds to the numbered steps set out in the work plan.

Step 1:
In accord with the work plan, archival research began with Kennedy’s preparation of terms of reference setting out types of information to be compiled, along with the geographical scope of such data. This guide was given to Stacey Klinzman to direct her research in Calgary and her review of materials on hand in the BKRC/BC Indian Language Project (BCILP) Archives and Research Library in Victoria.

Step 2:
Where possible, Bouchard and Klinzman conducted online computer searches of databases at archives/libraries, noting sources to be reviewed. They also consulted secondary works to locate primary and secondary reference information, and collated bibliographies relating to the study area.

On an ongoing basis, Bouchard analyzed data gaps, contacted archivists and librarians for additional information on availability and access of materials, and conducted new searches.

Step 3:
BKRC carried out archival research for BRFN’s TLUS between October-December 2010, assisted by Stacey Klinzman who worked under Randy Bouchard and/or Dorothy Kennedy’s direction. This research was undertaken at the BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library in Victoria and at a number of archival and library facilities elsewhere in Victoria, and in Vancouver, Fort St. John and Calgary. Additionally, contact with staff at institutions in Dawson Creek as well as Hull, Quebec, and Ottawa, Ontario was carried out through telephone, email and online communications.

Following is a listing of the archival/library facilities where Bouchard and Klinzman undertook research between October-December 2010, together with a brief description of some specific materials that were reviewed at each facility.

**BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library, Victoria.**
Reviewed and collated materials already on file that have been gathered over many years in connection with various projects; these materials include the following:

- Trapline registration files and trapline overview maps that relate to the present study region that have been previously obtained from the BC Archives in Victoria;

- A partial copy of anthropologist Dr. Robin Ridington’s typescripted 1965-1967 anthropological fieldnotes from the research he and his wife, anthropologist Dr. Antonia Ridington, undertook among Beaver-speaking and Cree-speaking First Nations in the
Fort St. John area—including the Blueberry River First Nation people; this copy of these typescripted fieldnotes was previously obtained from the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver (see also subsequent research undertaken at UBC Library concerning these fieldnotes, discussed below);

- An unpublished 1966 typescript, “Beaver Tales” (in English translation) compiled by Robin Ridington and Antonia Ridington during the time they were conducting fieldwork in the Fort St. John area;

- A copy of Robin Ridington’s 1968 doctoral dissertation from Harvard entitled “The Environmental Context of Beaver Indian Behavior” that was previously obtained from The Harvard University Archives in Cambridge, Massachusetts;

- A copy of the 1981 anthropology dissertation from Harvard University, “The Beaver Indian Prophet Dance and Related Movements Among North American Indians” by Antonia Mills (formerly Antonia Ridington);


- A number of Robin Ridington’s other publications (articles and books) relating to the Beaver-speaking and Cree-speaking First Nations in the Fort St. John area, including the Blueberry First Nation people;

- A comprehensive 1980 report prepared for Indian Affairs under the auspices of the Union of BC Indian Chiefs and entitled “Final Submission on the Northeast B.C. Land Use and Occupancy Study,” including chapters by anthropologist Hugh Brody and an Appendix dated 1979 with the title “Indian Land Use and Occupancy in the Peace River Country of Northern British Columbia” by biologist Dr. Martin Weinstein that includes a description and analysis of traditional land use by the Blueberry First Nation within the present study region, as documented and mapped in 1978-1979; Hugh Brody’s 1981 publication, Maps and Dreams: Indians and the British Columbia Frontier—a copy of which is held by the BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library and has also been reviewed for the present project—is based in part on the traditional land-use mapping undertaken with First Nations in the Fort St. John region (including the Blueberry people) that was part of this 1980 “Northeast B.C. Land Use and Occupancy Study”;

- Excerpts from Fort St. John journals of the 1820’s through the 1890’s that had previously been obtained from the Hudson’s Bay Company Archives in Winnipeg;
• Excerpts of F.W. Beatton’s 1899-1928 journals from the HBC Post at Fort St. John, obtained previously from the BC Archives in Victoria;

• Previously-obtained 1987, 1993 and 1995 Reasons for Judgement in the Federal Court of Canada litigation identified as Joseph Apsassin/Blueberry Band et al. v. Canada. The present-day Blueberry River First Nation Chief, Joseph Apsassin, was the lead plaintiff in this lawsuit which included discussions of traditional land use and occupancy pursuits of the Blueberry people within the present study region (see also the discussion below of the trial transcripts from this litigation which were reviewed at the Federal Court Registry, Vancouver);

• Previously-obtained volumes of transcripts of the 1979 Hearings in northern British Columbia concerning the Northern Pipeline Agency’s proposed Alaska Highway Gas pipeline, including testimony by Blueberry Reserve members and by their consultants Hugh Brody and Martin Weinstein relating to Blueberry River First Nation traditional land use and occupancy within the present study region, as of 1978-1979 (see also the additional materials from these same Hearings obtained from the Indian and Northern Affairs Library in Hull, Quebec, discussed below); also reviewed was a previously-obtained 1980 published report by Winston Mair concerning these Hearings, entitled Forgotten Land, Forgotten People;

• Microfilmed Indian Affairs Central Registry files (RG 10) from Ottawa that pertain to the Fort St. John area; printouts of these materials had been obtained previously from the BC Archives in Victoria;

• Indian Affairs documents as well as materials from other sources that relate to the establishment of the Blueberry Indian Reserves and were obtained by Bouchard and Kennedy in 2003 on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nation.

