



# Commissions of Inquiry

**Title:** Commission to Inquire into the Matters of Membership in the Indian Bands in Lesser Slave Lake Agency

**Date:** 1947

**Chair:** W. A. MacDonald

[Report](#) [PDF 674 KB]

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## APPENDIX EK

Judges' Chambers

### THE SUPREME COURT OF ALBERTA

The Court House,  
Calgary, Alberta  
August 7, 1944.

The Honourable T. A. CREER,  
Minister of Mines and Resources,  
Ottawa, Canada.

SIR,—I have the honour to present my report following an enquiry directed under Section 18 of The Indian Act, Chapter 98, Revised Statutes of Canada, 1927, and amendments thereto, and in accordance with the commission issued to me under order of the Governor in Council of the 19th of May, 1944.

In the course of my investigation I held sittings at the following places: Wabasca, from June 12 to June 17; Whitefish Lake on June 17; Lubicon Lake on June 18; Brownvale on June 19; Horse Lakes and Clear Hills on June 21; Sturgeon Lake on June 22; Grouard and Sucker Creek on June 23; Driftpile on June 24; Kinuso on June 26 and Slave Lake on June 26. Owing to transportation difficulties I was unable to visit Hay Lake, Little Red River or Fort Vermilion.

I found it necessary to dispense with the services of a Court Reporter because of limited accommodation in the plane. However, immediately on our return to Edmonton on the morning of June 27, I conferred with counsel representing the Department, and the individuals removed from the band rolls, compared my notes with their notes of evidence, and with their assistance dictated the evidence to a stenographer who transcribed it, and the book containing the typewritten evidence is forwarded with this report. Counsel desired an opportunity to examine the evidence as well as Departmental documents and correspondence, and the Inquiry was adjourned to be resumed at Edmonton on July 17. I sat in Edmonton on July 17 and 18 when the evidence was reviewed and discussed, and the issues involved were argued by Counsel. Mr. D. J. Allan, Superintendent of Reserves and Trusts, was also in attendance, and I wish to express my appreciation of his assistance.

It would appear that whenever it became necessary or expedient to extinguish Indian rights in any specified territory, the fact that Halfbreeds also had rights by virtue of their Indian blood was invariably recognized. These rights co-existed with the rights of the Indians. It was considered advisable wherever possible to extinguish the rights of Halfbreeds and Indians by giving them compensation concurrently.

It is well known that among the aboriginal inhabitants there were many individuals of mixed blood who were not properly speaking Halfbreeds. Persons of mixed blood who became identified with the Indians, lived with them, spoke their language and followed the Indian way of life, were recognized as Indians. The fact that there was white blood in their veins was no bar to their admission into the Indian bands among whom they resided.

In negotiating the various Indian treaties from time to time the aboriginal inhabitants of mixed blood were given the right to elect whether to take treaty or scrip. This is clearly shown in the report of the Indian Commissioner, W. M. Simpson, who negotiated Treaties numbered 1 and 2. He points out that very

few of those known to be halfbreeds took the land grant because they preferred to "receive such benefits as may accrue to them under the Indian Treaty than wait the realization of any value in their halfbreed grant". As late as 1921 when Treaty No. 11 was concluded, the same course was followed and the report of the Committee of the Privy Council (P.C. 1172) with respect thereto contains the following:—

It is estimated that there are about fifteen families of Half-breeds resident in that territory who will have to be treated with. The other Half-breeds in this country consisting approximately of seventy-five families mostly living the Indian mode of life, it is anticipated will, in their own interests, be taken into treaty.

When Treaty No. 8, with which we are more directly concerned in this inquiry, was concluded in 1899, a large proportion of those admitted into treaty at that time were of mixed blood. Apparently the policy of the Department which had charge of Indian Affairs at that date was to give treaty rather than scrip to Halfbreeds who lived as Indians on Reserves. In his letter of May 1, 1901, to The Honourable Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior, the Scrip Commissioner, J. A. J. McKenna, has this to say:—

You decided that Halfbreeds living on reserves as Indians should be given treaty instead of scrip . . . It seems to me undesirable that there should be upon reserves any but treaty Indians. The Department has in the past taken back many Halfbreeds who received scrip into treaty and has held their annuity until the amount of the scrip was recouped.

