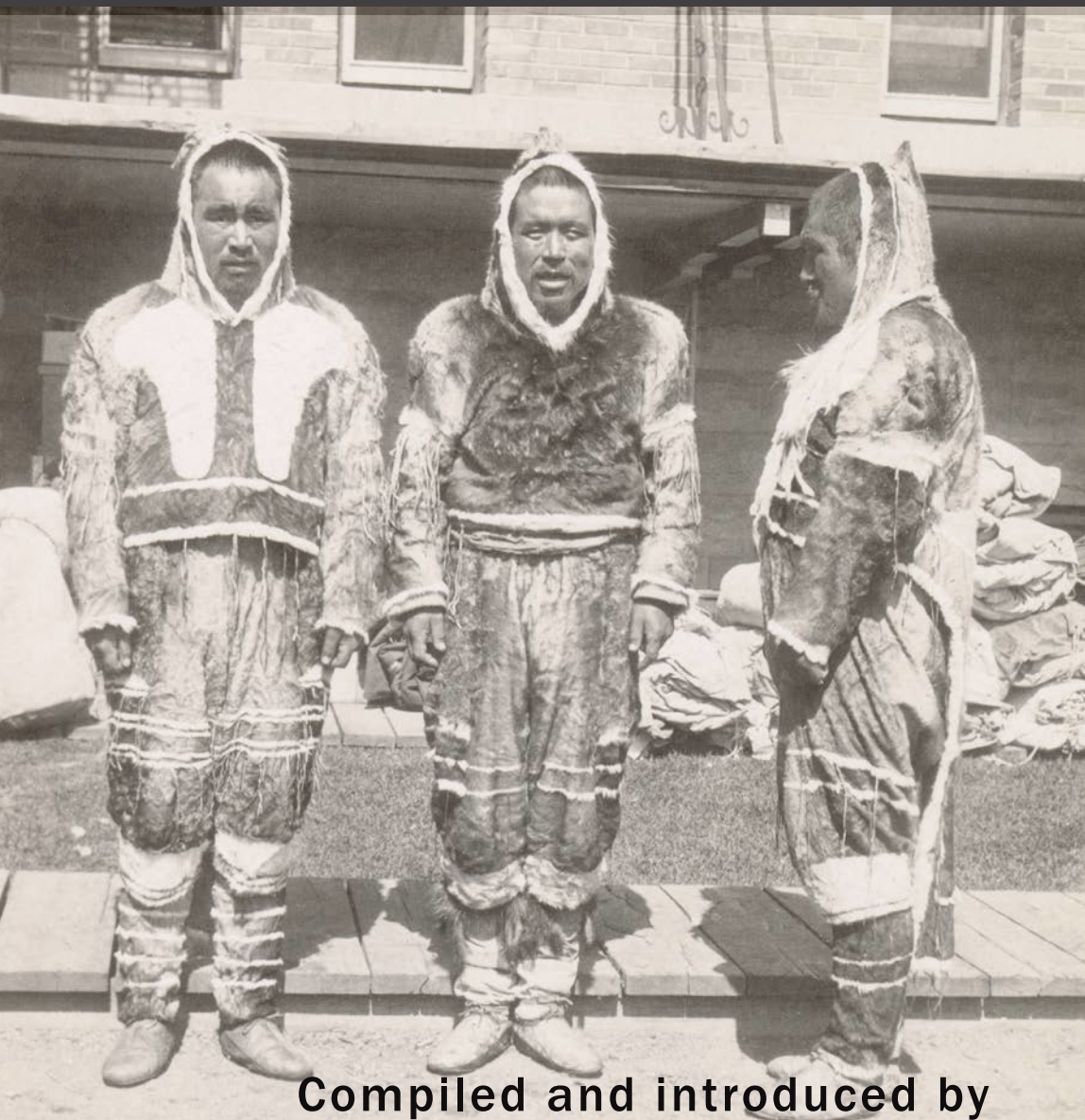


**“It is necessary that they should understand that they are under the Law”**

**The Murder Trials of Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq, 1917**



**Compiled and introduced by  
P. Whitney Lackenbauer  
and Grace Chapnik**

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understand that they are under the Law”

The Murder Trials of Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq, 1917

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Inspector Denny La Nauze in his home looking at snowshoes used while searching for Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq, with photos of the Inuit men convicted of murder on the left. *Glenbow Archives PA-3979-1.*

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## Foreword and Acknowledgements

In October 1913, two Oblates of Mary Immaculate (Roman Catholic missionary priests) named Guillaume Le Roux and Jean-Baptiste Rouvière set out by dog sled from Fort Norman on the Mackenzie River to take their mission to the Kitikmeot Inuit who lived along the Arctic coastline. When Le Roux threatened one of the Inuit guides the following month, Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq (Uluksuk) killed them. The Royal North West Mounted Police (RNWMP) responded quickly to stories of the priests' fate that floated south in 1914. It dispatched a patrol in 1915, located and arrested Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq in 1916, and brought the Inuuk<sup>1</sup> south for trial in 1917. To the astonishment and chagrin of the authorities and to the Oblate order, public sentiment intimated that the priests had got what they deserved. The jury at the first trial in Edmonton in the summer of 1917 (for the murder of Father Rouvière) acquitted Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq. At later trial in Calgary for the murder of Father Le Roux yielded a conviction for murder – and a comparatively light sentence of life imprisonment, for which the Inuuk only served two years before returning to the Kitikmeot region.

This case was the second in a series of killings of *qallunaat* (outsiders) by Inuit in the western Arctic which had begun in 1912. The government decided not to charge the Inuit men who killed American explorer H.V. Radford and Canadian George Street after Radford had struck one of the guides in June 1912, with the police concluding that Amegealnik and Hululark had acted in their own defence. Radford and Street had been dealt with according to the principles of Inuit law, Inspector Francis French discerned, but he insisted that Inuit who killed or harmed *qallunaat* in the future “would be taken away and never return.” The subsequent trial of Alikomiak and Tatamigana for murders committed on 1 April 1922, held on Herschel Island in July 1923, was in the nature of a show trial, designed by the federal government to demonstrate Canadian sovereignty and to show Inuit that the authorities would no longer tolerate such acts of violence. Following a guilty verdict, Alikomiak and Tatamigana were hanged.

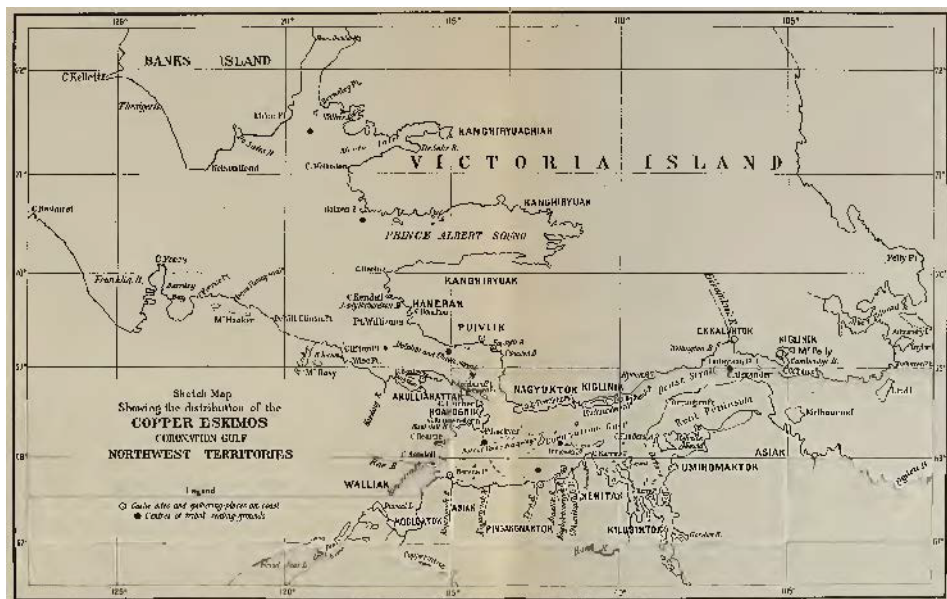
The purpose of this collection is to bring together and make publicly accessible primary documents related to the landmark trials of Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq. A previous volume reproduced materials related to the trials of Alikomiak and Tatamigana, and a subsequent volume will cover the murders of Radford and Street. Our hope is that teachers, students and scholars will

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<sup>1</sup> Singular: *Inuk*,  $\Delta\text{ᑭ}^b$ , dual: *Inuuk*,  $\Delta\text{ᑭ}^b$ , three or more: *Inuit*,  $\Delta\text{ᑭ}\Delta^c$ .

use this material to discuss and debate the legal aspects of the cases, the media coverage of them, and the interactions between the legal cultures of Inuit and the Canadian state. Our special thanks to Sarah Daviau, Rylee DeJong, Jessica Heidt, and Heather Robinson who helped to transcribe relevant documents, and to Jennifer Arthur-Lackenbauer for designing the covers and providing a map. We are also most grateful to Dr. McKay Jenkins, the Cornelius Tilghman Professor of English, Journalism and Environmental Humanities at the University of Delaware and the author of the indispensable *Bloody Falls of the Coppermine*, for providing us with a copy of the Edmonton trial transcript after months of fruitless searching to locate one in Canadian archives.

Whitney Lackenbauer and Grace Chapnik  
August 2023



**Figure 1:** Sketch map showing the distribution of the Copper Eskimos, Coronation Gulf region, Northwest Territories. Diamond Jenness, *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, vol. XII: The Life of the Copper Eskimos* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1922).

## Introduction

### The Trials of Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq for the Murders of Jean-Baptiste Rouvière and Guillaume Le Roux

*These remote savages, really cannibals, the Eskimo of the Arctic regions have got to be taught to recognize the authority of the British Crown.... It is necessary that they should understand that they are under the Law... that they must regulate their lives and dealings with their fellow men, of whatever race, white men or Indians, according to, at least, the main outstanding principles of that law, which is part of the law of civilization, and that this law must be respected... as far as the Pole itself. They have got to be taught to respect the principles of Justice - and not merely to submit to it, but to learn that they are entitled themselves to resort to it...and to take advantage of it the same way as anybody else does. The code of the savage, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life must be replaced among them by the code of civilization.*

*They must learn to know ... that death is not the only penalty for a push or a shove, or a swear-word.... They have got to learn that even if slight violence is used it will not justify murder, it will not justify killing, and they must be made to understand that Death is not "the only penalty that Eskimo know" or have got to know....*

*The great importance of this trial lies in this: that for the first time in history these people, these Arctic people, pre-historic people, people who are as nearly as possibly living today in the Stone Age, will be brought in contact with and will be taught what is the white man's justice. They will be taught that crime will be swiftly followed by arrest, arrest by trial, and if guilt is established punishment will follow on guilt.*

Charles Coursolles McCaul, K.C. (1917)<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Transcript of *Rex vs. Sinnisiak*, Edmonton, 14-17 August 1917, pg. 196 in this volume.

In his 1979 book *British Law and Arctic Men*, R.G. Moyles noted that the murder trial *Rex v. Sinnisiak and Uluksuk* was the first time that Inuit had been tried “under white man’s law” and thus generated tremendous publicity. “Adding extra notoriety to it,” he explained, “was the sensational sequence of events which preceded and accompanied the trials: in 1913 two Roman Catholic priests, attempting an initial missionary visit to the Coppermine, disappeared without trace; two years later, after a prolonged and painstaking search, members of the Royal North West Mounted Police arrested two Inuit hunters, Sinnisiak and Uloqsak (usually written at the time as Uluksuk or Uluksak); more than a year later they were brought to trial, and face to face with white civilization.” The first trial, held in Edmonton, netted a verdict of “not guilty.” A second trial, held in Calgary, found the two Inuit men guilty. “Justice had prevailed,” Moyles exulted, but “the point of the trials was not only (nor even primarily) to bring Sinnisiak and Uluksuk to justice, but to impress upon the whole Inuit nation, by example of the justice meted out to the two men, that the North was no longer theirs – that the Great White Father’s law now applied and that Canada was determined to establish control over the whole of its territory.”<sup>2</sup>

Previous scholars have described the introduction of colonial legal systems into the Canadian Arctic and their imposition on Inuit in a deliberate process to replace Indigenous systems.<sup>3</sup> “The enforcement and application of Canadian law was a prime function of the police and a means by which northern natives were encouraged to abandon [what the Canadian administration perceived to be] their primitive and oftentimes violent way of life,” historian Richard Diubaldo noted. “As the other agent of civilization, missionaries preached against the taking of life but appeared powerless to

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<sup>2</sup> R.G. Moyles, *British Law and Arctic Men: The Celebrated 1917 Murder Trials of Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, First Inuit Tried Under White Man’s Law* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1979), ix-x.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Harwood Steele, *Policing the Arctic* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1936); William R. Morrison, *Showing the Flag: The Mounted Police and Canadian Sovereignty in the North, 1894-1925* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1985); Sidney L. Harring, “The Rich Men of the Country: Canadian Law in the Land of the Copper Inuit, 1914-1930,” *Ottawa Law Review* 21, no. 1 (1989): 1-64; Shelagh Grant, *Arctic Justice: On Trial for Murder, Pond Inlet, 1923* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2002); and Kenn Harper, *In Those Days: Arctic Crime and Punishment* (Iqaluit: Inhabit Media, 2015).

prevent murder in its various manifestations.”<sup>4</sup> In the case of the Roman Catholic priests Jean-Baptiste Rouvière and Guillaume Le Roux, Father Le Roux’s impatience and gestures, through an Inuit cultural lens, may have indicated violent proclivities that prompted pre-emptive action. Although Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq were tried and ultimately convicted according to Canadian law, the commutation of their sentence to life imprisonment (and their release two years later) reflected a recognition that they had been raised in a different culture with a different legal tradition. “Although the imposition of an alien legal system on a people who had no reason to know or respect that system is a familiar theme in native American history,” legal scholar Sidney Harring noted, “the small number of Copper Inuit, their isolation and the short time span involved provides a unique opportunity to study the process of legal imperialism.”<sup>5</sup>

### Crisis in the Era of Contact: Historical Context

*It is rare enough today that the student of human culture can light upon a people who still cling to their primitive mode of life in utter ignorance of the outside world: more rare still that he can watch the tide of civilization slowly reach their shores and finally engulf them in its stream. ... In one small section of the continent, in the region of Coronation Gulf just a thousand miles north of Winnipeg, there remained, down to the twentieth century, some groups of Eskimos who had no contact with the outside world, to whom the arts and products of our civilization were unknown and the very name of white man was only a legend. Suddenly and without warning, their isolation has been rudely shattered, their independence destroyed, their culture transformed....*

Diamond Jenness (1921)<sup>6</sup>

The first recorded contact between Euro-Canadians and the Kitikmeot Inuit (historically referred to as the Copper Inuit) who live in what is now the central Canadian Arctic (western region of Nunavut) came in the summer of 1771. Samuel Hearne, an explorer with the Hudson’s Bay Company, accompanied a party of Chipewyans (Dene) into the Coppermine River area

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<sup>4</sup> Richard Diubaldo, *The Government of Canada and the Inuit, 1900-1967* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1985), 16.

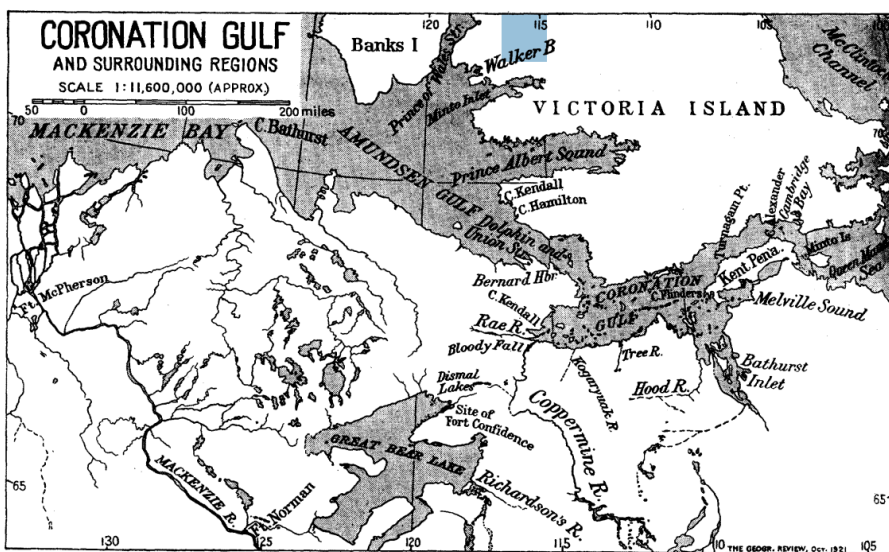
<sup>5</sup> Harring, “The Rich Men of the Country,” 4.

<sup>6</sup> Diamond Jenness, “The Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimo,” *Geographical Review* 11, no. 4 (1921): 541.



where Hearne's companions spotted an encampment of Inuit and massacred them. Hearne named the site Bloody Falls, thus marking the place as one of violence.<sup>7</sup> A half century later, Captain John Franklin reached the lower waters of the Coppermine and tried to establish friendly relations with Inuit that he encountered there, but most of them fled rather than dealing with him. Subsequent European exploration of the Kitikmeot coastline by ship and land in the ensuing decades brought limited engagement – although John Richardson, John Rae, Robert McClure, and Richard Collinson enjoyed positive interactions mid-century. After 1852, however, interest in the Northwest Passage waned following the search for Franklin, and no *qallunaat* explorers visited the Coronation Gulf region for a half century.<sup>8</sup>

Extended contact between Inuit and *qallunaat* began in the Kitikmeot region in the early twentieth century. Among the first to arrive were trappers and hunters such as Joe Bernard, Christian Klengenberg, John Hornby, and



**Figure 2:** “Sketch map of the Coronation Gulf region, the country of the Copper Eskimos,” in Diamond Jenness, “The Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimo,” *Geographical Review* 11, no. 4 (1921): 543.

<sup>7</sup> See Ian S. MacLaren, “Samuel Hearne’s Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771,” *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 22, no. 1 (1991): 25–51; and Emilie Cameron, *Far Off Metal River: Inuit Lands, Settler Stories, and the Making of the Contemporary Arctic* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2015).

<sup>8</sup> Jenness, “Cultural Transformation of the Copper Eskimo,” 541–43.

D'Arcy Arden. Ethnologists, interested in the anthropological study of peoples still largely untainted by Western society, soon followed, with Vilhjalmur Stefansson and Diamond Jenness arriving in the Coppermine River region in the late 1900s and early 1910s. The Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE, 1913-1918) quickly forged positive relations with the local people – and noted that Inuit legal practices differed from elsewhere in Canada. Jenness concluded that “the maintenance of order in a Copper Eskimo community rests purely and simply on the basis of force. No man will commit a crime, save in the heat of passion, unless he believes that he can make good his escape until the affair blows over, or else that his kinsmen will support him against any attempt at revenge.” He also noted that “the majority of murders that occur are committed in a momentary heat of passion provoked by some scornful or sarcastic remark.”<sup>9</sup> Whatever the cause, the land of the Copper Inuit soon elicited a reputation for wanton bloodshed and the image of a lawless frontier. From 1914-1930, legal historian Sidney Haring calculated that six *qallunaat* and an estimated forty Inuit were murdered in the region — a staggering rate of violence “in a small, closed and traditional society of approximately 700 Inuit.”<sup>10</sup>

Among the first outsiders to die in the surge of killings were American Harry Radford and his Canadian counterpart Thomas George Street, a pair of surveyors and adventurers murdered on an island in the mouth of Bathurst Inlet in June 1912 by three Inuit men. Okaitok, Halalak, and Amigainik killed Radford after the young American explorer struck a man named Kaniak, causing them to believe that Radford and Street intended to kill the Inuk. In late summer 1913, Canadian and American newspapers began to publish rumours that intimated murder, framing a narrative of the central Canadian Arctic as a lawless frontier where “civilized” outsiders who ventured into the region faced serious risk. The vaunted Mounties were called upon to investigate, but long distances, the lack of communications, and looming winter conditions meant that information would take a long time to secure.<sup>11</sup>

While speculation about the murders of Radford and Street filtered south, *qallunaat* continued to venture into the northern “barren-lands.” Missionaries, inspired by the inroads made by the Roman Catholic missionary

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<sup>9</sup> Diamond Jenness, *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol. XII: The Copper Eskimos, Southern Party 1913-16* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1922), 96, 234.

<sup>10</sup> Haring, “The Rich Men of the Country,” 4.

<sup>11</sup> James J. Walsh, “A Young Catholic Explorer,” *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia* 26, no. 2 (1915): 111.

order of Oblates of the Mary Immaculate into the Keewatin or Kivalliq<sup>12</sup> and the Mackenzie (Deh Cho and Sahtu) regions of the NWT, sought to introduce Christianity to new groups of Inuit. Oblate Fathers Jean-Baptiste Rouvière (1881-1913) and Guillaume Le Roux (1885-1913) set out, as the latter put it, in the early twentieth century to “travel the deserts [barrens] together in search of souls.”<sup>13</sup>

Rouvière had been happy preaching to the Tłı̨çǰ and Sahtú at Fort Good Hope since 1907. In July 1911, Monseigneur Gabriel Breynat, the Bishop of the Diocese of the Mackenzie, visited the mission on a small steamer and called the thirty-year-old priest into his room. “My dear Father,” the bishop said without preamble, “you are always very happy at Good Hope, and we do not have too much to complain about you either; but we think that it is not only the Hareskin Indians [Gwich’in]” to whom he should minister. “In the Vicariate of Mackenzie are many other Indians, and a certain number still do not know our holy religion. I think the time has come to go to them, especially as they seem to be coming to us; I mean the Eskimos.” Breynat elaborated that:

This summer, at the bottom of Bear Lake, the Eskimos and the Fort Norman Indians are due to meet. They will be numerous, and the missionary's presence seems necessary to avoid disorder. In addition, I have received a letter from two traders, Messrs [Cosmo] Melville and [John] Hornby, who are at Bear Lake and have already seen the Eskimos last year. In this letter, they invite me to send a Father to visit these savages, adding that they will do all they can to help the missionary who would like to enter into contact with the Eskimos. These people, they say, are very calm and kind-hearted people, and seem to be well disposed. So everything seems to be in our favor. Mr. Melville and Mr.



**Figure 3:** Father Jean-Baptiste Rouvière.  
*Oblates of Marie Immaculate (OMI)*

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Frédéric Laugrand and Jarich G. Oosten, *Inuit, Oblate Missionaries, and Grey Nuns in the Keewatin, 1865-1965* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2019).

<sup>13</sup> Le Roux to “dear friends Daniel, Marianne, and Maria,” 1 July 1913, OMI Archives, <https://omi200.wordpress.com/2016/10/30/october-30-jean-baptiste-rouviere-guillaume-le-roux-martyrs-in-canada/>.

Hornby are Protestants, and despite this, they are asking the Catholic missionary to evangelize these savage peoples.

The bishop emphasized that it would be “a difficult mission that requires someone with iron health and great dedication,” and that “the opinion of the Fathers I consulted was unanimous that you were suited to this difficult mission. I therefore send you, and I hope the good Lord will help you.”<sup>14</sup>

Rouvière followed this direction. “Authority had spoken,” the obedient priest said, so “there was only one thing to do: submit, pack up and leave. Besides, it was a question of winning souls over to the good Lord. This thought alone was capable of overcoming all hesitation and repugnance” – even if it meant venturing into “a totally unknown country, among savage peoples who had never seen a priest. Solitude awaited me, perhaps even misery.” He travelled to Fort Norman on the mission steamer and then northward to Dease Bay on Great Bear Lake with English adventurer John Hornby and six families of Gwich’in in a York boat. On 11 August, he met his first Inuk and set off with Hornby to find a larger group of Inuit camped nearby. Three days later, Rouvière noted his excitement at finally accomplishing his mission:

No sooner had I walked for half an hour in the direction of our camp, than, at the top of a hill, I saw something that seemed to be moving. The distance was too great to distinguish whether they were men or animals. To clear up my doubt, I move in that direction. No sooner had I gone a hundred yards than I saw other shapes moving on the hillside. If my eyes could not yet determine what these shapes might be, at least there were people alive. Continuing forward, I saw a black mass moving on the other side of the hill, and several beings breaking away from the group to take the lead. There was no longer any doubt: I was looking at men, the Eskimos I had been longing for. I prayed to Mary, thanking her for granting my wish and asking her to bless this first encounter. Then I saw more clearly a small group of six or seven people coming towards me, one of them in the lead. When we reached a distance of two or three hundred metres apart, the man lifted his arms to the sky, at the same time nodding his head to the left; at first, I was quite astonished, but seeing how often he repeated the same gesture, I decided to respond with the same signs, trying to reproduce them as best I could; immediately their march quickens, assured.

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<sup>14</sup> Le R.P. J.B. Rouvière, « Rapport sur les Esquimaux du Mackenzie, » in *Missions de la Congrégation des Missionnaires Oblats de Marie Immaculée* no. 201 (Rome : Maison générale, mars 1913), 26-27. Translated by the editors.

It was a greeting, and at the same time a sign that we could approach without fear, for we were dealing with good people. I noticed in the visits that followed that this was always how they greeted a stranger, even when it was another Eskimo coming to visit.

When they were within a few paces of me, the one who was walking ahead turned to those who were following him, saying this single word: “Kpablunap,” “it’s a white man.” Then he came over to me and held out his hand, saying a few words I could not understand. What a good handshake.... My heart overflowed with joy, the Blessed Virgin had heard my prayer. Oh I how I wished, at that moment, to speak their language, to tell them all my joy, and all that I was feeling in my heart. The Eskimo who had first approached me then took me by the arm to lead me to those who were with him so that I could shake their hands. As some of them, or rather some of them, seemed to be shy, for the group following him was mostly made up of women, he addressed them as if to tell them to hurry up. After that, they all lined up around me, and began to examine me from every angle. I then gave each of them a medal of the Blessed Virgin. I then tried, by means of signs, to make them understand who I was and why I had come among them. Did they understand? I do not know, but one thing seemed to strike them most, and that was my Oblate Cross, and my cassock.<sup>15</sup>

The group of Inuit indicated that they wished for Rouvière to stay with them at their camp, but he declined at Hornby’s suggestion.<sup>16</sup>

The missionary built upon this promising initial encounter over the course of the summer. He visited the Inuit camp a second time a few days later and was “met with the same friendly and cordial reception.” This time Rouvière, Hornby, and some Gwich’in men stayed the night. During the evening, the priest gathered the Gwich’in to recite the rosary, pray, and sing a hymn. “All the while, the Eskimos gathered behind the Indians made not the slightest noise: no shout, no mockery, not even a smile,” Rouvière recounted. “It was perfect silence, and many even knelt down like the Indians, trying to imitate them.” On 7 September, a group of Inuit came to visit the priest at his camp at the headwaters of the Dease River. “Among them were a number I had already seen in August, but many I was seeing for the first time,” he observed. “They always showed the same friendliness and frankness. From that day on, until the end of October, it was a continual coming and going: always some new visit, so that I could say I was living among them.” All told, Rouvière

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<sup>15</sup> Rouvière, « Rapport sur les Esquimaux du Mackenzie, » 35-36. Translated by the editors.

<sup>16</sup> Instead, an Inuk came back to the priest’s camp.

estimated that between 150 and 200 Inuit came to visit him. “I can't wait to learn their language, so I can teach them,” he noted, never losing sight of his proselytizing mission. At the end of October, the group of Inuit left to overwinter in camps on the sea ice while Rouvière and Hornby spent the dark season along the Dease River. In April 1912, nine months after the priest had first set out, he returned to the mission at Fort Norman.<sup>17</sup>

The next summer, twenty-eight-year-old Guillaume Le Roux, who had been serving at Fort Norman's mission of Saint Thérèse, went north to join Rouvière. “Brilliantly gifted in mind and body [and] a remarkable linguist, [Le Roux] was made for the long arctic journeys and for the organization of the new and difficult missions to which the vicar apostolic of Mackenzie called him,” another Oblate described.<sup>18</sup> They built a cabin at Lake Imaerinik in the Dismal Lakes region and met many Inuit that autumn, with Le Roux eagerly studying their language. On 1 July 1913, while on a three-week trip to the Catholic mission at Fort MacPherson, Le Roux sent a letter to friends relating his experience to date:



**Figure 4:** Father Guillaume Le Roux. *OMI*

Dear friends, studying a language without a master and without books is a hard task. The Eskimos we have met, having had virtually no relationship with white people, do not know any languages other than their own. You can imagine how difficult it is sometime to get the meaning of words that one only hears. (...)

I write to you from Red River.<sup>19</sup> I have been here for three weeks and you should know that during my stay here the sun never went below the horizon. Here I am indeed in the land of the midnight sun.

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<sup>17</sup> Rouvière, « Rapport sur les Esquimaux du Mackenzie, » 38-40. Translated by the editors.

<sup>18</sup> Pierre Jean Baptiste Duchaussois, *Aux glaces polaires : Indiens et esquimaux* (Lyon : Oeuvre Apostolique de Marie Immaculée, 1921). Translated by the editors.

<sup>19</sup> The Arctic Red River (*Tsiigèhñjik*, or “iron river,” in the Gwich’in language), is a tributary to the Mackenzie River in the NWT. Tsiigèhtchic, the name of a community where the river joins the Mackenzie, was formerly known as Arctic Red River. Canadian Heritage River System, “Arctic Red River (*Tsiigèhñjik*),”

I came here to see some members of an Eskimo tribe that is different from the one I met last summer or fall. I found a few Eskimo families here and I was able to pick up a few words of the language they speak. (...) I cannot say that I know well people whom I have just met. I must say however that the Eskimos I met last fall did not seem very repulsive to me. Indeed, even if they were, I would still love them out of love for Jesus Christ.

These Eskimos are savages and pagan. However, they are always very friendly to us and they have always been hospitable. They always greet us with a gracious smile; they helped us set up our tent, went to get wood, water, offered us beautiful pieces of caribou meat when they returned. Yet they still do not know who we are, we could not tell them not knowing well enough their language. They notice that we pray and they saw Fr. Rouvière say mass. (...)

We have had many trials, it is true. We were often tired when evening came, but never in these “deserts”, did we or our dogs go hungry. God was watching over us every day and let us find even abundance.

Very dear friends, pray for me and I will also ask you to pray for my companion Fr. Rouvière. Though you do not know him, I’m sure you will think of him when I tell you that we live here, far from civilization, happy because we love each other like brothers.

In a few days I will leave the Red River to go back to Fort Norman. From there I will go by canoe to rejoin my dear companion at the northeast end of Bear Lake; then we will both travel the deserts together in search of souls. Your prayers, I am sure, will help us in our holy expedition.<sup>20</sup>

On 30 August 1913, whaling captain Joe Bernard passed Le Roux and Rouvière a letter from Bishop Breynat authorizing them to establish a mission in the Coronation Gulf region. The two priests set off in October, moving hastily in hopes of arriving before an anticipated Anglican missionary and thus securing a favourable foothold in the ongoing “race for souls” between the Christian churches. Le Roux had a suitable grasp of the local dialect, and the pair earned the names of Ilogoak (Le Roux) and Kuleavik (Rouvière). In one of his final letters, Le Roux described how he “was received among the Eskimos, as the first time, with manifestations of joy. All the time that I spent

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[https://web.archive.org/web/20050405081833/http://www.chrs.ca/Rivers/ArcticRed/ArcticRed\\_e.htm](https://web.archive.org/web/20050405081833/http://www.chrs.ca/Rivers/ArcticRed/ArcticRed_e.htm).

<sup>20</sup> Le Roux to “dear friends Daniel, Marianne, and Maria,” 1 July 1913, OMI archives, <https://omi200.wordpress.com/2016/10/30/october-30-jean-baptiste-rouviere-guillaume-le-roux-martyrs-in-canada/>.



**Figure 5:** Fathers Le Roux and Rouvière on their journey up the Bear River.  
*George M. Douglas/Library and Archives Canada PA-120593.*

with them, I was treated as a distinguished guest. There was only one tent in the camp. I was given the most beautiful place, and ... [even] its owner asked me for permission to enter it. At the meals the best pieces were always reserved for me.” Rouvière similarly reported how “all of [the local Inuit] seem to me to be quite well disposed,” and he expected that “there will be some hard heads among them; but I do not think that it will be the majority. They have too good a heart to resist grace.”<sup>21</sup>

Bishop Breynat first reported the disappearance of Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux to federal authorities in March 1915. It had been a year and a half since the priests’ superiors had been able to reach them, and they worried that the missionaries may have become stranded or lost somewhere in what they perceived as a remote wilderness. The Royal North-West Mounted Police (RNWMP) took up the search, with Commissioner Aylesworth Bowen Perry sending Inspector Charles Deering “Denny” La Nauze and two Constables, Constable James E.F. Wight and Constable Withers, from Edmonton to Fort Norman (now Tulita). “Since the formation of the North West Mounted Police in 1874 glamour and romance has been its constant companions,” Inspector La Nauze observed. In the early twentieth century, Canadians had “seized upon the Mounted Police as the decorative heroes of their

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<sup>21</sup> Quoted in Duchaussois, *Aux glaces polaires*. Translated by the editors.



imagination,” conceiving them as “a hard driving, cold-resisting crowd of supermen who ‘always get their man.’”<sup>22</sup>

Reports seeped into the mission at Fort Norman that the missionaries had been murdered, but their fate remained unknown.<sup>23</sup> The more time that the RNWMP spent at Fort Norman, however, the more LaNauze recognized that the local Indigenous peoples, whose languages LaNauze and his Constables did not speak, had more information than the non-Indigenous residents. In need of a translator, LaNauze’s party recruited Ilavinik from Fort McPherson, who brought his wife Mamayauk (Mamayuk) and daughter Nogasak (Nogosak). Ilavinik had served as a translator for explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson and, with Ilavinik at his side, LaNauze resumed his interviewing at Fort Norman – this time focusing on the Indigenous experts. A Sahtu Got’ine (then “Bearlake”) teenager identified as Harry had been the last non-Inuk to see the priests alive, and he intimated that the priests likely had died of exposure, recounting that he had seen several Inuit in possession of goods looted from the priests’ cabin.