British Columbia Archives, Victoria.
Reviewed trapline registration files (GR 1085) and trapline overview maps that relate to the present study region but had not already obtained in previous years’ research. Created digital photograph of map showing locations of first registered traplines (used during initial interviews with BRFN members). Remaining to be done is the preparation and submission of a Research Agreement document with BC Archives for trapline files not yet “opened” for review.

Legislative Library, Victoria.
Reviewed and photocopied relevant portions of transcripts of the 1982 Hearings relating to BC Hydro’s Application to the BC Utilities Commission for an Energy Project Certificate for the Peace River Site C Generation/Transmission Project. These Hearings include testimony relating to traditional land use and occupancy within the present study region, provided both by Blueberry River First Nation members and also by their consultants, Hugh Brody and Martin Weinstein. PDF copies of all photocopies were made for easy review and searching.
University of Victoria, McPherson Library.

Reviewed online catalogues and borrowed local histories relating to the present study region. Bouchard began review of materials for information of use to Site C project.

BC Archaeology Branch, Victoria.

Signed an Archaeological Information Sharing Agreement with the BC Archaeology Branch and a Business Registration Agreement with the BC Government in order to obtain online access to digital copies of archaeological and related data (e.g. permit reports etc.) from the present study region that is held by the Archaeology Branch in Victoria. Remaining to be done is the online review of these materials, searching for any relevant ethnographic and ethnohistoric information contained within the archaeological site forms and permit reports.

Federal Court Registry, Vancouver.

Reviewed and photocopied relevant portions of trial transcripts and exhibits compiled during the 1987 Joseph Apsassin/Blueberry Band et al. v. Canada litigation (discussed above). After Bouchard had located the originals of these materials, the Courts Administration Service in Ottawa couriered these transcripts, for BKRC review, to the Federal Court Registry in Vancouver. Evidence presented at this trial included testimony relating to traditional land use and occupancy that was provided both by Blueberry River First Nation members and also by their expert witness, Hugh Brody. PDF copies of all photocopies were made for easy review and searching.

Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library, Vancouver.

Cross-checked the partial copy already on file in the BKRC/BCILP Archives of Robin Ridington’s typescripted 1965-1967 anthropological field notes from his research among Beaver-speaking and Cree-speaking First Nations in the Fort St. John area (including the Blueberry people) with the partial copy that had previously been obtained from the Special Collections Division of the University of British Columbia Library; visited UBC, obtained photocopies of the remaining pages of these typescripted field notes, and produced PDF copy.

North Peace Museum and Archives, Fort St. John.

Reviewed and photocopied extensive collection of unpublished and published materials relating primarily to local histories and early explorations of this region.

Fort St. John Public Library.

Reviewed local history collection at the Fort St. John Public Library, including vertical files of historical documents, as well as subject indices to issues discussed in the local newspaper, the Alaska Highway News, for the years between the 1940s-1970s.
Dawson Creek Municipal Public Library.

Obtained, through online searching, a copy of the descriptive index to, and copies of selected documents from, the comprehensive D.H. Calverly Collection relating to local history materials held by the Dawson Creek Municipal Public Library. Noted materials for further review.

Glenbow Museum and Archives, Calgary.

Reviewed Lesser Slave Lake Indian Agency records for the years 1911-1937, as well as Inspector of Indian Agencies records for the Alberta Agency, 1932-1936, which include the Fort St. John area (prior to 1937, the Fort St. John area First Nations were administered from Alberta, through the Lesser Slave Lake Indian Agency); photocopied selected documents from these two collections that complement similar documents previously photocopied from these same sources and are already on file with the BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library, Victoria.

Reviewed and photocopied selected documents relating to the Fort St. John area from the local history collection compiled in 1955-1956 by Glenbow employees Margaret and Isabel Loggie. Among the documents photocopied is a typescripted 1956 interview with old Joseph Apsassin, from whom the present-day generations of the extended Apsassin family among the Blueberry First Nation are descended.

National Energy Board Library, Calgary.

Initiated contact with NRB archivist and located relevant collection. Reviewed exhibits and transcripts of testimony from the 1991 Hearings relating to Westcoast Energy’s application to the National Energy Board to build the Adsett Pipeline northwest from Fort St. John; exhibits and transcripts were photocopied that complement similar documents from this same source that are already on file with the BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library. Photocopies were made into PDF files for easy searching.