He proceeds to recommend that a certain individual who had been in treaty, was discharged therefrom and given scrip, should, together with his wife, be given the option of taking treaty.

It is clear from the foregoing citations that mixed blood did not necessarily establish white status, nor did it bar an individual from admission into treaty. The welfare of the individual and his own desires in the matter were given due weight, no cast-iron rule was adopted.

In his report dated May 31, 1901, approved by Order P.C. 1182, Commissioner McKenna says:—

I have taken it that everyone, irrespective of the portion of Indian blood which he may have, who enters into treaty, becomes an Indian in the eye of the law and should, therefore, be treated as an Indian both by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs.

I am quite unable to reconcile this definite pronouncement with the view that individuals of mixed blood who have been in treaty for a great many years can now be removed from the band rolls and from the reserves on which their lives have been spent, on the ground that they are not now and never have been Indians.

It seems to me that the meaning of the word "Indian" is sometimes unduly restricted. The contention was made in the case of *The Queen v. Howson*, 1 Terr. L. R. page 492, that the words "of Indian blood" in the definition of "Indian" under the Indian Act, meant full Indian blood. This argument was rejected by the Court. The evidence established that the person to whom the defendant had supplied liquor was a Halfbreed, the son of an Indian mother by a white man. It was argued that the blood of the father should govern and should determine the status of the son. This contention was also rejected. Moreover, while it is clear that an Indian woman who marries a white man ceases to be an Indian under the Act, the Court held that this did not affect her blood which she transmitted to her son. I quote the following extract from the judgment of the Court:—

It is notorious that there are persons in these bands who are not full blooded Indians, who are possessed of Caucasian blood, in many of them the Caucasian blood very largely predominates, but whose associations, habits, modes of life and surroundings generally are essentially Indian, and the intention of the Legislature is to bring such persons within the provisions and object of the Act, and the definition is given to the word "Indian" as aforesaid with that object.

The Commissioners who negotiated Treaty No. 8 observe that while the Indians of the North are further advanced in civilization than other Indians were when treaties were negotiated with them, nevertheless they stand as much in need of protection afforded by the law to aborigines as do any other Indians of the country, and are as fit subjects for the paternal care of the Government.

It is a reasonable inference from the evidence that no striking change in the condition of these people has taken place in the years that have intervened since the treaty was signed. They are still fit subjects for the paternal care of the Government.

An Indian treaty, or for that matter any formal arrangement entered into with a primitive and unlettered people, should not be construed according to strict or technical rules of construction. So far as it is reasonably possible, it should be read in the sense in which it is understood by the Indians themselves. When Treaty No. 8 was signed the Indians were well aware that the Government took a broad and liberal view with respect to the class of persons eligible for treaty. Many of them taken into treaty at that time were themselves of mixed blood. They knew that individuals of mixed blood who had adopted the Indian way of life were encouraged to take treaty. They cannot reconcile the removal from the band rolls of a large number of individuals who have been in treaty for many years, with their understanding of the situation as it existed when the treaty was signed.

The Indian Act is loosely drawn and is replete with inconsistencies. I venture to say that flexibility rather than rigidity and elasticity rather than a strict and narrow view should govern its interpretation.

I can find no justification for the view that delay in applying for treaty is or ever was an effective bar to admission into treaty. The correspondence marked Exhibit 6, as well as numerous other letters on the files of the Department make it clear that up to and including September, 1932, the Department was prepared to give favourable consideration to requests for admission into treaty by Indians living in different parts of the territory covered by Treaty No. 8.

Apart from particular classes or groups with which I will deal later on, I find the individuals listed in the document hereto annexed and marked "Document No. 1" are entitled to membership in their respective bands and to share in the properties and annuities thereof.

#### *Scrip*

I have considered with care the position of persons who took scrip. There have been rumours down the years that Halfbreeds were frequently victimized by unscrupulous speculators and that in some cases scrip was issued on forged applications. I mention this merely to say that I have no opportunity at all to probe this phase of the question, and that so far as I know I am dealing with cases where scrip was issued pursuant to a bona fide application therefor.