During the summer of 1915, La Moelle, a Tłtchq (then Dog Rib) man, approached RNWMP Inspector Charles A. Rheault and reported that he had seen an Inuit woman in possession of a cross, which local residents



**Figure 6:** Charles Deering  
“Denny” LaNauze. *LAC*.

<sup>22</sup> Charles D. La Nauze, “The Bathurst Inlet Patrol,” *The Police Journal* 5, no. 1 (1932): 13.

<sup>23</sup> The Rev. Father Xavier Ducot advised La Nauze’s party that the missing priests would likely return, while D’Arcy Arden insisted they were unlikely to have become victims of foul play. Arden did suspect that they had died, however, as did the Rev. Father Frapsauce (owing to the lack of communication). See Annual Report of Supt. A.E.C. Mcdonell in doc. 1, and Insp. C.D. LaNauze to Supt. A.E.C. McDonell, 15 August 1915, in doc. 2.

understood to have belonged to the missing priests, while her husband wore a priest's cassock. The cassock bore a grim indication of its original wearer's fate: a hole was torn, seemingly by a knife, through the fabric directly in line with the heart. The hole was surrounded by a blood stain – an indication of violence, not an accidental tear. Rheault relayed this information to La Nauze, who set out on his epic Bathurst Inlet patrol to investigate the fate of the Catholic missionaries.<sup>24</sup>

### “The Case of the Missing Priests”<sup>25</sup>: The Investigation

All signs at Fort Norman and beyond indicated that the priests had died, but Denny LaNauze sought certainty and decided to proceed further north in search of more information. LaNauze, his constables (including Ilavinik, who was appointed a special constable for the investigation), their First Nations guide Harry, and Ilavinik's family were joined on this journey by D'Arcy Arden and Father E. Frapsauce (an experienced traveller from the mission at Fort Norman).<sup>26</sup> After a long journey up the Bear River, the group and their pack dogs arrived at Dease Bay, Great Bear Lake, in autumn 1915 and overwintered in the Catholic mission's outpost building there.<sup>27</sup>

Simultaneously, RNWMP Corporal Wyndham Valentine Bruce conducted his own investigation into the missing priests. In August 1915, he set out from Herschel Island to the Rae River and Coppermine River. When the corporal reached the Canadian Arctic Expedition's base at Bernard Harbour, he obtained useful information immediately. Expedition members reported that they had seen a priest's cassock and cross in the possession of Inuit. The members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition also reported that an *angakok* (shaman) named Uloqsaq (often written as Uluksak, Uluksuk, or Uloksak in the sources), had a cache of unusual objects.

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<sup>24</sup> The RNWMP investigations are eloquently described in McKay Jenkins, *Bloody Falls of the Coppermine: Madness and Murder in the Arctic Barren Lands* (New York: Random House, 2006). This is the most reliable source published on the case and trial.

<sup>25</sup> Harwood Steele, *Policing the Arctic: The Story of the Conquest of the Arctic by the Royal Canadian (Formerly North-West) Mounted Police* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1936), 178.

<sup>26</sup> “An Authentic History of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police,” *Victoria Colonist*, 6 March 1921.

<sup>27</sup> Victor Forbin, “La gendarmerie du pôle nord,” *Revue des Deux Mondes* 59, no. 2 (15 sept. 1930) : 420-421.

A short editorial intervention is warranted to distinguish between this man named Uloqsaq and the man with the same name who killed the priests. In 1916, anthropologist Diamond Jenness identified this Uloqsaq (also referred to in some documents as Uloqsaq Mayak or Mayuk) as a thirty-year-old member of the Kilusiktok group from the Coronation Gulf region with three wives.<sup>28</sup> Uloqsaq had paid an angakok several caribou in exchange for being taught “how to obtain the command over certain spirits,”



**Figure 7:** Uloqsaq Mayak or Mayuk. *Canadian Arctic Expedition.*

Jenness recorded, which he claimed to include that of “a white man, a polar bear, a wolf, and a dog.” The anthropologist also suggested that Uloqsaq used his “superior intelligence ... for purely selfish ends,” leaving him “disliked and feared because of his unscrupulousness and his cunning.”<sup>29</sup> The other Uloqsaq (also known as Uloqsaq Avingak in some sources) was a thirty-five-year-old male from the Akuliakattak group from the Dolphin and Union Strait region to the northwest of Coronation Gulf.<sup>30</sup> To distinguish these two

<sup>28</sup> Diamond Jenness, *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol. XII: The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1923), B15; Jenness, *Report of the CAE Southern Party*, 238.

<sup>29</sup> Jenness, *Report of the CAE Southern Party*, 92, 192, 231. See also references to him on pages 94, 229-30, 238-39.

<sup>30</sup> Diamond Jenness, *Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition 1913-18, Vol. XII: The Copper Eskimos, Part B: Physical Characteristics of the Copper Eskimos* (Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1923), 8B. Jenness preferred Inuit from the east end of Coronation Gulf, “where the people had been rather more isolated,” who he and the other CAE members found “more honest, more hospitable, and more courteous than the inhabitants of the west end of the gulf and of Dolphin and Union Strait, where many of the younger men and women were shameless beggars and meddling thieves, who would slyly turn out every bag on one’s sled and examine or carry off its contents. For them the unprotected stranger was fair booty, and only the fear of being cut off from all supplies of rifles and ammunition and other articles on which they were learning to depend prevented them from robbing us more extensively than they did. Even among themselves petty stealing became more frequent, and detection more difficult. This

men, we will refer to the former as Uloqsaq Mayak and the latter as Uloqsaq from this point forward in our introduction.

Bruce decided to investigate. When one of the naturalists with the Expedition took him to the cache, he found a cassock labeled with Rouvière's name as well as an illustrated French scripture lesson book and a brass communion plaque (among other sundry items which Bruce did not bother to list). He took the cassock and plaque with him but left the rest of the cache as he found it. After this discovery, Bruce interviewed Inuit in the area, finding various artifacts that clearly belonged to the priests. In one camp, Bruce happened upon an Inuk who possessed a crucifix on a cord that a priest used to hang it around his neck, as well as two rosaries. On 15 November, Uloqsaq Mayak came to the CAE camp where he stayed for a month. This gave ample time for Bruce to learn more about the items in his possession. At this time, Uloqsaq Mayak reported that Rouvière had given him the items in an effort to convert him. Relatively satisfied with Uloqsaq Mayak's explanations, Bruce continued to gather information from Inuit throughout the region, with La Nauze later commenting that by Bruce's "great tact, none of the natives were suspicious of his presence in the gulf and he ... knew practically all of the Eskimos."<sup>31</sup>

Meanwhile, LaNauze's party moved on from its winter camp at Dease Bay in March 1916 and left for the mouth of the Coppermine. Arriving at the village of Kugaryuak the following month, Inuit there initially assumed that LaNauze was a trader. Instead, the inspector informed them that he had been sent by "the Big White Chief" to teach them the law of the land. LaNauze did not have as much time to instruct Inuit as he anticipated, however, because he learned from the local population that the CAE was camped nearby. The following day, La Nauze found the explorers' encampment and was surprised to find Corporal Bruce among them. Previously unaware that Bruce was investigating the same case as himself, LaNauze compared notes with his colleague. Subsequently, they decided to interview the local population in tandem.

On 8 May, LaNauze and his interpreter Ilavinik visited the home of brothers Nachin and Ekkeshuina. LaNauze asked them, through Ilavinik, if

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degradation in manners and morals was not of course universal. Some of the natives themselves deplored it, and used what little influence they had to check their neighbours and bring about more honourable relations." Jenness, *Report of the CAE Southern Party*, 242.

<sup>31</sup> Quoted in Moyles, *British Law and Arctic Men*, 24.

they had seen any Europeans in the area of Lake Imaerinik. They confirmed that they had, and LaNauze allowed Ilavinik to take the reins for the remainder of the discussion and press for further details. Within five minutes, Ilavinik told LaNauze that Inuit had murdered the priests. LaNauze stepped away from the conversation to tell Bruce of this breakthrough in the investigation, and by the time the inspector returned to the brothers, Ilavinik had already extracted the names of the men who had committed the killings: Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq.

As the discussion continued, several Inuit gathered in the brothers' home. One hunter, named Koeha, offered the full story of the murder to the Police. In early October 1913, Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux had come up from Imaerinik along with John Hornby and stayed with the Inuit at their camp on an island in the Coppermine estuary for five days, living with a man named Kormik. Around 20 October, Father Rouvière wrote in his journal: "Families have already left. Disenchantment on the part of the Eskimos. We're threatened with starvation, so we don't know what to do." As Duchaussois noted, "the word *disenchantment* appears, not underlined, but strongly emphasized. It was the first time Father Rouvière had spoken with any bitterness about his flock." This was the last entry that the priest wrote in his journal.<sup>32</sup>

After an incident where Kormik stole and then hid Le Roux's rifle, Le Roux became upset. "Whatever the native protocol, which prescribes not refusing what you are asked, the missionaries could not tolerate this latest larceny," Duchaussois speculated. "To venture into these countries without a gun is, for a white man, to condemn himself to starvation. So the gun was taken back by its owner." Kormik was furious and, according to Koeha, attempted to kill the priest before Koeha intervened and overpowered Kormik. Koeha then helped both Oblates leave the community by furnishing them with a loaded sled and four dogs, then accompanying them for the first half-day of their journey. Two days later, Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq (who were part of Kormik's group) left in the same direction as the priests, explaining that they intended to meet up with some individuals who were expected to arrive from the Dismal Lakes. According to Koeha, the Inuuk caught up with the priests and stayed with them for a day. The following morning, the party continued on to Bloody Falls where Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq killed the priests, stabbing Le Roux and then shooting Rouvière. When the Inuuk returned to camp, Uloqsaq told Koeha that Sinnisiak had instigated the murder.

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<sup>32</sup> Duchaussois, *Aux glaces polaires*. Translated by the editors.

Additionally, he said that they had eaten some of the priests' internal organs. Five people (including Kormik) travelled to the scene of the murder to take what items they could from the priests' bodies and sled, but they were forced to turn back. Subsequently, a new group of four individuals (including Kormik and Koeha) set out with the same goal. Koeha reported that he sought to recover his dog, which he had loaned to the priests. This party succeeded in its journey, and Koeha reported seeing Le Roux's body but not Rouvière's.

After Koeha offered his account, several other Inuit asked to share their own version of events and reinforced the same basic narrative. Hupo said that Sinnisiak told him that Le Roux was going to kill him so he struck first. Four other men told similar stories, with each claiming that they had not told any *qallunaat* about the murder until now because they feared retribution. That same evening, LaNauze purchased the priests' effects from the community members, labeling and storing them for intended use in criminal proceedings. After typing their statements, he obtained signatures as well as witnesses. He and Bruce, in their capacities as Justices of the Peace for Northwest Territories, then issued an official charge of murder against Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq.

It remained for LaNauze and Bruce to arrest the perpetrators. This would not be a simple feat. While Uloqsaq was in the general area already, Sinnisiak could have been anywhere, and they had only a vague lead of his location. A

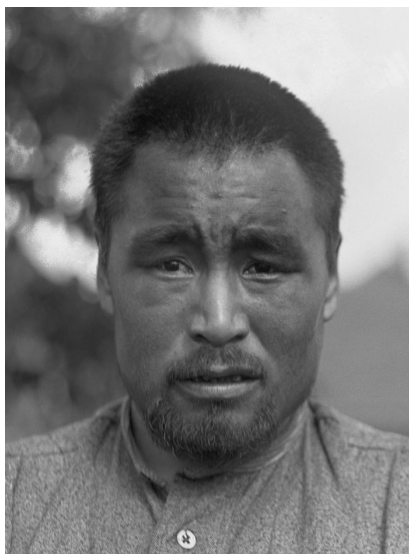


**Figure 8:** “Place where Fathers Rouvière and LeRoux were killed by Sinnisiak and Uluksuk.” *Denny LaNauze, Glenbow Archive, PD-395-1-26.*

guide told the Mounties that Sinnisiak was somewhere near Victoria Island and the policemen set off to find him. When they arrived at the camp described to them, they found most of the shelters abandoned and suspected that Sinnisiak and others had fled the area. Yet, with a stroke of luck, they stumbled upon Sinnisiak in a tent, working on a bow. With trepidation, he agreed to follow the Policemen. He almost certainly expected to be killed on the spot for the crime, as was the punishment for murder in Inuit tradition.

Brought to Bernard Harbour for a preliminary hearing, Sinnisiak offered a full confession with little prodding or coercion from the Mounties. In fact, he had been told that making a statement was not mandatory but offered one anyway. His story confirmed much of what the police already knew. Having gone south to aid others who were returning, he and Uloqsaq met with the priests and were offered traps in exchange for assistance in pulling the priests' sled. They camped for a night and the next day stumbled upon a cache belonging to the priests. Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq went to investigate the cache, but Le Roux grew angry and drew a rifle on the Inuit. Sinnisiak asked if the priest intended to kill him, and he stated that Le Roux nodded before shoving him and ordering him to continue pulling the sled. Sinnisiak attempted to speak to Uloqsaq, but Le Roux clamped his hand over Sinnisiak's mouth to prevent the two men from communicating. Sinnisiak believed that he would only survive the ordeal if he and Uloqsaq killed the priests before they could themselves be killed, and thus he enlisted Uloqsaq to aid him in the murder.

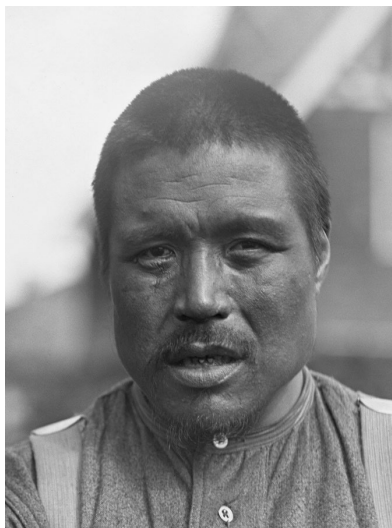
According to this statement, Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq fully believed that they were going to be killed and, acting out of prescribed procedure according to Inuit laws, defended themselves by killing their would-be killers. The conventional wisdom among Inuit held that "if a man spoke harshly to you[,] he had it in his mind to kill you," historian Richard Diubaldo later explained.



**Figure 9:** Sinnisiak, August 1917.  
*McDermid Studio, Edmonton,  
Glenbow Archive, PD-395-1-26.*

“It was thus only sensible, and proper, to defend yourself by killing him first.”<sup>33</sup>

While pulling the sled through the Bloody Falls area, Sinnisiak set the plan in motion by telling the priests that he intended to relieve himself, walking away from the sled. Instead, he turned and stabbed Le Roux with a knife. He then instructed Uloqsaq to take the rifle. Le Roux struggled with Uloqsaq for possession of the weapon, but Uloqsaq overpowered and killed Le Roux.



**Figure 10:** Uluksuk (Uloqsaq), August 1917. *McDermid Studio, Edmonton, Glenbow Archive, PD-395-1-26.*

Sinnisiak then asked Uloqsaq for the rifle and shot at Rouvière. His first shot missed, but the second bullet hit and injured Rouvière, who fell into a creek. Rouvière was still alive, so Uloqsaq stabbed him with a knife, then Sinnisiak struck him in the face and legs with an axe. Once both priests were dead, their killers cut open Le Roux’s body and ate a small portion of his liver before covering the corpses with snow and taking two rifles and six bags of cartridges from the sled. (During the trial, both men testified that they did not enjoy eating the priest’s liver, but they did so because they feared that spirits would reanimate Le Roux’s corpse if they did not undertake this ritual.)

The Mounties arrested Sinnisiak but chose not to restrain him with handcuffs. Bruce supervised him while LaNauze set off to retrieve Uloqsaq from hunting grounds around the mouth of the Coppermine River, joined by Constable Wight and Diamond Jenness’ interpreter Patsy Klengenber. Klengenber, aged about sixteen, was the eldest son of Danish trader Christian Klengenber and his Inupiaq wife Qimniq. Uloqsaq was relatively easy to find, as he had anticipated that the police would be looking for him after word of their investigation had circulated among Inuit. By many accounts, Uloqsaq was simply happy that he would not be killed on the spot. He agreed to follow the party after Wight arrested him but requested that they wait for his wife to finish making a pair of boots for him. LaNauze agreed to this stipulation, collecting a statement from Uloqsaq in the

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<sup>33</sup> Diubaldo, *Government of Canada and the Inuit*, 19.



meantime. This story was almost exactly the same as the one that Sinnisiak had recounted, indicating that Uloqsaq also believed that the priests intended to kill them. Only one small detail differed: Uloqsaq claimed that they had eaten some of both priests' livers, not only Le Roux's. From there, LaNauze took Uloqsaq to Bernard Harbour. Constable Wight broke off from the group and, guided by Uloqsaq Mayak, took Ilavinik and Kormik to the site of the murder. They found bone fragments, fabric scraps, and possessions of the priests including a diary and other books. Additionally, they discovered three empty .44 Winchester shells.

The police, having gathered enough evidence, closed the case on 25 May. The Arctic ice proved uncooperative, however, and they could not depart with their prisoners until 8 July. The Canadian Arctic Expedition ship *Alaska* brought the party as far as Herschel Island, but a long journey remained before they reached the courtrooms in Alberta where the fates of the Inuuk would be decided.



**Figure 11:** On the trail to the trial. *City of Edmonton Archives EB-31-13.*

### “At Big Chief’s Call”<sup>34</sup>: The First Trial

For officials in Ottawa, the apparent explosion of violence in the Canadian Arctic – with the murders of Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux serving as a prime example – demanded an urgent solution. In 1917, Deputy Minister of Justice Edmund Leslie Newcombe began planning to bring Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq to the south for a publicized trial that could be used to teach Canadian law to Inuit and send a warning to other would-be murderers in the North. Although Alberta was a distinct jurisdiction from where the crime took place, there was sufficient precedent for matters from the North to be brought down into the provincial courts out of convenience. The Arctic simply did not have sufficient government administration to convene a suitable trial, so officials decided on Edmonton.

A steamboat carried Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq down the Mackenzie River to Peace River and then they travelled overland to Edmonton, arriving in August 1917.<sup>35</sup> Inspector Denny LaNauze, the witness Koeha, and two translators, RNWMP Special Constable Ilavinik and Patsy Klengenberg, accompanied them. While the party awaited the trial, the Mounties used the extra time to introduce the Inuit men to southern Canadian culture. The prisoners and translators alike were brought to vaudeville shows and motion picture screenings, activities which were reported to have deeply confused most of the men – but nonetheless turned the Inuit prisoners into local celebrities. Reports suggested, however, that Patsy Klengenberg seemed to be the only member of the group who appreciated the excursions, with the others appearing sullen and homesick. Ilavinik, for instance, was reported to appear rather confused and detached at a vaudeville performance that he attended with Patsy. Later, the government would realize that bringing fame to the prisoners would backfire. At the time, however, it appears that officials intended to impress the Inuit party with what European Canadians perceived to be examples of the superiority and advancement of *qallunaat* (white) society.

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<sup>34</sup> “Eskimos on Murder Charge Face Court at Big Chief’s Call,” *Edmonton Journal*, 14 August 1917.

<sup>35</sup> Though the prisoners were arrested in summer 1916, the window for sailing out of the Arctic was short during the early twentieth century. It is likely that the reason that Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq were not brought to trial until the next summer was because they were arrested too late to be taken south during the 1916 season.



**Figure 12:** “Two Copper Inuit prisoners, RNWMP, interpreters, witness, and judicial officials, at murder trial, Edmonton, August 1917. Front row (l. to r.): Ilavinek (interpreter), Koeha (witness), Uloksak Avingak (prisoner), Sinnisiak (prisoner), Patsy Klengenberg (interpreter). Back row (l. to r.): C.C. McCaul (prosecuting attorney), RNWMP Inspector C.D. LaNauze (arresting officer), James Wallbridge (defence attorney), and RNWMP Constable D.E.F. Wight (assistant to inspector LaNauze).” *McDermid Studio/LAC [1996-400 NPC] 2000833166.*

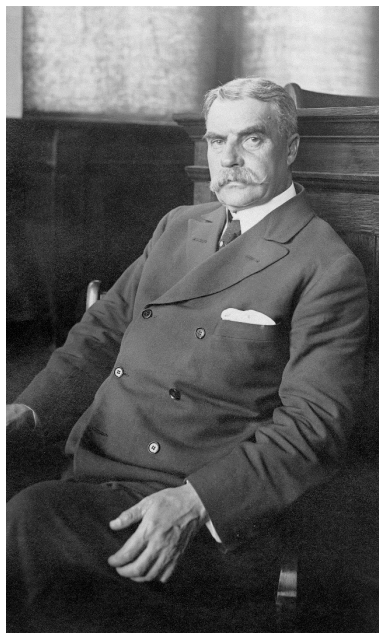
While LaNauze and other officials toured the prisoners around Edmonton, Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs Duncan Campbell Scott<sup>36</sup> and Deputy Minister of Justice Edmond Leslie Newcombe<sup>37</sup> finalized the last

<sup>36</sup> On Duncan Campbell Scott (1862-1947), see E. Brian Titley, *A Narrow Vision: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1992); Lisa Salem-Wiseman, “‘Verily, the White Man's Ways Were the Best’: Duncan Campbell Scott, Native Culture, and Assimilation,” *Studies in Canadian Literature* 21/2 (1996): 120-142; and Mark Abley, *Conversations with a Dead Man: The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 2013).

<sup>37</sup> On E.L. Newcombe (1859-1931), see W. Stuart Edwards, “The Late Honourable Edmund Leslie Newcombe, CMG,” *Canadian Bar Review* 9 (1931): 737-739; and

details of the trial. Attorneys needed to be selected for both the prosecution and defence. In early July, Scott and Newcombe had recommended Charles Coursolles McCaul, K.C., as the prosecutor, and H.L. Landry of Landry & Landry Barristers, Edmonton, as the defence attorney. Landry was apprehensive about the appointment, however, arguing that the confessions obtained were of questionable legality and that defending the Inuuk men would harm his reputation. Nevertheless, his correspondence with Newcombe indicated that, despite his reservations, he “would be very pleased to conduct the defence and also to obtain the accompanying fee.”<sup>38</sup> By 25 July, Scott and Newcombe decided not to proceed with Landry as counsel. Instead, they appointed James Wallbridge, K.C., of Edmonton to replace him around 9 August – mere days before the trial began. Accordingly, Wallbridge had much less time to prepare his case than McCaul.

On 14 August, Sinnisiak’s trial began for the murder of Father Jean-Baptiste Rouvière. The prisoners were brought in wearing the same clothes in which they had been arrested (sealskin coats, pants, and boots), so that the jury could observe how they would have appeared at the time of the murder. The hot summer weather in Edmonton proved incompatible with their garments, however, and the prisoners were provided with basins filled with ice water in which they submerged their feet to remain cool. After the first day of trial, Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq dressed in more environmentally-suitable denim attire. Cross-cultural difficulties also arose with respect to shoddy translation, with the interpreters’ grasp of English insufficient to entirely bridge the language barrier. Inspector LaNauze had to translate questions into simpler English so that Ilavinik and Klengenberk could understand and then translate



**Figure 13:** Prosecutor Charles Coursolles McCaul. *Glenbow Archive, PD-395-2-14.*

Philip Girard, “Newcombe, Edmund Leslie,” *Dictionary of Canadian Biography XVI (1931-1940)*, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/newcombe\\_edmund\\_leslie\\_16E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/newcombe_edmund_leslie_16E.html).

<sup>38</sup> See Landry to Newcombe, 17 July 1917, doc. 48 in this volume.

them, forcing court material to pass through multiple cycles of translation. Nevertheless, the court was unsatisfied with the level of certainty that the interpreting afforded. At one point in the trial, Ilavinik and Inspector LaNauze were asked what had happened when Ilavinik took Sinnisiak's initial statement at the time of his arrest. The issue at hand was whether Ilavinik had questioned Sinnisiak or if he merely let him speak freely. Although LaNauze claimed there was no questioning, Ilavinik stated that the Mountie did ask questions. It was eventually settled that Ilavinik did not understand what he was being asked and gave an incorrect answer because of the leading questions posed by the Crown prosecutor. (Leading questions continued throughout the trial, eliciting objections from both Crown and defence.)<sup>39</sup>

Because Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq had been forthcoming in confessing to killing the priests, their culpability for the actual act was not the primary question before the court. Instead, the trial focused on whether the men should be acquitted under the provision of justifiable homicide, which would be enacted if the men were to be found to have acted in self-defence. The defence attempted to make this claim, but Judge Harvey rejected it thoroughly, stating that prevention of a feared outcome (such as the priests harming the Inuit men) was not the same of self-defence. In fact, the Chief Justice speculated that though Sinnisiak said he believed that he would be killed, the Inuk knew that the danger he faced, if any, was not immediate. Accordingly, Harvey suggested that Sinnisiak killed the priests out of "cunning" rather than self-defence.

On 17 August, after three-and-a-half days of trial proceedings and just over an hour of deliberation, the Edmonton jury returned a verdict that the homicide had been justifiable and that Sinnisiak was not guilty of murder. This outcome surprised many observers in the courtroom, not least the accused Sinnisiak who allegedly cried out: "It is not true. I did kill him."<sup>40</sup> For their parts, both McCaul and Harvey were stunned. They believed that the prosecution's reasoning had been airtight. Even Wallbridge, who was pleased that his arguments had prevailed, had not expected to win. This was more than a personal defeat for McCaul: the verdict meant that government's

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<sup>39</sup> For useful summaries of the trials, see Edwin R. Keedy, "A Remarkable Murder Trial: Rex v. Sinnisiak," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review* 100 (1951): 48-67, and McKay Jenkins, *Bloody Falls of the Coppermine: Madness and Murder in the Arctic Barren Lands* (New York: Random House, 2005), 151-219.

<sup>40</sup> Kenn Harper, "Taissumani: August 14, 1917 – The First Trial of Sinnisiak," *Nunatsiaq News*, 12 August 2005.

intention to set an example that would deter other Inuit from committing murder had failed. Appealing the decision was not an option, given the absence of any evidence indicating that any error had been made with the trial. Instead, officials blamed the jury for being overly sympathetic to the Inuit prisoners. This was due in part to the prisoners' status as local celebrities, as well as perceived anti-Catholic sentiment directed at the priests.

To obtain a conviction, the government began anew. The Edmonton trial had only covered Rouvière's murder, and intentionally so. With culpability for Le Roux's death still unsettled, the government launched another trial, meaning that, despite the first acquittal, murder convictions and the potential death sentence that they carried were still in play. McCaul, who had insisted on separating the charges in this fashion, wrote to Newcombe that he was quite pleased with himself for making such a decision, as it gave him another chance to convict a man already deemed innocent by a jury.

### **“They Know Now What Our Law Is”: The Second Trial**

Seeing as retrying the case from the Edmonton trial would result in double jeopardy and perceived juror sympathy was insufficient grounds for appeal,<sup>41</sup> the prosecution had, by separating the murders of Rouvière and Le Roux, purposefully constructed a loophole for itself which allowed it to try the same crime – a double homicide – in two separate trials. McCaul petitioned Harvey to host a new trial, this time at Calgary. Despite protestations from Wallbridge, the motion passed. Wallbridge requested that a new judge preside but Harvey refused, insisting that no other judge was available. So it was that only five days after the Edmonton verdict the Crown tried Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq jointly for the murder of Le Roux. This time, the jury would determine the guilt or innocence of both men simultaneously.

Once again, the prosecution and defence adopted a strongly paternalistic attitude toward all Inuit. Both sides of the courtroom frequently argued that the prisoners, as Inuit, were functionally little more than children, but prosecution and defence applied this racist attitude differently. McCaul used it to argue that the Inuit needed to be taught to obey the “white man's law.” Wallbridge countered that the Inuit were so simple that they could not be

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<sup>41</sup> R. G. Moyles, writing in 1979, has alleged that juror tampering charges were brought forth at this time. However, the editors have found no verifiable primary evidence to support this claim.

held responsible for their actions. In both cases, the lack of respect for Inuit culture, society, and legal culture is jarring to twenty-first century sensibilities.

The discussion in the Calgary courtroom fundamentally centred on whether the murder could be justified as a form of self-defence. McCaul insisted that it was not legally self-defence to kill in response to a threat of murder. In order to act in self-defence, he argued, the individual who had been killed needed to have been actively trying to murder their killer. He made this clear through an analogy, with McCaul picturing himself in a lifeboat with a member of the jury. The juror held a hypothetical gun and told McCaul that they would shoot him at four o'clock if another boat did not come to rescue them at that point. He then said that it would be illegal for him to kill the juror, despite this threat, even if four o'clock passed



**Figure 14:** The Inuit prisoners and their interpreter, August 1917. *Glenbow Archive, PA-3969-17*

without another boat arriving. His reasoning was that the juror had threatened him but had not made an actual attempt on his life. “Unless you were actually at the moment attempting to kill me,” he explained, “not merely threatening, I would be guilty of murder.”<sup>42</sup> If McCaul was to kill the juror, he stated that it would still be considered culpable homicide. He reasoned that even if the juror pulled his gun and placed it before him, this was not enough to warrant self-defence. The imaginary McCaul in the lifeboat, with no viable method of escape, was forced to wait until the juror was actively pulling the trigger, in this analogy, in order to be able to take action without breaking the law. In essence, McCaul’s interpretation of justifiable homicide asked the person defending themselves to literally dodge a bullet before they could do anything about the threat to their life.

McCaul’s applied this logic during the trial. As the prisoners’ testimonies described it, Le Roux had “take[n] the rifle up,”<sup>43</sup> pointing it at Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq after threatening them. Because of the definition of self-defence offered to the jury, Le Roux’s pointing of the gun did not constitute attempted murder warranting self-defence by Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq. In order for their killing of the priests to be justified, Le Roux would have had to actually shoot at them before they could act. This had not happened. According to the prosecution, this left no question that Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq ought to be found guilty. In this way, the trial concerned interpretation of the law more than the facts of the case (which were widely agreed upon).

A further courtroom debate surrounded what McCaul and Wallbridge deemed “half-measures”: if the Inuit were found guilty, they would be prosecuted to the full extent of the law and no circumventions, or half-measures, would be taken. Both the prosecution and defence agreed with this principle, but neither agreed on what would be considered circumvention. For McCaul, finding the homicide to be justifiable and acquitting the two Inuit men would be a condemnable half-measure. He emphasized to the jury that if they believed that the Inuit men had killed the two priests, then they ought to find them guilty. Wallbridge agreed that there should be no circumventions, but he did not believe that self-defence constituted such a situation. The debate on half-measures became muddier as McCaul almost immediately walked back his stance on half-measures with little cognitive dissonance evident. The prosecution, cautious about juror sympathy, knew that no one was keen to see the Inuit hang, so McCaul vouchsafed to the jury that the

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<sup>42</sup> See Calgary trial transcript, doc. 58 in this volume.

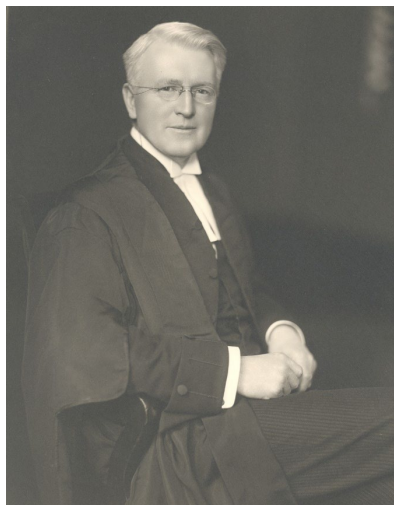
<sup>43</sup> See Calgary trial transcript, doc. 58.



prisoners would not be executed if convicted, with Harvey backing him in this argument. The guarantee of a commutation was intended to sway the jury to find Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq guilty, as they were no longer forced to decide between life and death for the prisoners. Though this promise may strike the reader as more of a half-measure than an acquittal for self-defence, McCaul remained firm that he was in the right.

As the trial drew near to a close, Wallbridge made a last-ditch effort to explain to the jury the verdict at Edmonton, demonstrating why a second trial was necessary. Judge Harvey disallowed this line of argumentation, despite Wallbridge's resistance (and eventually acquiescence). The jury was sent out to deliberate while Wallbridge, McCaul, and the Chief Justice continued to discuss whether they could promise clemency. Wallbridge requested the jury be brought back and told to disregard that promise, but Harvey ignored his plea.