University of Calgary.


Indian and Northern Affairs Library, Hull, Quebec.

Email and telephone communications with INAC Library staff resulted in their providing photocopies of additional volumes of the 1979 Alaska Highway Gas Pipeline Hearings in the vicinity of the present study region that were not already on file with the BKRC/BCILP Archives and Research Library. In return, BKRC provided them with volumes not held by the INAC library.
Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

Conducted online search for Indian Affairs documents pertaining to First Nations in the Fort St. John area that are held by Library and Archives Canada but have not yet been microfilmed and thus are not yet available at the BC Archives in Victoria. Files remain to be examined.

**Step 4: Processing archival data**
- Photocopies of the more significant collections have been made into PDF files for easier review;
- Court documents and testimony have been read and relevant materials noted;
- Began assessment of primary and secondary documentary evidence for reliability;
- Began coding information, summarizing documents retrieved, noting appropriately the parts of a document;
- began arrangement of documents in chronological order to assist analysis of data gaps;
- began compilation of bibliographic matrix entries for materials ordered.

**Step 5: Distribution of Archival Material**
- copied selected archival documents for BRFN members;
- provided INAC library in Hull, Quebec with copies of missing volumes of 1979 Alaska Gas Pipeline hearings found during archival search.

**Summary**

BKRC research completed to date adds significantly to materials previously identified in Arcas Consulting Archaeologists’ “First Nation’s Traditional Use and Traditional Ecological Knowledge Summary” report prepared in 2002 for BC Hydro, as part of the Peace Water Use Plan.

Among the results of Bouchard & Kennedy’s research to date is a full record of the Blueberry River First Nation’s participation in earlier hearings—in 1979 and 1982, and in the 1987 Apsassin litigation—relating to potential resource development in the present study region of the Peace River. Contained in these materials is information of direct relevance to the present BRFN TLUS study.

A thorough but, to date, unsuccessful search has also been made by BKRC for the original land use and occupancy maps that complemented BRFN testimony given during these 1979 and 1982 hearings and this 1987 litigation. However, several of these maps have been reproduced in reports that have been obtained, and also in Hugh Brody’s 1981 book, *Maps and Dreams*.

Research to date has resulted in an extensive collection of local histories relating to non-Aboriginal settlement of the Peace River district. While BKRC has obtained the significant scholarly publications relating to the early fur traders’ contact between Beaver/Cree people, some of the underlying primary materials still need to be ordered for review.

Additional work to be undertaken early 2011 will include the following: review historical maps held by the BC Land Title and Survey Authority and by the BC Archives; further review of
traplines files, oral history collection, and historic photographs at the BC Archives; review archaeological reports for their inclusion of ethnographic and site use data; order and review HBC post journals and correspondence; review Library and Archives Canada identified as containing potentially relevant information; conduct research at identified institutions in Edmonton and Dawson Creek.
Hi Dorothy:

Sorry about the confusion. Hugh has retired, but will continue to do work for us on a part time consulting basis after a short break.

In the meantime, please send me your updates and deliverable.

Thanks!

Deb

---

Hello Debbie:

Would you please tell me if the Site C Project Officer has changed? I tried to contact Hugh Smith to inform him that my Progress Report will be submitted before the end of the month, but my email bounced back and his telephone number does not appear to be operational.

Regards,
Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Debbie and Shakir:

Please find enclosed a brief report on the progress of the BRFN’s TLUS project, January – April 2011. If you have any questions, I’ll be pleased to respond. We are heading back to Fort St. John on 22 May for another week of interviews.

Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
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Hi Dorothy:

Thanks very much for the progress report. We will contact you with any questions once we have a chance to review.

Cheers,

Deb.

---

Debbie and Shakir:

Please find enclosed a brief report on the progress of the BRFN’s TLUS project, January – April 2011. If you have any questions, I’ll be pleased to respond. We are heading back to Fort St. John on 22 May for another week of interviews.

Dorothy Kennedy

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PROGRESS REPORT
No. 2: Blueberry River First Nations
Traditional Land Use Study, Site C Area

Submitted to BC Hydro on behalf of the Blueberry River First Nations

Dr. Dorothy Kennedy
4/30/2011
This Progress Report summarizes work undertaken between 1 December 2010 and 30 April 2011 relating to the Blueberry River First Nations (BRFN's) Traditional Land Use Study (TLUS), Site C area, further to this First Nation's Agreement with BC Hydro (BCH). Progress of the Project's tasks and deliverables conforms, to the extent practicable, with the Bouchard & Kennedy workplan submitted to BCH on 30 September 2010.

The discussion that follows indicates, again, the necessity for flexibility in the Project workplan; this same point was also made in our 1 December 2010 Progress Report for BRFN's Site C TLUS, at page 1.