Ordinarily the issue of scrip to an individual bars his right to treaty. This appears to be the view by the Department for many years. When an Indian or Halfbreed takes scrip his aboriginal rights are extinguished and, strictly speaking, that is the end of the matter. However, the practice followed in the years immediately following the conclusion of Treaty No. 8, makes it clear that the Government did not take the position that the issue of scrip was an

insuperable bar to treaty. A good deal of latitude was allowed in switching from scrip to treaty and vice versa. Where a person who had taken scrip subsequently applied for and was admitted into treaty, it would appear his admission in some cases at least was made subject to terms.

I have had some difficulty in determining who in fact took scrip. The viva voce evidence was not conclusive in some cases and it appears to be difficult, if not impossible, to obtain this information from Departmental files.

Subject to observations later on in this report, with respect to particular classes. I find that the individuals listed in the document hereto annexed and marked "Document No. 2", have taken scrip and by reason of this fact are not ordinarily eligible for treaty.

#### *Illegitimate Children of Male Treaty Indians*

I do not see any justification for the exclusion from band membership of illegitimate children of male treaty Indians. Such a child is an Indian under Section 2, ss (d) (II) of The Indian Act. "Any child of such person" should not be restricted to a legitimate child. There may be difficulty in establishing paternity but once it is shown that the father is a treaty Indian his illegitimate child is entitled to band membership. Section 12 of the Act assumes that an illegitimate child is entitled to membership in the band to which its father belongs. If it were otherwise there would be no necessity to confer power on the Minister to exclude it from membership under certain circumstances.

If the illegitimate child has, with the consent of the band, shared in the "distribution moneys" of the band for a period exceeding two years, there is no authority to exclude it from membership. The term "distribution moneys" is general in its scope and includes the annuities to which members of the band are entitled and which is distributed amongst them annually. An illegitimate child who has been paid annuity for the period prescribed and has brought itself within the other requirements of the section cannot be disturbed.

I find that the persons listed in the document hereto annexed and marked "Document No. 3" (not printed herewith) are entitled to membership in their respective bands, and to share in its property and annuities.

#### *Adoptions*

The usual procedure leading to legal adoption in this Province has been complied with in only two cases. The rest of the cases are natural adoptions without resort to the formalities prescribed by Provincial law. There is no suggestion that these adoptions are not bona fides. The usual case is simply that of some unfortunate child who was taken in its early infancy by some compassionate neighbour or relative who supplied it with food, clothing, and shelter, and reared it according to the Indian way of life. The child is taken into treaty and paid year after year with the consent of the band. It is placed on the band rolls by the Government's local agent, and he or some Government official makes the annual payments. Its life is thus designed and circumscribed after the Indian fashion with the knowledge and assistance of officials of the Department. Then after many years, in some cases after the child has grown to manhood, married and has a family of his own, he is informed that he is not entitled to be on the band rolls, that he must remove himself and his family from the reserve, that he must seek his livelihood elsewhere and earn it presumably by arts he has never had an opportunity to acquire.

In many instances members of this class who have been removed from the rolls are male persons of Indian blood who have belonged to a band since their infancy. They are Indians within the interpretation of the term which was accepted without reservation when Treaty No. 8 was negotiated. They are Indians also within the meaning of The Indian Act. They are Indians furthermore because, without any suggestion of misrepresentation, they have been

taken into treaty and, as Mr. McKenna's report of May 31, 1901, approved under P.C. 1182, says:—

Everyone, irrespective of the portion of Indian blood which he may have, who enters treaty becomes an Indian in the eye of the law and should therefore be treated as an Indian, both by the Department of the Interior and the Department of Indian Affairs.

Apart from all this, every instinct of natural justice proclaims that under all the circumstances, they should be treated as the children of their adopting parents, restored to the band rolls, and allowed to share in the property and annuities of their respective bands.

A list of members of this class is annexed hereto and marked "Document No. 4" (not printed herewith).