The jury returned in forty-five minutes with a guilty verdict alongside "the strongest recommendation possible to mercy that the Jury can give" — a recommendation that appears directly linked to McCaul's promise of a commutation. Chief Justice Harvey did not have authority to commute the legally-mandated death penalty for murder, so he deferred sentencing, merely informing Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq that they would be put to death under the law but that the "Big Chief" in Ottawa would likely show them mercy. He then sent a telegram to the Secretary of State for Canada fully concurring with a commutation, emphasizing that "this case is clearly one for the utmost executive clemency." The Catholic authorities also agreed. "Invoking his title as father of the immolated missionaries," Bishop Breynat also petitioned the Minister of Justice, asking him to commute the death sentence. Instead, the bishop requested that the Inuit convicts "be entrusted to his care, so that he could impress upon them



**Figure 15:** Chief Justice Horace Harvey. *Legal Archives Society of Alberta*

the beauty of the Catholic religion, in its institutions, its missionaries and its merciful indulgence.”<sup>44</sup>

On 29 August, Governor General Victor Cavendish approved the commutation and, on that same day in Edmonton, Judge Harvey passed sentence. Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq were spared the hangman’s noose, and instead learned that they would be imprisoned for life at the guard post on Herschel Island. Three days later, the destination was changed to Fort Resolution. Imprisonment was not a common method of justice among the Inuit, and although Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq’s opinions on the verdict were not recorded, they likely found the punishment difficult to comprehend. The *Edmonton Journal* quoted James Wallbridge expressing his personal view that it would have been kinder for the Mounties to have stabbed Sinnisiak when they arrested him rather than bringing him South and subjecting him to such a foreign form of justice.<sup>45</sup>

While Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq were left to grapple with the unfamiliar process that played out before them, Crown officials rejoiced that their job



**Figure 16:** Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq with Inspector Denny LaNauze, August 1917.  
*McDermid Studio, Glenbow Archive, NC-6-2582.*

<sup>44</sup> Duchaussois, *Aux glaces polaires*. Translated by the editors.

<sup>45</sup> “Sinnisiak is Not Guilty; Verdict of Jury in Trial of Eskimo for Murder,” *Edmonton Journal*, August 17, 1917, 4.

was done. They thought that the conviction represented a symbolic victory that would prove to Inuit just how seriously *qallunaat* would treat murder cases such as these. As Harvey put it when delivering the sentence, “they know now what our law is.” The verdict was intended to serve as a clear threat to all Inuit that the Government of Canada would not back down when it believed that a serious crime had been committed.

The Catholic authorities also appeared satisfied with the outcome, with Fathers Le Roux and Rouvière joining the legion of martyrs who sacrificed their lives trying to bring Christianity to Indigenous peoples. Bishop Breynat’s efforts to ensure that Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq were not hanged espoused a commitment to selfless service. “This sublime act of mercy,” Father Duchaussois narrated, “performed by their bishop on their behalf, completed the sacrifice of the two young French Oblates, aged 32 and 27, who died on the beach of the icy ocean, in a hurricane of snow 3,000 leagues from their homeland, exhausted from fatigue and hunger, their hearts broken by the ingratitude of their adopted children, as the Heart of the divine Master had been broken by the infidelity of Jerusalem, on the eve of Calvary, and prayed for those who were stabbing them.”<sup>46</sup> In this spirit, the Catholic Church converted a bloody tragedy into a story of noble virtue and self-sacrifice.

### **“What Happened After?”<sup>47</sup>: Imprisonment and Beyond**

Following the Calgary trial, the police brought Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq to Fort Resolution on the shores of Great Slave Lake, hundreds of kilometres south of their Kitikmeot homeland. They were not confined in jail cells and instead were tasked with chores around the post, with the title of “Special Constables” conferred on them. Police reports describe them as model prisoners who worked hard and appeared quite content with their fate.

Although both received life sentences, their imprisonment lasted for just less than two years. On 13 May 1919, the Canadian authorities deemed “their undertaking solemnly for the future to respect human life and property” sufficient to warrant their release.<sup>48</sup> They subsequently worked as dog drivers and interpreters to help the police establish a new post at Tree River in the Kitikmeot region before returning to their homes.

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<sup>46</sup> Duchaussois, *Aux glaces polaires*. Translated by the editors.

<sup>47</sup> Moyles, *British Law and Arctic Men*, 83.

<sup>48</sup> Harring, “The Rich Men of the Country,” 21.

Government officials hoped that when Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq returned to Inuit Nunangat (the Inuit homeland in Canada), they would spread the word of the ‘white man’s law’ among their people and murders would cease. The experience of colonial justice, however, did not have the desired effect.<sup>49</sup> Corporal W.A. Doak, who had supervised the Inuuk while they served their sentences and “became quite attached” to them, soon became “caustic in his criticism of the leniency” shown to them:

Even since Uluskuk and Sinissiak were taken on that joy-ride to Edmonton and Calgary, shown the ‘bright lights’ and the picture shows and given a couple of years as police interpreters at Herschel Island I’ve expected trouble. Why, at the end of their time they returned to the Cogmollocks with trunks loaded with white man’s clothing, rifles and ammunition, and enough white man’s culture to ‘high-hat’ the rest of the tribe. Now they are big men amongst the natives, and the Huskies seem to think that all they have to do if they want a good time at the white man’s expense is to commit murder. First thing you know it won’t be safe for any white men in Coronation Gulf.<sup>50</sup>

When Alikomiak and Tatamigana were convicted for the 1922 murder of Doak and trader Otto Binder in 1923, Ottawa did not commute their death sentences. In this “show trial,” Ottawa sent a more resolute statement that murder would not be tolerated by sending the lumber to build the gallows and a hangman to join the court party.<sup>51</sup> “Finally, Inuit had been hanged for their crimes,” historian Kenn Harper lamented. “The Arctic would be safer for white men. British justice had come to the Arctic coast.”<sup>52</sup>

By this point, Copper Inuit life had already changed from the time when Rouvière and Le Roux had first visited the Kitikmeot. After the arrests of Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq in 1916, Rev. Herbert Girling took over the CAE

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<sup>49</sup> Uloqsaq allegedly became a bully and a thief, boasting that he did not fear the police and would not mind killing again. Kenn Harper, *Thou Shalt Do No Murder* (Iqaluit: Nunavut Arctic College Media, 2017), 265.

<sup>50</sup> Philip H. Godsell, *Arctic Trader: The Account of Twenty Years with the Hudson’s Bay Company* (London: Travel Book Club, [1946] 1951), 221-222. See also similar quotes in Harper, *Thou Shalt Do No Murder*, 264-65.

<sup>51</sup> See Ken Coates and Bill Morrison’s introduction in P. Whitney Lackenbauer and Kristopher Kinsinger, eds., *Arctic Show Trial: The Trial of Alikomiak and Tatamigana*, Documents on Canadian Arctic Sovereignty and Security (DCASS) No. 9 (Calgary and Waterloo: Centre for Military, Strategic and Security Studies/Centre on Foreign Policy and Federalism/Arctic Institute of North America, 2017).

<sup>52</sup> Harper, *Thou Shalt Do No Murder*, 271.

station at Bernard Harbour to make it an Anglican mission, the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post in the region, and several *qallunaat* trappers and traders operated along the Kitikmeot coast. A second RNWMP patrol visited Coronation Gulf the following year, and the police established a post at Tree River in 1920. With Inuit now "acquainted ... with the agents of civilized law," Jenness asserted, "the solitary traveller may now wander with impunity everywhere provided that he exercises a reasonable amount of tact and prudence."<sup>53</sup>

The anthropologist also lamented the transformation of Copper Inuit society as the *qallunaat* world encroached on the Kitikmeot region. "Rapid changes are taking place in the culture of the natives, and implements of iron and steel, rifles, fish-nets, open boats, European textiles and sewing machines, European foods, cheap musical instruments and the development of trapping at the expense of hunting and sealing will work a complete transformation within the space of a very few years," Jenness predicted. The fox fur economy drew men from their sealing camps much earlier than before, rifles had replaced bows and arrows, iron had replaced copper for most implements, and Western clothing was more prevalent. He noted that:

Already the new culture elements and the new teachings that are filtering in from the west have profoundly modified their social and religious ideas, and before the present generation passes away the primitiveness of the Copper Eskimo will have ceased to exist. How many will remain by that time, and whether they will be able to take any part in the development of this region depends largely on the manner in which we fulfill our trust. For in throwing open their country to outside invasion we have incurred a heavy responsibility towards the natives. ... Clearly, for better or for worse, the new era has dawned....<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Jenness, *Report of the CAE Southern Party*, 242.

<sup>54</sup> Jenness, *Report of the CAE Southern Party*, 242, 248. For a similar sentiment, see Inspector LaNauze's report of 1 August 1916 (doc. 36). On changes, see Scott McLean, "Beyond Neglect: Building Colonial Rule in the Kitikmeot, 1916–52," *Canadian Historical Review* 101, no. 1 (2020): 49–75, and McLean, "'The Advent of Civilization Amongst Them Will Not Tend to Their Betterment': Understanding Representations of Colonial Contact in the Kitikmeot," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 55, no. 3 (2021): 481–506.

## Around the Courtroom: Key Individuals

### *Sinnisiak*

Little is known about Sinnisiak's life before his arrest. Like many Inuit of his time, he did not know the year of his birth. This can be attributed to differences between European and Inuit cultural standards, as it was not common practice in the early twentieth century for Inuit to track their age in years. Nonetheless, a lack of cultural understanding led to the lawyers in the courtroom to emphasize Sinnisiak's inability to recall his age as a marker of his alleged simplicity. He was Kitikmiut and he was a hunter. He was unmarried and had no children, according to his own testimony. After his release, he appears to have returned to his traditional lifestyle and is believed to have died of tuberculosis around 1930.<sup>55</sup>

### *Uloqsaq (also known as Uloqsaq Avingak)*

At the time of the 1917 trial, Uloqsaq Avingak was married. He did not know his age (although Jenness identified him as thirty in 1916). Much to the bemusement of Euro-Canadians present at the Calgary trial, he told the courtroom, holding up eight fingers, that he was perhaps eight years old. Newspaper coverage of the trial depicted Uloqsaq as unintelligent because of this misunderstanding, showing Euro-Canadian insensitivity about cultural differences and revealing simple assumptions that Uloqsaq lacked mental acuity because Euro-Canadian customs were not the inherent standard for all societies.

Historians have found it difficult to track Uloqsaq Avingak after his release from confinement at Fort Resolution, and his is often confused with Uloqsaq Mayak (with whom he is regularly conflated into one person). Uloqsaq Mayak was a wealthy and rather prominent man in his community who, in 1924, an Inuk named Ikayena shot dead. Denny LaNauze questioned the Mounted Police's reporting that Ikayena had killed the Uloqsaq convicted of the priests' murders (see doc. 83 in this volume), but the police propagated the narrative that it was the same man. Consequently, many historians have suggested that Uloqsaq Avingak (rather than Uloqsaq Mayak) died in 1924. Instead,

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<sup>55</sup> Tuberculosis was epidemic in the first half of the twentieth century and had a particularly devastating impact among Inuit. The Government of Canada estimates that, at the peak of the tuberculosis outbreak in Canada's north during the 1950s, one in three Inuit were afflicted with the deadly disease. See Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997).

Uloqsaq Avingak lived at Bernard Harbour in the late 1920s until, suffering from tuberculosis of the spine and unable to hunt, he was taken to Coppermine (Kugluktuk) in the summer of 1929 where he died of tuberculosis that September.<sup>56</sup>

#### *Charles Coursolles McCaul*

Charles C. McCaul was born in Toronto in 1858. He obtained his law degree at Osgoode Hall Law School in 1883 and, immediately after graduation, moved west to Fort Macleod in what is now southern Alberta. He married in 1887 and moved to Lethbridge, where he started a practice with a former classmate. In 1890, he was designated Queen's Counsel. He temporarily left Alberta in 1899 to join the Yukon Gold Rush, then travelled extensively until he returned to establish himself in Edmonton in 1907. He remarried in 1921, after citing domestic conflict with his first wife. He retired from law in 1927 and died the next year. Over the course of his career, he grew to be considered one of the best lawyers in Western Canada. He was also remembered as a prolific writer, with publications in the realm of law as well as in history and science.

#### *James E. Wallbridge*

For a prominent lawyer of his day, James Wallbridge is underrepresented in the historical record. Outside the 1917 trial, much information about him comes from census and church records. Wallbridge appears to have been born in Belleville, Ontario, in 1875. By 1901, he seems to have been living in the Algoma district of Northern Ontario. He married in Toronto in 1904, having two children from the marriage, a son born in 1909 and a daughter born in 1912. His presence in Alberta is first marked on the 1916 census. He died at the age of 66 in 1942 and is buried in the Edmonton Municipal Cemetery.<sup>57</sup>

#### *Patsy Klengenber*

Patsy Klengenber was the eldest son of Danish trader Christian Klengenber and his wife, an Inupiaq woman named Qimniq. He was born

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<sup>56</sup> William R. Morrison, "Uloqsaq," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, 2005, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/uloqsaq\\_15E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/uloqsaq_15E.html); W. J. Vanast, "The Seath of Jennie Kanajuq: Tuberculosis, Religious Competition and Cultural Conflict in Coppermine, 1929–31," *Études Inuit Studies* 15 no.1 (1991): 75–104.

<sup>57</sup> See <https://www.jhowell.com/tng/getperson.php?personID=1574&trec=1>.

around 1900. At age 15, Patsy joined the anthropologist Diamond Jenness on the Canadian Arctic expedition as his assistant. After the 1917 trial, Patsy returned to the North and became independently successful. In 1924, he married a woman named Mary Yakalun from the Rymer Point area with whom he had two daughters. He ran a trading post on the Wilmot Islands beginning in 1924. However, his story is also one of great personal tragedy. His wife died in 1937, and he closed his trading post in 1941. Around the time of his wife's death, he adopted a boy named Donald Ayalik. In 1942, after service on the ship *Aklavik*, he purchased the boat and became its captain. In August 1946, the *Aklavik's* engine room caught fire while Patsy was aboard. He attempted to swim to shore, but ultimately drowned. Donald was seriously burned attempting to rescue him. Patsy was ultimately buried at Cambridge Bay. There is an uninhabited island named after him in Nunavut's Kitikmeot Region.

### *Ilavinik*

Ilavinik hailed from Kotzebue Sound on the west coast of Alaska. His first mention in the historical record is in Stefansson's famed book *My Life with the Eskimos*. He served closely for four years alongside Stefansson as translator and supply officer, earning several mentions in the book. In 1915, Ilavinik was made an RNWMP Special Constable for the purpose of LaNauze's investigation. At the time, he was married to a woman named Mamayauk and had one daughter, Nogasak. He interpreted for LaNauze during the course of his search for the missing priests, as well as at the trial. He was paid \$40 per month for his service (\$972.06 per month in 2022 dollars). After his service for the state at the trials, Ilavinik was rewarded with a gold, engraved pocket watch worth \$75.00 (\$1,383.43 in 2022 dollars). However, the reward ultimately turned into a symbolic lesson representing cultural differences, as Ilavinik discarded the watch after only a single day of owning it. He had forgotten to wind it as he was instructed, and thus believed that he had failed to make the sun rise. After this incident, Ilavinik again disappeared from the historical record.

### *Charles Deering "Denny" LaNauze*

Denny LaNauze was born in Ireland in 1888. After immigrating to Canada, he joined the Royal North-West Mounted Police in Calgary in 1908. He was promoted to Inspector in 1914, the year before he was tasked with searching for the missing priests. After his work on the Sinnisiak and Uloqsaq



case, he joined the Dominion Parks Branch as a representative of the Mounties, assisting with the creation of a new Game Act. In 1920, he was put in charge of the Maritime Provinces command out of Halifax. He transferred to Toronto and Banff between 1928 and 1932, then returned to Halifax with the new title of Superintendent. By 1934, he was moved back to Toronto, this time to command O Division. He took on command of “A” Division in 1938, and “F” Division in 1939. He retired from the force in 1944, with a reputation of one of the most well-known policemen in the organization. He died in 1952, leaving behind a wife and four children.

### Editorial Note

The writing styles and turns of phrase in the following sources reflect the era in which they were written, and we have wielded a very light editorial hand to preserve that context. Certain parts of this volume contain what Library and Archives Canada describes as “historical language and content that some [readers] may consider offensive, for example, language used to refer to racial, ethnic and cultural groups.”<sup>58</sup> For example, the word “Eskimo” was still in common usage, and, although it has now been replaced by “Inuit,” we have retained the original term as it appeared in the original documents. Similarly, various commentators adopted the pejorative term “Husky” or “Huskie” to refer to Inuit. The identifier “Indian” is used to refer to various First Nations, as are old names such as Dog Rib (for Tłı̨ch̓o), Hare (Sahtú Dene), or Loucheux (for Gwich’in). Nevertheless, we have retained the language from the primary sources “to ensure that attitudes and viewpoints are not erased from the historical record,”<sup>59</sup> with full anticipation that this material should invite and stimulate further discussion.

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<sup>58</sup> Library and Archives Canada (LAC), “Historical language advisory,” <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/about-us/aboutcollection/Pages/notices.aspx#lang>.

<sup>59</sup> LAC, “Historical language advisory.”

## **Names Appearing in the Text**

Dr. R. M. Anderson – Canadian Arctic Expedition  
Alternate spellings: Andese; Dr. K. M. Anderson

Angebrunna

Arannahea – Kocho's wife

D'Arcy Arden – explorer and outdoorsperson  
Alternate spellings: D'Arcey Arden, Arlec, Arlee

Joe Bernard – explorer and outdoorsperson  
Alternate spellings: Joke

Inspector W. J. Beyts – RNWMP Inspector

Gabriel Breynat – Oblate  
Alternate spellings: Bishop Breynaut

Wyndham Valentine Bruce – RNWMP Corporal  
Alternate spellings: W.V. Bruce, W.V.B.

Father Pierre Duchaussois – Oblate priest  
Alternate spelling: Duchausois

Xavier G. Ducot – Oblate priest

Joseph Frapsauce – Oblate priest  
Alternate spellings: Rev. Father Frapance, Rev. Father Frapsance

Harry – young man from the Sahtu (Great Bear Lake) region, gave statement and served as guide to LaNauze

Horace Harvey – Chief Justice of Alberta

John Hornby – local explorer  
Alternate spellings: Hornybeena, Hornybenna

Hupo – Kormik's brother, gave statement

Ilavinik – interpreter and guide  
Alternate spellings: Illvarnic, Ilaviuik, Ilavinek, Ilivinick, Ilivinivk, Ilivinik

Ingoticiak – gave statement  
Alternate spellings: Ikey

Diamond Jenness – ethnologist, Canadian Arctic Expedition

Alternate spellings: Jenne

Frits Johansen – naturalist, Canadian Arctic Expedition member

Kallun – Kormik's wife

Alternate spellings: Kallum

Patsy Klengenbergh – interpreter

Alternate spellings: Patsey

Koeha – witness

Alternate spellings: Ko-e-ha, Ko-a-ha, Koaha

Koglugouga – gave statement

Kormik – witness

Alternate spellings: Komick, Koomuck, Kormick

La Moelle – Dog Rib, gave statement

Alternate spellings: La Moole

Inspector Charles Deering LaNauze – RNWMP Inspector

Alternate spellings: Denny LaNauze

Rev. Father Guillaume Le Roux – murdered priest

Alternate spellings: Ilogoak, Illugo, Leroux, La Roux

Mamayuk – Ilavinik's wife

Uloqsaq Mayuk – angakok (shaman) and guide

Alternate spellings: Uluksak, Ill-loo-gaa, Illoogaa, the Rich Man,  
Uluksak Mayok

Charles Coursolles McCaul – prosecutor

Alternate spellings: C.C. MaCaul

Nagosak – Ilavinik's daughter

Edmund Leslie Newcombe – Deputy Minister of Justice

Nokallak – seen with priests' effects

Alternate spellings: Nokalluk

Ohomik – gave statement

Ohoviluk – Hupo's wife, gave statement

Inspector Charles A. Rheault – RNWMP Inspector

Rev. Father Jean-Baptiste Rouvière – murdered priest

Alternate spellings: Kuleavik, Kuliavick, Kulearvik, Rouviere

Duncan Campbell Scott – Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs

James Short – Crown lawyer

Sinnisiak – defendant

Alternate spellings: Sineseak

Jimmy Soldat – Sahtu Dene chief

Alternate spellings: Jimmie Soldat, James Soldat

Vilhjalmur Stefansson – explorer, Canadian Arctic Expedition

Alternate spellings: Stefanson, Steffansson

Uloqsaq – defendant

Alternate spellings: Uloqsaq Avingak, Uluksuk, Uluksak

Uloqsaq Mayak – shaman, gave statements

Alternate spellings or names: Illuga, “the Rich Man,” Uluksuk, Uluksak

James E. Wallbridge – defence attorney

Constable J. E. F. Wight – RNWMP Constable

Alternate spellings: D. E. F. Wight

George Wilkins – Canadian Arctic Expedition photographer

Alternate spellings: Williken

Constable D. Withers – RNWMP Constable

Yenitzy – First Nations guide

## List of Acronyms

AD: Anno Domini

AOD: away on duty

AOL: away on leave

CAE: Canadian Arctic Expedition

CGS: Canadian Government Ship

D of J: Department of Justice

DLS: Dominion Land Surveyor

DMJ: Deputy Minister of Justice

GB Lake: Great Bear Lake

In C/O, I/C: In charge of

JP: Justice of the Peace

KC: King's Counsel

LAC: Library and Archives  
Canada

MA: Master of Arts

NCO: Non-Commissioned  
Officer

NWT: Northwest Territories

OC: Officer Commanding

PCRs: police criminal records

Pt: Point

RC: Roman Catholic

Rt. Hon.: Right Honourable

RNWMP: Royal North-West  
Mounted Police

Sd/Sgd: Signed

WVB: Wyndham Valentine Bruce

YT: Yukon Territory

## THE DOCUMENTS



"Inuit prisoners with Denny LaNauze of the Royal North West Mounted Police, Bernard Harbour, Herschel Island," May 1916. *Glenbow Archives PD-395-1-105*



## 1. Great Bear Lake Patrol, Summer 1914

*Source: 1915 RNWMP Report, pp.13-14*

While Inspector Beyts' patrol is making its way from Baker lake to Bathurst inlet from the east to inquire into alleged murders by the Eskimo, Inspector La Nauze is engaged with a small patrol in pushing from Great Bear lake towards the Arctic to learn the fate of the Reverend Father Rouvière and the Reverend Father Le Roux, who have been for some years labouring among the Indians of Great Bear lake. They were last heard from in September 1913, when they informed their superior that they intended to pass the winter with the Eskimo and expected to be away two years. They would follow them to the Arctic sea and live with them and get accustomed to their mode of living. From that time no news has been received from them. Their superiors became alarmed and last March His Lordship Bishop Breynaut<sup>1</sup> reported them missing and requested a party should be sent in search. Later, reports from other sources were received that the reverend fathers had been murdered and circumstantial details were given which tended to confirm their sad fate.

Inspector La Nauze, a young officer with long experience in northern travel, was selected to command a patrol to go in search.

This party consists of Constables Withers and Wight, Special Constable Arden and an Eskimo interpreter with his family. The party left Fort Norman on the Mackenzie river the middle of July and was accompanied by the Reverend Father Frapance,<sup>2</sup> who is a good traveller.

Inspector La Nauze's intention was to proceed to the site of Old Fort Confidence, at the mouth of the Dease river, which empties into the Great Bear lake at the east end. Here winter quarters would be erected and the search for the missing priests commenced.

As the party is well formed and is composed of seasoned men, I have no doubt but that the work will be successfully accomplished.

Inspectors Beyts and La Nauze are fully acquainted with each other's plans and it is quite possible they may come in contact.

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<sup>1</sup> Gabriel Breynat.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Frapsauce. Father Frapsauce died when he fell through the ice in late October 1920.



I anticipate, in view of the apparent lawlessness of the Arctic Eskimo that permanent posts will have to be maintained at Baker lake and Great Bear lake.

**Annual Report of Supt. A.E.C. Mcdonell, Commanding "N" Division,  
Athabaska Landing**

*Source: 1915 RNWMP Report, pp.144-45*

*Re Disappearance of Rev. Fathers Rouvière and Leroux.* — During the summer of 1913 the above named fathers left Fort Norman, Mackenzie River, for the northeast shores of Great Bear Lake to mission amongst the Eskimo located in that district. They expected to be gone from one to two years, and they were given rather a free hand as to where they were to travel and before they left they stated that if necessary they would make a trip across to Coronation Gulf. Since leaving nothing has been heard from them, and there are rumours along the Mackenzie River to the effect that both these two gentlemen are dead, and supposed to be killed by the Eskimo and that the Eskimo have been seen dressed in the missing priests soutanes.

On May 10, Inspector C. D. LaNauze, Constable Withers and Constable Wight left Peace River Crossing with an outfit and supplies for two years and proceeded to Fort Norman to investigate the disappearance of the two priests. At Fort Norman he is going to make his base and from there will strike into the Dease River country, he is thoroughly equipped with both winter and summer means of travelling. After he arrived at Fort Norman, he went on to Fort McPherson, where he was fortunate enough to get an interpreter who could speak practically all the Eskimo languages. He also employed Mr. D'Arcy Arden, a white man, who has been in the country where these Eskimo are and in fact he saw the Eskimo wearing the priests' soutanes, and also the Eskimo with a modern high power rifle which was also supposed to belong to the missing priests.

It was while Mr. Arden was exploring up the Dease River that he came across the missing priests' shacks and also a band of Eskimo, and these Eskimo had on the priests cassocks and several other articles, which they must have stolen from the two shacks as the shacks were broken into and all windows smashed, and the floor splintered. The Indians who were with Mr. Arden at this time were afraid of the Eskimo and some of the Eskimo were not too friendly with Mr. Arden. Besides having the priests' cassocks

and rifles Mr. Arden noticed that one of them, he describes him as a “bad actor”, had a pair of prism glasses, and did not know how to manipulate them, he then wanted to exchange with Arden, and Arden had some trouble getting them back from him. The priests did not have any glasses with them, and there is a supposition that these may have been stolen from the Radford party especially as the Huskies said they came from the east.

The fathers at Fort Norman are under the impression that the priests will turn up yet, and Mr. Arden thinks that the priests probably left their shacks and have died of starvation or frozen to death somewhere on the Coppermine River.

In a report from Inspector Rheault he had an interview with a Dog Rib Indian, who reported that in the summer of 1914 some Dog Rib Indians went to Fort Rae and then to the Dease River country and eventually came on to the Roman Catholic mission shacks, and there met a band of Eskimo. This Dog Rib Indian, named La Moelle, also saw the shacks smashed up inside and later came upon a band of Huskies and had occasion to throw one of the Husky women out of his teepee, and as she fell down, one paten and one pall with a cross on it fell out from her clothing. He also reports that the husband of this woman was wearing one of the [priest's] cassocks, and that there was a hole in the cassock on the left side, at the heart, the size of a knife, and that there was dried blood around the hole.

Inspector Rheault sent a copy of his report to Inspector LaNauze and, no doubt, Inspector LaNauze will act on this information.

Nothing was mentioned in Mr. Arden's report about there being a hole in the cassock over the heart, and this may have been overlooked by Mr. Arden, or again may be imagination on the part of the Indian.

Inspector Rheault intends to see the Dog Rib Indians this winter on his patrols and will try and get further information from them.

## 2. Inspector C.D. La Nauze Patrol to Great Bear Lake in Search of Missing Priests, July-August 1915

Source: 1915 RNWMP Report, pp.202-212

**Insp. C.D. La Nauze to Supt. A.E.C. McDonell, Commanding "N" Division, Athabaska Landing, 15 July 1915**

REGARDING PATROL IN SEARCH OF MISSING PRIESTS.

Fort Norman, Great Bear Lake Patrol, July 15, 1915.

To the Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
" N " Division, Athabaska.

Sir. — I have the honour to report that acting under instructions received from the Commissioner on May 9, 1915. I left Peace River crossing on June 10 inst., per the Hudson Bay Company transport, and arrived at Smith Landing on June 24, accompanied by Reg. No. 4794, Constable Withers, D., and Reg. No. 6296, Constable Wight, D.E.F. We left Fort Smith per ss. *Mackenzie River* on June 26, the earliest date she has ever started. We were windbound near Fort Resolution from 28th to 30th inst. at the mouth of the Slave river. Here I left the steamer by canoe on the 28th accompanied by Constable Withers and arrived at Fort Resolution about 3 p.m. the same day.

At Resolution I secured 4 good dogs and 1 second hand york boat from Fair-weather Limited and other winter equipment for which I enclose vouchers.

The steamer got into Resolution on the 31st and left in 2 hours. We arrived at Fort Norman on July 6, at 9 p.m. I immediately interviewed the Rev. Father Ducot, who had no news of the missing priests, and I send under cover of crime reports, statements from Mr. D'Arcy Arden and others who have been in the country they are supposed to be lost in.

I left constable Withers and Wight here with work to do to our equipment and left for Fort MacPherson at 4 a.m. on the 7th inst. I arrived there on the 9th inst. and secured an Eskimo interpreter from Inspector

Phillips on the 10th inst. We left MacPherson on the 11th inst. and arrived back at Fort Norman on the 15th inst.

The conduct of my men has been excellent; they are both willing and are not afraid of hard work.

We will proceed as soon as possible to Dease river, but the ice has not yet gone out of Bear Lake, and we expect to start on about the 22nd inst in search of the missing priests, the water in the Bear river being too low at present.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant.

C. D. LA NAUZE, *Inspector.*  
*In Charge of the Patrol.*

### **La Moelle statement, Fort Resolution, 3 July 1915**

Smiths Landing Sub-District,  
Fort Resolution, July 3, 1915.

#### Crime Report.

*Re Disappearance of the Rev. Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux.*

Referring to my previous correspondence *re* the above, a Dog Rib Indian of Fort Rae, N.W.T., came to see me this evening and gave me the following statement: —

I am a Dog Rib Indian living at Fort Rae, during the summer of 1914 some Dog Rib Indians went through from Fort Rae to Great Bear lake and Dease river, and arriving at the Roman Catholic mission on the bank of the Dease river they met a band of Huskies coming into the Roman Catholic mission station; when the Huskies saw the Dog Ribs arriving at the mission shack, the band of Huskies ran away from the Dog Rib Indians. The Dog Ribs were carrying their carbines, the Huskies their bows and arrows. Apparently the Huskies thought that the Dog Ribs were going to attack them. When the Dog Ribs arrived at the mission shack they

found that the door of the shack had been cut up in splinters with an axe, the chimney over the roof had been smashed, part of the open fire-place had also been smashed, the floor all cut up with an axe, and the windows smashed to pieces. The house was vacant, no articles were left in it. After this the Dog Rib Indians went away hunting in the Dease River country. Not very long afterwards they met a Husky family and had a quarrel with them. One of the Dog Ribs took hold of the woman and threw her out of the teepee, the woman fell, and in her fall, there fell, one paten and one pall with a cross on it which is used in covering the church chalice, from her bosom where these had been hidden. The husband of the Husky woman was found wearing the priest's cassock, which had been cut off at the knee, and on the left side, at the heart, there was a hole in the cassock, the size of a knife, through the cassock, and around the hole there was blood, all around which was dried up. The Dog Ribs could not speak the language, and asked by sign to the young boy where the priests were. The boy made no answer but ran away immediately with his father and mother. Some time later the Dog Ribs could see in the distance smoke coming out from the fire the running away Huskies were making in the barren lands. The Dog Ribs did not go to Dease river in 1915 as there was no caribou. The Dog Ribs who met that Husky family only returned to Fort Rae in the spring of 1915, thereby causing so long a delay in reporting the matter to the R.N.W.M.P at Fort Resolution. I do not know anything further in the matter.

LA MOELLE, *Dog Rib Indian*.

Witness :

Charles A. Rheault, Insp.,  
R.N.W.M.P.

The Officer Commanding,  
"N" Division.

Forwarded for your information, I have sent a copy of this report to Inspector LaNauze at Fort Norman. The Dog Ribs often go by canoe from Fort Rae to Great Bear lake travelling through chain of lakes and making

portages between Great Bear and Great Slave lakes. While at Fort Resolution I am interviewing all Dog Rib Indians *re* trips by canoe in the summer, and by dogs in the winter, from Fort Resolution to Great Bear lake and Dease river in case that now or later you may want me to go to the assistance of Inspector LaNauze. Some winters the Great Bear Lake Indians come to Fort Rae with dogs at about Xmas time, I may see them this winter during my patrols and find out more about the two missing priests. I expect to leave to-morrow night by canoe for Fort Simpson.

CHARLES A. RHEAULT, *Insp.*,  
*Commanding Smiths Ldg. Sub-Dist.*

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

A. E. C. McDONELL,  
*Supt. Commanding "N" Division.*  
Athabaska, September 8, 1915.

**Insp. C.D. La Nauze to Supt. A.E.C. McDonell, Commanding "N"  
Division, Athabaska Landing, 15 August 1915**

*RE* PRIEST ACCOMPANYING POLICE PATROL IN SEARCH OF  
MISSING PRIESTS.

Fort Norman.  
Great Bear Lake Patrol,  
August 15, 1915.

To the Officer Commanding  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
"N" Division, Athabaska.

Sir, — I have the honour to report that upon arrival at Fort Norman on July 6 instant, I immediately interviewed the Rev. Father Ducot *re* the missing priests and discovered that he had no news at all.

He then informed me that the bishop had asked him to ask me if the Rev. Father Frapsance [*sic*] could accompany the police patrol. Evidently the Roman Catholic mission is very anxious that a priest should accompany the patrol.

In looking over the file I notice in the Commissioner's letter of April 28 to you, he says, "if possible get Father Ducot to accompany him." This of course referring to if Corporal Joy had been sent to investigate the matter. Father Ducot is a very old and feeble man now. Considering everything I think it would be advisable to let Father Frapsance accompany the party. He is, I understand, a good traveller and good company.

Hoping that this will meet with your approval,  
I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,

C. D. LA NAUZE, *Inspector,*  
*In charge of Patrol.*

#### "RE" DISAPPEARANCE OF FATHERS ROUVIÈRE AND LE ROUX.

Upon arrival at Fort Norman on July 15 inst., I interviewed all persons here in connection with the above and attach their statements. While it is the opinion of the Rev. Father Ducot that the priests are still alive and may turn up this summer, Father Frapsance is of the opposite opinion and feels sure that the priests are dead.