In mid-December 2010, Randy Bouchard made another trip to Vancouver to complete his review of the voluminous 1987 Joseph Apsassin/Blueberry Band et al v. Canada litigation transcripts that had been sent from Ottawa to the Federal Court Registry in Vancouver. Additional photocopies were obtained, made into searchable PDF's, and, together with the previously-obtained and PDF’d Apsassin litigation documents (see page 4 of the 31 December 2010 TLUS Archival Research report), these electronic materials were searched using key words, and the results of each search were noted.

From late December 2010 through late January 2011, transcripts were made of Dorothy Kennedy’s and Randy Bouchard’s interviews of BRFN community members that had been made in October and November 2010 at Blueberry and Fort St. John.

Beginning in January 2011 and continuing through April 2011, Sharon Keen assisted Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants with archival research in Victoria pertaining to the Site C study area. Ms. Keen, an archaeologist and historian with over 30 years of experience, has an M.A. in anthropology and has worked as a researcher for Bouchard & Kennedy on a variety of projects over the past 15 years. Sharon Keen’s archival research for the present project focussed on historical land records and surveyors’ reports held in Victoria at the Land Title & Survey Authority of British Columbia, the BC Archives and the Legislative Library. These materials provide data about the existence of trails and structures within the study area, as well as information relating to historic land use and occupancy by First Nations.

No additional field interviews were undertaken by Kennedy & Bouchard with BRFN members in December 2010 or January 2011. It had been planned that interviewing would resume in the first week of February 2010, but on the same day we arrived in Fort St. John to begin this fieldwork, which was the 31st of January 2011, Kennedy came down with a bad flu and was incapacitated for three days. Bouchard did not want to risk the chance of spreading this flu to those who were going to be interviewed, so instead did archival work for three days in Dawson Creek, until coming down with the flu, himself, at which time we cut our research trip short and returned to Victoria.

We returned to Blueberry during the week of February 21-26, 2011 and undertook a number of additional interviews with BRFN members. Herbie Apsassin acted as liaison person for Cree members of the BRFN, and Marianne Adekat acted as liaison person for the BRFN’s Beaver members, and also acted as a Beaver translator, when this was necessary. Among those interviewed at this time were the BRFN Chief and one of his Councillors. As was done during the October-November 2010 BRFN interviews, personal land-use maps were made, where practicable, and attempts were made to obtain data pertaining to a harvest survey, where practicable. Also during the week of February 21-26, we met with BRFN Chief and Council, attended BC Hydro’s Site C presentation to the Blueberry community, and met BCH’s Site C team. Transcripts of our February 2011 tape-recorded interviews were prepared in March 2011.
The primary focus of BRFN Site C work done in April 2011 was on further archival research and synthesis of data recorded in the field interviews, to date. On 19 April we met with BRFN Chief and Council in Victoria and also updated both them and the BC Hydro Site C team on the progress of this Site C research, to date. At the 19 April 2011 meeting with BRFN Chief and Council, we discussed alternate ways by which the arrangements for our interviews of BRFN members could be streamlined.
Hi Shakir:

Our visit to the Blueberries made me realize that they do indeed need a Memo for distribution and their notice board explaining the project objectives and “rules of engagement.” I had initially thought that the community lunches might be a more appropriate avenue for this, but I see that a written statement is necessary. Please let me know if you have any thoughts on it. If none, I’ll ask Leonora to post it.

Please note that our fax machine is down for another day.

Any news on your front?

Dorothy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Thank you.
Thanks. I got the Chief's signature on the Contract amendments you sent... I gave to Lenora to fax to you this afternoon. If you did not get it, please call Lenora and ask her to send you a PDF of the signed amendment. As to a written explanation, I do not think anyone will read it... You should rely on your locals (Herbie and Maryanne) to explain the birds and the bees to the Berries! I am really tired and do not wish to write more.

Have a good night.
Shakir

---

On 2010-11-02, at 2:50 PM, Dorothy Kennedy wrote:

Hi Shakir:

Our visit to the Blueberries made me realize that they do indeed need a Memo for distribution and their notice board explaining the project objectives and "rules of engagement." I had initially thought that the community lunches might be a more appropriate avenue for this, but I see that a written statement is necessary. Please let me know if you have any thoughts on it. If none, I'll ask Leonora to post it.

Please note that our fax machine is down for another day.

Any news on your front?

Dorothy

---

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)

Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants

171 Bushby Street

Victoria, British Columbia

Canada V8S 1B5
Shakir:
The memo or newsletter is a required deliverable as per the BF Hydro contract with BRFN, so I’ll send the memo to Herbie and Maryann so that they might better understand things, even if the others won’t read it, as you mentioned. I’ll also be sending our two assistants a brief letter concerning what is expected of them.