#### *Miscellaneous Cases*

There are a number of cases to which special attention is directed.

1. No. 1, Driftpile—Joe Morin, a soldier overseas. His case should stand until his return.

2. No. 49, Sawridge—Archie Sowan, a soldier overseas, and his case should stand until his return.

3. No. 100, Driftpile—Angus McGillis. This case is covered on page 182 of the evidence. He appears to be a hopeless cripple and quite unable to support himself.

4. No. 64, Swan River—Edward Anderson. His case is dealt with on page 198 of the evidence. He is also crippled and has to use a crutch. In my view he is an Indian under the Act.

5. No. 47, Sucker Creek—Julien Belcourt. It is clear that there was correspondence with the Department in 1924 with respect to this case, and a number of other cases. In view of the warning in the letters of the Department, dated November 7, 1924, and December 17, 1924, it seems incredible that the local agent would on his own responsibility allow this person to remain in treaty. I am inclined to think there must be further correspondence on this case and it should be allowed to stand pending a further search.

Sucker Creek cases Nos. 49, 55, 104, 105, 75 and 97, and No. 64 Swan River, are in the same position as No. 47 referred to above. These people have been in treaty since 1924.

6. No. 388, Wabasca, Ned Gambler, or Gladu. His case is covered on page 62 of the evidence. On May 27, 1937, the local Indian Agent wrote the Department stating that Ned Gambler had applied for reinstatement. He forwarded with this letter an exhaustive history of the case. On December 2, 1937, the Department replied advising that Gambler might be readmitted into the Sucker Creek band. On November 13, 1940, the Department approved the transfer of Gambler and his family from Sucker Creek to Wabasca Bigstone band. Re-admission into treaty after full investigation and with the approval of the Department should carry with it a larger measure of security than this case appears to afford.

7. No. 94, Wabasca. Daniel Houle, and 5 children. These are illegitimate children of Marie Papastes, or Cardinal, a treaty Indian, and should be restored to band rolls.

8. No. 358, Wabasca, Jean Baptiste Houle, illegitimate son of Marie Papastes, or Cardinal, a treaty Indian, and should be restored to band rolls.

9. No. 225, Wabasca. Mrs. Adelaide Savard, placed on rolls under authority of letter February 22, 1941, and should be restored to rolls.

It seems to me that in the organization which has been designed and instituted to handle Indian affairs, any local agent who familiarizes himself with the local situation, who is in close touch with local problems as they arise

## SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE

from day to day, and who understands the character and mentality of the Indian, is still a very important official. Centralized supervision there must always be, of course, and centralized control to a degree as well, but the reins should not be tightly drawn. The Indian is no more amenable than is the white man to long-distance government.

The authority of the Government to deal with all aspects of Indian affairs is as ample and complete today as it was in 1899 when Treaty No. 8 was signed. When individuals of mixed blood are admitted to treaty from time to time by the local agent with the approval, either express or implied, of the Department, it seems to me that their status, especially after the lapse of many years, should be held to be fixed and determined. This was the course recommended and approved in the years immediately following the treaty. These individuals acquire rights under the treaty and under the Indian Act, and these rights should not be lightly disturbed. They should have the same security of tenure and the same protection in the enjoyment of property rights, no matter how circumscribed these rights may be, as is accorded any other citizen of the nation.

I wish to express my appreciation of the great assistance I received from J. F. Lymburn, K.C., Counsel for the Department, and Mr. H. G. Johnson, Counsel for persons removed from the band rolls, as well as for the courteous consideration and assistance received from Mr. M. McCrimmon and Constable Skead.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd.) W. A. MACDONALD,  
*Commissioner.*