The Indian boy "Harry" was the last to see Father Rouvière and knows more about the priests than any of the Indians. He gave his statement and I will get a statement from his mother, Tete, when we reach Bear lake as she is there together with the other Indians whom Arden mentions as having seen the Eskimo in the priests' clothes. The fact of "Harry" having seen Father Rouvière's rifle with an Eskimo looks suspicious, as this was the rifle Rouvière was to take to the coast. The fact of the binoculars being seen in the possession of a strange Eskimo also looks suspicious. Arden says that there was no name on the binoculars, he can remember. The Husky said

that he came from the east, perhaps these may have belonged to the Radford expedition.

I have the file in connection with this case. Hibbert Hodgson is away just now, but I will get his statement before I leave for Bear lake. Arden is sure we will meet all the Eskimo in August close to Dease river.

C. D. LA NAUZE, *Inspector.*

### **Rev. Father Ducot testimony, 5 July 1915**

*The Rev. Father Frapsance [sic] states as follows: —*

I am a priest at the Roman Catholic mission at Fort Norman and have been here for six years. I knew both Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux well and the dates that Father Ducot gives as to the coming and going from Fort Norman are correct. I have heard fathers speak about the Eskimo and they spoke of them very highly. I remember the last letter Father Ducot had from the missing priests.

Mr. Hornby in October, 1913, brought us two bales of dried fish and two small cases of dry meat and some deer skins from Father Rouvière and a Husky sled line. Mr. Hornby told us that the fathers were sure to go to the coast with the Huskies.

I do not believe that the fathers are alive. In our work we must report frequently to our superiors and since the priests left we have had absolutely no news of them and this is the reason why I think that they are dead, or we should have had news from them before this time.

I do not remember much about the equipment the fathers took to Bear lake with them. They had probably a spare cassock each. I remember that their tents were from London, Bishopsgate. I cannot remember the maker's name. They had no binoculars with them.

J. M. FRAPSANCE. [sic]  
July 5, 1915.



**“Harry” testimony, July 1915**

*Indian “Harry” states as follows : —*

I am a Great Bear Lake Indian and I am 16 years old. I have known the priests all the time they have been on the Great Bear lake and I have worked for them. I have worked two years for Mr. Hornby as a travelling companion. I went to the Coppermine river with the Douglas brothers and Hornby in the spring of 1912.

I saw Eskimo first in the fall of 1911 one day’s travel from the Douglas brothers’ house at the edge of the woods. It was in November, 1913, that I last saw Father Rouvière going to his house at the edge of the woods, from his house 8 miles from the Douglas brothers’ house. He was going to join Father Le Roux.

When he shook hands with us (my mother and a girl cousin Leah were with me) he said “We cannot say what we will do, if we get along well with the Huskies we will stay the whole year with them, but if we cannot live with them we will come back about Christmas.” He told us he was feeling sick and weak all over and complained of a pain in his left side. He had been hurt while building his house on Lake Rouvière and had felt the pain often since.

This happened about the Sunday before the river froze between the rocks. There were two Eskimo brothers who had been hunting for the priests and were to go to the coast with them when it froze up. I know these men well and would recognize them. My mother who is at Bear lake knows their names. They seem like good men.

Father Rouvière did not give me any letters. We were the last Indians to see Father Rouvière.

They each had a .44 calibre rifle; a rifle, round barrel, .44 calibre, and a carbine octagonal barrel, .44 calibre; I know the rifle well for I used it in the summer of 1913.

They had no binoculars. They had one wall tent with writing on it and in good condition. They had another rifle in their house on Bear lake which had been given by Mr. Hornby to Father Rouvière. The Douglas brothers had the same kind of rifle. They had spare cassocks in their house on Bear lake. I had charge of their house and stuff at Bear lake and still have the key. I remained that winter at the priests’ house at Bear lake till after Christmas, and then went down Bear lake. The fathers had four dogs

with them when they went with the Eskimo, two Huskies and two Indian dogs. I saw the Eskimos one day the following summer before Mr. Arden came to Dease river. They were one day's travel from the Douglas brothers' shack. There were about thirty of them, men, women and children. A few of these men I had seen before and most of the others were strangers to me. The ones I knew I had seen with the priests, but the two brothers who were to accompany the priests on their trip to the coast I did not see. We asked them if they had seen the priests and they all said they had not. My mother did the talking and they talked by signs.

An Eskimo whom I had seen before had the priest's rifle (Father Rouvière's). It was in a case made of a flour sack wrapper and it was the same one the father used. I examined the gun and my mother also, and we were both sure it is the same rifle the priest lent me to shoot with. We asked them where they got the rifle and they did not answer. I asked and got no answer. Then my mother asked and got no answer, and then that Husky went away. Two or three weeks before this I was at Caribou point and when I came back to our house on Bear lake where the priests' house was which I was looking after, I found that all the houses had been broken into. My house was broken into and a kettle, cross-cut saw, cartridges, fish-hooks, and old pants had been taken. A lot of stuff had been taken out of the priests' house, and a lot of stuff had been strewn over the floor. Many blankets had been taken, cartridges, candles, handkerchiefs, files, stockings, three Cardigan jackets, pocket-knives and cassocks. One cassock was left lying on the floor. All the matches were gone. No grub was touched at all. A half keg of powder was emptied of its contents, 60 pounds of ball and all the primers were taken. We were all afraid, and went back to Caribou point. Then we came back and locked up the houses and came back one week later and found the Huskies had been back there as the locks were broken again. This time they took the altar vestments which are used for mass. They also took the chalice. After this we went to meet the Eskimo as we thought the fathers might be with them. We then met this band of about 30 which I have already spoken of. I recognized a lot of stuff from the priests' house that they had amongst them. I saw five blankets, ball, matches, candles, pocket-knives. A Husky gave me a pocket-knife. They told us they had taken all this stuff. The chief told us that he and six men had taken this stuff. He was like a Medicine Man and had two wives. These were the same men that Mr. Arden saw and they would not tell us where they got the priests' rifle from. I have seen this man before, every summer,

and he knows the priests well. I was not afraid of the Eskimo, but the other Indians were. We did not ask them to give back any of the stuff. I gave the Huskies a butcher's knife for some primers. They had white and red fox, wolverine, muskox, and wolf. They are hard to deal with and won't give anything away for nothing. Some Huskies said that they came from across the Coppermine river. I have not seen these Huskies before. I helped Mr. Arden make a cache on an island, and then went on to Bolton bay, west of Dease river. I have seen no signs of the Eskimo since and have heard no word from the priests. I saw no Eskimo in the priests' cassocks. I think the priests were frozen to death somewhere, but I do not know where.

His (Signed) HARRY. x  
Mark

Witness :  
C. D. La Nauze, Insp.  
Interpreter : Rev. Father Frapsance.

**Insp. C.D. La Nauze to Supt. A.E.C. McDonell, Commanding "N"  
Division, Athabaska Landing, 15 August 1915**

*RE* INTERPRETER FOR PATROL IN SEARCH FOR MISSING  
PRIESTS.

Fort Norman,  
Great Bear Lake Patrol,

August 15, 1915.

To the Officer Commanding  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
"N" Division, Athabaska.

Sir. — I have the honour to report that I could not secure an interpreter at Fort Norman. Not only are the Indians afraid to go up among the Eskimo alone, but none of them speak the language.

The Rev. Father Ducot and the two other priests told me that it was impossible, so my only chance was to go to Fort MacPherson and try to secure an Eskimo from Inspector Phillips.

We left Fort Norman on the 7th inst. and arrived at Fort MacPherson on the 9th of July at 7 p.m.

Inspector Phillips was there to meet us and I immediately told him my wants.

He went to a great deal of trouble and was fortunate in getting me an Eskimo named Illvarnic whose family of a wife and a daughter I am obliged to take also.

It was impossible to get a single man. The few boys that were there talk very little English and would not go as their fathers were down in the delta and they must consult them first.

We hired Illvarnic at if \$40 per month for one year.

I have been very fortunate in securing this Eskimo. He has been four years with Stefansson and is mentioned a number of times in his book "My life with the Eskimo." He seems very smart and his wife is a good worker and will be invaluable in making deer-skin clothing for the party. Moreover he is a great linguist and ought to be able to converse with the different tribes we meet.

We left MacPherson on the 11th inst. and arrived here at Fort Norman on the 15th inst. I have certified vouchers for my passage to and from MacPherson and Norman and for Illvarnic and his family.

I have the honour to be, sir.

Your obedient servant.

C. D. LA NAUZE, *Inspector.*  
*In Charge of the Patrol.*

### **D'Arcy Adren testimony, 15 July 1915**

*Mr. D'Arcy Arden states as follows: —*

I am an explorer, I have worked for several years in the International Boundaries Board of the Department of the Interior under J. D. Craig, D.L.S.,<sup>3</sup> also in the Hudson Bay country for the railways branch of the Department of Railways and Canals under A. H. Greenlees, D.L.S. I came to Fort Norman in July, 1914, to explore the country north of Great Bear

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<sup>3</sup> Dominion Land Surveyor.

lake. I left Norman about July 20, 1914, for that country accompanied by a three-quarters breed named Hibbert Hodgson. We travelled by canoe. We crossed Great Bear lake and arrived at Dease river in August, after a hard trip. We fully intended to meet the priests who were expected at Norman the previous April. If I met the priests I expected to live with them as they had a cabin in that district and I had heard that they had been among the Huskies in that district. The first news I had of the priests was from a big band of Indians about 35 miles from the head of Bear river, I asked them when they expected the priests, and they told me that the priests would not be along, that the Huskies had killed them. I asked their reason for saying that, and they said they just thought it. I did not believe anything they said then and we pushed on. We proceeded to Dease river direct and the first sign I saw of the priests was their large Peterboro' canoe pulled up out of the water on the south side of the Dease bay, 8 miles from the mouth of the Dease river. We also found the priests' houses there with some Indian shacks. Hodgson went with some Indians to look at the priests' shacks and found everything locked up tight and the windows barred. The Indians had come across the lake with us and were going to hunt caribou. They had also brought some of my stuff for me. After that I concluded that the priests had fallen in with a band of Huskies and were living with them.

We proceeded up the Dease river with the intention of getting up Dease river as far as I could and making good winter quarters. I found after getting up two miles that it was impossible to get any further owing to low water and bad rapids. Here I found two shacks, one built by Douglas brothers and one by J. Hodgson. They were empty and I concluded that this was the best place to establish my base. I stayed there three or four days establishing my base and fishing. And as fish were not plentiful there I decided to go and hunt caribou. The Indians with their wives and families had already gone on to barrens to hunt caribou. Hodgson and I left with pack dogs to get in a supply of meat. The second day out we saw a fire up on the barrens, and I sent Hodgson to investigate who it was. He came back with the news that it was an Indian who seemed very much afraid and said that there were a big bunch of Eskimo camped with his people about eight or nine miles southwest. This Indian had killed four caribou and was cleaning them. I immediately packed my dogs and went over, and found 34 adult Eskimo camped with six families of Indians. I found all the Indians in a great state of abject fear. All of them told me that the Huskies

had killed the priests and that they had the priests' clothing with them. The Huskies greeted me by placing their bows and arrows on the ground holding their hands over their heads and shouting "Cabloonaa goana march," meaning "White man thank you very much." I put my rifle down as did Hodgson, and we held our hands above our heads, and I then went towards them with my hands extended, only a few of these Huskies would shake hands who had seen white men before. Some of them would not, and these were very shy and reserved. These Eskimo all gathered round us and felt our hair, arms, legs, and bodies which was very embarrassing, the women doing this as well as the men. I decided to camp with these people and get all the information I could from them regarding the country. These Eskimo were all in their native deer-skin clothing except one man who had a pair of overalls on. This man told me by signs that he had seen white men before and could pronounce Stefansson's name quite well, so I concluded that he had seen him. They all had bows and arrows and long knives. We did not sleep much that night.

The Indians were all shaking with fear and the Huskies were up all night, laughing and talking. Next day I was very much surprised to see two of the Huskies in the priests' cassocks. This made the Indians very much afraid. They may have just come into camp as they were coming in all the time from hunting and bringing in big packs of meat with dogs and on their backs. I did not take any notice of them for three days as I thought it was police, and did not want them to get suspicious. On the fourth day I gradually asked them, one man at a time, as the opportunity occurred, if they had seen two white men and all these men shook their heads and said "naga," which means "no." One man put his head on his hands as if asleep, closed his eyes and pointed to the ground, but as to the time and whereabouts I could get no information. He would just shake his head. When the opportunity occurred I asked one of the men in the priests' cassocks where he got that from and he pointed to the north and said, "Cabloonaa wilinna," meaning people coming from the westward. I could get nothing out of them, so I invited four of them to come to our cabin on Dease river as our supply was running low. The four that came seemed very pleased and took a great interest in the cabin and canoe. They would not eat any of our food, only a few berries. There were fish in my nets and they ate those as I cooked them. We left next day for the camp. I stayed another day with them and then with Hodgson and one Indian returned to my

cabin to make definite arrangements for the winter, as I intended to go to the Coppermine before the snow came.

While saying goodbye to them and packing up myself I discovered our knives, files, axes, had all disappeared. I looked around among their stuff but could not find any sign of them. I ought to have mentioned that two days after I met them I found that they had rifles, three that they had traded with the Indians for, and four that the Indians said belonged to the priests. One was an 8 mm. Mauser of the latest sporting type. I found out from the Indians that the Douglas brothers or Hornby had given this rifle to the priests. Arriving back at my base we were surprised to find that some one had been there and had taken all the stuff that was lying around, including all of Hodgson's ammunition, over 400 rounds of 30-40 cal., files, scissors, shirts and underclothes had been taken. The rest, including all our grub, had not been touched. I was convinced that this was done by Eskimo as their trail on the sand around the house was very evident. I don't think that this was done by the Eskimo that we were camped with as I did not miss any one of the Eskimo in the previous lot we met before I left their camp. A little while after we had got back, a party of Indians whom I had never seen before arrived. They told me that the Huskies had been over to the priests' house and broken up everything there. These Indians had come from McTavish Bay district and had met Huskies who told them that two white men were in the district. They went to the priests' house where the canoe was left and found everything broken into, including the Indian cabins, and then came on to my base.

The Indians also told me that the Huskies had killed the priests; they had seen the Huskies with all the priests' things. These Indians were well acquainted with the priests. There were five of them, three women, one man and one boy. The woman and the boy were the last to see the priests alive. Her name is Sate, and the boy, her son, is named Harry. He has travelled considerably with the priests, Hornby and the Douglas brothers. I found him very reliable and I have seen quite a bit of him. Towards the evening of the same day, all the other Indians came in very much afraid, saying that the Huskies were all over the hills and they could not hunt caribou. They were going to the other side of the lake. These Indians were the six families who came up the lake with me. Their names were : Towya, Matsey, Susie, Bonnie, Emile and Yinitsey. These Indians camped a quarter of a mile from me after they saw me. About three hours after they came rushing up saying that the Huskies were all over the woods. This seemed

strange as the Huskies had told me that they were all going to the Coppermine. Hodgson and I got our rifles and went into the woods, but could see nothing. Shortly after we came back the dogs got very restless and kept running backwards and forwards into the woods. I was sure then that the Huskies were around as Indian dogs have a great dislike for the Eskimo.

The Indians were all excited and armed expecting the Huskies to attack them. They all stayed in my cabin and I could not quiet them. The next day they wanted me to go back to Norman and offered to take all my stuff over across the lake. Hodgson would not stay with me. He was very excited and I had no alternative but to go back, as I did not want to stay alone in a country I did not know. I decided to go back to Norman and made my cache on an island about eight miles from the mouth of the Dease river off the priests' house. While I was on the island I took Indians Susie and Harry over to the priests' house and there found everything upside-down and the lock broken. Everything inside was in a terrible shape and a lot of it was green mould, but no grub seemed to be missing as there was lots of flour, rice and sugar there. Harry and Tete, his mother, knew the contents of the cabin and cache as the priests had left it in their care and they had the keys. By the description the Huskies must have packed away half a ton of stuff such as powder kegs, ammunition, files, axes and gun caps. I picked up everything I thought was of any value and took an inventory and cached the good stuff with mine on the island. They had a lot of French correspondence which I also cached. I took nothing to Norman. I locked the houses and cached the canoe on the island. While we were building the cache I saw with my glasses, Eskimo round the priests' cabin. The distance was only one and a half miles. This seemed strange as the Huskies appeared never to leave us, though it was impossible to get near them. I then did some prospecting further up the lake towards Cape McDonald, and left for Norman. Arriving there in October. My opinion is that the Eskimo are perfectly quiet, and the superstition of the Indian regarding Eskimo got beyond them. The Eskimo seemed very pleased and agreeable all the time I was with them and seemed to like to have a white man among them. It is impossible to keep anything from them. They steal right in front of your face and must hide the stuff in their clothes. One can quite understand this state as they have nothing belonging to white men. They are willing to trade the clothes from their backs for anything and seem very grateful.

I think the band that did the housebreaking and stole Hodgson's ammunition was another band of Eskimo because some of the Huskies I



was with told me that some of the Eskimos that came from the east were no good. I concluded that these marauding Eskimos had come from Bathurst Inlet as the priests had been with them for some time and they were the first Huskies they had met, Mr. Hornby and the priests at Norman had told that these Huskies were a bad lot. There seemed to be six men of a different tribe in the 34 I had met. Two of these were in priest's clothes. I would recognize one of them again as I had a lot of trouble with him. He had a pair of glasses that were inferior to mine. He seemed to know how to manipulate mine and wanted to exchange with me. When he had possession of mine I had great difficulty in getting them back. I also had occasion to put him out of my tent, but he did not want to go. He was an ugly brute. The glasses he had were prism binoculars and he said he got them from the people from the westward on the coast. He looked a bad actor and the other Eskimo said he was no good. He was sly and cute and I could not get anything out of him. He refused absolutely to accompany me to the cabin. I heard from the priests at Norman that the priests had no prism binoculars and that Hornby and the Douglas brothers did not trade any glasses with them. Two of the Huskies had tents, one wall tent 6 x 8 and an "A" tent 6 x 8. I saw the maker's name on them. I forget the name, but it was "London, England" in plain print. The Huskies had a few white fox, musk ox and wolverine, blue fox, cross fox and red fox with them. They use this fur for clothing and the musk ox for their snow houses. On account of their skin clothing being very warm they wanted to trade for clothing and ammunition. I had no ammunition to fit their rifles, but they were willing to trade my .303 which they remoulded as I saw them do it. They had remoulding tools which they had probably got from the priests. The Indians said that the priests taught them. One man among them seemed to be a medicine man. He had a lot of stuff which the Indians said he got from the priests. The Indians said this man had lived with the priests. He was very wise and cute, and was dressed different to the other Huskies and had two wives.

These Eskimo were a very interesting study and were splendid specimens of humanity. They eat all their food raw, which is straight caribou meat. My opinion of the missing priests is that, judging by their condition of health when they left their houses, they have become sick and died somewhere on the Coppermine river. I learned about their health from the Indian woman, Tete, and her son, Harry. They told me that one of them was in very bad health and had been for about a month previous to

their setting out for the Coppermine river. Harry told me that they had a place on the Coppermine where they went to meet the Eskimo. I am convinced that they were sick and they could not live with the Huskies as they intended. That is all I know about the missing priests. I did not report to the police as I had no grounds for saying that the priests were dead, but only from my private observations. I informed the priests at Norman and gave them my opinion as to how they might be dead. I told them I thought it was a matter for the police to take up. But Rev. Father Ducot said that it was not in the interest of the missionaries to do that. So I simply made my private report to J. K. Cornwall as it had nothing to do with me. I left Norman again in January for the Coppermine river and stayed there at Dease river until March 30 hunting Caribou. On my way over to the Coppermine I did not see any signs of Eskimos. As I was alone and troubled with snowblindness I decided to come back. About 60 miles from the mouth of the Dease river I came across Eskimo signs going south. It was impossible to get near these Eskimo. After following them for four days, my eyes were getting worse, I left them alone. I am convinced they knew I was there for they must have seen my fires. I do not think they were any of the Eskimo I met the previous summer. Their tracks came from the northeast. I came back to Norman in June intending to return this summer as the Huskies had promised to meet me in August, when the Caribou returned.

(Sgd.) D'ARCY ARDEN.

Fort Norman, N.W.T.,  
July 15, 1915.

### **Rev. Father Ducot testimony, 15 July 1915**

*The Rev. Father Ducot states as follows:—*

I am father superior of the Roman Catholic mission at Fort Norman. I have been 34 years at Fort Norman. I last saw Father Rouvière on February 6, 1913, when he left Fort Norman with Mr. Hornby for Bear lake. The Eskimo were first seen by Mr. Hornby, Mr. Melville and Mr. Hodgson in August, 1910.

Father Rouvière first saw the Eskimo in 1911, August, and stayed in that country for the purpose of preaching to the Eskimo. He left Norman in July, 1911, and came back in April, 1912. He went back with Father Le Roux in July, 1912, and started for Bear lake to continue his work among the Eskimo and Father Le Roux was to help him. Father Rouvière came in from Bear lake on January 25, 1913, with Mr. Hornby, and left on February 6 for his shack where he left Father Le Roux.

The father stayed at Bear lake that winter, 1912-1913 in the Douglas Brothers' house. Father Le Roux came to Fort Norman on the 14th of April and left on July 17, 1913, with the one canoe and supplies and Indian "Jimmy Soldat" for Dease river.

This is the last time I saw either of the priests. On October 6, I received two letters dated September 24, from Dease river, one from Father Rouvière and one from Father Le Roux. In their letters they said that they intended to pass the winter with the Eskimo and expected to be away two years as they intended to follow the Eskimo to the sea and live with them and get accustomed to their mode of living.

When I heard the report of the Huskies having been seen in the priests' gowns I was not afraid. The fathers had a change of gowns with them and as strange Eskimo were reported to have come from the east, I think it likely that they stole the fathers' spare gowns they had left behind them.

I still believe that the priests are safe and that they will come back this summer.

In the last letters I had from the fathers they spoke very highly of the Eskimo who were to accompany them, speaking of their politeness and good nature.

The Indians who have met these Eskimo, also spoke well of them, but now, since they stole from them and since they think that the Eskimo have killed the priests, they are afraid of them.

About 1887, the Bear Lake Indians first saw an old Eskimo and his son, and not any since until about 1908, and they have met them almost every year since.

(Sgd.) X. G. DUCOT.

July 15, 1915.

### 3. Inspector C.D. La Nauze — Fort Norman to Dease Bay, Great Bear Lake, patrol report, 6 December 1915

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

Winter Headquarters, Dease Bay, December 6, 1915.

The Officer Commanding  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Athabaska.

Sir, — I have the honour to report that I left Fort Norman at 11.30 a.m. on July 23 inst., with York boat for Great Bear lake in search of the missing priests, Rev. Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux.

Our route was the ascent of the Bear river, a distance of 90 miles and then across the Great Bear lake to the far northeastern extremity, where I propose to establish winter quarters.

I had already sent the bulk of our supplies on ahead by scow with nine Indians, who were to track the scow as far as the Great Bear lake.

My party consists of the following members: Reg. No. 4794 Const. Withers, D. ; Reg. No. 6296 Const. Wight, J. E. F.; Spl. Const. Eskimo Ilaviuik, with his wife Mamayuk and his daughter Nagosak; guides, Spl. Const. D'Arcy Arden and myself.

The Rev. Father Frapsance from the Roman Catholic Mission accompanied the patrol as guest. Mr. Proctor, agent for the N. T. Company, Fort Norman, who was en route to the Bear Lake settlement; two of his men came with us for several days and they were of considerable help.

Mr. Tim Gaudet, agent of the Hudson's Bay Co., kindly sent one of his men with me to help us for two days. The day was all that could be desired, and the Rev. Fathers Ducot and Hassias came down to the beach to wish us "bon voyage." Our York boat was fairly heavily loaded, as we had all our personal baggage and some freight, and two canoes. Our dogs followed along the shore; we rode the half-mile down the Mackenzie to the mouth of the Bear river, where we landed, got our tracking lines ready, had lunch and started up the river at 1 p.m. The going at first was fine but we soon got into shoal water and trackers and crew had to take to the water.

We camped at 6.30 p.m., having made 7 miles. It rained heavily that night, in fact every night till we got above the rapids.

On the 24th the going was bad all the day and we could only make 10 miles; all hands were waist deep in the cold water all day, and further up we ran into mudslides which gave the trackers a mud bath for variety.

On the 26th we arrived at the foot of the rapids below Mount Charles, there we were obliged to unload the York boat and take all our stuff up to the head of the rapids by canoe, a distance of about 10 miles. Arden and an Indian, Ilivinick, and myself took through two loads that evening. It was cold and was pouring rain and we were in the ice-cold water till 10 p.m., when we reached where the Indians were camped with the scow. They had all unloaded a part of the scow and had taken up loads in their birch-bark canoes.

On the 28th we pulled the York boat right through the rapids after a hard struggle.

On the 29th inst. we met an old white trapper named Stohe coming down stream with two Indians. He told us the ice only left the lake on July 17, and he had been held up sixty-three days with an east wind. Mr. Proctor and his men left us that evening to push on to the settlement, and fortunately sent me down two Indians he met to help us with the York boat. The river got worse as we proceeded, and Arden and I with the Indians put in two days with the canoes and then came back and went ahead with the York boat.

On August 1, we took four days to get around one mile. The channel was twisting all over the river, the edges were too shallow for the boat, and we were obliged to cross and recross, poling along the edges of the swift channel.

The last 6 miles up to the lake was fine going but very swift, and we reached the entrance of the river at 1 a.m. on August 4. The Bear is a fine river for canoes, but at the lower stage of water we found it at, it was a hard job to get a York boat up with a 4-inch keel. The Indians did much better with the scow owing to its light draught. The channel is very deep everywhere except in the rapids, where it widens out and runs between boulders. It is a very pretty river, but there is no striking scenery except at mount Charles, which is a high rocky peak of the Franklin mountains on the north bank of the river. The rapids are merely swift shoal water, and not dangerous when the ice has melted from the shoals. The current is very swift and the water so clear that bottom can be seen for 40 feet down. Animal and bird life seems very scarce and only a very few moose tracks were seen. Grayling were plentiful; especially above the rapids where the

creeks run into the main stream they can be easily caught, by rod or net. Blueberries in profusion everywhere, and a few wild red currants. There is no valuable timber to speak of along the shores, the spruce being chiefly small and knotty; fairly good birch is to be found in places above the rapids; there is very little poplar.

The distance from the lake to the mouth is about 90 miles and could be run easily in one day with canoe. The country seems much burnt over, and is mostly muskeg. The only successful way to get freight up the Bear river is in a lightdraught scow. Indians can be engaged for this work for \$15 for the trip and their rations. We rowed 4 miles across the lake in a rain storm, and pitched camp in Sir John Franklin's Little lake opposite the site of old Fort Franklin. This is a splendid harbour, in fact the only one for many miles. Here we found the Indians encamped with the scow; all our supplies were dry and in good shape; nothing was missing.

I had been informed at Fort Norman that the Bear Lake Indians had a York boat in the lake and that they would take across some freight for me if I wanted them to. Our own York boat could not hold all our freight with all dogs, sleighs and ourselves, so when I heard at Bear lake that the Indians' York boat was pulled out at the far end of Dease Pass bay and they did not intend to bring it in to where we were I was confronted with the proposition of trying to make two trips with our boat. Fortunately two white trappers named Sloan and Harrison had preceded us to the lake with a small home-made schooner *Wild Duck*, and were lying at present in Little lake. I offered them the freight and they accepted and I arranged with them to take our freight to Dease river at 3 cents per pound.

The next day we fixed up the York boat seaworthily, made spars, loaded up the *Wild Duck*, and waited for a favourable wind. The Bear Lake Indian settlement is about 2 miles down the coast from Little lake; it is built on an exposed place close to the shore, and boasts of about 20 shacks. This is locally known as the Fishery, and is the only permanent settlement of the Bear Lake Indians. It is a fine fishery for trout and herring, and the Fort Norman fish are got from here. I took statements from all Indians here who knew anything concerning the missing priests.

At last, on August 12, we got a light southwest wind, and started on our long voyage across Great Bear lake. We sailed 15 miles and anchored for head wind at 3.30 p.m.; the next day was dead calm and we rowed 15 miles to a harbour near Fort point that Arden knew of, and spent the next day wind-bound. We got away at 5 a.m. in a strong fair wind which dropped

dead after we got 4 miles out and we rowed ashore into Fox point, where there is a good harbour.

On the 16th it was very rough and squally and was so rough even in the harbour that some of us were sick in the boat ; we decided that it was too rough to tackle it, and on the 18th we made 20 miles to another harbour in Russel bay.

This is the finest harbour on the lake; there is a large island marked on the map here, which in reality is a peninsula, between two long deep bays. Indians make a quarter of a mile portage over the northwest part of this to avoid the lake shore. The bays run inland for about 5 miles, and are deep and wide enough to give anchorage to a fleet of battleships; it is a beautiful spot, the water is as clear as crystal and teeming with fish; sandy beaches run sheer down, and the shores are all lined with dark green spruce.

On the 19th we were off again at 3 a.m. and made about 55 miles in 12 hours ; the wind changed as we were at the head of Deer Pass bay; we rowed and anchored, and the next day we crossed the west side of the Gross Cop (big point) in a howling gale with a side wind; we found shelter here behind a point, and found Sloan and Harrison with a broken rudder; they had crossed in a gale ahead of us and had had a hard time. On the 21st it, was calm again, and Arden took us to the only harbour on the coast, about 6 miles down. It is not a good harbour but there is a shingle beach and a tiny bay and the rest of the coast is open and rocky.

The *Jupiter* of G. M. Douglas lies beached here, where she was beached in a storm by Mr. Hornby.

We were held up here for eight solid days with a northeast wind, the days of which a howling gale blew so that we could not even get out to our boats, which rode out at their home-made anchors in good style. I had a night watch on and all hands ready to roll out if one of them had dragged and broken loose and beached. The white-topped breakers roared into our little bay ; they had a 200-mile sweep from McTavish bay, and if it was not for a small rock-bar outside the bay the boats would have surely swamped and beached.

We had snow on the 23rd and a heavy frost on the 24th; the flies had all now disappeared. The storm calmed down on the 26th, but the wind still blew hard from the northeast; at last, on the 28th, we rowed 10 miles round the extremity of the Gross Cop and found a tiny harbour where we had to partly unload to get into, an impossible place if rough. We had the misfortune to break a rudder getting in, and Ilavinek and myself left that

night by canoe for the *Jupiter*, and took one from her. I trust the author of "Lands Forlorn" will take a lenient view of the theft. We got back to camp at 3.30 a.m., having made the 20 miles in five hours. Dawn saw us up every morning all ready for a wind which did not come till September 1, when we made the long crossing to cape McDonald in twelve and a half hours. This is a most exposed point, bare as the barren lands, and 10 miles away from the timber line. From here our progress was fairly steady, and we got good harbours and camps all along Dease bay.

On the 5th we made the Narezzo islands, whose appearance is quite striking after so much bare and flat coast. It was very cold at nights now. We were now only 25 miles from the mouth of the Dease river.

On the 6th we arrived at Big island and met the two Indians, Harry and Ferdinand, who had come across by Smith bay in their canoes and had been hunting caribou successfully on the island.

On the 7th inst. it was cold with a scurry of snow and a biting northeast wind.

On the 8th we tracked along the shore of the island and arrived at the cache opposite the priests' house that Arden had made the previous fall; three-quarters of a mile from the main land.

We had now practically arrived at our destination, and could move anywhere here in safety. I let Messrs. Sloan and Harrison unload here and paid them off by an order on the Hudson's Bay Co. The freight was in good order and they had put through their contract well. They left soon on their long voyage back, and intended to winter somewhere on McTavish bay.

I now had to decide where to establish winter quarters. I had the choice of two places, the priest's place just opposite on the northeast shore, and a place on the Dease river where G. M. Douglas and party spent the winter of 1911-12.

On the 9th, with Arden and Ilavinik, I started for Dease river by canoe, but could not make it, owing to a storm ; it was just as well, as we found out later that the river was frozen solid and we could not have got up the two miles to Hodgson's point. The Rev. Father Frapsance kindly placed the priests' houses at our disposal, and I decided to establish here, chiefly on account of it being a good fishing place and only 8 miles from the extreme end of the lake. We moved across on the 11th, observed Sunday routine for the first time on the 12th, and on the 13th moved everything across and packed our freight up the hill.



I was now at liberty to take stock and get ready to start overland across the Barrens to the cabin where the missing priests had started from on their projected journey to the sea coast. The voyage across Great Bear lake was about 350 miles, and was very interesting and at times exciting. It is a vast inland sea and has every appearance of enormous depth. The scarcity of good harbours along the coasts we sailed is the chief drawback to successful navigation in open boats; dangerous storms rise quickly, and the lake is so deep and bays so open and long that the rollers have a great sweep and are of such a great size that open boats are liable to be swamped. The prevailing winds, especially in the fall, are from the northeast. The water is very clear and cold and splendid for drinking, and very soft. The coast line is low, rocky and bare, except at the western end, where the spruce comes down to the water's edge. To run ashore anywhere on the northwest coast would be certain loss, as the rocks stretch far out. High spruce-covered hills rise up from the Gross Cop (Big Point, as it is known locally), but along the coast the country is flat and bare, intersected with lake, and is 4 miles from the timber-line. Cape McDonell, locally known as Caribou point, is a very bare and rocky stretch of coast, not a tree within 10 miles, and even willows are scarce. There seems very little drift wood along the lake, but this is not to be wondered at, considering only three small rivers empty into it.