Dorothy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Thank you.
Dorothy Kennedy

From: Dorothy Kennedy
Sent: November 5, 2010 3:10 PM
To: 'Randy Bouchard'
Subject: FW: Liaison Work for BRFN TLUS project
Attachments: Information Regarding Traditional Land Use Study.doc; Role of Community Liaison Workers in Completing Interviews for TLUS.doc
Importance: High

From: Dorothy Kennedy
Sent: November 4, 2010 9:02 PM
To: 'herbazant@hotmail.com'
Subject: Liaison Work for BRFN TLUS project
Importance: High

Hello, Herbie:

Attached please find two documents:

1) A Memo to BRFN members about the TLUS project objectives that you can distribute to people to help learn if they would agree to be interviewed by us;
2) An Agreement for you to read, sign and return by fax, if you wish to work on the project.

As agreed, I'll phone you at 2:30 tomorrow, Friday, at home.

Best regards,
Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Leonora, I am sending you the email I sent to Herbie, just in case it didn’t get through on his account.

Best,
Dorothy

Hello, Herbie:

Attached please find two documents:

1) A Memo to BRFN members about the TLUS project objectives that you can distribute to people to help learn if they would agree to be interviewed by us;
2) An Agreement for you to read, sign and return by fax, if you wish to work on the project.

As agreed, I’ll phone you at 2:30 tomorrow, Friday, at home.

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Thank you.
Hi Maryanne:

Further to our telephone conversation a few days ago, I am sending along a description of the TLUS project and an offer of hourly employment to assist with the interviews for this project. If you are interested, please confirm your interest in this work and your availability between the 18th and 22nd November. As I note in the appended memo, we would like Herbie to schedule enough people to be interviewed so that Randy and I are interviewing people separately, with both you and Herbie assisting.

Hello to Straton,

Dorothy Kennedy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Information Regarding Blueberry River Traditional Land Use Study

Memo to:
Members of the Blueberry River First Nation

From:
Dr. Dorothy Kennedy and Randy Bouchard, Anthropologists
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
Victoria, BC

Topic:
The BRFN and BC Hydro have agreed that a Traditional Land Use Study would assist in documenting the First Nation's traditional knowledge, use and occupancy of a section of the Peace River for the purposes of assessing the Site C Dam Clean Energy Project's potential impacts on BRFN's treaty rights, and on your ability to continue practicing section 35(1) rights and traditional activities and interests.

To fulfill the BRFN's agreement with BC Hydro, the First Nation has asked Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants to prepare a Traditional Land Use Study and report discussing BRFN traditional and contemporary use of the vicinity of the Peace River where BC Hydro proposes to build its Site C Dam and reservoir. This area extends along the Peace River from approximately Taylor upstream to the W.A.C. Bennett Dam.

We are hired by the Chief and Council of the Blueberry River First Nation. We do not work for BC Hydro. We are neither “for” nor “against” the dam—our job is to document your Aboriginal interests in the project area, working on behalf of your Nation’s Chief and Council. The Nation has asked us to do this work because we are independent consultants who specialize in preparing Traditional Land Use Studies; we have worked with BC First Nations for forty years.

The report that we will be writing will be based on documents concerning BRFN land use found during research in libraries and archives throughout Canada, and also on interviews with Blueberry River First Nation members. The focus of this research will be our documentation of how members of the BRFN use today, or used in the past, the section of the Peace River where the dam may be built and the land may be flooded.

An important part of this research will be mapping parts of the Site C Project Area where BRFN members have personally harvested resources or carried out traditional activities. This includes, but is not limited to, activities such as the following: hunting, trapping, fishing, plant and materials gathering, ceremonial use, camps, cabins, and burials. It is important that the locations of such activities be documented so that potential impacts of the Site C Dam on the Nation’s rights might be assessed. This information provided by you will complement the information we are finding in the historical documents.

If you are over 19 years of age and have knowledge of this Project Area, and wish to participate in the study, please give your name to Herbie Apsassin, or phone us at: 250-384-4544 or 250-882-8783 to schedule an interview. Our next visit to the community will be the week of November 15th. Individuals with knowledge of the Site C project area along the Peace River will be interviewed by us, one person at a time. If you are selected for an interview, you will be paid an honorarium of $50.00 per hour for the time of your interview.
Role of Community Liaison Worker(s) in Completing Interviews for TLUS

Randy Bouchard and I will be returning to the Blueberry River community on Monday, November 15th to continue our work on behalf of the Blueberry River Chief and Council, and will remain in the area for the week, leaving at noon on Friday the 19th November.

During this week, we would like to conduct individual interviews with Blueberry River First Nation members who have knowledge of BC Hydro Power Authority’s (“BCHPA”) Site C Clean Energy Project Area. The area we will be asking about extends from approximately Taylor upstream to Williston Lake. The BR First Nation’s contract with BC Hydro requires that these interviews be with one, or at the most two individuals, and that we map the individuals’ use and knowledge of the Project Area, from the river upland to roughly 10 miles on either side of the river. (There is also a small area between Dawson Creek and Chetwynd, the site of a possible transmission line, that we will be asking about, as well.)