## BIGSTONE BAND

*Document No. 1*

## Wabasca

<i>No.</i>		<i>No. of Persons</i>
336.	Ossimeemas, Wife, Johny, Mary Rose.....	4
337.	Samuel Noskiye, son of 336.....	1
338.	Sophie Noskiye, sister of 337.....	1
353.	Archie Yessew, grandson of 336.....	1
175.	Widow M. Netowastanum, George, Harry, She is daughter of Okema..	3
223.	Napasis Okemow, wife of Okema, children.....	10
230.	Tuccatut Okemov, wife, 5 children.....	7
184.	Francois Bow-Noskiye, children.....	4
322.	Andre Noskiye, wife, children.....	9
306.	Ben Paul Noskiye, Mabel.....	2
190.	Wid. Andre Noskiye—8 illegitimate children of woman of Indian status	8
341.	Harry Letendre, 3 children. Unless it is shown his father took scrip, he is entitled to be on the band rolls.....	4
339.	Roger Letendre, wife, 2 children. He is a brother of No. 341 and in the same position. See letter Const. Skead July 4, 1944.....	4
37.	Wid. Joseph Carifer, and Harvey. Harvey is son of Harry Letendre, No. 341, and legitimized by subsequent marriage of parents....	1
221.	Johny Laboucan, wife, 7 children.....	9
294.	Adolph Laboucan, wife, 7 children.....	9
344.	Pierre Laboucan, Therese, Norman.....	3
330.	Marie Laboucan, 4 illegitimate children. The foregoing Nos. 221, 294, 344 are brothers and 330 is a sister. They are children of Sam Laboucan who died in 1941. The evidence establishes the father of these children did not take scrip. They are all entitled to be in treaty, including the 4 illegitimate children of Marie.....	5

## INDIAN ACT

563

<i>No.</i>	<i>Document No. 1</i>	<i>No. of Persons</i>
350. Absolum Laboucan, son of 221.....		1
214. Joseph Loonskin and wife. Illegitimate and of Indian status.....		2
131. Paul Loonskin, wife, 4 children. Son of No. 214.....		6
197. Louis Loonskin. Son of 214.....		1
198. Alex Loonskin. Son of No. 214.....		1
153. Jean M. Yellowknee, 5 children. He is a treaty Indian and acknowledges the 5 illegitimate children are his; children qualify through father		6
282. Francois Crow Gambler, wife, 2 children. Illegitimate son of Treaty Indian .....		4
364. Julien Gamble. Legitimized by subsequent marriage and father of Treaty Indian .....		1
212. George Auger, Junior. Illegitimate, father and mother both Treaty Indians .....		1
271. Mrs. Mary Belhomme. 4 children. She is of Indian status and children illegitimate .....		3
274. Pierre St. Arnaud. 4 children. Illegitimate son of woman of Indian status .....		5
313. Miss Elsie Oar, 3 children. She is of Indian status, and her illegitimate children qualify through her or through father.....		4
115. Oliver Cardinal, and children.....		6
237. John Cardinal, son of No. 115. Oliver has been in treaty since 1912, and John, who is about 33 years old, has been in treaty about 30 years. The evidence of scrip is not convincing, particularly as Oliver's mother was named Desjarlais, and the mother of the Oliver who took scrip was Courterielle.....		1

## CREE BAND

*Little Red River*

72. Chilouis Noskiye. 3 children. Indian status.....	4
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## CREE BAND

*Whitefish Lake*

19. Jimmy Grey—Is of Indian status, illegitimate son of Amelia Grey, an Indian, prior to her marriage to Cunningham. The dispute here is with respect to Johnny Grey or Taswaw, son of Philip Taswaw. Johnny is entitled to membership.....	1
63. Thomas Laboucan—He is in membership, but Alice Sowen, who is on his ticket, is off. Her father took scrip.....	1
69. Philip Taswaw, and David .....	2
77. Colin Laboucan and family .....	11
111. Elzear Ominayak—Sammy. This number concerns Sammy, illegitimate son of Indian father and halfbreed mother. Qualifies for membership through father.	

## CREE BAND

*Lubicon Lake*

7. Alexis Laboucan, Wife, Pierre, George—Indian Status.....	4
34. Albert Ward, wife, 5 children.....	7
35. Delphis Ward. Son of No. 34.....	1
37. Charlie Ward, wife, 7 children.....	9
11. Frank Auger, wife, 2 children.....	4
13. Joe Auger and 3 children. Son of No. 11.....	4
6. Edward Laboucan and children.....	7
32. Stan Whitehead and 5 children—No evidence his father took scrip for him. He was born before treaty.....	6
36. Pierre Napichitawaw, Angelique—Pierre is of Indian status. Angelique is dead. ....	2
27. Gabriel Surprenant, and 5 children—If father did not take scrip on behalf of Gabriel, then he is entitled to membership.....	6



**SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE**

**DUNCAN BAND**

*Document No. 1*  
*No. of persons*

No.