Dease bay is very shoal in places on the southeast coast. Rocky bars extend far out and show up in the deepest spots. This shore of the bay needs careful navigation. This is a beautiful bay with good harbours and camps all the way along. Inland is well timbered in spots, and the country is of undulating character with small rocky hills and many low-lying lakes. The Narezzo islands rise sheer out of the lake about 60 miles down the bay and present a striking appearance with their dark basalt sides rising sheer out of the water. The largest is well timbered and has a good harbour on the north side; they appear to be of volcanic origin, for there is evidently an old crater in the largest one. From the highest point of this island Dease bay can be seen for a radius of 30 miles, and also a very great number of islands belonging to this group, some high, some low-lying and barren. Big island is 12 miles long and thickly timbered; all timber seen was of no commercial value, and, unfortunately, there is no birch in these parts. Great Dease lake abounds in fish, lake trout being the chief variety. Our nets never failed us, and we caught enough for ourselves and the dogs all the way. The average trout is about 8 pounds, but we caught them up to 18 pounds, and have since caught two 28 pounds each. White fish were scarce

till we got into Dease bay, and there we caught a lot of the finest I have ever seen, averaging 5 pounds each. Geese and ducks were not plentiful, and not to be wondered at as there are very few marshy feeding places. Young ducks were very backward. I noticed two young broods of black ducks as late as August 28. Ptarmigan, both of the rock and the willow species, were seen in small numbers on the barren points. Of deer we saw none, but fresh moose tracks were seen on the Gross Cop, and a few caribou tracks in cape McDonell. Many gulls and white geese (wavies) were observed flying south on September 5.

Great Bear lake will bear much interesting exploration, and it has never been surveyed to any extent, J. M. Bell, M.A., in 1900 being the only Dominion explorer of recent years to travel its shores. Smith bay has never been completely travelled, and I understand that it runs inland a long way west; it is known chiefly as Good Hope on account of the Fort Good Hope Indians frequenting its shores. A thoroughly sea-going craft, such as a 50-foot schooner well decked in and proper anchors, is the only safe way of taking supplies across the lake. One that would ride out a storm on a kedge if caught and could sail in any wind. With a York boat one is dependent on certain winds, and it is not wise to take chances. Canoes not too heavily loaded could traverse the coasts successfully.

We did not meet with any ice on our voyage.

Approximately there is good navigation on the lake from about July 15 to October 15 ; a schooner could be taken absolutely empty up the Dease river and supplies could be brought up by scow.

All hands worked cheerfully and well from start to finish of our voyage; the Eskimo family are quite good travellers and give no worry. Arden proved himself a complete pilot, expert canoe man, and a fine sailor full of resources.

The Rev. Father Frapsance, by his unflinching good nature and cheerfulness at all times, has earned the unstinted admiration of us all. My diary will show our progress and incidents from day to day, and I enclose a separate report of my trip to Lake Rouvière.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,

C. D. La NAUZE,  
Inspector, in charge of Patrol.

#### 4. Inspector C.D. La Nauze — Dease Bay to Missing Priests' Cabin on Lake, patrol report, 15 December 1915

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

“N” Division, Athabaska, Great Bear Lake Patrol,

Dease Bay, N.W.T., December 15, 1915.  
The Officer Commanding  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Athabaska.

Sir, — I have the honour to report that I left my base on Dease bay on September 19 on patrol to lake Rouvière where the missing priests had established a mission to the Coppermine Eskimo. The party consisted of special constable Ilavinek, Indian Harry as guide, and myself. The Rev. Father Frapsance [*sic*] and Mr. D’Arcey Arden also accompanied the party.

Winter had already set in in these parts and we were obliged to travel overland with pack dogs. We carried about seven days’ rations and our camping equipment, rifles, etc., and we were all fairly heavily packed.

Our destination lay about 70 miles northeast in the barren lands, and we proceeded along the southeast shore of Dease Bay and then northeast through the bush, passing through a low-lying country of low ridges, swamps, and many small lakes, with small spruce everywhere. We arrived at the edge of the Barren lands at 2 p.m., on the following day and upon climbing a ridge a fine view lay before us.

To the southwest the hollow of the Dease valley could be plainly seen with the river winding through dark-green spruce. To the north a high bare range of mountains could be seen a long way off. Dease bay and its islands could be seen a long way off and they lay behind us and to the east and the northeast the barren lands stretched away in gently rolling hills not unlike the Saskatchewan prairies.

We were facing a high rocky hill, and on its slopes could be seen a herd of eighteen caribou quietly grazing. We pushed on and, tying up our dogs, struck off to hunt and killed three of the herd.

We made camp by a clump of spruce beside a small lake, and the following day cached our meat and killed eight more deer. We were in the Eskimo hunting grounds of 1914 and deer were viewed everywhere in small herds, but of the Eskimo we did not see any during the whole trip.

Continuing our journey we travelled over rocky hills with low-lying valleys between, and killed and cached three more deer as we went along. The Dease valley was on our left and it throws out arms of spruce far into the barrens, as far as Big Stick island, and one can always strike one of these arms or islands for a camp while travelling in these parts. The Dease river was entirely frozen over, and must have been frozen early in September. All inland lakes were solid enough to cross, and as not much snow had fallen we had good walking. On the 24th we camped on an island of small spruce overlooking the northeast branch of the Dease river. It was somewhere here that Stefansson camped in 1910-11 and his house was found by Constable Wight on patrol through here later on.

The 25th was bitterly cold, with rain and driving snow. We were just breaking camp when I observed two moose come out of the valley and travel southeast across the barrens. Ilavinik had never seen a moose before and he was anxious for the chase so he and Harry set out and returned in three hours packing a big moose rib. They had killed both which proved to be two old bulls. The weather held us in camp the rest of that day, and the next morning we cached our meat in a strong stone cache, and proceeded over rolling hills towards Big Stick island on one of the most beautiful days I have ever seen.

Upon reaching the top of a high hill another fine panorama lay before us. This was the valley of the Big Stick island known to the Eskimo as the sled-making place according to Stefansson. A veritable oasis of tall dark spruce about two miles long nestled at the foot of a high rocky hill and to the north Turquoise blue lakes lay tucked away among the frowning hills. To the east, bold, undulating, grassy plains stretched as far as the eye could see, and small bands of caribou were everywhere. The brilliant sunshine had almost dried up the snow and rain of yesterday and the creeks were running water on the top of the ice. I killed two deer at 2 p.m., while the others went on to the island, and Ilavinek, hearing my shots, came over and helped me pack part of the meat into camp, where I cached some for our return. On the 27th we crossed Big Stick island and travelled for several hours over granite hills. At 2 p.m. we ascended a mountain of about 1,500 feet, and another valley lay before us with lake Rouvière stretching far away in the distance. We descended to the valley and passed a fairly recent Eskimo cache and some Eskimo tracks.

We were now in a regular "kopje-like" country, with stones placed on end by Eskimo which is one of their deer-hunting devices.

Evidently they must drive the deer amongst these kopjes and ambush them there. The country was now much barer and wilder in appearance, and there were absolutely no trees. We viewed a clump of small spruce far away on the southwest end of the lake Rouvière and we headed for these, but camped short when it got dark, where we found some stunted, gnarled spruce.

On the 28th we crossed lake Rouvière on the ice, which was glare and very slippery. This lake has been named lake Rouvière by C. M. Douglas, the author of *Lands Forlorn* in honour of the missing priest Father Rouvière, who established the mission there in 1911. It is a large body of water about 4 miles long and wide, and seems to be in reality two lakes, as a sandbar runs straight across the middle between two points about quarter of a mile apart. It just looks like a natural bridge, and it is 6 feet wide. Possibly it may be covered in high water, but it is a strange phenomenon.

The priests' cabin is built in a small clump of dry spruce at the extreme end of the lake to the northeast. At 11 a.m. we arrived at this tiny cabin we had come so far to find, and found everything in ruins and not a sign or clue to show the whereabouts of the missing priests. The season was already far advanced and so I decided to turn back from here. We had seen no caribou, either, for the last few days. We made the 30 miles to Big Stick island in one day's hard march, and then continued quietly on our way back to our base. Arden went ahead from here and I sent Indian Harry back with Father Frapsance, who was anxious to return. Ilavinek hunted meat for the coming winter and killed ten more deer.

On October 2 we must have seen over 400 caribou travelling in large bands to the northeast; many bulls were now seen, as previous to this we had only seen cows and calves. We were living on straight meat and tea and thrived on the diet. We built caches with infinite labour out of large stonepiles, by excavating a hole and placing the meat inside and covering with boulders we could hardly lift.

In November Constables Wight and Ilavinek patrolled these parts and found all the caches destroyed by wolverines, of which the country abounds. We only saved a hide and a quarter of our moose.

We returned to our base in a heavy snowstorm on October 4th inst., having travelled over 180 miles.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,

C. D. La NAUZE,  
Inspector in charge of Patrol.

## The Canadian Arctic Expedition Patrol, Summer 2015

### 5. Inspector J.W. Phillips to Corporal W. V. Bruce, 17 August 1915

*Source: LAC, RG85 v 175 f541-2-5*

Herschell Island Detachment.  
Mackenzie River Sub-District.  
Aug. 17<sup>th</sup>. 1915.

Corp'l Bruce,

You will proceed to the Canadian Arctic Expedition's camp at Cockburn Point by the C. G. S. "Alaska". Dr. Anderson is in charge of the Expedition there and you will make this your headquarters.

When the natives come there this winter you are to get all particulars that you can regarding the death of the two Priests, Fathers Rouviere and LaRoux. Communicate if possible with Inspt. La Nauze, whom I believe is wintering at or near old Fort Confidence; Make no arrest if it can possibly be avoided until you are in communication with him.

Dr. Anderson reports that the natives are stealing from his camps and caches, do what you can in this matter – these natives know no law and you will have to explain to them that there is a law whereby they can be punished.

You will have to use your own judgment in most cases, but you are not to travel alone with the natives of the District. If the Expedition sends a party to Fort Norman this winter you can accompany them until you meet Inspt. La Nauze, that is if you have sufficient information to give him.

If you have the opportunity you can make short trips with any member of the Expedition. Take Notes on everything you see for you have to make out a full report on your return.

J. W. Phillips, Inspt.  
Commanding MacKenzie River Sub-Dist.

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To Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
“N” Division, Athabasca.

Bernard Harbour, N. W. T.  
June, 12<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

In both Inspt. Phillips’ letters of Aug. 17<sup>th</sup>, he states that the Priests were dead.

I do not know where he got his information as I myself did not know the Priests were ‘dead’ until May 7<sup>th</sup>. 1916. They had left their base with the intention of being away two years and their time was not expired when my patrol was despatched.

C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.  
I/C Great Bears Lake Patrol.

The Commissioner,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
Regina, Sask.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) R. Field, Inspector.  
For O. C. “N” Division, A. O. L.  
Peace River, Alta. Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

**6. V. Stefansson, Commander, Canadian Arctic Expedition (CAE), to Dr. R.M. Anderson, Second in Command, CAE, Bernard Harbour, 29 August 1915**

*Source: LAC, CAE-1915-16- RG85 v 175 f541-2-5*

R. N. W. M. Police.

Herschel Isld. Detmt.  
Canadian Arctic Expd.  
Bernard Harbour, N. W. T.  
January 1/16.

The Baillie Islands, August 29, 2015.

Dear Dr. Anderson:

The Royal North-West Mounted Police have taken up the matter of investigating the reported disappearance of two Roman Catholic missionaries from the Eskimo territory adjacent to Bear Lake. Inspector La Nauze with a party including our former employee Ilavinek has taken up the matter from the Bear Lake side and Corporal Bruce has been detailed by Inspector Phillips to investigate the same case from the Arctic Coast. From information given Inspector Phillips by our Eskimo (myself acting as interpreter) I agree with the Police that evidence of an important nature in this case is likely to be obtainable among the Eskimos who visit your base at Bernard Harbor or who frequent the vicinity. It seems to me fitting, therefore, that this Expedition assist in every convenient way in the proposed investigation and I have invited Corporal Bruce on behalf of the Expedition to use the Headquarters of the Southern section as his base while he is engaged in this work. Inspector Phillips consulted me as to what equipment and supplies should be furnished Corporal Bruce by the Police and he is taking with him the things I thought needed. As Corporal Bruce is evidently a man well able to take care of himself you will, I feel sure, find it to our advantage as it will also be to his, to allow him to accompany any hunting, surveying or other party sent out from your base which he would like to join for the purpose of gathering information for his Department. He will need, above all, a good interpreter, an office in which I feel sure Mr Jenness will be as willing as he is by now competent to serve. I gather from Palsiyak that miraculous reasons are assigned for disappearance of the two Priests; for that reason the Corporal will be unable to obtain a correct understanding from such an interpreter as Unslina or Angutitsiak for they cannot translate ceremonial terms into English.

(Sgd) V. Stefansson.

Commander, Canadian Arctic Expedition.

## 7. W.V. Bruce to Officer Commanding, "N" Division, Athabasca, 23 November 1915

*Source: LAC, RG85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Bernard Harbour, N. W. T.,  
23/11/15.

The Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
Mackenzie River Sub District.



Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report of my patrol from Herschell Island, Y. T., to the Canadian Arctic Expedition's camp at Bernard Harbour, N. W. T.

I boarded the Expedition's Schooner "Alaska" at Herschell Island, — Mr. J. D. Sweeney, Master, at 1. A. M. of August the 22<sup>nd</sup>, sailing immediately and not sighting land until opposite Pullen Island which was sighted at 5 P. M. of the same day; dropping anchor in Baillie Island Harbour at 3 P. M. of the 23<sup>rd</sup> inst.

Baillie Island Settlement is built on the end of a long narrow sand-spit, really a part of Cape Bathurst, and at the time I was there consisted of two Eskimo families living in tents and a Hudson's Bay Post which was just being built in charge of Mr. Erickson who had arrived at Baillie Island by the Hudson's Bay Schooner "Ft MacPherson" a few days previously. Baillie Island itself is of the same formation as all of the land in the vicinity of the MacKenzie [*sic*] Delta, i. e. low lying tundra, evidently alluvial, with sheer banks to the waters edge, about 40 feet high. Cape Bathurst is the same. An excellent harbour is formed between the sand-spit off Cape Bathurst and Baillie Island but the channel is always shifting.

The "Alaska" was in Baillie Island Harbour from August 23<sup>rd</sup> to September the 1<sup>st</sup>, during this time the Schooner "Ruby" from Seattle, Capt. Cottle, with supplies for the Hudson's Bay Co.; "Gladiator", Capt Wolki from Seattle, trading; "Polar Bear" Capt. Lane from Seattle, trading and whaling; "Ft MacPherson" Capt. Johnson, Hudson's Bay Co. from Herschell Island; The Church of England Mission Schooner "Atkoon" from Ft. MacPherson, Rev. Mr. Girling, Master; the "El Sueno", Capt. Allen from Nome, trapping and trading. Mr. V. Stefansson, Commander of the Canadian Arctic Expedition arrived at Baillie Island on the "Polar Bear" on August the 25<sup>th</sup>, and stopped on board the "Alaska" from that time until she sailed.

On September the first at 2 P. M. the "Alaska" sailed followed by the schooners "Atkoon" and "El Sueno" all bound for Bernard Harbour, the "El Sueno" with freight from the Expedition, Capt. Allen intending to pass the winter at Pierce Point, trapping; the "Atkoon" with the Rev. Mr. Girling, Messrs. Merrit and Hoare intending to start a Mission at Bernard Harbour. We lost sight of land after leaving Cape Bathurst as the weather was foggy, and the next day the 2<sup>nd</sup> inst during a heavy gale lost sight of the "Atkoon" and had to run for shelter in Pierce Point Harbour dropping

anchor there at 3 A. M. of the 3<sup>rd</sup> inst and laying over for twenty four hours until the storm had abated. Pierce Point itself is a jagged reef of Limestone (Dolomite) extending for about a mile out to sea from the Mainland in a North Westerly direction and forming an excellent harbour from all but westerly winds – the water here is deep right to the beach – the country in the vicinity is barren and rolling with higher hills in the background. On the beach there were the burnt remains of a house, built by one, Clinkenberg, a trapper who wintered there the winter of 14-15. The “Alaska” sailed from Pierce Point Harbour at 2.30 A. M. of the 4<sup>th</sup> inst, the wind having turned to the west, passed Cape Bexley at 3 A. M. of the 5<sup>th</sup> and arrived in Bernard Harbour at 11 a.m of the same date. Mr. F. Johansen, Naturalist, was in charge of the camp at this time in the absence of Dr. Anderson.

The coast from Cape Parry to Cape Bexley is very rugged being composed of limestone cliffs varying in height from 40 to 200 ft, with here and there an occasional shingly beach; from Cape Bexley to Bernard harbour there are no cliffs and the whole coast line is very low lying, in fact one continuous beach with numerous points and bays.

Hair and bearded seal were plentiful along the route, no bearded seals being seen however until Baillie Island was reached. Ducks were everywhere mostly King Eiders and Old Squaws, and occasionally Geese and Swans were sighted. At Pierce Point several small bands of Caribou were located and a few shot; and on the beach here I saw the tracks of two Polar bears.

Fish were plentiful in Baillie Island Harbour, Herrings and Salmon Trout were caught in Gill nets.

The weather on the voyage varied a great deal but most days were more or less foggy with occasional snow flurries, however we had fair winds most of the time and with the exception of a heavy gale from the North East on the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> insts. nothing eventful occurred.

I attach herewith a copy of my diary.

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant,  
(Sd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl. Regtl. No. 4600.

To the O. C.

R. N. W. M. Police, Athabasca.

Bernard Harbour N. W. T., June 12<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

It will be seen by the above report that the "Alaska" only actually took five days to make the trip from Herschel Island to Bernard Harbour. Another two days would have run her right to the head of Bathurst Inlet.

(Sd) C. D. LaNauze. Inspt.  
In Charge of Baker Lake Patrol.

The Commissioner, R. N. W. M. P. Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) A. E. C. McDonell.

Sutp. Commanding "N" Division. Peace River, Sept. 8- 1916.

Bernard Harbour, N. W. T.,  
23/11/15.

CERTIFIED CORRECT COPY OF DIARY FROM AUGUST 22<sup>nd</sup> TO  
SEPTEMBER 5<sup>th</sup>, [1915].

- Sun. Aug. 22. Boarded the schooner "Alaska" at 1 A. M. vessel sailed at 2 A. M. Passed Pullen Island at 5 P. M. No ships sighted. Wind fresh from the North West, fair.
- Mon. Aug. 23. Arrived Baillie Island at 3 P. M. schooners "Gladiator" and "Rosie H" in Harbour, Capt. Wolki and Hainsley. The "Rosie H" reports one whale caught this spring. Wind North West, flurries of snow and rain, foggy in P. M.
- Tues. Aug. 24. In Baillie Island Harbour. Wind freshening from the N. E. heavy fog.
- Wed. Aug. 25. In Baillie Island Harbour. The schooner "Polar Bear" arrived at Baillie Island at 3 A. M. Mr. V. Stefansson on Heavy gale from the east.
- Thu. Aug. 26. In Baillie Island Harbour, Heavy gale from the East. Sea high. Weather clear.
- Fri. Aug. 27. In Baillie Island Harbour. The "Polar Bear" sailed this A. M. from Banks Land. The "Gladiator" sailed this A. M. for the west. The Hudson Bay Schooner "Ft. MacPherson" arrived at 5 P. M. from Herschel Island. Mr. Stefansson on board the "Alaska". Wind east.

- Sat. Aug. 28. In Baillie Island Harbour. The Mission Schooner "Atkoon" arrived this 2 P. M. Wind fresh from the east, clear in day foggy at night.
- Sun. Aug. 29. In Baillie Island Harbour. Wind east.
- Mon. Aug. 30. In Baillie Island Harbour. The Schooner "Ft MacPherson" left this 6 A. M. for Herschell Island. Wind East.
- Tue. Aug. 31. In Baillie Island Harbour. The "Ruby" Capt. Cottle, arrived this 7 A. M. The Schooner "El Sueno", Capt. Allan arrived at 11 A. M. from Herschell Island. Wind N. E. foggy all day.
- Wed. Sept. 1. Schooner "Gladiator" returned this 11 a. m. The "Alaska" sailed at 2 P. M. from Baillie Island followed by the schooner "Atkoon" and "El Sueno", passed Cape Bathurst at 3 P. M. Wind N. W.
- Thu. Sept. 2. Out of sight of land all day. Wind moderate in the morning from the N. E. and foggy. Heavy gale in P. M. and at night. The "Atkoon" lost sight of at 10 A. M.
- Fri. Sept. 3. Heavy gale in A. M. from the N. E. The "Alaska" put in for ... [cut off]
- Sat. Sep. 4. Sailed from Pierce Point at 2. 30 a. m. strong west wind heavy sea, changing to north by night. Flurries of snow. Passed Dease Thompson Point at 11 A. M.
- Sun Sept. 5. Passed Cape Bexley at 3 A. M. arrived at Bernard Harbour at 11 am. Mr. F. Johanson, Naturalist in charge in the absence of Dr. Anderson. Weather exceptionally fine. Wind N. W.

Certified correct.

(Sd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl.

Regtl. No. 4600.

## 8. Corp. W.V. Bruce, Patrol Report to Officer Commanding, RNWMP Mackenzie River Sub-District, 10 November 1915

Source: LAC, CAE-1915-16- RG85 v 175 f541-2-5

Can. Arctic Expd.  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.,  
10/11/15.

Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
MacKenzie River Sub-Dist.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report of my patrol from the Canadian Arctic Expedition's camp at Bernard Harbour to the Rae and Coppermine Rivers and return.

As some anxiety was felt by Mr. F. Johansen, Naturalist, in charge of the camp here in the absence of Dr. Anderson, of the fate of Dr. Anderson and Party who were a month overdue, I volunteered to make a patrol to the Rae and Coppermine Rivers, where they were supposed to be at the end of the summer, in search of them.

I left the Expedition's camp at Bernard Harbour on October 21st taking with me a Native Interpreter, sled and seven dogs and twenty days provisions; camping within four miles of Cape Lambert the same night a distance of twenty miles. The ice so far had been smooth and safe but on rounding Cape Lambert the next day it became dangerous and I had to keep close in shore. I camped this night the 22nd inst at the north end of the portage across Cape Krusenstern within plain sight of Mt. Barrow, having made 15 miles. The next morning a strong blizzard was blowing and it took me 1-½ hours to make the two mile portage, I was on sea ice again at 11.30 A.M. but found the ice very rough and piled close against the cliffs with open water immediately outside. I camped at night on the N.W. shore of Pt. Lockyer. In the morning I portaged across this point, about four miles, and on the way, on an abrupt hill lying immediately to the west, I discovered the remains of one of the old Eskimo stone houses, one room was in perfect condition, circular and dome shaped and the remains of two larger evidently attached to this at one time could plainly be seen. This day I made 17 miles and camped at night on the East shore of Balis Hall's Bay. The 15th inst was beautifully fine and clear and I rounded Cape Herne at 11.A.M. following the Coast around and camping at night

on the south shore of the large un-named Bay of which Cape Kendall forms the south east point of. On the 26th inst I broke camp before dark, portaged across the end of Cape Kendall at noon and followed the coast along the north shore of Back's Inlet to within one mile of the Rae River, being forced to camp here as night had fallen. Here I expected to meet Dr. Anderson but on examining both shores of the River next day for two miles from the mouth, was convinced that he had not been there this summer, so I pushed on towards the Coppermine, rounding MacKenzie Point at 3 P.M. crossing Richardson's Bay in deep snow and camping within four miles of the Coppermine River by 11 A.M. and patrolled a few miles up it looking for any sign of Dr. Anderson having been there but found none. On looking back I saw a native snow village on the Island immediately in the mouth of the River, I returned to it but found that it was deserted, with fresh sled marks leading out into Coronation Gulf, knowing that the natives never travelled far in a day and in all probability were known to the Expedition and could give me news of the Party, I followed them. The sled tracks led straight out into the Gulf towards some islands about five miles N.East of the River, on approaching the first island of the group I could see people,- they evidently saw my sled at the same time at the same time for about forty men came running out onto the ice towards me, with about thirty women and children in the rear, they made the Peace sign by holding their hands above their heads and I returned it. This formality through with I was escorted to the village by the whole crowd, all talking and laughing at the same time; they were very friendly and hospitable for as soon as I arrived at the village, they put up my tent for me, fed my dogs brought me fresh Caribou meat, took my boots away to dry and mend, and asked me through my Interpreter how long I would stop with them. I promised to stop over the next day if I could get fire-wood which they promised to procure for me, which they did, sending a sled over to the mainland the next morning before daylight for the purpose. I went to bed early this night but it was no use. I was informed that a dance was being held to celebrate my coming, so I had to go; I was first escorted to one of the snow houses and there dressed in the native costume, long tailed parka, deer skin pants, boots and all the additional fancy work, then taken to the dance hall which was a large skin tent with a snow entrance- the dance lasted from 8 P.M. until 1 A.M. of the next morning, and from time to time I was requested to beat the big drum. I went to bed as soon as the dance was over but was awakened about 5 P.M. by footsteps around the

tent. I had my Interpreter ask what was the matter and it was only one of the natives asking whether I was ready to come and have breakfast with him. I whispered to my interpreter to tell them that I was asleep and they went away - but sleep I could not for every few minutes someone else would come with the same request. It was dark when I went out but the natives were still there. I went down to the "Head-man's" (Uluksak's) tent and partook of a little frozen fish, but refused other things which were freely offered. I visited all the tents and snow houses in the village and was forced to eat a little fish at each for fear of giving offence by refusing, for on entering I was always offered the best that they had. At noon I was offered some very appetising soup in a musk-ox horn, I drank this but afterwards found that it was made out of boiled deer meat and blood. Wherever I went all the natives were at my heels and although their houses and tents are supposed to be warmed with seal oil lamps, I was cold. I made for my tent where I had a camp stove and they all tried to enter with me, by doing so they would have torn it to bits, so I had to return to their snow houses. About 5 P.M. I asked the man, Uluksak to supper, he was delighted, and as he seemed to have a certain amount of power over the other natives, being an "Angatkok" or "Shaman", I had him keep them away. I also had this man question all the villagers as to any sign of Dr. Anderson and Party who are all well known to most of these natives but could get no definite news, and as these natives had been on Coppermine River all summer was convinced that Dr. Anderson had not been there as intended; so I decided to return the next day. The next morning was a repetition of the previous but I broke Camp at 8 A.M. with everyone assisting and accompanied by the whole population of the village made a start, the natives dropping off one by one until the last was gone about three miles away. While I was in the village the natives were continually clamouring for cartridges, they had a few rifles of 30.30 and 44.40 calibre, mostly obtained from Joe Bernard, Hornby, the Canadian Arctic Expedition and the Bear Lake Indians - they also had several other articles of civilization obtained from the same sources as well as from the Roman Catholic Priests at Great Bear Lake. The day I left the village I made 25 miles crossing the Bay direct to Kendall Point which I rounded at noon camping this night at the same place of my former camp of the 25th inst. The next day was a heavy fog but luckily I could just see my former sled tracks, so followed them around Cape [Hearne] and camped in Basil Hall's Bay. From this point on I followed

my old route back to Bernard Harbour arriving there at 2.30 P.M. of November 4th.

The Coast line from Bernard Harbour to Cape Lambert is composed of low land, gravel and boulders, with many unmapped bays and points; Cape Lambert is a series of [perpendicular] limestone (Dolomite) cliffs about 80 feet high coming to the waters edge for about half a mile and then receding inland; after this one crosses a large bay surrounded by very low land, and inland, a little to the east rises a conspicuous lonely hill (Mt Barrow) on the east side of which the Portage crosses Cape Krusenstern to Coronation Gulf - There are two Portages here both starting from the same point, one short which I travelled coming out at the South West point of Cape Krusenstern about two miles long, the other longer, about twelve miles ending in the Bay south of Point Lockyer. The cliffs of Cape Krusenstern are similar to those of Cape Lambert and from this point tundra with lower gravel ridges. Cape Herne is a long sandy point with higher hills in the background; Cape Kendall is a protruding cliff with an island outside, continued in a row of scattered islands in the East stretching far out into Coronation Gulf, Kendal (Cape) is columnar black Basalt overlaying the common, slaty, whitish limestone, common to this district, and from here to the Rae River the Coast is a long series of cliffs of the same formation. Rae River is about half a mile wide at its mouth, bordered by large sandbanks, further up the river the banks are precipitous composed of basalt and limestone. From this point to the Coppermine River, one conspicuous point is passed, that is MacKenzie Point, running out in two points, a shorter and a longer, and the channel between the most southern point and the east going chains of Islands stringing out into Coronation Gulf is first seen when one is very close. Richardsons Bay between Mackenzie Point and the Coppermine River is bordered by low coastal tundra with sand dunes at the beach and higher gravel ridges parallel with the coast inland through which a few small cracks come down to the sea. Continuing along this coast one has later to round a protruding rocky point which forms the west side of the mouth of the [Coppermine] River, after this the west bank of the Coppermine River is a gravelly boulder ridge, steep against the River mouth from which one has a good view of the country the long, low, sandy spit forming the east side of the Rivermouth. The higher hills behind this, the two or three islands off the mouth of the River; Cape Kendal can plainly be seen in the North West and many islands in Coronation Gulf. The Rivermouth is very large especially a little back of the sea coats and the



gravel islands with boulders and the out-banks along the east and west sides and of the sandy islands in it, show plainly. Richardsons River lies between MacKenzie Point and the Rae River, opening out into the sea about four miles from the latter; its mouth is about 150 yards wide.

The natives seen by me on this patrol were “Kogluktokmiut” or Coppermine River people, the tribal names is taken from the vicinity in which they live, as is usual in most of the Eskimo tribes of this district. These people hunt Cariboo inland in the summer travelling as far a Great Bear Lake, coming down to the coast as soon as winter sets in, when they live on the ice by sealing, they have seen but very few white men and saw neither white men nor [Indians] this summer at Great Bear Lake.

The customs, beliefs and general life of these people, together with any others that I may come in contact with, will be submitted in a separate report.

Seal were plentiful all along the route, and numerous Caribou were seen - wolverine and white fox tracks were everywhere and a few wolves were sighted. The natives were well supplied with fish, both fresh and dried, all salmon-trout, caught in the Coppermine River.

The weather on the whole was good, the coldest being only - 14 F. Most of the days were either foggy or snowing but none were unfit to travel in.

On this patrol I followed the Coast line very closely, looking for any sign of Dr. Anderson’s camps of boats, none were found however. Dr. Anderson and his party arrived safely at Bernard Harbour on November the 9th, their boats having been frozen in at Epworth Bay, Coronation Gulf. The Party had not been on the Rae of Coppermine Rivers at any time but had been further along the coast to Bathurst Inlet.

I had with me a copy of Dr. Rae’s map, issued in 1852<sup>4</sup> – This map, so the members of the Expedition state, is more correct than the one issued by the Admiralty. – and had no difficulty in finding my locations.

Driftwood is very scarce along the coast and a Primus stove is essential, and the little that is found mostly comes from the MacKenzie River for one finds an occasional stick of Cottonwood; very little driftwood comes down the [Coppermine] River.

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<sup>4</sup> Presumably “Chart of the Arctic Coast, examined by J. Rae in Spring & Summer 1851,” cartographer: John Arrowsmith, London, 1852 HBCA G.3/39, available at [https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/spotlight/john\\_rae.html](https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/archives/hbca/spotlight/john_rae.html).

The condition of the ice varied a great deal, on my way down it was not particularly safe but on my return it had hardened considerably; rough ice was always encountered along the protruding Headlands and steep cliffs.

The following is a copy of my diary :-

Thu; Oct. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Left Expds Camp at Bernard Harbour at 8 A. M. with Eskimo Interpreter "Ikey" sled, seven dogs, and twenty days provisions; travelled until noon, had lunch and rested dogs for half an hour, proceeded until 2. 30 and camped within four miles of Cape Lambert. Wind S. W. Slightly foggy with snow flurries. No sign of natives. Plenty of seals seen and numerous foxes along route. Ice smooth close to shore, but broken up and rough out to sea. Open water between Lambert Island and the Mainland. Days travel 20 miles.

Fri; Oct. 22<sup>nd</sup>.

Broke camp at 10 A. M. snowing heavily, rounded Cape Lambert at noon ice rather dangerous, had lunch here and rested dogs, across Cape Krusenstern. Camped at 3. 30, still snowing. No fresh signs of natives. No driftwood found. Days travel 15 miles.

Sat. Oct. 23<sup>rd</sup>.

Broke camp at 10 A. M. and crossed the 2 miles portage across Cape Krusenstern in a blizzard from the North East, on sea ice again at 11. 30. Ice rough and piled close in on shore. Camped at night on the north shore of Point Lockyer. Several herds of Caribou seen during the day. Day very stormy, wind North East. Days travel 14 miles.

Sun. Oct. 24<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M. and made portage across Point Lockyer, on this portage I found the remains of one of the old Eskimo stone houses. On sea ice again at 11 A. M. proceeded until noon and then rested dogs after half an hour. Made camp at 3. 30 P. M. after having crossed a large bay over smooth ice. Heavy fog and snow all day; no wind.

Days travel 17 miles.

Mon. Oct. 25<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M. rounded Cape Herne at 11 A. M. proceeded until noon, rested dogs and started again half an hour later. Camped within eight miles of Cape Kendall at 4 P. M. Weather fine and cold. Slightly foggy towards night. Wind N/E. Days travel 20 miles.