We have suggested to the Chief and Council that we hire you and Maryann Adekat on an hourly basis to act as Community Liaison workers/ research assistants. Each will work cooperatively under my overall direction as Project Director, and perform agreed-upon tasks. I have set out below the steps that I believe will assist all of us to meet the TLUS project’s objectives.

**Step 1:** prepare a list of 20 individuals, including name and approximate age, who may have knowledge of the Project Area, along with their contact information. Since many of the elders have already contributed to this study during our initial “Elders Gatherings,” those to be interviewed should be people whom we have not yet interviewed, and be over 19 years old. (Leonora has a list of those who attended the elders’ gatherings; we are looking for new people to contribute.) Please divide the list of members into those living on/ off Reserve, so that scheduling can be arranged on different days for the Blueberry Reserve and for the Quality Inn in Fort St. John.

This completed task is allotted 2 hours.

**Step 2:** contact these 20 people to see if they agree to be interviewed by us for the BRFN’s TLUS project. Make a note of their response on the list you have prepared (we need to know the names of those who don’t want to participate, as well as those who do consent to an interview). Please tell each person about the project, as noted in the enclosed Memo which explains the project objectives. Each person interviewed will receive $50.00 per hour for the interview time. For those who will be interviewed, find out if they are available the week of the 15th November – 19th (we leave mid-day on the Friday) and what time (morning or afternoon) is best for them. Schedule the Blueberry Reserve interviews first, for the beginning of the week, leaving the Fort St. John people to the latter part of the week. If we start by asking people for an hour of their time to do the interview, we can arrange a follow-up if it is not completed in that time. Remember to leave a bit of time between interviews to get set up for the next one.

We would like to receive from you an email or telephone call on Tuesday, 9th November, updating us on how this work is progressing, the scheduling arrangements, and advising us of any problems encountered.

This completed task is allotted 5 hours.
Step 3: Fax us the list (250-384-2502) and arrange with us a good time to discuss the final list by phone on Thursday, 11 November (250-384-4544). We realize that possibly not all of the 20 will necessarily want to be interviewed, and there may be some we don’t wish to include, and there will likely be some overlap with the list of names suggested by Maryann. But let’s try for 20.

This completed task is allotted 1 hour.

Step 4: We would like you to work with one of us during the interviews conducted on the Blueberry Reserve to help with the mapping of places in the Site C Dam project area that are identified by the person being interviewed. Ideally, there will be enough people for Randy and I to do separate interviews, with you and Maryann helping one or the other of us.

The number of hours allotted to this task will depend on the actual number of interviews you assist with.

Herbie, we are offering you $50.00 per hour for this work, as set out above. The number of hours allotted to each step should be sufficient to complete the task fully and accurately. These steps are necessary for the TLUS work to be done in accordance with the methodology set out in the BRFN’s legal contract with BC Hydro, and in the contract we signed with the Band. If you’d like to participate in this work, please indicate your agreement to these terms by affixing your signature below and returning this agreement to us by fax (250-384-2502).

After our last visit to the Blueberry River community, Randy and I recognized the need for greater co-ordination and more clarity of the project objectives. Please know that we both believe that your assistance will be helpful to the Band and to us in meeting the project goals.

(Dr.) Dorothy Kennedy
TLUS Project Director
4 November 2010

X

Herbie Apsassin, BRFN Community Liaison/ Research Assistant
31 October 2010

Chief Joe Apsassin and Council

c/o Shakir Alwarid
Blueberry River First Nation
Buick Creek, BC

Re: BRFN Traditional Land Use Study for Site C Project Area

Dear Chief Apsassin and Blueberry River Council:

We are writing to request a contract amendment concerning the Traditional Land Use Study that we are undertaking on your behalf relating to the proposed Site C Dam project area.

This amendment is necessary because we were unable to use our agreed-upon methodology during our recent visit to the Reserve for the purpose of undertaking interviews with individuals possessing knowledge of BC Hydro’s proposed Site C Project Area. It had been earlier agreed that we would conduct interviews with one, or at most two, people at a time, and that these individuals would be paid an honorarium for the interview, a methodology also agreed upon in the Blueberry River First Nation’s contract with BC Hydro. A community liaison person was to assist in arranging such interviews.

It is unfortunate that this methodology had not been made clear to the community. Instead, we were met by large groups of elders, only a few of whom contributed to the project objectives, yet we were obliged to pay an attendance honorarium to each one present, some on two consecutive days. This cost the project $4,200.00. Additionally, the community liaison person cost $1,500.00. Thus, the total amount of attendance fees paid out in cash for these three meetings was $5,700.00. We request that an amendment be made to cover this unexpected expenditure.

As well, we paid a total of $860.00 for three days of community lunches. We will absorb the cost of these community meals (which were very tasty)—two on the Reserve and one in Fort St. John.