*Brownvale*

- 53. Raymond Surprenant. His father is dead, was not in treaty, nor did he take scrip so far as I can find out. Letter April 13, 1933, authorizes transfer and approval of Council, February 17, 1937. Should be restored to membership. . . . . 1
- 61. Mrs. Cecilia Harris—She is a sister of No. 53 and has married a halfbreed who is in the army. She is entitled to annuity. . . . . 1

**BEAVER BAND**

*Horse Lakes and Clear Hills*

- 68. Felix La Glace—Woman, 8 children. Illegitimate children of male treaty Indian, and qualify through father. . . . . 9
- 109. Mabel Walker—Illegitimate child of Eva Gladu, an Indian, before her marriage. She is entitled to be on rolls and her illegitimate children as well. . . . . 1

**CREE BAND**

*Sturgeon Lake*

- 78. Christina Standing Ribbon—No evidence her father took scrip, and he was born before 1899 and eligible for treaty. . . . . 1
- 83. Magloire Standing Ribbon—6 children. He was born before 1899, and no evidence of scrip. . . . . 7
- 145. Alexis Standing Ribbon, and wife. Son of No. 83, also entitled to membership. . . . . 2
- 84. Elie Mitchell. Born before treaty and no evidence his father took scrip for him. . . . .
- 105. Henry Moosos. 5 children. Son of Vital Larocque who was in treaty under Treaty No. 6, and in treaty here for 24 years although no proper transfer obtained. . . . . 6
- 87. William Mitchell. 5 children. His daughter, Elsie, is legitimate, but his wife left him and has 4 illegitimate children by a treaty Indian. These children will qualify for membership through the father. . . . . 6
- 103. Frank Mitchell, wife and 7 children. This man is a brother of Elie Mitchell, No. 84. No evidence his father took scrip. . . . . 9

**KINOOSAYO BAND**

*Sucker Creek*

- 30. Archie Cardinal—Marvin. Has been restored to membership. . . . . 1
- 35. Frederick Prince. 4 children. See letter May 2, 1934, File 62-131. Vol. 2 . . . . . 4
- 70. Irene and Francis Gambler. Illegitimate children of treaty Indian father. . . . . 2
- 73. Daniel Willier's children. The child Theodore is illegitimate. Son of a treaty Indian and entitled to membership. I understand Alvina Rose was not removed from the rolls. . . . . 1
- 110. Alice Andrews, Michael and Aline. Michael is illegitimate, son of Joe Badger, a treaty Indian. Haleron, a treaty Indian, is father of the two younger children. All three entitled to membership through the father. . . . . 3

**KINOOSAYO BAND**

*Driftpile*

- 83. Robert Walker, wife. Son of treaty Indian, and legitimized by subsequent marriage of his father to his mother. . . . . 2
- 110. { Archie Courtoreille, wife, 4 children. . . . . 6
- 137. { George Courtoreille. These two are sons of Alex Courtoreille, who was in treaty under Treaty No. 6 and never properly transferred to Treaty 8. He seems to be of Indian status and entitled to transfer and his sons qualify for membership through him. . . . . 1
- 12. Emile and Jacques Campion. Illegitimate children of woman of Indian status. . . . . 2
- 64. Mrs. Maria Collins and children. Nellie Jane and Henry are illegitimate children of Mrs. Collins by a treaty Indian and qualify for membership through father. . . . . 2