Tue. Oct. 26<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M. portaged across the end of Cape Kendall at noon and rested dogs, continued along the north shore of Backs Inlet and camped within a mile of the Rae River at dark. Day foggy and cold, wind from the north west. No driftwood found. Days travel 22 miles.

Wed. Oct. 27<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M. and proceeded to the Rae River, patrolled three miles up river and returned, followed coast around Mackenzie Point and camped at dark on the south shore of Richardsons Bay within four miles of The Coppermine River. Snow very deep on Rae River, Backs Inlet, and Richardsons Bay. Weather cold and foggy, wind [South-East]. Days travel 22 miles.

Thu; Oct. 28<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 10 A. M. and arrived at the mouth of the Coppermine River at 11 A. M. [Patrolled] two miles up River and to an Island five miles out in Coronation Gulf. Found native village here, (Coppermine River Eskimo) and stopped overnight.

Fri. Oct. 29<sup>th</sup>.

In native village all day, making inquiries re Dr Anderson, and the two Priests.

Sat. Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M., rounded Cape Kendall at noon and camped for night at 4 P.M. on old camp site of the 24<sup>th</sup> inst. Shot a wolf this P. M. around camp. Weather cold, ice rough, wind North West. Days travel 25 miles.

Sun. Oct. 31<sup>st</sup>.

Broke camp at 9.30 A. M. snowing heavily and dense fog, could just see old sled tracks of the 25<sup>th</sup> inst. Had lunch and rested dogs at Cape Herne and camped at night on old camp site of the 24<sup>th</sup> inst. Weather still foggy, snow stopped at 1 P. M. Wind North East. Days travel 20 miles.

Mon. Nov. 1<sup>st</sup>,

Broke camp at 9 A. M. and followed previous route, had lunch at portage across Point Lockyer, and camped at north end of portage at 3 P. M. Weather clear and cold, Wind North East.  
Days travel 17 miles.

Tue. Nov. 2<sup>nd</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M. followed coast to the short portage across Cape Krusenstern, arriving there at 1 P. M., crossed portage in afternoon and camped at coast on others side. at 2 P. M. One caribou shot crossing portage. Snow in morning, clear in afternoon. Ice rough, Days travel 14 miles.

Wed. Nov. 3<sup>rd</sup>.

Broke camp at 8 A. M. weather fine, fair wind from the East. Ice dangerous off Cape Lambert which I rounded at noon. Camped at old camp site at 2 P. M.  
Days travel 15 miles.

Thu. Nov. 4<sup>th</sup>.

Broke camp at 9 A. M., arrived opposite [Chantry] Island at noon, and at Bernard Harbour at 2. 30 P. M., Weather fine, no wind.  
Days travel 20 miles.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sgd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl.  
Regt. No. 4600.

The Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
Athabasca.

Forwarded.  
to the O. C.  
R. N. W. M. Police  
“N” Div. Athabasca.

Corpl. Bruce is evidently a keen observer and this was his first trip with dogs.

(Sgd) C. D. La Nauze,  
Insp. Commanding Mackenzie River Sub-Dist.

The Commissioner,  
R. N. W. M. P. Regina.  
Forwarded for your information.  
(Sgd) A. E. C. McDonell. Supt.

### 9. W. V. Bruce to Officer Commanding, “N” Division, Athabasca, Patrol Report: Southern Party CAE, 1 January 1916

*Source: LAC, RG85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Can. Arctic Expd.  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.,  
Jan. 1<sup>st</sup>, /16

Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
Mackenzie River Sub-District.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report of my stay with the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition at Bernard Harbour from Sept 5th to December 31st 1915.

I arrived at Bernard Harbour by the Schooner “Alaska” on September the 5th, having left Herschel Island on the morning of August 22nd. Mr F. Johansen, Naturalist, C.A.E. was in charge of the camp on my arrival, Dr. Anderson being away, and remained in charge until his return on November the 9th. From October 24th to November 4th I was on patrol to the Rae and Coppermine Rivers. Mr D. Jenness, Ethnologist, C.A.E. returned to the camp here on Novemer the 8th having spent the summer

with some Eskimos in Victoria Land. Dr. Anderson, Mssrs Chipman, Cox, and O'Neil returned from their work in Coronation Gulf on November 9th by dog sled their Launch having been frozen in at Epworth Harbour a few weeks previously. From December 15th to 23rd I was with Mr Jenness in an Eskimo village on the Liston and Sutton Islands, Dolphin and Union Straits.

The Rev Mr. Girling, Church of England Mission, arrived at Bernard Harbour on October the 9th, his boat the Schooner "Atkoon" having been driven ashore in a storm near Clifton Pt. on Sept 4th, all is party are safe and the Schooner un-damaged - he returned to Clifton Pt on November the 10th, Capt Allan of the Schooner "El Sueno" who brought supplies to the camp here this summer is wintering at Pierce Pt with four other men, trapping.

Ice started to form in the Harbour here on September the 20th but did not become solid until the night of October the 6th. Snow has been on the ground since September the 10th, falling many times before this date but melting away again. The lowest temperature recorded this winter so far is - 37. There has been more or less wind every day.

Game is plentiful here in seasons but not at all times. Ptarmigan did not appear here until October 4th, when large flocks were seen, all Rock Ptarmigan and flying South East evidently migrating from Victoria and Banks Land, the flight kept up for about two weeks and but few stopped in the vicinity after. There are a few Arctic Hares in the neighbourhood. No Caribou were seen until November 8th when they appeared in numerous herds of various quantities, however I never saw more than eighteen in one band and never less than three, this was a small part of the annual Caribou migration from Victoria Land the main herds passing further to the east - the Caribou did not stop long in the vicinity but kept travelling inland, the migration kept up until November the 18th. Hair and Bearded Seal were numerous in the summer and fall but wild-fowl were scarce. The only fish that have been caught are a species of Salmon Trout, caught both in the Harbour and in the land locked lakes. One Polar Bear was shot on December the 3rd, and several Barren Land Grizzlies were obtained by the members of the Expedition in the Summer. The natives of the country have a quantity of Musk Ox skins obtained from the country South and South East of Bathurst Inlet.

The first Eskimos arrived here on September the 5th, a small band of Dolphin and Union Straits Eskimo (Nohaminuits) who stopped a week

and then went inland, returning again on October the 1st. From November the 15th to November the 25th Eskimos came from Victoria Land and from the country between Bernard Harbour and Bathurst Inlet, there being 118 camped around the Expedition on November 29th. On December 1st the first family left for the Liston and Sutton Islands and by the 16th all had gone, most of them intending to return in the Spring. On December 23rd six Eskimos arrived from the Arctic Sound and the Thelon River and left again for the Islands on the 27th inst.

In closing this report I feel in duty bound to make some expression of my gratitude to the members of the Southern Party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, all the assistance possible has been given me, and I have been treated with the utmost kindness and courtesy by all.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your oedient servant,  
(Sd) W. V. Bruce,  
Corpl.  
Regt. No. 4600.

The,  
Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Athabasca.  
Forwarded.  
(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Insp.  
Commanding MacKenzie River Sub-District.  
Herschel Island.

Augst. 1st, 1916.  
The Commissioner,  
R. N. W. M. P.  
Regina.  
Forwarded for your information.  
(Sd) A. E. C. McDonell,  
Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.  
Peace River. Sept 8, 1916.

## 10. W.V. Bruce to Officer Commanding, "N" Division, Athabasca, Patrol Report: Liston and Sutton Islands, 1 January 1916

*Source: LAC, RG85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Herschel Island Detmt.  
MacKenzie Rv. Sub-District.

Canadian Arctic Expedition,  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.,  
January 1st, 1916.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
MacKenzie River Sub-district.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report of my patrol to the Liston and Sutton Islands and a weeks stay in an Eskimo Village there. (Copper Eskimo.)

On December 15th/15 in company with Mr. D. Jenness, Ethnologist of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and "Patsy" a half breed Eskimo boy as Interpreter, I left for the Liston and Sutton Islands which lie midway between Bernard Harbour and Victoria Land and on which a large Eskimo village was located, taking with us a sled, five dogs and sufficient supplies for two weeks. We left the Expeditions Camp at 11 a.m. and arrived at the village at 4 P.M. a distance of 16 miles. There were about 140 inhabitants in the village and most of them had been living in the vicinity of the Expedition Camp a few weeks previously, so we were known to them. On this night we slept in a snow house with a native family of the name of Kingordluk, with whom Mr. Jenness had spent the summer in Victoria Land, and were quite comfortable. On the following day we put up our tent the natives building a snow house over it for us; Mr. Jenness however continued to sleep in the snow house.

Our tent was usually crowded with natives who although somewhat of a nuisance and dirty were well behaved; presents of fish, caribou and Seal meat were an every day occurrence which necessitated us giving presents in return. We were made welcome at all the snow houses that we visited and at the dances that were held every night in the large snow house built for



that purpose a wrestling match was held at one of these dances and usually when we were there a "Seance" was given by one of more of the Shamans there being seven of more in the village. In three of these "Seances" one or more of our party were concerned. On the first night the 15th inst Mr. Jenness, Patsey, and I, were to be thrown over the cliffs by Spirits and killed - no reason was given for this, [women] were also forbidden to sew on the day following. These Seances were very amusing to watch, the Shamans always going off in a supposed trance, twisting and contorting their faces at the same time, their voices were very weak at first but gaining in strength until the height of their frenzy was reached when they would die down, and the Shaman with a few convulsive struggles would become his normal self again. The natives at this time of the year live by sealing but when we were in the village seals were scarce and on some days none at all were obtained, so the Shamans were requested to find out the reason and a "Seance" was held in consequence. One Shaman stated that the seals smelt our tobacco smoke but on Mr. Jenness telling him that the smoke would attract them he altered his opinion. Another Shaman at this time said he saw plenty of seals coming and that he would call them, only whoever speared them would have to give him some of the meat for so doing. The next day six seals were speared.

These people were all well, happy, and contented and did not try to molest us in any way, and I, personally, think that any white man who is at all discreet need fear no danger from them. [T]hey seem to be nothing more or less than overgrown children.

The temperature all the time we were at the village averaged about thirty degrees below zero, the weather was good on the whole only one day being at all uncomfortable and then a blizzard was raging from the North East.

We left the village at 9.30 A. M. on the 23<sup>rd</sup> instant and arrived at Bernard Harbour at 2 P. M.; Mr. Jenness intending to return with "Patsy" a few days after Christmas.

The following is a copy of my diary.

Wed. Dec. 15<sup>th</sup>.

Left Bernard Harbour at 11 A. M. arrived Native vilage on the Sutton and Liston Islands at 4 P. M. Slept overnight in snow house of Kingordluk, a

Victoria Island Eskimo. A dance and Shamanistic performance held this night.

Wind N. E. Trail rough.

Thu. Dec. 16<sup>th</sup>.

Put up tent this A. M. Dance held in P. M. and another Shamanistic performance held.

Wind W- 30

Fri. Dec. 17<sup>th</sup>.

Visited several houses in A. M. and P. M. Four seals speared by natives. A dance and Shamanistic performance given this P. M.

Wind W. -30

Sat. Dec. 18<sup>th</sup>.

No seals speared by natives today. A dance held in P. M. but no Shamans performed.

Wind E. -31.

Sun. Dec. 19<sup>th</sup>.

No seals speared by natives and a dance and Shamanistic performance held to find out the cause.

Wind N-W. -32.

Mon. Dec. 20<sup>th</sup>.

Weather very bad a blizzard from the North West, natives could not go sealing so held a dance all day and a wrestling match.

Wind N-E. -29.

Tue. Dec. 21<sup>st</sup>.

Three seals speared by natives. Weather clear & cold. Dance held all day.

Wind N-E. -27.

Wed. Dec. 22<sup>nd</sup>.

Six seals speared by natives today and all the village happy in consequence. Weather cold and clear. Dance held in P. M. no Shamans performed.

Wind E. -25.

Thur. Dec. 23<sup>rd</sup>.

Left Eskimo village at 9.30 A. M. and arrived at Expds Camp at 2 P. M.  
trail rough. Weather clear.

Wind S-E. -31.

I have the honour to be, Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sd) W. V. BRUCE, Corpl  
Regt. No. 4600.

To the O. C. "N" Div.  
Athabasca.

Bernard Harbour, June 12, 1916.

I think Cpl Bruce is quite right in his presuming that any white man who is discreet can live with perfect safety amongst the Eskimo. On this occasion Mr James & Corpl Bruce were the only white men amongst 140 natives. A Shaman performed the night my party arrived at Kugaryut & the performance of the "seance" ... [page cut off]

The Commissioner, R. N. W. M. P. Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sgd) A. E. C. McDonell. Supt.

Commanding "N" Division.

Peace River, SEPT 8, 1916.

## 11. Corporal W. V. Bruce, Report on Eskimos of this District, 1 January 1916

Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

Can. Arctic Expd.  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.  
1/1/16.

Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
MacKenzie River Sub-Dist.

Sir,

I have the honour to submit the following report on the Eskimos of this district.

For general purposes all the Eskimos from Kent Peninsula in the East to Cape Bexley in the West and Victoria Land in the North, may be called "Copper Eskimos", this is a name given to the group by Mr V. Stefansson and embraces seven or eight so called different tribes, the individual tribal name is taken from the vicinity in which the band usually lives but there is [practically] no distinction between them. The language is the same, they live together, intermarry, and each family hunts and lives in whatever vicinity it chooses, thus all these people know all of the District specified here. Big villages are established in the winter on the ice or the islands anywhere in Coronation Gulf of The Dolphin and Union Straits, one village in which I have just spent nine days is on the Liston and Sutton group of Islands fourteen miles N-E of Bernard Harbour and contains about 140 people from the following Districts, Coppermine, Rae River, Tree River, Bathurst Inlet, South shore of Victoria Land and Stapylton Bay, and since I have been back here a native has appeared from the Thelon River who claims to have traded with white men north of Hudsons Bay; in the Spring the villages are vacated and the families separate and make their way inland for the summer, some going to Victoria Land and others to the Mainland penetrating inland as far as Great Bear Lake.

These Eskimos are still living in a very primitive state having had little or no intercourse with white men and possess very few articles of civilisation, what they have have mostly been obtained from the Can Arctic Expd although a few rifles were obtained from Joe Bernard who wintered at this point a few years ago and from the Indians at Great Bear Lake. Bows and arrows and spears are used for hunting; fish traps are constructed in the creeks where fish [abound] in the form of a series of Weirs where they can readily be speared - fish nets are not known. Caribou and seal skins are used solely for clothing and in the manufacture of anything where we would use cloth. Copper is their chief metal but iron and steel have been obtained by them from the wrecked ships that they have been able to find. They have two methods of making a fire, one by striking two pieces of iron pyrites together and catching the resulting spark on some inflammable material, the other by the "Drill and Thong" method, the last is not in use much here but is known to them all. Their dwellings are snow houses or skin tents in the winter, in the summer just a few Caribous skins are used for a wind break. Caches are made by these natives as soon as Spring comes usually on some small rocky island, so that foxes or wolves cannot get at them, returning to them from their summers hunt inland as soon as winter

sets in again. Large wooden sleds are constructed and the runners are composed of dirt frozen on, with an outside coating of thin ice on the running surface - they are very heavy but slip along easily. All food is common property among them. When anyone is sick they are supported by the rest of the community. Old people are not deserted when infirm but looked after and treated kindly. Children are very seldom punished and are well treated as are also their dogs. Girls are married before they reach puberty a man though has to be [word(s) missing] no matter what his age is: there is no marriage ceremony, married women are usually tattooed but some maidens are also - there is no general rule; marriages are usually the choice of the contracting parties. Wives [*sic*] are exchanged and sometimes sold; some men have as many as three wives, Uluksak for instance, but this is not general for women are in the minority and some women even have two husbands. Children are constantly being adopted and re-adopted and even in after life show great affection for their foster parents. The birth rate is low and the mortality great, Mr D. Jenness Ethnologist of the Expedition here explains this by the age at which the girls are married. The Coppermine River Eskimos state that in the summer of 1913 fifteen of their number died from some unknown disease. Their Belief in Spirits is great and there is always an "Angatkoki or Shaman amongst them who is supposed to be able to consult one or more of them; these Spirits may be divided into classes firstly, the Spirits of the departed Dead who are generally thought to be benevolent and, secondly, purely imaginary Spirits who are as a rule malevolent - they are supposed to appear in any shape. Seances are always held to find out the cause of the death of any person and for the most trivial things as well. The Shamans get their power in several ways, by buying and imparting as a rule, and some are supposed to be more proficient than others. During these Seances the most impossible and [improbable] things are supposed to happen and it is in this way that the most impossible tales arise, the Eskimos firmly believe them and what is more strange that Eskimos from Herschell Island and Alaska who are with the Expedition believe them also and are afraid of the Shamans although supposed to be Christianised.

These people have very few Kayaks or skin boats of any description but they state that years ago they possessed them, one was procured by the Expedition from the natives living immediately to the west of Bathurst Inlet (Potstone Eskimo) and one was seen in the possession of the

Coppermine River Eskimo. The people from the west of Kent Peninsula are said to have them.

At the present time no trade is held with the west by the "Copper Eskimos" that is west of Cape Bexley.

The Coppermine River Eskimos have for the last two or three years been in the habit of trading with the Indians at Great Bear Lake in the summer, generally exchanging dogs for guns; until very recently the Eskimos have been afraid of the Indians and still are to a certain extent.

None of these Natives have had much intercourse with white men - the Coppermine River Eskimo having seen the most; Joe Bernard who trapped at the mouth of the Coppermine River the winter of 1910/11 and at Bernard Harbour in 1912/13, Hanbury on his trip through the country a few years ago, Hornby and the French Priests at Great Bear Lake and Arden at the same place the summer of 1914, they know all these men by name and expect them all to be personal friends of ours.

The Eskimos here talk about the natives east of Bathurst Inlet trading with natives who themselves trade with white men further to the south and east.

As far as I can find out these Eskimo have very few customs that conflict with our own laws, and as far as Mr Jenness can ascertain what we would consider a Criminal Offense few have been committed the only Data that I have been able to obtain so far is the following.

Children are sometimes exposed after birth if no one is found willing to adopt them, this is very rarely done however as the birth rate is low and the natural affection of the mothers prevents this; this custom can be accounted for by the fact that in the summer the weight of a baby adds materially to the load that they have to carry, for in order to live they have to follow the Caribou and are on the move daily.

The following are two instances of this custom.

"Kai[??]ins a Coppermine River Eskimo woman married to Kanujauj-sk, a Bathurst Inlet Eskimo (Pinnannsktok tribe.) exposed her baby boy to die as she did not want to rear it."

"Niptanaciak, wife of Nanerosk, both Eskimos of the Coppermine River region, exposed her baby girl to die."

Both of the above cases occurred several years ago, but within the last four years, and are the statements of the mothers of the children themselves. I might add here that pre-natal infanticide is not practised.

Murder is not frequently committed and so Mr Jenness states is only done on the spur of the moment in a sudden fit of anger. Blood feuds are in existence and is supposed to be the duty of the murdered mans relatives to kill the murderer, this duty however seems to lapse after a few years have passed; the following is the only case that I know of.

“In the spring of 1913 a Dolphin and Union Strait Eskimo named Ekkeshosk was stabbed and killed near Lambert Island by another native named Kikpuk in consequence of a feud.” Kikpuk is now somewhere in Coronation Gulf and now that such a time has elapsed no punishment will be meted out to him, so Milukkattuk a woman states. I have not been able to get any further details of this case.

“Uluksak a Coppermine River Eskimo saw something in the posse-ssion of another Eskimo of the same band which he coveted and tried to induce the other to trade. The man refused whereupon Uluksak hacked him with his knife across the wrist and side thinking to kill him. This occurred in the summer of 1914. In February 1915 when we visited these Eskimo, the man was often sitting in Uluksaks hut as if nothing had ever happened. He had not forgotten it however, for he told us the incident apparently with the idea that we would hold aloof from Uluksak and trade with him.

The above is a verbatim extract from a diary of Mr D. Jenness Ethnologist of the Canadian Arctic Expedition here.

Theft is not common among them and a thief is looked down upon, no punishment is meted out however to the thief even if found. Very little has been stolen from the Expedition here and considering the opportunities they have had, far less has been stolen than if a white community were living in the same vicinity.

These natives have no conception of the White Race whatever, only believing them to be as numerous as themselves, consequently they are of the opinion that every white man that they have seen are all known to each other.

They can only count up to five and most of them only to three after this the word signifying “Many” is used. Their vocabulary is different from ours and very often more is implied than expressed so it can be readily seen how difficult it is to get any connected statement on any given subject. They do not know what an oath means, and writing is a complete mystery to them.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) W.V. Bruce, Corpl.  
Regtl. No. 4600.

To the O.C., R.N.W.M.Police, "N" Div. Athabasca.

As Corpl Bruce has written such a good report on the people he has been nearly a year amongst I am not attempting to describe their manners & mode of life to any extent as I have only been a month amongst them. Bernard Harbour, (Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Insp. In C/O G.B.Lake Detmt.

N.W.T.-- June 12. 1916. --

The Commissioner, R.N.W.M.P. Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) A. E. C. McDonell, Supt.

## 12. Corporal W. V. Bruce, Crime Report re: Disappearance of the Two Priests, 1 January 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 175, file 541-2-5, reproduced in 1916 RNWMP Report*

R.N.W.M.P.

"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Canadian Arctic Expedition,  
Bernard Harbour,  
Jan. 1, 1916.

### CRIME REPORT re THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TWO PRIESTS, FATHERS ROUVIÈRE AND LE ROUX.

P.C.R's.  
Edmonton,  
9/5/15.  
Herschel Is.  
3/8/15.

On September 9th, 1915, I found that Uluksak, the Eskimo seen by the members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, wearing a Priest's cassock and in the possession of a crucifix in the spring of 1915, had a cache in the



vicinity of the Expedition's camp. The cache was built on a small rocky island in the outer harbour of Bernard Harbour N.W.T. The same morning accompanied by Mr. F. Johansen, Naturalist, C.A.E. I landed on the island and searched the cache. The cache contained about ten deer skin bags and bundles, several boxes, hides, pots, tins, etc., together with native sealing and hunting spears. One bundle opened contained the following:

1. Priest's Cassock, marked "R. Pere Rouvière" on inside of the collar in indelible pencil.
1. Dark blue blanket Capote, tartan pockets on inside two rosettes at back, braided with brown braid or tape.
1. Ripsaw, Henry Disston, new.
1. Cross cut saw, Welland Vale Mfg. Co. Lance Tooth, the rest of the contents of the bundle were native clothes and deer skins.

One box was marked "Hodgson" in stencil, and painted over this in red was the name "Arden". This box contained:

1. French R.C. Bible lesson book, with coloured prints.
1. Powder horn, old fashioned.
1. Bar of lead.
1. Small brass R.C. Communion plaque.

Another box contained empty tins, needles, and beads, together with a few native charms.

I took possession of the Cassock and the Brass Plaque, and returned the other things to the cache, leaving the cache in much the same condition that I found it.

On October the 28th and 29th I was in a Coppermine Eskimo Village on an island in Coronation Gulf, and while there I visited the snow house of one, Kormik, this man had in his possession, a "Psalterium Breviarium Romani" (Prima Edite Post Typicam.), and several old evidently discarded note books with but few entries, the entries consisting of a few Eskimo words with the French equivalent. This man also had two cheap coloured prints one of Our Saviour and one of the Virgin Mary, and some linen handkerchiefs, initialled with an H in the corner he mentioned the name of "Hornby" in connection with the last named articles but stated that another white man had given him the books and pictures.

At this same time one, Uluksak, was in the village so I visited his deer-skin tent, on entering he immediately invited me to sit on the sleeping

platform at his side, in a few minutes he got up and hammered a few nails in the wooden supports above the seal oil lamp, on which he hung a few cups he then drove a nail in the support immediately above the sleeping platform and hung thereon a Crucifix still attached to which was the long black silken cord with which the Priests hang them around their necks, and suspended over the two arms of the crucifix were two Rosaries, one of ebony and the other of Alabaster. I made no remark at this time but later in the day when he became more communicative I asked permission to examine the Crucifix and the other civilized articles in his possession, he seemed quite pleased and showed me all that he had with him, he also stated that he had two more big caches of goods, one near the Expedition's Camp and another somewhere inland. The crucifix he stated had been given him by a white man near a Big Lake. I made the motion of a man praying and he nodded his head; he mentioned Hornby's name in connection with several articles, also Joe Bernard's who had spent several winters in this vicinity, he also showed me articles which he had obtained from the Canadian Arctic Expedition in the Spring. This man was very proud of his possessions and made no effort to hide anything; I had him come over to my tent that night for supper and the way in which he handled a knife and fork showed plainly that he had been in white men's company before.

This man, Uluksak, is an "Angatkok" or "Shamen" and is considered by the natives to be one of the best, he has more command over the Spirits they say. He is intelligent and prepossessing in appearance and is well liked by all the natives.

Uluksak arrived at the Expeditions camp on November 15th with several other families and remained until December 15th, 1915, while he was here, Mr. D. Jenness, Ethnologist, C.A.E. obtained from him for me the Crucifix and Rosaries, paying two boxes of 44.40 cartridges for the same on November the 30th. On December 11th Mr. Jenness also obtained for me from the same man for one box of 44.40 cartridges the French R.C. Bible lesson book with coloured prints, entitled "La Religion en Tableaux" which I saw in this man's cache on September 9th, 1915, and a Latin Breviary on the fly-leaf of which is the following inscription,

"G. Le Roux.

Oblat de Marie Immaculee. "

Mr. D. Jenness who is well known and trusted by these natives has made exhaustive inquiries for me in this case but can only get the same reply as to how Uluksak came into possession of the Priests' articles; Melukkattak a woman relation of Uluksak and when living with her husband in Uluksak's tent here states: —

“The articles were obtained by Uluksak when he was at Great Bear Lake the summer before last from Indians and white men”.

Kanneyak an Eskimo girl, a daughter of the family with whom Mr. Jenness spent the summer, and whose word can be relied on states: —

“The long black coat and cross and beads came from Great Bear Lake from the Indians and white men”.

The eldest wife of Uluksak, Kuilukak, stated that the things were obtained from the Indians and white men at Great Bear Lake.

One of the peculiar traits of these Eskimo is that everything that is done by one is known by all, consequently there may be some element of truth in the foregoing statements.

The following is Uluksak's statement, Mr. Jenness acting as interpreter: —

“In the summer of 1914 I was at Great Bear Lake with my two wives Kukiluka and Koptana, also Kormik and his wife Kallun we travelled together, we also met the following Eskimos from Kent Peninsula, Atkau, Nuilviana, Schinik, Kapsapina, and Killor. We met three white people two men and a boy; one white man had his hair clipped on top of his head but it was longer at the sides, he was tall and had a pinched in nose at the top, there were some Indians with them also; the white men and Indians were living in a house and the Eskimos from Kent Peninsula were living outside. The tall white man with the pinched in nose had an [Indian] wife and wore a long black coat, this man hung some necklaces around my neck, the ones I sold to You (The two Rosaries.) He also gave me a “metal” (The Crucifix.) and told me to always keep it and to hang it up where I would see it the first thing in the morning, for it would protect me when I died, when I did die it should be placed under my head. He also told me that we were all bad people, but if we became good, when we died we would go up into the sky and if not we would go down under the earth. This man in the summer took us away hunting for some time, he was a good hunter and got plenty of Caribou, he lived in my tent and brought a stove with him so that he could keep warm while he was writing. He gave me several books and two long black coats, one has been stolen by the Eskimos this summer

(Evidently the Cassock which I took from this man's cache (W.V.B., Cpl.) I would trade it for cartridges if I had it now, the other coat I still have (The blue blanket Capote). He could talk our language well. We stopped by this man until the ice was three feet thick and the snow was deep, the five Eskimos went away as soon as the snow came. When we went away the man who had been living with us gave me some tea and several other things. He also told me that he was going away the next summer, south, and that he would travel up a big river in a boat with a stove in it. This man had a cache on an Island in the lake and plenty of dried fish he was also catching fish through the ice with nets when we left. I saw some other white men at the lake that summer. Other Eskimos had met white men at the Lake before and had got guns, saws, powder, traps, and cartridges from them for musk-ox and other skins."

NOTE.

The fore-going Statement is constructed from a series of disconnected statements obtained for me by the good offices of Mr. Jenness, Ethnologist, C.A.E., who questioned this man in my presence. It is practically impossible to obtain any connected story, the native mind seems to wander away to the most trivial things. Furthermore a great difficulty is encountered in expressing in English the native equivalent, for in many cases more is implied than is actually expressed, nevertheless I am satisfied in this case that what I have given as this man's statement is correct although a lot of data in the case may have been left out, but only that in which it was impossible to arrive at a clear understanding. The native point of view is entirely different to our own as is also their vocabulary, and I would suggest that my report on the natives of this district be read in connection with this report and also with any that may be submitted later.

In support of Uluksak's statement as to the time at which he left Great Bear Lake, which according to his description of the ice and snow conditions would be sometime in January 1915, Dr. R. M. Anderson in command of the Southern party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, states:-

"On February the 9th while on a sled trip to Great Bear Lake we passed two snow houses on the Coppermine River just below Bloody Falls, they had only been vacated a few days and had evidently been inhabited by two families of Eskimo, later on, on the 26th of February I saw native sled tracks in the snow at the narrows of Dismal Lake several weeks old but evidently made a considerable time after winter had set in.

I returned from this trip to Bernard Harbour about April the 1st and sometime during this month I saw an Eskimo one, Uluksak, wearing a Priest's Cassock, all the members of the Expedition saw him and a few days before this they also saw him wearing a Crucifix as well; I myself did not see him wearing the Crucifix but I saw one in his possession. Mr. Wilkins the Photographer took a photo of him wearing both the Cassock and the Crucifix, these photos have been sent by Mr. Wilkins to the "Chronicle" in London, England.

The following is a copy of a note handed to me by Mr. D. Jenness, Ethnologist, C.A.E., shortly after his return to the Expedition's Camp at Bernard Harbour on November 13th, 1915.

"To Corpl Bruce,  
R.N.W.M. P.

Dear Sir,

With reference to your inquiries concerning the Eskimo Uluksak, I have the honour to quote the following extract from my diary dated February 24th, 1915,

"The house is inhabited by the "rich man" (Uluksak) with two wives, who met white people (Melville and Hornby and a party of Indians and a French Priest) on Bear Lake last summer and obtained many things in trade — cartridges, a dozen packages of needles, etc. — besides what he obtained from Joe Bernard. Returning later to the Dance House I found the "Rich-man" in the middle of afternoon tea. He had two small cups and two saucers, and tea obtained at Bear Lake, and was regaling himself, his two wives, and the assembled company. . . He has a Roman Breviary in Latin, a French Illustrated Scripture Lesson Book and part of an American Magazine, pipe, some plug tobacco, a .22 Rifle (Winchester 1904) a double barrelled Hollis fowling-piece, and I think a larger Rifle."

This Eskimo came to the Expedition's Headquarters a few days later. On one occasion he entered the house dressed in a Priest's black cassock and wearing a small metal crucifix suspended from his neck. I understood from Palaiyak that Uluksak had been caught in the fall without warm winter clothing, and the Priest had given him the Cassock. Uluksak stated that he had no rifle save the .22 Winchester, and was given a .44 Winchester to hunt for the Station. At the same time his wife received a

30:30 Winchester for the same purpose, as she also was reported to be a good hunter. Uluksak's father Anerak possesses a Mauser Rifle, obtained I understand from a white man at Bear Lake.

(Signed.) D. Jenness,  
Ethnologist, C.A.E.”

The following members of the Southern party of the C.A.E. Messrs. K. Chipman, and R. Cox (Geographical Survey). Mr. J. J. O'Neil, Geological Survey, and Mr. F. Johansen, Naturalist, all saw a Cassock and Crucifix in the possession of the Eskimo Uluksak in the spring of 1915 at Bernard Harbour, but further than this they know nothing relating to the Case.

I can get no trace of any other of the Priests articles than what I have already enumerated. The Eskimo Kormik has gone east this winter, but if he returns he will be questioned by Mr. Jenness, and I would like to state here that these Eskimos have no idea that any investigation is being carried out, for Mr. Jenness as an Ethnologist has necessarily to ask the most pertinent questions and they themselves are not backward in asking about ourselves and the white race in general.

The statements given by the two natives Palaiyak and Agoticiak in my Crime Report dated August 3, 1915, at Herschel Island, as regards the following quoted from Agoticiak, “He found three white men that had been dead and had come to life again, somewhere up the Coppermine River, I don't know which place, he said he shot two of them, they were on a lake in a canoe, the other white man climbed a tree, he did not kill this man but left him. Palaiyak told me this.” Agoticiak now states that Palaiyak told him that they were “Spirits” instead of white men that Uluksak was supposed to have shot, and instead of “the other white man climbed a tree” it was “Flew up a tree.”

Mr. Jenness states that he recollects Palaiyak telling this same story as Agoticiak now has it, and that he put it down to, and still does to a purely imaginary story the outcome of a Shamanistic Performance, and further states on this date, January 10, 1916 “This last week when I was at the Eskimo village on the Liston and Sutton Islands, ‘Uluksak’ was relating to me some of the things which he said he had done and seen in some of his Shamanistic Performances, — such as living under water for two or three days at a time, bringing dead men to life, seeing white men with mouths on their chests and dogs with four tails, turning men and women into wolves and musk-oxen, etc.”