We would like to return to Blueberry River 15th November and carry out interviews as per our contract. To better meet the project objectives, we propose that the community liaison work be done under our direction and that the individuals be accountable to us. We would like to have two individuals, each of whom will work with either myself or Randy Bouchard, as both of us will be
conducting interviews individually. Each liaison person’s job will be to work with us in deciding who should be interviewed, and to assist during the interviews and mapping that Randy and I will each be undertaking. These individuals will be paid $50.00 per hour for the time they are present at the interviews and for an hour or so a day to arrange meetings. Any additional time will need to be authorized.

We believe that Herbie Apsassin has now developed a better understanding of the project needs and should continue as a liaison person. We would also like to hire Maryann Adekat on the same understanding, particularly since Maryann is a speaker of one of the indigenous languages spoken at Blueberry. She has expressed an interest in doing this work and did some translating for us at our community meeting on the Reserve this past Thursday.

It is also our proposal that individuals who are interviewed receive an “interview honorarium” of $50.00 per hour for the time of the interview.

Please know that the archival research being done for this project is progressing well and that we will be able to compile a strong statement of Blueberry River First Nation rights and title interests in the Site C project area. A progress report on the work to date will be submitted following the proposed mid-November interview work.

If you are in agreement with this approach, please indicate your approval of the $5,700.00 contract amendment by affixing your signature in the space provided below.

Randy and I wish to provide you with the best possible report for the funds that you have been provided by the Hydro project, and look forward to a productive relationship with your Nation.

Sincerely yours,

(Dr.) Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Project Director, Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants

<signature removed>

Chief, Joseph Apsassin
### SCHEDULE "C" - CATEGORIES OF TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE, USE AND OCCUPANCY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wildlife</th>
<th>Location/Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moose</td>
<td>✔ Cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>✔ Abandoned Cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black bear</td>
<td>✔ Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>✔ Tent Cabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muskrat</td>
<td>✔ Lean to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>✔ Cache site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>✔ Construction Logs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geese</td>
<td>✔ Specialty Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grebes</td>
<td>✔ Earth Material</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouse</td>
<td>✔ Firewood (at campsites)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptarmigan</td>
<td>✔ Old Settlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird Eggs</td>
<td>✔ Canoe building site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Fish)</td>
<td>✔ Fish trap or weirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dolly Varden</td>
<td>✔ Birth site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bull Trout</td>
<td>✔ Death site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiritual/sacred use site</td>
<td>✔ Medicinal Plant not specific to Study Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow Trout</td>
<td>✔ Specialty Wood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Grayling</td>
<td>✔ Lynx not specific to Study Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>✔ Marten not specific to Study Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walleye</td>
<td>✔ Mule deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitefish</td>
<td>✔ White-tailed deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goldeye</td>
<td>✔ Porcupine not specific to Study Area</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berries</td>
<td>✔ Food Plant</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Personal use* in study area marked with check mark; *Habitual use documented* in reports.
# SCHEDULE “D” – HARVEST SURVEY SPECIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>Wildlife Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moose</td>
<td>Lynx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribou</td>
<td>Marten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black bear</td>
<td>Mule deer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rabbit</td>
<td>White-tailed deer</td>
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<tr>
<td>Muskrat</td>
<td>Porcupine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beaver</td>
<td>Berries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duck</td>
<td>Food plant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grebes</td>
<td>Important and Critical Wildlife Habitat / Features</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouse</td>
<td>(Fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptarmigan</td>
<td>Dolly Varden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bird Eggs</td>
<td>Bull Trout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow trout</td>
<td>Goldeye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arctic Grayling</td>
<td>Walleye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pike</td>
<td>Whitefish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medicinal Plant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**DID YOU HUNT, FISH OR TRAP LAST MONTH?**

**Activity Code:**

1. Harvested/ Fished/Trapped/Gathered plants/wood
2. Hunted/ fished/trapped etc, but did not get anything
3. Did not harvest
4. Remove from survey; does not harvest anymore
5. Could not be contacted
6. Does not wish to participate
7. Other

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age:</th>
<th>Adult (A), Juvenile (J), Calf (C), Unknown (U)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex:</td>
<td>Male (M), Female (F), Unknown (U)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What did you harvest?</th>
<th>Where?</th>
<th>How many/ much?</th>
<th>Age/ Sex</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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</table>
What did you harvest during the last 6 months?