INDIAN ACT

565

Document No. 1  
No. of Persons

No.		
104.	Harry No Hat and stepson, Charlie No Hat. This stepson is illegitimate son of Vitalline Belcourt, now the wife of Harry No Hat. The father of Charlie was Gerry Mustus, a treaty Indian and the boy qualifies through his father. ....	1
96.	William Ashley, Jr., and children. He is illegitimate son of a woman of Indian status. ....	3
88.	William Ashley Sr.'s children. See letter Indian Agent, Feb. 16, 1932, and letter from Department in reply Feb. 25, 1932. There should be a reasonable degree of finality in matters of this kind.....	3
51.	George Hamelin, Bertha Hamelin. In treaty here for 36 years and under Treaty No. 6 before then. If formal transfer lacking, should be attended to but should not be removed from rolls.....	2

KINOOSAYO BAND

<i>River</i>		
42.	Wilfred Hamelin. The only difficulty is to determine if proper transfer of his father, George Hamelin, No. 51, Driftpile, was effected.....	1
43.	Joseph and Lena Sowan. Illegitimate children of treaty Indian father; and mother was also Indian but lost status by marriage to a white man, from whom she separated, and went to live with Sowan, the father of these two children.....	2
59.	Mrs. Mary Sowan. She is illegitimate daughter of Joseph Sowan, a treaty Indian, and Harriett Benton who was of Indian status but lost it, by marriage to a white man. She is entitled to qualify for membership in the band through her father. She has married a halfbreed and has applied for commutation.....	1

Document No. 2.

SCRIP CASES

<i>Boscu</i>	
No.	
291.	David Richards
340.	Arnold Cardinal
332.	Gabriel Merrier
379.	Jean Baptiste Cardinal
395.	Delphis Villeneuve
315.	Joe Giroux. Not within territory of Treaty 8.
401.	Adam Grasshead or Cardinal
394.	Joe Houle and Francois and George
293.	Pierre Merrier
321.	Alfred Auger
389.	Narcisse Auger
397.	Bernard Houle
129.	Thomas Francis Auger
243.	Joseph Cardinal
207.	Max D'Or
378.	Jean Beaver
409.	Eva Houle and boy
399.	Paul Powder
400.	Julien Auger-Nikik
404.	George Guilion
405.	Edward Auger
406.	Alexander Boskayous
408.	Clement Powder
407.	Edwin Boskayous

<i>Lake</i>	
No.	
107.	Oliver Greyeyes
66.	Philip Lamouche
95.	Sylvester Hamelin
96.	Thomas Bone and Clarence Carifer
92.	Mrs. E. Cunningham, Helen and Ray
58.	Mrs. Ambrose Cardinal, Jeremy, May
63.	Alice Sowan, on ticket of Thomas Laboucan
153.	Joseph Sowan
75.	Children of Wid. Elize Courtoreille

## SPECIAL JOINT COMMITTEE

*Labicon Lake*

- No.  
 24. Fred Whitehead  
 5. Leo Thunder and Nellie Jane  
 23. David Laboucan  
 38. Felix Laboucan  
 39. Petit Paul Laboucan

*Horse Lakes and Clear Hills*

- No.  
 81. Adam Kenny, wife, child  
 92. Felix Joachim, and children

*Sturgeon Lake*

- No.  
 15. Moise Noskiye  
 94. Albert Badger and children  
 98. Dieudonne Noskiye  
 100. Wid. George Thomas  
 102. George Thomas  
 106. Henriette Thomas  
 108. Joe Awasia Neas  
 123. Pierre Mannitiers  
 156. Philip Campbell

*Sucker Creek*

- No.  
 69. Frank Gladu  
 99. Jimmy Gladu and Jean

*Driftpile*

- No.  
 8. Delphin Morin  
 7. Caroline Badger  
 64. Mrs. Maria Collins  
 134. Richard Collins

*Swan River*

- No.  
 1. { Mabel Plante  
 58. { Albert Plante  
       Scrip. and parents halfbreeds, but were adopted by grandmother. Not  
       reserve since 1937.  
 10. Joseph Neil  
 31. Sam Giroux L'Hirondelle  
 36. Clara Sinclair

*Sawridge*

- No.  
 35. Mrs. Margaret Sowan  
 41. Philomene Lawye  
 47. Johnny L'Hirondelle  
 48. Gabriel Gladu  
 53. Flora Lawye