The Crucifix is an ordinary brass bound one of some black wood (Ebony)? 9 inches long by 4 ½ inches across the arms. Mr. Jenness obtained for me on January 6, 1916 from one Anerak a Coppermine River Eskimo two more black Rosaries identically the same as the black one obtained from Uluksak, this man Anerak claims to have obtained them from the Indians at Great Bear Lake.

I am going on a patrol to Great Bear Lake, if possible, in a few days with Dr. Anderson, he having failed to reach that point last year owing to weather conditions. I will see Inspector La Nauze and take further instructions from him. If I fail to find him I will continue making inquiries.

The fact of the Eskimos Uluksak and Kormik being in the possession of a Breviary and Psalter respect'ly seems to me to be inexplicable although this may be explained by some one more conversant with the ways of the Roman Catholic Missions. The other articles, the Rosaries, Crucifix and Cassock may well have been given away by the Priests seeing that the Cassock is an old one and to my mind it would be impossible for the Eskimo Uluksak to have invented the story that he told seeing that the Eskimos here know so little of the White Race.

(Sd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl.

Regimental No. 4600.

To:

Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Athabasca.

Forwarded. (Sgd) C.D. La Nauze, Insp.  
Commanding MacKenzie River Sub-District  
Herschel Island,  
August 1st, 1916.

### 13. Corporal W. V. Bruce, Patrol Report, 1 March 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Herschel Isld. Detmt.  
Canadian Arctic Expedition  
Bernard Harour, N.W.T.  
March 1/16.

Officer Commanding:  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
MacKenzie River Sub-District.

Sir:

I have the honour to submit the following report of my patrol, with Dr R.M. Anderson, Commander of the Southern party Can. Arctic Expedition, in an attempt to take mail to Fort Confidence, and to connect with Inspector La Nauze at the same place.

On January 26/16, Dr Anderson, myself and one Eskimo with a sled and eight dogs, J. Sullivan, two Eskimos with a sled and seven dogs as a support party, left the Expeditions Camp at Bernard harbour at 9 A.M. and camped at 4.15 P.M. seven miles west of Cape Lambert. Wind strong from the North West but fair, trail good. Distance 20 miles.

January 27th we broke camp at 8 A.M. rounded Cape Lambert at 11 A.M. and camped at night one mile on the long Portage across Cape Krusenstern within sight of Mt Barrow. Strong head wind all day from the South East, heavy travelling on portage, no driftwood found for fire. Distance travelled 14 miles.

January 28th broke camp at 8 A.M. and crossed the long Portage across Cape Krusenstern to the bay south of Point Lockyer; weather bad, blizzard blowing from the South West; camped at 4.30 P.M. No driftwood found for fire. Distance travelled 12 miles.

January 29th broke camp at 10 A.M. weather still bad and had to camp at 2.30 P.M. in Basil Hall's Bay. Enough driftwood found for fire. Distance 12 miles.

January 30th, in camp all day, blizzard raging from the North West. Wind dropped at 8 P.M.



January 31st, broke camp at 8 A.M. and crossed Basil Hall's Bay to Cape Herne [*sic*]<sup>5</sup> and from there took a compass course for the Coppermine River, camped on the ice at 4 P.M. Weather in A.M. cloudy, strong wind in P.M. and drifting snow, blizzard at night. Had the misfortune to day to find that all our coal-oil had leaked away that we used for the Primus stove. Distance 16 miles. No fire at night.

February 1st, in camp all day. blizzard from the North West, No fire.

February 2nd, Blizzard dropped at 11 A.M. so broke camp at noon and travelled until 4.30 P.M. and camped on ice in centre of Backs Inlet. Blizzard started again at 5 P.M. Ice rough, distance 8 miles. No fire.

February 3rd, In camp all day, strong blizzard from the West. Dr Anderson manufactured a lamp from a pemmican can and we used lard for fuel.

February 4th, Wind dropped at 2 A.M. broke campe at 8 A.M. passed East of MacKenzie Point at 11 A.M. weather foggy and sno-wing, headed for Coppermine River across Richardsons Bay, a heavy blizzard from the west caught us in crossing, reached mainland near the mouth of the Coppermine River at 1 P.M. and had to camp on account of the storm. Storm so thick it was impossible to see the dogs from the sled. Wind changed from the West to the [North-North] West at 7 P.M. Distance 8 miles. Plenty of driftwood found for fire.

February 5th, broke camp at 10 A.M. weather clear and fine, proceeded two miles to the mouth of the River and camped, spent the rest of the day in drying out clothes and tent, and getting the toboggans ready for the trip inland.

February 6th, in camp all day, drying clothes and packing toboggans that we had brought on the sleds with us for use on the land. Cached the sled here for the return trip. Wind S-W. Weather- fine.

February 7th, In camp again all day, strong blizzard from the North West; storm cleared at 7 P.M.

February 8th, Broke camp at 9 A.M. weather clear and cold. Proceeded up Coppermine River to Bloody Falls arriving there at 2 P.M. water open at Falls but enough ice on the sides to pass safely. Snow crusted on river so far and fairly good travelling. Proceeded two miles about Falls, snow very deep and ice rough had to double up the dogs to toboggans to make through, camped at 4 P.M. Wind West, Distance travelled 12 miles.

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<sup>5</sup> Cape Hearne.

February 9th, in camp all day, another blizzard from the South West.

February 10th, Strong head wind in morning, broke camp at 10 A.M. and crossed River to a small creek where there was plenty of driftwood, camped at 1 P.M. Dr Anderson decided to give up the attempt to reach Fort Confidence as the dogs were unable to pull the toboggans and owing to the time taken in reaching this point on account of adverse weather, would interfere with his work at Bernard Harbour, deciding however to go up as far as the first timber and collect specimens. Wind dropped at night. Distance three miles.

February 11th. Went out hunting Caribou this A.M. weather too thick to see more than fifty yards. wind south-east with drifting snow, returned to camp at noon.

February 12th, In camp all day, native out hunting Caribou, returned at 10 P.M. having shot six. Weather fine.

February 13th, In camp all day, heavy wind from the South-west, snow drifting, too thick to bring back deer to camp. Wind dropped at night and snow fell.

February 14th, Native went out this A.M. to fetch in the deer and returned at 10 P.M. Weather foggy, wind west.

February 15th, Broke camp at 8 A.M. having cached most of our load and started up River, river too rough to travel on so climbed the east bank and continued along the bench on top using snow-shoes. Country rolling and rugged; the river flowing through precipitous banks of shale and sandstone; numerous deep coulees run into the river from both sides. Open water at the Escape Rapids. We arrived at the first Spruce trees on a small creek 100 yds from the river and camped at 3.30 on top of the beach. Saw no Caribou today but a beautiful silver fox appeared within a few yards of us. Weather, light wind from the south west, bright sun. Distance travelled 14 miles.

February 16th, Fine clear day, shot two Caribou this A.M. Walked down creek to the river in P.M., the banks here are steep cliffs about 150 ft. high composed of sandstone, ice very rough, and the water open in places; a few scattered spruce trees can be seen on both banks. Dr Anderson set several traps to-day. Wolves around camp all night.

February 17th, Light fall of snow in A.M. weather foggy. Out hunting Caribou but saw none as the wolves had scared them from the vicinity; saw two silver foxes at a [wolf's] kill. Country very rolling and hilly with

numerous small lakes. Copper Mountains very distinct on the west side of the River.

February 18th, in camp all day, Dr Anderson and native out hunting. Light snow.

February 19th, Put up a large notice on a tree on the banks of the Coppermine, visible for a considerable distance, and in a tin attached to it left a note for Inspector La Nauze, informing him of my presence her and information that I thought useful about the case of the "Two Priests".

February 20th, Heavy snow all day, about eight inches fell.

February 21st. Snowing and foggy but now wind, broke camp at 9 A.M. and arrived at previous camp on creek two miles above Bloody Falls at 3 P.M. Travelled on east bank of river, trail [word(s) missing].

February 22nd; Broke camp at 8 A.M. passed Bloody Falls at 10.30 A.M. and arrived at mouth of River at 4 P.M. and camped. Found a wolverine in a trap at the cache that we had made at the mouth of the River on our way up. Wind South East. Bright sun all day. Distance 15 miles.

February 23rd. Broke camp at 9.30 and passed east of MacKenzie point at noon and camped at night on an Island east of Cape Kendall. Ice rough and snow deep, weather fine and clear. Light wind from the East; distance 17 Miles.

February 24th, Broke camp at 9 A.M. weather thick from the north west, clear at noon, proceeded across bay to Cape Herne [*sic*] crossing same at 3 P.M. Camped at 5 P.M. in Basils Halls Bay; No wood found for fire. Distance 17 miles.

February 25th, Broke camp at 9 A.M. and crossed Basil Halls Bay, portaged across Pt. Lockyer and ascended hill to the west and took photos of the old stone house on top. Camped on North East beach of Point at 3 P.M. weather fine and clear. Distance 15 miles.

February 16th, Broke camp at 9 A.M. and crossed bay to Cape Krusenstern and took the short portage across the Cape at noon, camped at night two miles west of Cape Lambert. Weather bright and clear; distance 17 miles.

Broke camp at 8.30 A.M. sighted Changery Island at 2 P.M. and arrived at Expeditions Camp at 5 P.M. Weather fine, distance 22 miles.

The weather encountered on this patrol was to say the least bad, for the first two weeks or so a continual blizzard was blowing towards the end it became more settled. It took us 14 days to make as far as Bloody Falls on the Coppermine River on the way down and only six days from there to

the Expedition Camp on the return. Dr Anderson attempted to make this same trip at the same time the previous year but failed on the same account, and on this patrol, in addition, we had inferior dogs and heavy loads, 125 lbs to each dog.

I regret exceedingly not being able to communicate with Inspector La Nauze, but it was imperative that Dr Anderson returned to his base at Bernard Harbour, and I had no choice.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl.  
Regt. No. 4600;

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Athabasca.

Forwarded.

(Sd) C.D. La Nauze, Inspt.  
Commanding MacKenzie River Sub-District.  
Herschel Island, Aug. 1, 1916.

The Commissioner  
R.N.W.M.P.  
Regina.

Forwarded for your information.  
(Sd) A.E.C. McDonell, Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.

Peace River. Sep 8, 1916.

#### 14. Constable J.E.F. Wight, Patrol Report, 18 February 1916

*Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Great Bear Lake Patrol  
Dease Bay, N.W.T.  
Feb. 18th, 1916.

#### PATROL REPORT

Reg. No. 6296 Cst. Wight J. E. F. Caribou Hunt from Dease Bay to  
North side of Dease River and Return.

To The Officer Commanding,  
Great Bear Lake Patrol.

Sir:-

I have the honour to report that acting under instructions received from you on the 7th of Feb. I left winter quarters on the 8th of Fe. accompanied by Spl.Cst. Ilivinick and dog train No.2 to hunt for Caribou in the country to the North East. I travelled to the head of Dease Bay and came upon a trail made by Indians a few days before. As the travelling was heavy everywhere I decided to follow it for some distance. We reached the Indian Camp about dark and on being invited to camp we pitched our tent. Next morning we went out to hunt and travelled all day without success but found signs of Caribou about six miles from camp. On the 10th we shifted our tent to the place where we [saw] the Caribou tracks. On the 11th I took dogs and sled for some meat I received from Indian Yenitzy for ourselves and dogs while Ilivinick hunted all day and killed three Caribou. On the 12th. I started to hunt while Ilivinick took dogs to haul the meat into camp. Hunted all day without success. Next day, the 13th, being Sunday we visited the Indians tepees. We found one of them, Susie, suffering from a severe attack of Grippe but every one was supplied with plenty of fresh meat and wood for fuel. They were hunting Caribou successfully which were passing to the North in large numbers. The clothing of the elderly Indians is insufficient to protect them from the cold and the young ones are completely in rags which renders it difficult to shift their camp from place to place which is undertaken only on a fine day. They trap very little fur it being a poor part of the country for fur animals. The country on the North side of Dease River is a series of ridges of hills with numerous small lakes between the ridges. There is no timber of any value save for fuel. We were about eight miles from the North side of Dease River and from the ridges could see the Barren Lands due North about thirty miles away. On the 14th inst. (Monday) I hauled a load of meat, three caribou, to the Base at Dease Bay while Ilivinick went hunting. I returned back to hunting camp next day and found that Ilivinick had killed ten Caribou so we spent the following day 16th. in taking the meat to camp and engaged Indians Tarkaso and Yenitzy to take a load each to the Base at Dease Bay. We were unale to cache our meat in safety on account of the wolverines being so destructive. We started for Dease Bay on the 17th. and arrived at winter quarters 6 P.M. with three sleds

containing ten caribou and camping outfit. The hunt totalling thirteen Caribou.

Total mileage of trip 170 miles.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. E. F. Wight, Const.  
Reg. No. 6296.

To the Officer Commanding,  
"N" Division,  
Athabasca, Alta.  
Forwarded for your information.  
C. D. La Nauze Inspt.  
I/C Patrol.

The Commissioner, R.N.W.M.P., Regina.  
Forwarded for your information,  
(Sd) R. Field, Inspt. For Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.  
Peace River. SEP 9, 1916.

## 15. Constable D. Withers, Patrol Report, 1 March 1916

*Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Dease Bay.  
Great Bear Lake.  
March 1st, 1916.

REPORT.

RE MISSING PRIESTS FATHERS ROUVIERE AND LA ROUX.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Great Bear Lake Patrol.

Sir:-

I have the honour to submit the following report to the above.

On Jan. 25th, on arrival at Fort Norman with official Mail Packet I met Mr. Christie who is in the employ of the Hudson's Bay Co. inspecting their Posts in the McKenzie River District. Mr. Christie came up from Kittingaryuit last fall and informed me that Dr. Anderson of the Canadian Arctic Expedition was wintering at the mouth of the Coppermine River, and that a number of Eskimos were working around the ship amongst them being the Eskimo who is working one of the missing Priests cossacks.

He further informed me that Dr. Anderson had sent word to Insptr. Phillips at Herschell Island that he had the Eskimo (Referring to the one wearing the Priests cossack) who had something to do with the missing Priests above mentioned and requested Insptr. Phillips to send a man to arrest the above mentioned Eskimo.

On the strength of this information, according to Mr. Christie's statement, Insptr. Phillips sent Cpl. Bruce to investigate the affair last August.

Corpl. Bruce accompanied the Anglican Missionaries, the Rev. Hester and Hoare who are going to the mouth of the Coppermine river in the sail boat the "Atkoon" where they expected to winter.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D. Withers, Const.

Reg. No. 4794.

To The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Forwarded for your information. I have received no word from the Herschel Island Sub-District re the above. The Rev. Father Hussair informed Mr. Arden at Fort Norman that he had received a letter from the Priest at Arctic Red River in which he stated that he heard that Dr. Andersons party were wintering at Lambert Island.

As there is nothing definite in this information I will not alter my plans and will start as I have already reported to you with the intention of putting in all Spring and Summer in the vicinity.

C. D. La Nauze, Insptr.

I/C Patrol.

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Regina, Sask.  
Forwarded for your information.  
(Sd) R. Field, Inspector.  
for O. C. "N" Division A.O.L.  
Peace River Alta. Sept. 11th, 1916.

## 16. Inspector C. D. La Nauze, Crime Report – Re Missing Priests, 23 March 2016

Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

### ROYAL NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Dease Bay, N.W.T.  
March 23rd, 1916.

### CRIME REPORT

RE

### MISSING PRIESTS REV. FATHERS ROUVIERE AND LA ROUX.

Indian Jimmie Soldat states as follows:-

I am the Indian Jimmie Soldat who met Stefanson in 1910, N.E. of Dease Bay and am the first Indian to be friendly with the Eskimos.

I have been for many years in the vicinity of McTavish Bay and Dease Bay and have cabins in both places.

I knew the missing Priests well and do not know what became of them.

The last time Dog Rib Indians visited Dease River was in 1911.

I was near McTavish Bay in the summer of 1914 when I met Indian "Stranger" from Caribou Point. He told me the Huskies had broken into the Priests['] house on Dease Bay and had taken everything. I did not visit the Priests['] Base at Dease River that fall.

I was with five Dog Rib Indians whose names were, Be-une-a, Ge-john, Tee-choa, Ye-Jai-atu, and Taa-tu. About 20 miles inland from the N.E. shore of McTavish Bay that we met four Huskies, these were two men, two women and one girl.



We asked the Huskies if they had seen the Priests and they shook their heads and said "Nago" (No). We did not see any of the Priests['] articles with the Huskies.

One of the Huskie men made a smoke signal for his son who had run away the Huskie said "If my boy see the smoke he will come back."

We had no trouble with the huskies. The Dog Ribs "Be-une-a" and "Tee-choa" then went towards Ft.Rae to hunt Beaver. They went by the "Qua-et-tue-tau" (Camsell River) and would meet Ft.Rae Indians at "Et-serre-tue" (Moose Lake). Be-une-a went to McViaci Bay that winter and "Tee-choa" went to Ft.Rae.

Tee-cho has a house on "Clay-tue" (near Lac St. Croix).

I know the route between Ft.Rae and Bear Lake and have been to Ft. Rae.

I knew many of the Huskies who used to hunt near Great Bear Lake.

One man named "Komick" was a great friend of mine and stayed in my tepee in 1910. On man named "Ill-loo-gaa" had two wives. I did not like him, all the rest were good.

I did not see the large band of Huskies that the other Indians saw in 1914.

I have lately come from across the mountains the other size of the McKenzie [*sic*] River. I do not know any Dog Rib Indian named "La Moole".

His  
Signed Jimmie X Soldat.  
Mark.

Witness C.D.La Nauze, Inspt.

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M.P.  
Regina.

Forwarded for your information.  
(Sd) R. Field, Inspt. For Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.  
Peace River. Sep.11,1916.

## 17. Inspector C.D. La Nauze, General Report for January-March 1916, 24 March 2016

*Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Dease Bay, N.W.T.  
March 24th, 1916.

### PATROL IN SEARCH OF MISSING PRIESTS GENERAL REPORT FOR JAN. FEB. and MARCH. 1916.

To-

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Sir:-

I have the honour to submit a general report of work of this Patrol for the months of JAN. FEB. & MARCH. 1916.

I find I have an opportunity of forwarding correspondence up to date to you as some Bear Lake Indians intend to go into Fort Norman next month and will carry this mail which will connect with the open water mail for the 'outside'.

January started in very cold, the thermometer going as low as 60%, but the weather quickly turned mild again and with the exception of high and cold winds it has been a very mild winter here.

The Patrol to Fort Norman, Mackenzie River to meet the winter packet was despatched on Jan. 10th. in charge Const Withers. Mr D'Arcy Arden accompanying him. Spl. Cst. Ilivinick accompanied the party as far as Caribou Point (Cape McDonnell) and left a cache of fish there for their return.

Caribou were very scarce in the early part of January but the Indians pulled through alright with our help, and are now fairly well off. The [magnificent] white fish of the lake seems always to furnish a last resource for them. Two families would undoubtedly have starved if I had not given them nets. Fish, however, are not so plentiful now.

It is a poor fur country and what marten and foxes have been trapped are of poor quality. Wolverines are very numerous and only two white foxes have been killed.

Spl. Cst. Ilivinick killed four deer in January one trip out of three being successful.

In January and February Const. Wight and myself cut wood in the bush regularly and got a good supply ahead to leave behind when we start for the coast. I helped Spl. Cst. Ilivinick at the hunting and hauling wood.

In the early part of February Const Wight and Spl. Csr. Ilivinick made a hunting trip north of Dease River. They killed ten deer and got all the meat hauled to the Base with the help of two Indians. I am forwarding you Const. Wight's report on the trip. My foot being quite cured now of my Axe accident of Nov. 18th, 1915, I made two hunting trips S.W. with the Indians. The chief object was to secure meat but I also wanted to get closer acquainted with the Bear Lake Indians, their method of travel and habits. I found them hard working cheerful companions and good sportsmen. They are not wasteful with their meat even if they kill deer in large numbers. Every part of the deer is used and the bones broken up for grease. To their tepees the traveller is always welcome and the 'tit-bits' of the deer placed in front of him.

Their method of hunting the Barren Land caribou is precisely the same as practised by the Chipewyans, that is, approaching as near as possible to the deer and then running straight towards them. The deer as a rule then circle around the hunter.

On my first trip I left on Jan 31st, and returned unsuccessful on Feb. 3rd. The country to the S.W. along Caribou Point is undulating, sparsely timbered compared to the west end of Bear Lake and intersected with many lakes.

On my second trip I left on Feb. 23rd, and returned on Feb. 26th We were very successful, Indian Emile killed twelve deer and myself six. Deer was very plentiful then but seems to have left this part of the country now.

Const. Withers accompanied by Mr. D'Arcy Arden returned to the Base with the mail and some supplies on Feb.25th, inst. Having successfully accomplished an 800 mile patrol. Const. Withers connected with Inspt. Rheaults long patrol to Fort Norman from Smith Landing Inspt. Rheault had the goodness to carry me a large bundle of Newspapers and some recent telegrams with the War News. I understand Sergt. Egerton from Ft.

McPherson was travelling to Fort Good Hope so every Post in your District will be visited this year.

I am forwarding you Const Withers report of his Patrol.

Early this month a rather bad epidemic of "La Grippe" swept through our small community, Const Wight, our three Eskimos and most of the Indians being laid up. With the help of the "B&W" medicine chest I soon had them all on their feet again.

Const Withers and party with three sleds left the Base on March 10th. for Lake Rouviere to establish a depot for my party. They returned on March 21st, having successfully carried out their work.

I am forwarding you Const Withers report on this trip.

A bad storm has been raging for the last two days. To-day the 24th inst [March] is fine and warm, Max. 50% and already a little wet under-foot. The backbone of the winter is broken here at any rate.

My party will leave here about March 28th, for our first Base at Lake Rouviere to continue our search. The party will consist of Const Wight, Spl. Cst. Ilivinick, Mr. D'Arcy Arden and myself and two trains of dogs. I have carefully selected an outfit of rations, fish nets, ammunition, Primus Stoves, etc. We will take the canoe out this trip. All hands are in good health and anxious to make a start. I am leaving Const. Withers in charge of the Base.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.  
I/C Patrol

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Regina, Sask.  
Forwarded for your information.  
(Sd) R. Field, Inspector  
For O. C. "N" Division, A.O.L.  
Peace River Alta. Sept. 11, 1916.

## 18. Constable D. Withers, Patrol Report, 25 March 1916

Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Dease Bay,  
Great Bear Lake,  
March 25th, 1916.

### REPORT RE PATROL FROM DEASE BAY TO LAKE ROUVIERE AND RETURN.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Great Bear Lake Patrol.

Sir:-

I have the honour to submit the following report re the above.

On March the 16th. 1916, in pursuance to your instructions I left Detachment at Dease Bay with dog team No. 1 on patrol to Catholic Priests house at Lake Rouviere with provisions etc. intended for trip to coast. I was accompanied by Spl. Cst. Iliviniuk with dog team No. 2, Indian Harry with extra dog team and guide "In-odeste".

The trail on the Lake up to the edge of the bush about eight miles North of Detachment was good going, but as soon as we struck the bush our troubles began. The snow here is very deep and the dogs were continually breaking through and at times were completely buried in snow and could make no headway at all.

I put Spl. Cst. Iliviniuk ahead breaking trail with "In-odeste", to try and improve matters, while I drove both teams but even then it made very little difference. However with both men and dogs hauling we managed to make about four miles through the bush and at about 3 P.M. I decided to camp as we were making no time and the dogs were about played out. I sent Indians Harry and In-odeste on ahead to break trail so that we could have a firm footing for the dogs for the next morning. While myself and Spl. Cst. Iliviniuk made camp. Indians arrived back to camp about 6.30 P.M.

On Friday the 17th. inst we struck camp at 7 A.M. and with a trail made good time and camped on Stefanson's [*sic*] Creek, N.E. Branch of Dease River, about five miles from Big Stick Island at 4.30 P.M.

We left camp on the 18th inst. at 6.30 A.M. and reached Fathers house on Lake Rouviere at 4.30 P.M. where we camped.

On Sunday the 19th inst I cached provisions etc. in store house and made a door of stout logs and left everything secure.

We left Lake Rouviere with a strong N.W. wind on Monday the 20th inst. at 6.30 A.M. and camped about five miles South of Stefanson's<sup>6</sup> house at 5 P.M.

On Tuesday the 21st inst. it was blowing a regular blizzard but was a North wind and fair for us to we struck camp at 6 A.M. and arrived at Detachment at 4.30 P.M. Distance travelled about 180 miles.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

D. Withers, Const.

Reg. No. 4794.

To the Officer Commanding,

R.N.W.M.Police,

“N” Division,

Athabasca.

Forwarded for your information.

C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.

I/C Patrol.

The Commissioner,

R.N.W.M.P.

Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) R. Field, Insp. for Supt.

Commanding “N” Division.

Peace River, SEP 11 1916.

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<sup>6</sup> Vilhjalmur Stefansson.

## 19. Corporal W.V. Bruce, Crime Report re: Missing Priests, 10 April 1916

Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5; 1916 RNWMP Report

R.N.W.M.P.

“N” Division,  
Athabasca.

Herschel Island Det.  
Can Arctic Expd.  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.,  
April 10<sup>th</sup>, 1916.

### CRIME REPORT

re THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE TWO PRIESTS, FATHERS  
ROUVIERE AND LE ROUX.

On March 24, 1916, at Bernard Harbour, I obtained the following from one Kormik a Copper Eskimo who usually spends the summer in the Coppermine River Region, for six boxes of 30.30 cartridges: —

- 2 White Handkerchiefs, initialled G. R.
- 1 Breviary.
- 1 Prayer book (Latin).
- 1 Crucifix (Small).
- 2 Tassels
- 1 Plain linen Surplice.
- 1 Lace Bound Linen Surplice.
- 2 Linen Mass Aprons.
- 1 Linen Communion Cloth.
- 1 Linen Altar cloth (Cut and Blood Stained).
- 1 Mass server (Carmine and gold).
- 1 Altar cloth (Carmine and gold).
- 1 Mass Vestment.
- 1 Stole.

Kormik's statement:

“Two summers ago I was at Great Bear Lake with my wife Kallun, Uluksak was also there with his two wives Kukiluka and Koptana. We met many white men and traded a lot of things from them, the things I have traded to you, in exchange I gave them musk-ox skins, bearded seal raw-hide rope, and Caribou

skins. There were three white men two I think but I am not sure, wore long black coats and had beards and were called Kuliavick and Illugo, one wore a short coat and was called Isumitak. These men had a house where the river flows into the Lake, one of these men one day took us across a bay in the Lake in a boat. I was afraid. These men went away hunting Caribou in the summer and I did not see them after this.

There was another white man called Arlec (Arden). I got a rifle from him, we stopped with him for a few days and were going with him to get more lead and ammunition but the journey was too far. The ice was 9 inches thick when we left the lake.

This native in giving this statement, appeared confused and I am convinced that he is lying, not only that but I am sure he knows far more than he would say. I have done nothing to arouse this man's suspicions, as I want to get more information from other natives before questioning them direct.

On March 27th, 1916, I obtained from one, Hupo, brother to Kormik, the following: —

1 Breviary (Pars Verna).

1 Breviary (Pars Aestiva).

Hupo states: -

“These books were given to me by a white man at Great Bear Lake two summers ago, named Illugo. I was there with my brother Kormik, this was after Uluksak had been there.

I was there last summer but saw no people, only the empty house.”

These natives are in the possession of numerous articles which have not been obtained from the Expedition, and have no doubt been stolen from the Priests cache at Great Bear Lake, and as yet I have only thought it necessary to recover what I believe to be the property of the Roman Catholic Church.

It seems clear by the following statement of Mr. D. Jenness, Ethnologist of the Expedition here that all the property obtained by me from these natives has been stolen.

“On February 17, 1916 I noted an Eskimo man, one Nokallak in the house of another Eskimo named Kormik at the settlement of Coppermine River Eskimo off Point Lockyer. Nokalluk was wearing a black Cassock sewn down the front and showed me besides a small Crucifix, a bone Christ mounted on an Ebony Cross; Arvana a Dolphin and Union Straits Eskimo who was accompanying me told me subsequently that Nokalluk had stolen these articles from a house at Bear Lake while the occupants were away,



further that the articles which had been obtained from Uluksak (The Crucifix etc.) but which had formerly belonged to the Priests at Bear Lake had been stolen by Uluksak at the same time.”

Sgd. D. Jenness, Ethnologist, C.A.E.

I have questioned none of these natives direct as yet, but have photos of all who have had in their possession any of the Priests property. I am going east in a few days with Mr. K.G. Chipman as far as Bathurst Inlet and when the natives break up their large settlements in the spring I will resort to more direct questioning.

(Sd) W. V. Bruce, Corpl.  
Regtl. No. 4600.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Athabasca.  
Inspt. Commanding McKenzi River Sub-district.

The Commisioner,  
R.N.W.M.P.  
Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) A.E.C. McDonell. Supt.  
Commanding “N” Division.

Peace River Sep. 8 -1916.

## 20. Corporal W.V. Bruce, Information and Complaint re: Sinnisiak, 11 May 1916

*Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

### INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT.

Canada  
North West Territories

The Information and Complaint of W. V. Bruce, Corpl, R. N. W. M. Police, Herschel Island, Y.T. taken this eleventh day of May in the year 1916 A.D., before the undersigned C. D. La Nauze Inspector of the R. N. W. M. Police, one of His Majesty’s Justices of the Peace, in and for the said

Territories, who saith that Sinnisiak, 'copper' Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, North West Territories, Did on or about November in the year of 1913, at or near the Coppermine River, wilfully murder one, The Rev. Father Le Roux, a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T. by stabbing him with a knife.

(Sec 259 .a.C.C.)

Sworn before me the day and year first mentioned above at Bernard Harbour, North West Territories.

*[Sgd: W. V. Bruce, Cpl., R.N.W.M.P.]*

*[Sgd: C.D. La Nauze.]*

A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories

### **Warrant to Apprehend, Sinnisiak, 7 May 1916**

Warrant to Apprehend.

CANADA:

North-West Territories.

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS 'Sinnisiak' – 'Copper' Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, N.W.T., has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned C.D. La Nauze Insp. R.N.W.M.P., a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that he, on or about November A.D. 1913, at or near the Coppermine River in the North-West Territories, did wilfully murder one, The Rev. Father Le Roux, by stabbing him with a knife.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Uluksak, alias Avingak and to bring him before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this seventh day of May, A.D. 1916, at Bernard Harbour in the Territories aforesaid.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. [Seal.]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North West Territories.*

Executed the 15th day of May, A.D. 1916, at Victoria Land, in the Northwest Territories.

W. V. BRUCE. Corpl. R.N.W.M.P.

## 21. Corporal W.V. Bruce, Information and Complaint re: Uluksak, 11 May 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 2161, file 29-1; LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

### INFORMATION AND COMPLAINT.

Canada  
North West Territories

The Information and Complaint of W. V. Bruce, Corpl, R. N. W. M. Police, Herschel Island, Y.T. taken this eleventh day of May in the year 1916 A.D., before the undersigned C. D. La Nauze Inspector of the R. N. W. M. Police, one of His Majesty's justices of the peace, in and for the said Territories, who saith that Uluksak alias Avingak, a Copper Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, N.W.T. Did on or about November 1913 A.D. at or near the Coppermine River, wilfully murder one, The Rev Father Le Roux, a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T. by stabbing him with a knife. (Sec 259 .a.C.C.)

*[Sgd: W. V. Bruce, Cpl., R.N.W.M.P.]*

Sworn before me the day and year first mentioned above at Bernard Harbour, North West Territories.

*[Sgd: C.D. La Nauze.]*

A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories

## Warrant to Apprehend, Uluksuk, 11 May 1916

Warrant to Apprehend.

CANADA:  
North-West Territories.

*To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories:*

WHEREAS Uluksak alias Avingak, "Copper" Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, N.W.T., has this day been charged upon oath before the undersigned C.D. La Nauze Inspector R.N.W.M.P., a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, for that he, on or about November A.D. 1913, at or near the Coppermine River in the North-West Territories, did wilfully murder one, The Rev. Father Le Roux, by stabbing him with a knife.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU, in His Majesty's name, forthwith to apprehend the said Uluksak, alias Avingak and to bring him before me (or some other Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories) to answer unto the said charge, and to be further dealt with according to law. GIVEN under my hand and seal this eleventh day of May, A.D. 1916, at Bernard Harbour in the Territories aforesaid.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. [Seal.]

A Justice of the Peace in and for the North West Territories.

Executed midnight

May 22<sup>nd</sup>

(Sd) J.E.F. Wright, Const.

## 22. Statement of the Accused, Sinnisiak, 17 May 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

### STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED.

#### (PRELIMINARY INQUIRY, INDICTABLE OFFENCE)

CANADA:

North-West Territories.

Sinnisiak stands before me the undersigned, C.D. La Nauze, a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this 17th day of May in the year 1916, for that he the said Sinnisiak in the month of November, A.D. 1913 at or near the Coppermine River in the North-West Territories, did wilfully murder one, the Rev. Father Le Roux, a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T., by stabbing him with a knife.

And the said charge being read to the said Sinnisiak, "Copper" Eskimo of Coronation Gulf and the witnesses for the prosecution W. V. Bruce, Cpl. R.N.W.M.P. Herschel Island, Y.T., Eskimo 'Ilavinik' Spl. Const. R.N.W.M. Police

Being severally examined in his presence, the said Sinnisiak, 'Copper' Eskimo of Coronation Gulf is now addressed by me as follows : "Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat." Whereupon the said Sinnisiak says as follows (in statement attached).