**Hunter Code:**

**Activity Code:**
1. Harvested/trapped
2. Hunted/trapped, but did not get anything
3. Did not harvest
4. Remove from survey; does not harvest
5. Could not be contacted
6. Does not wish to participate
7. Other

**Age:**
Adult (A), Juvenile (J), Calf (C),
Unknown (U)

**Sex:**
Male (M), Female (F), Unknown (U)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MONTH</th>
<th>ACTIVITY CODE</th>
<th>ANIMAL HARVESTED</th>
<th>WHERE DID YOU HARVEST THESE ANIMALS?</th>
<th>NUMBER TAKEN/AGE/SEX</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Dear Sherry Dominic,

I personally don’t think that Herby should be doing this anymore as he not employee of the band, as no communication with council on what is going on, we should get someone from lands to go around with you on your interviews as they know the members, Debbie or Irene, my suggestion,

From Dorothy Kennedy
Sent: Wednesday, May 18, 2011 1:55 PM
To:
Subject: List of People Interviewed
Importance: High

Hello Sherry and Malcolm:

We are coming to Blueberry again on 23rd May (Monday morning) and will stay until Saturday, the 28th May. As discussed at the meeting here in Victoria in April, we’d appreciate your help meeting other BRFN members who may have knowledge of the BC Hydro project area. We’d also like to be put in touch with people who use today, or in the past, the general area where the pipeline may be built. Would you please speak with people about us interviewing them for these two BRFN projects (BC Hydro TLUS and TransCanada Pipeline TLUS), and provide us with their contact information.

I am sending you a list (in Table format) of the people we have interviewed, either as participants in a group or as individuals, for the BC Hydro Traditional Land Use Study. We’d like to speak with some of these people again, either as a follow-up to the TLUS, or to begin the Alaska/TransCanada Pipeline Project TLUS. I have noted this in the 4th column of the Table. I have also included the names of people who have been mentioned to us, but whom we have not yet interviewed. You likely know of other people we should speak with.

You will see on the list the names of those members whom we have spoken to. We especially need more people who hunt, fish or gather something in the BC Hydro area, as we need to complete the mapping of that study area in June. We may need more Beaver people, to ensure that we are being representative of the community, but you know this better than we do. Really we need to speak with everyone who has information about the project areas.

We also want to get a start on the interviews for the pipeline TLU study, recording information about how people use the project corridor. I noticed that both Apsassin and Wolf families have traplines that are crossed by the pipeline, so certainly we’d like to speak with members of those families who are doing something in the project area.

If you could please speak to people on our behalf, we will be comfortable calling them to schedule a time and place. While in Fort St. John, we will stay at the Quality Inn and can interview people at the hotel. At Blueberry, we are happy to go to people’s home, or to the Administration Office, whichever they wish. Our cell phone is
Many thanks,
Dorothy Kennedy (and Randy Bouchard)
Anthropologists

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Hi Sherry:
We are certainly open to other ways of doing this. If Debbie or Irene has the time each day, then great. But we are also willing to go by ourselves, if you and Malcolm make some calls ahead of time to let people know what we are doing for the Blueberry River First Nation, and to ask them to help the Nation with these projects.

Dorothy

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Dorothy

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Thank you.
Hi Debbie:

Good to speak with you a few minutes ago. As requested, I am sending a poster to announce the Community Lunch that we will sponsor on Tuesday, 24th May.

The objective of the lunch is to find out from the community who else may have additional information about the BC Hydro Site C Project area, and who should be interviewed about the TransCanada Pipeline area. If you could hire the cooks, that would be great. The first time we paid for a community lunch it was $400.00 and I expect this one will be about the same. If not, please let me know. I don’t expect to pay people to attend the lunch.

Either during or after lunch, I would like to give the community a report on the work and get from them an updated list of people to be interviewed. We will be at Fort St. John/BRFN from Monday, 22nd until Saturday, 28th to do more interviews. The Site C project interviews need to be completed. And we would like to get the pipeline interviews underway. I understand that the Wolf and Apsassin families have traplines that are intersected by the pipeline, so we definitively would like to speak with them. We also need to do more work on the BRFN harvest study (required by the BC Hydro contract), and perhaps the people attending lunch could help with that after lunch (a short questionnaire to be filled in—we’d pay $25.00 for each completed form, if that would be an incentive). Please, everyone, let me know your views on this.

We also spoke about the need for a community liaison person for the TransCanada work. You mentioned that my offer of $200.00 a day for this position would be fair. Would you please speak with Sherry and Malcolm about who might best do this work to set up the necessary interviews, and to generally assist.

Many thanks for your help with this,
Dorothy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5

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Thank you.
ALL INVITED

Community lunch: Tuesday, 24th May

Hosted by BRFN's Anthropologists
Dorothy Kennedy & Randy Bouchard

They will talk about the BRFN's Traditional Land Use Studies for:
1) BC Hydro Site C Project
2) TransCanada Pipeline Project

Please, they want to hear from you about additional interviews that should be done.

The Chief & Council ask that you help our consultants with this work: the TLUS research is for our First Nations
Hi Debbie:
We are bringing some enlargements of historical photographs of the area to give out as door prizes for people who stay to listen to the progress report and join in the discussion about how to finish off the Hydro Project and start on the TransCanada Pipeline Project. If more posters go out, please include “Door Prizes”.
Are the cooks available to make a hot meal?
Thanks,
Dorothy

Dorothy Kennedy, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon)
Bouchard & Kennedy Research Consultants
171 Bushby Street
Victoria, British Columbia
Canada V8S 1B5