Taken before me at Bernard Harbour, Dolphin and Union Straits in the said Territories the day and year first above mentioned.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. [SEAL]

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories.*

The accused being duly warned in the usual manner makes the following statement.

"I was stopping at the mouth of the Coppermine River and was going fishing one morning. A lot of people were going fishing. When the sun had not gone down I returned to camp and saw that the two priests had started back up the river. They had four dogs. I saw no other men.

I slept one night. Next morning I started with one dog to help people coming from the south. All day I walked along and then I left the river and travelled on the land. I was following the priests trail. I met the priests near a lake, when I was close to them one man came to meet me. The man Ilogoak,<sup>7</sup> the big man came to me and told me to come over to the camp. Ilogoak said to me "If you help me pull the sled I will pay you in traps." We moved off the same day I arrived to be near wood. Uluksak was with me and we pulled the sled. We could not make the trees, it was hard work and we made camp.

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<sup>7</sup> Inuinnaqtun name for Father Le Roux.

The next day we started back and the priests were going ahead, it started to storm and we lost the road. After that the dogs smelled something and Uluksuk went to see what it was and I stayed behind. Uluksuk found it was a cache of the priests and told me to come over. As soon as we got there the priests came back. Ilogoak was carrying a rifle. He was mad with us when we started back from their camp and I could not understand his talk. I asked Ilogoak if he was going to kill me and he nodded his head. Ilogoak said, "come over to the sled" and pushed me with his hand.

The priests wanted to start again and he pushed me again and wanted me to put on the harness and then he took his rifle out on top of the sled. I was scared and I started to pull.

We went a little way and Uluksuk and I started to talk and Ilogoak put his hand on my mouth.

Ilogoak was very mad and was pushing me. I was thinking hard and crying and very scared and the frost was in my boots and I was cold.

I wanted to go back I was afraid. Ilogoak would not let us. Every time the sled stuck Ilogoak would pull out the rifle.

I got hot inside my body and every time Ilogoak pulled out the rifle I was very much afraid.

I said to Uluksuk, "I think they will kill us, I can't get back now". I was thinking I will not see my people any more, I will try and kill him. I was pulling ahead of the dogs. We came to a small hill. I took off the harness quick and ran to one side and Ilogoak ran after me and he pushed me back to the sled. I took off my belt and told Ilogoak I was going to "relieve myself" as I did not want to go to the sled. After that I ran behind the sled. I did not want to relieve myself. Then Ilogoak turned around and saw me, he looked away from me and I stabbed him in the back with a knife. I then told Uluksuk "You take the rifle." Ilogoak ran ahead of the sled and Uluksuk went after him. The other white man wanted to come back to the sled. I had the knife in my hand and he went away again. Uluksuk and Ilogoak were wrestling for the rifle and after that Uluksuk finished up Ilogoak. I did not see Uluksuk finish up Ilogoak. The other man ran away when he saw Ilogoak die. I asked Uluksuk is he dead and he said yes already. I then said to Uluksuk "give me the rifle." He gave it to me. The first time I shot I did not hit him, the second time I got him. The priest sat down when the bullet struck him. I went after him with the knife, when I was close to him he got up again, both of us were together. I had the knife in my hand and I went after him when he got up again.

Uluksuk told me “go ahead and put the knife in him.” The priest fell down on his back. I said to Uluksuk “go ahead you I fixed the other man already.” Uluksuk struck first with the knife and did not strike him the second time he got him. The priest lay down and was breathing a little and I struck him with an axe I was carrying across the face. I cut his legs with the axe. I killed him dead.

One man is in a creek, the first one alongside the sled.

After they were dead I said to Uluksuk before when white men were killed they used to cut off some and eat some. Uluksuk cut up Ilogoak’s belly; I turned around.

Uluksuk gave me a little piece of the liver. I eat it. Uluksuk eat it too. We covered up both bodies with snow when we started to go back. We each took a rifle and cartridges. We took three bags of cartridges each. We started back in the night time. We camped that night. Next morning we got back to camp as soon as it was light.

I went into Kormik’s tent. Kormik was sleeping and I woke him up. I told him I’ve kill those two fellows already. I can’t remember what Kormik said. Kormik, Koeha, Angibrunna, Kallun, Kingordlik went to get the priests stuff. They started in the morning and came back the same night. Kormik had two Church shirts and some clothing. I can’t remember the other things. Kormik sold the two church shirts to A-Nautallik. I do not know what he got for them. I can’t tell any more. If I knew more I would tell you. I can’t remember any more.

Witness and Interpreter.

Sd. Witness: W. V. Bruce, Cpl.

Interpreter. Ilavinik.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, J.P.

Kormik wanted to kill Ilogoak for his rifle. Ilogoak was mad with him and would not stop any more so he left his camp.

Interpreter Sd. Ilavinik.

Witness Sd. W.V. Bruce, Cpl.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, J. P.

**Wyndham Valentine Bruce, being sworn saith.**

“I am a Corporal of the R.N.W.M. Police. In August 1915 I was detailed by Inspector Phillips of Herschell Island to investigate the disappearance of the missing priests.

Since coming into Coronation Gulf I have found numerous articles in the possession of the Copper Eskimo and the property of the Church of Rome. They were the mass regalia of the priests obtained from one Kormik on March 24, 1916, two breviaries from one Hupo on March 27, 1916, One large crucifix from one Uluksuk on December 11<sup>th</sup>, 1915, and numerous other articles.

On May 2, 1916, I met Inspector La Nauze, Constable Wight and Interpreter ‘Ilavinik’ in Coronation Gulf and accompanied them to Cape Lambert, finding a native village there. While there one Koeha stated through the Police interpreter Ilavinik to Inspector La Nauze and myself that the prisoner about November 1913 killed two priests whom the prisoner had accompanied from near Great Bear Lake, killing one the Rev. Father LeRoux by stabbing him and one the Rev. Father Rouvière by shooting him with a rifle.

Koeha further stated at that time that the accused together with another man one Uluksuk left their camp and returned again five days later in the night time stating to him and the others at the camp that they had killed the two priests. The prisoner was in the possession of the priests rifle.

Koeha a few days later in company with Kormik and his wife Kallum, Angibrunna, viewed or saw the body of one man lying by a sled with knife thrusts in the body. The others Koeha stated saw some clothes sticking through the snow in a creek nearby evidently on the body of another man.

The following Eskimo, Kormik, Oahoamik, Uluksuk, Ekheahuina, Nachin, Arnaoiak, and Hupo all spoke through the interpreter Ilavinik about the same two men having committed the murder.

Kormik stated also through the same source to myself and Inspector La Nauze on May 9<sup>th</sup>, 1916, that he had seen the bodies of the two priests one with knife wounds and the other lying in a creek a long time afterwards.

Kormik corroborated Ko-e-ha’s statement and states that he took a .44 rifle from the accused when he returned and told him about the murder.



On May 15 at Victoria Land I arrested the prisoner and obtained at the same village from one Kirkpak a .44 Winchester rifle, which I produce, No. 42551.

One Uluksuk on May 17th told me that one Ikpukuak traded his rifle on behalf of Kirkpak from one Kormik for a telescope some time ago.

(Sd) Wyndham Valentine Bruce.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. J. P.

**Ilavinik states as follows being duly sworn.**

I am Police interpreter. I came from Great Bear Lake with Inspector La Nauze, Constable Wight and met Corporal Bruce on May 2nd.

I went with the party to Cape Lambert and arrived there on May 7th.

While I was there I interpreted for Inspector La Nauze and Corporal Bruce. I first asked Ekheahuina, "Did anybody see two white men with beards?" and after he said "What do you mean?" I said again "Long coat they wore they had crosses hanging from neck." He said "yes he come down mouth of Coppermine River the two white men, Husky kill him." After that Ko-a-ha came in and told the story.

I interpreted all the statements taken in connection with the murder of the priests and co-oberate [*sic*] what Corporal Bruce says.

(Signed) Ilavinik.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. J. P.

Minutes.

Court Opened 4.15 p.m.

May 17th, 1916.

Special Constable Ilavinik sworn in as Interpreter between Eskimo and English, English and Eskimo.

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Court adjourned for 2 hours from  
7.30 to 9.30 p.m.

(Sd) C.D. La Nauze. J.P.

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9.30 p.m. Accused committed for trial on two charges of murder. i.e. the murder of the Rev. Father Le Roux and the Rev. Father Rouvière.

9.35 p.m. Court closed.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze. J.P.

### 23. Statement of the Accused, Uluksak, alias Avingak, 29 May 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

STATEMENT OF THE ACCUSED.  
(PRELIMINARY INQUIRY, INDICTABLE OFFENCE)

CANADA:

North-West Territories.

Uluksak, alias Avingak stands before me the undersigned, C. D. La Nauze a Justice of the Peace in and for the Territories aforesaid, this twenty-ninth day of May in the year 1916, for that he the said Uluksak alias Avingak in the month of November A.D. 1913 at or near the Coppermine River in the North-West Territories, did wilfully murder one, The Rev. Father Le Roux, a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T., by stabbing him with a knife.

And the said charge having been read to the said Uluksak alias Avingak and the witnesses for the prosecution W.V. Bruce, Corpl. R.N.W.M. Police, Herschel Island, N.W.T., being severally examined in his presence, the said Uluksak, alias Avingak is now addressed by me as follows: "Having heard the evidence, do you wish to say anything in answer to the charge? You are not obliged to say anything unless you desire to do so; but whatever you say will be taken down in writing, and may be given in evidence against you at your trial. You must clearly understand that you have nothing to hope from any promise of favour, and nothing to fear from any threat which may have been held out to induce you to make any admission or confession of guilt, but whatever you now say may be given in evidence against you upon your trial, notwithstanding such promise or threat." Whereupon the said Uluksak, alias Avingak says as follows: (Statement attached)

Taken before me at Bernard Harbour, Dolphin and Union Straits in the said Territories the day and year first mentioned above.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze

*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North-West Territories.*

**Uluksak, alias Avingak says as follows:**

I was at the mouth of the Coppermine River after the lakes froze over. We were fishing there. Kormik and the two white men Ilogoak (Rev. Father Le Roux) and Kuleavik (the Rev. Father Rouvière) had one camp between them.

Kormik wanted to kill the two white men because they were angry with him as he had put away their rifle and his wife had put away some of their white mens food.

After the white men left to go up the river Sinnisiak and I followed their trail, we wanted to get to the people who were behind.

It was the days after the priests had left that we met them on the river.

The tall white man "Ilogoak" said to me "If you will help us I will give you traps, we want you to go with us as far as the trees."

On the first day the priests were not angry with us, we camped with them one night and we did not reach the trees. We made a small snow house for the priests. The next day the priests were angry and said "If you take us to the woods we will give you traps." We started and I was ahead pulling the sled. Sinnisiak was close to the sled and the two white men behind. I wanted to speak and Ilogoak put his hand over my mouth. I wanted to talk of my wife sewing clothes for Ilogoak in the fall.

Kuleavik gave Ilogoak a rifle and a knife and Ilogoak pointed the gun at us. I was afraid and I was crying. Every time I wanted to talk Ilogoak came and put his hand over my mouth.

We went on and Sinnisiak said to me "We ought to kill these white men before they kill us" and I said "They can kill me if they want to, I don't want to kill any people."

Sinnisiak then said "I will kill one of them anyway, you had better try and be strong too."

Ilogoak turned around and Sinnisiak stabbed him from behind in the back. Ilogoak then hit me with a stick and I stabbed him twice with a knife and he dropped down.

I took the rifle from on top of the sled and threw it down in the snow. The other white man Kuleavik started to run away and Sinnisiak picked up the rifle and missed him the first shot. The second shot he wounded him and the priest sat down. Sinnisiak dropped the rifle and took an axe and a knife. I had a knife and we ran after him. When we got up to Kuleavik, Sinnisiak told me to stab him again. I did not want to stab him first, then

Sinnisiak told me again to stab him and I stabbed him again in the side and the blood came out and he was not yet dead. I did not stab him again and Sinnisiak took the axe and chopped his neck and killed him.

Sinnisiak said to me "You had better cut him open." I did not want to. He told me again and I cut open his belly and we ate a piece of the liver each.

We then left Kuleavik on top of the snow and went back to the other man Ilogoak and I cut him open when Sinnisiak told me to. We eat a small piece of his liver also.

I wanted to throw the rifles away and Sinnisiak said "You take one and I will take one." We took three boxes of cartridges each. We then went back to the mouth of the river where the other people were.

We took nothing from the sled except the rifles and cartridges. We got back to the camp when it was night time. Sinnisiak went to Kormik's tent. I went to my tent. I told the people we had killed the two white men and that I did not want to but Sinnisiak had killed them first.

Kormik and his wife, Koaha and Angibrunna then went to get the priests stuff.

They came back the same night with the stuff.

The people took the rifle and cartridges from me.

I have no more to speak about.

Signed 'Patsy' Interpreter.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Inspr. J. P.

Rex Vs. Uluksak.

**Wyndham Valentine Bruce, being sworn saith: —**

I am a Corpl. of the R.N.W.M. Police. I met Inspector La Nauze, Const. Wight and Interpreter Iluvinik on May 2<sup>nd</sup>, in Coronation Gulf.

I accompanied them from there to Cape Lambert, finding a native village there on May 7th inst. One of the inhabitants "Koaha" by name stated to Inspr. La Nauze and myself through the Police interpreter Ilavinik that the accused together with another man one Sinnisiak had murdered two white priests near the Coppermine River about three years ago and that the accused had driven a knife into one Ilogoak (the Rev. Father Le Roux)

after he had been first stabbed by Sinnisiak and had assisted in the murder of the other priest "Kuleavik" (the Rev. Father Rouvière).

Koaha also stated that he saw one of the bodies a few days later lying by their sled and that Kallun, Angibrunna and Kormik had also seen the body.

The following eskimo told Inspr. La Nauze and myself through interpreter 'Ilavinik' that the accused together with Sinesek had committed the murder: Oakoamik, Ulokoak, Ehkeahuina, Nachin, Arnakeak, Hupo.

Another Eskimo, one Kormik on May 9th, 1916, stated that he had seen two dead bodies, one lying by the sled and another in a small creek bed close by, a long time afterwards.

On May 17th one Sinesek at his preliminary hearing before Inspr. La Nauze in answer to the same charge stated after having been warned that he together with the accused had committed these murders.

(Sd) Wyndham Valentine Bruce.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, J. P.

Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.

Rex vs. Uluksuk.

Minutes. Court opened 9.15 a.m. May 29th, 1916.

Eskimo "patsey"<sup>8</sup> [*sic*] sworn in as interpreter, between Eskimo and English, English and Eskimo.

Evidence for the prosecution.... Cpl. Bruce.

10. a.m. Accused desires to make a statement having been warned twice.

11.30 a.m. Accused committed for trial on two charges of murder, i.e. the murder of the Rev. Father Le Roux and the Rev. Father Rouvière.

11.35 a.m. Court closed.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, J. P.

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<sup>8</sup> Pasty Klengenber.

## 24. Warrant of Commitment, Sinnisiak, 29 May 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

### WARRANT OF COMMITMENT.

(Preliminary Inquiry, Indictable Offence.)

Canada,  
North-West Territories.

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to the Keeper of the R.N.W.M.Police Guard Room at Herschel Island, Yukon Territory.

WHEREAS Sinnisiak was this day charged before me the undersigned C. D. La Nauze, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of W V. Bruce, Corporal R.N.W.M.Police, Herschel Island, Yukon Territory, and others for that he the said Sinnisiak in the month of November A.D. 1913, at or near the Coppermine River in the North West Territories did wilfully murder one, the Rev. Father Rouvière a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T., by shooting him with a rifle.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Sinnisiak and him safely to convey to the R.N.W.M.Police Guard Room at Herschel Island, Yukon Territory, aforesaid, and there to deliver him to the keeper thereof together with this precept.

AND I DO HEREBY COMMAND YOU the said Keeper of the said Guard Room to receive the said Sinnisiak into your custody in the said Guard Room, and there keep safely him until he shall be thence be delivered by due course of Law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of May in the year of our Lord, 1916, at Bernard Harbour in the Territories aforesaid.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze.

Inspector, R.N.W.M.P.

A Justice of the Peace in and for the North West Territories.

## 25. Warrant of Commitment, Uluksak alias Avingak, 29 May 1916

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

### WARRANT OF COMMITMENT. (Preliminary Inquiry, Indictable Offence.)

Canada,  
North-West Territories.

To all or any of the Peace Officers in the said Territories, and to the Keeper of the R.N.W.M.Police Guard Room at Herschel Island, Yukon Territory.

WHEREAS Uluksak alias Avingak, was this day charged before me the undersigned, C. D. La Nauze, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said Territories, on the oath of W. V. Bruce, Corporal of the R.N.W.M.Police, Herschel Island, Yukon Territory, and others, for that he the said Uluksak alias Avingak in the month of November A.D. 1913, at or near the Coppermine River in the North West Territories did wilfully murder one, the Rev. Father Le Roux, a Roman Catholic Missionary of Fort Norman, N.W.T. , by stabbing him with a knife.

THESE ARE THEREFORE TO COMMAND YOU the said Peace Officers to take the said Uluksak, alias Avingak and safely to convey to the R.N.W.M.Police Guard Room at Herschell Island, Yukon Territory aforesaid, and there to deliver him to the Keeper thereof together with this precept:

AND I DO HEREBY COMMAND YOU, the said Keeper of the said R.N.W.M.Police Guard Room to receive the said Uluksak, alias Avingak into your custody in the said Guard Room and there keep safely him until he shall be thence delivered by due course of law.

GIVEN under my hand and seal this twenty-ninth day of May in the year of Our Lord 1916, at Bernard Harbour in the Territories aforesaid.

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Inspt., R.N.W.M.Police. [SEAL]  
*A Justice of the Peace in and for the North West Territories.*

## 26. Inspector C.D. La Nauze — Brief summary of work performed by his patrol, 23 May 1916

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

GIVING SOLUTION OF MYSTERY OF MISSING PRIESTS.

GREAT BEAR LAKE PATROL, ISLAND N.E. MOUTH OF  
COPPERMINE RIVER, CORONATION GULF,  
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, MAY 23, 1916.

The Officer Commanding  
R.N.W.M. Police  
Athabaska.

Sir, — I have the honour to report that we have at last solved the mystery of the missing priests.

At present I can only give you the briefest of summary of our work, as I have a murderer on my hands while I am writing this, and I am conveying him to a place of safety with all speed.

I have instructed Constable Wight to tell you the full details in case he should reach headquarters before me. As already reported in my reports to you of my probable plans, I left Great Bear lake on March 29, accompanied by Special Ilavinik and Constable Wight.

We arrived at the mouth of the Coppermine river on April 30 and on May 2 I met Corporal Bruce 35 miles east of the Coppermine river mouth; he informed me of his instructions, but had no news of the missing priests. He had made two attempts to connect with me and not seeing or hearing anything of me or my party, concluded the priests might still be alive. By his great tact, none of the natives were suspicious of his presence in the gulf, and he had much valuable information for me, knew the country, and knew practically all the Eskimos. Joining my party he acted as guide, and in an Eskimo village off cape Lambert in the Dolphin and Union straits the mystery of the missing priests was revealed to us. The priests were murdered near the Bloody falls about November, 1913, on their return to Great Bear lake, and their murderers were at large. Here and at the next two villages we got irrefutable evidence of the murder, and I made a base of operations at the southern headquarters of the Canadian Arctic Expedition at Bernard Harbour in the straits. On May 15 we arrested the murderer



Sinissiak on South Victoria Land. I left him at Bernard harbour in care of Corporal Bruce where he made a complete statement of his guilt to me at his preliminary hearing. Today we have just arrested the second murderer, Uluksak, on an island northeast of the Coppermine in the gulf. I regret I cannot carry out the commissioner's instructions and convey the murderers to Fort Norman. The Canadian Arctic Expedition have placed the ss. *Alaska* at our disposal so I am conveying the prisoners to there where I will assist Corporal Bruce in his arduous duty of guarding two murderers. Then I will leave the prisoners at Herschel island and report to headquarters as soon as possible, going out via Nome and Vancouver. Special Ilavinik's work on the case is worthy of the highest praise, and we have secured one Eskimo out of a hundred in him. I give him all credit for his painstaking and straightforward interpreting. I have taken the liberty of retaining his services for the case. Constable Wight has instructions to proceed to Great Bear lake with instructions to Constable Withers to get the party to Fort Norman. I cannot speak too highly of the loyal support of all my men.

We got important information on the Radford- Street murder, but I am shorthanded now and it is too late to try and connect with Inspector Beyts.

Trusting the exigencies of the situation will excuse my short report for the present.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
C. D. La NAUZE, Inspector.

## 27. Report of Inspector C.D. La Nauze — Patrol from Dease Bay to Mouth of Coppermine River, Connecting with Corporal Bruce, and Final Arrest of Both Murderers, 7 June 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5; 1916 RNWMP Report*

"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Bernard Harbour,  
Dolphin and Union Straits, N.W.T.,  
June 7th, 1916.

CRIME REPORT

RE: MURDER OF THE MISSING PRIESTS - REV. FATHERS  
ROUVIÈRE AND LE ROUX.

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As stated in my report re probable movements of patrol, I left our base on Great Bear Lake on March 29th accompanied by Reg. No. 6296 Const. Wight J.E.F., Special Const. Ilavinik (Eskimo) and two toboggans with four dogs to each. Mr. D'Arcy Arden accompanied the patrol as far as Coronation Gulf.

Travelling in a general North Easterly direction we arrived at the mouth of the Coppermine River on April 30th. No signs that we could attribute to the missing Priests were met with enroute although between hunting and prospecting for our route we covered a lot of country. The few old cuttings and camps we did find were carefully examined.

Upon arrival at the mouth of the Coppermine we found a fresh sled track going east and following it arrived at a small Eskimo village named Kugaryuak at 8 p.m. on May 1st, where we were accorded a hearty welcome. Some of the Eskimos here had been seen by Arden in 1914 and recognized him. We learned from them that there was a ship three days travel to the Westward and that two white men were camped a few miles across the bay from their camp.

The Eskimos were anxious to know if we had come to trade, I informed them and all other Eskimos we met on our patrol that we had been sent to visit them by "The Big White Chief", that we were the men who looked after the people, and told them what was right and wrong, and that they must not steal or rob caches, etc. This and all other matters were painstakingly explained by Ilavinik. I did not wish at first to question the Eskimos directly as to the missing Priests but preferred if possible that they should give me information voluntarily as I did not want to arouse their suspicions. We had arrived now amongst them at a time when we could meet them all, we had a fair supply of provisions and deer were plentiful so I had no desire to rush matters. Moreover there were white men ahead of us who undoubtedly must be members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.

Camping with these Eskimos that night, the following morning, Const. Wight, Mr. Arden and myself set out to look for the whitemen accompanied by two young Eskimos who came along voluntarily as guides, I left Special Constable Ilavinik at the camp to try and gain some information if possible.

At 3 p.m. we came upon Mr. K. G. Chipman's camp of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, who was mapping the coast East, and accompanying him was Reg. No. 4600 Corporal Bruce W.V. of the Herschel Island Detachment. This was indeed a pleasant surprise, for as stated in my report of March I had no definite or official news of any parties being in Coronation Gulf. If I had received word from Inspector Phillips I could have pushed through to the Gulf much quicker and connected with the Expedition but as proceedings eventually turned out it was all for the best.

Corporal Bruce informed me of his instructions and told me he had made an attempt to connect with me accompanied by Dr. Anderson in February, who also wished to go to Great Bear Lake. His report on this trip shows the difficulties they encountered although I have no doubt this efficient N.C.O. would have got through had he any equipment like ours.

Corporal Bruce had therefore been working in the dark: by not seeing or hearing anything of my party, or getting any information re the missing priests on the coast he had thought the priests might have been safe on Bear Lake and that I had possibly turned back. However he had the good judgment not to excite any suspicions amongst the natives, he had quietly purchased all church articles found in their possession and knew the majority of them personally, and moreover knew the country and the places where the natives were to be found. Now in my investigations among the Bear Lake Indians I had learnt [*sic*] that two brothers named "Home and Hebo" were to accompany the priests on their projected voyage to the coast. Corporal Bruce knew of these men as from one named Kormik he had purchased some Church articles and although the names were slightly different I was convinced they were the same men. Hupo had also been seen by him with many white men's effects.

As regards the priests' .44 rifle seen in the possession of the Eskimos by the Indians, Corporal Bruce had no clue as the Eskimos had several .44 calibre rifles in their possession.

The Eskimo who had been seen wearing the priest's cassock which the Indians called "Illoogaa" was identified by Corporal Bruce as one "ULUKSAK" whom he knew of well, and Corporal Bruce had taken a cassock from this man's cache.

I therefore decided to proceed West as was my original intention and to visit all Eskimos en route and to find the men Corporal Bruce could identify.

Mr. Arden joined Mr. Chipman at this point which was about 35 miles east of the Coppermine River mouth.

On May 4th we left Mr. Chipman's camp for the west and Corporal Bruce joining my party acted as guide. I stopped over at the Eskimo camp where I had left Ilavinik on May 5th to prepare for our trip across the Gulf and to try and gain some information from the Eskimos. Ilavinik had meanwhile gained some information re the people's hunting grounds, their trips to Bear Lake etc. Here I gained some information re the burning of the Priest's house on Lake Imaerinik from an old Eskimo named "Koglouga" whose statement I attach.

All statements taken have been written in the vernacular and attached to this Crime Report. They are all told voluntarily without questioning except as to the dates of which the Eskimo mind seems to have very little conception. In this work of taking statements Ilavinik has been invaluable, his interpreting was most painstaking and he would make each Eskimo tell his own story.

On May 6th we left the Kugaryuak and struck N.W. across the Gulf and at 5 p.m. came upon a large Eskimo Village named Inuaireneruit situated on the ice between two islands. Here we were accorded another hearty welcome and we camped. The people here seemed even less inclined to talk than they did at the Kugaryuak. They said Stefansson was the first white man they had seen and that they did not stay long at "Iglupuk" this winter, meaning the Canadian Arctic Expedition's base in the Dolphin and Union Straits.

One man named "Koomuck" told me he had been with Stefansson when he brought the Indians and Eskimos together, but that was all I could get out of him. I felt convinced that this man knew something about the priests but I did not like to excite his suspicious. He said he had heard of Arden but knew of no other men on Bear Lake. Afterwards I found out that this man was lying but he told me the truth eventually.

Leaving here on May 7th we struck the mainland again at Cape Krusenstern and camped at another large Eskimo Village off Cape Lambert in the Dolphin and Union Straits at 8 p.m.

After supper Ilavinik and I started in to talk to the people. I first asked them if they knew Great Bear Lake. "O yes" they answered "We hunt there every year, we went there last year to look for white men but could not find any."

We had met two brothers here named Nachin and Ekkeshuina whom Ilavinik had heard of previously from Stefansson's man Natkusiak; they had also heard of Ilavinik from him so to Ilavinik it was like meeting friends. Nachin and his wife had nursed Natkusiak on the Dismal Lakes when he had burnt his face badly with powder. They seemed to me to be very straightforward people and had fine open countenances. I told them we had found an Eskimo cache south of Imaerinek last fall but had found no Eskimos. Nachin and his brother promptly said: "That was our cache, we were hunting North West of there at the time."

Ilavinik thought he could find out something from these people so said we would go to their house and we were escorted to a small snow hut in the middle of the village. I then asked them if they knew of any white man who had been to Imaerinek. Oh, yes, they had met several. I then sat back and let Ilavinik do the talking. I heard him question them closely and I could see him trembling. I saw that something was happening but I never moved and in about five minutes he turned to me and said "I got him, the priests were killed by Husky all right, these men very very sorry." And indeed they appeared to be, they both had covered their faces with their hands and there was a dead silence in the Igloo.

I told Ilavinik to go ahead while I went out for Corpl. Bruce and when we got back Ilavinik said "Now you write down these two names Uluksak and Sinnisiak, you got that? Now I find out some more." Meanwhile several other Eskimos had entered the igloo and while Ilavinik was talking to Ekkeshuina and elderly man named Koeha was joining in in the conversation in the usual Eskimo manner, Ilavinik ordered only one man to speak at once and they said Koeha had better speak as he knew all.

Without any hesitation Koeha gave a clear and concise account of the whole affair as he had heard it, and it was 4 a.m. when he had finished with his statement which I enclose.

From what information we could gather here and at other Villages it had been a cruel and bloody murder.

The priests had accompanied the Eskimos to the Coast about November 1913. They had only stopped a few days at the mouth of the Coppermine and had started back alone. Two nights after they had left, two men named Sinnisiak and Uluksak started to follow them telling the people they were going to help the people still on the road from Dismal Lakes. A few nights after they returned carrying the priests' rifles and had told the people they had murdered the Priests near the Bloody Falls.

The man Uluksak had told the tale of the murder to all present, and said he had been urged to assist in the crime by the man Sinnisiak. Father LeRoux had been stabbed in the back by Sinnisiak and finished off by Uluksak, and Father Rouvière had made a dash for the sled where his rifle was. Sinnisiak evidently was too quick for him and he started to run away when he was shot by Sinnisiak. Koeha with three others had then visited the scene of the murder and had found Father Le Roux lying dead beside the sled. Father Rouvière's body was not seen by these people.

The act was evidently greatly regretted by the Eskimos, they all stated that the Priests were very good White men, "For they used to bring us powder and lead and taught us how to catch fish with nets."

Upon being asked why they did not tell of this before they said that they were afraid, they wanted to tell it to Arden and Hodgson but no one they met there could understand their language. They had heard of Ilavinik from Natkusiak and were not afraid now. They had carried this in their heads a long time. They were afraid to tell it to the men at the Igloopuk as there were so many there and Hornby had told some of them if they killed white men the white men would kill them all.

We spent the next day at this camp getting more information and while here the Eskimo Uluksak (Mayuk) arrived and gave some more important information on the case.

Learning that the Eskimos Kormik and Hupo were at the next village west we started for there on May 9th and here the statements taken at Cape Lambert were fully corroborated.

I now had the evidence, the next step was to arrest the murderers. Sinnisiak was supposed to be somewhere near Victoria Land on the ice and Uluksak east of the Coppermine. Uluksak (Mayuk) volunteered to act as guide in search of Sinnisiak whom rumour had to be a bad character and I engaged him on the spot.

On May 10th we arrived at Bernard Harbour, the Southern Headquarters of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. Capt. Sweeney, master of the S.S. *Alaska*, was in charge in the absence of Dr. Anderson. He gave us every possible assistance.

On May 11th Corporal Bruce laid information before me against Sinnisiak and Uluksak on two charges of murder each, and on May 12th we started for Victoria Land to effect the arrest of the principal murderer Sinnisiak. The weather however got so foggy that we could not see more

than a few yards ahead of us, our guide seemed doubtful and I was obliged to return on the 13<sup>th</sup>. inst. and prepare for a longer trip.

On the 14th inst. we started again and this time had favourable conditions. East of the Liston and Sutton Islands we found a fairly recently deserted snow village that our guide had wanted to find on the previous trip and following the trail from that north we passed two more deserted villages before we camped at midnight. The last village had been quite recently vacated and I was afraid our man might have got news and fled. However, starting again the next morning we had not gone more than a few miles when we saw the coast of Victoria Land quite plainly. The trail still led north and at 1 p.m. we viewed a village of skin tents just off the shore. Arriving there we were met by about forty people who were in the usual state of Eskimo excitement upon the arrival of strangers.

After the excitement was over I asked Uluksak if he saw our man, he said "No, but I saw his wife." And while the majority of the people were examining our outfit in charge of Constable Wight, Uluksak and Ilavinik followed by Corporal Bruce and myself went around the village and our guide led us to a canvas tent. We entered and our man was sitting down engaged in the manufacture of a bow. He appeared to be stunned with fear and I learnt afterwards that he expected to be stabbed right then. He told me his name according to their custom and he was formally arrested and searched by Corporal Bruce. Hidden under the deer skins at his back was a loaded .22 Automatic Rifle and two large knives.

Ilavinik told me afterwards that the first words he said to Uluksak was "What do you men want?" Uluksak said "The white men here want you to go with them." Sinnisiak said "If the white men kill me I will make medicine and the ship will go down in the ice and all will be drowned."

Meanwhile a good many men had crowded into the tent and were watching the proceedings. I explained to the prisoner that he had nothing to be afraid of and that we were not looking for trouble but he must come quietly. He would not come at first but sat there trembling. Then strange to relate the other Eskimos grasping the situation said "Yes you must go with the white man, do what he tells you." After a few minutes he said he would go. So as not to excite the Prisoner or the people too much I told him he could take his wife and effects along and after this we had no more trouble and got the prisoner quietly away from the camp. After we got out on the ice a few miles I told him to leave his effects with another family

who shared his sled as they were travelling too slow for us. Uluksak lent the other Eskimo his dogs.

At this camp I secured a valuable piece of evidence in the actual .44 Rifle belonging to Father Rouvier. Our guide Uluksak knew it was in this camp as it had been traded around several times since Kormik got it. Of course I had to purchase it and gave a new 30.30 rifle in its place I got from the Canadian Arctic Expedition. The Rifle is an octagonal barreled short rifle, .44 calibre, which exactly answers the description given by the Indian Harry.

The prisoner was very nervous, we travelled all afternoon and night and got back to Bernard Harbour at 6.30 a.m. on the 16th Inst. Mr. D. Jenness, Ethnologist, Canadian Arctic Expedition, had meantime arrived from a trip westwards. He rendered us great assistance.

Taking turns on guard we endeavoured to get the prisoner to lie down and sleep but he would not, and we learned from Mr. Jenness that he was afraid of being stabbed while he slept. Eventually he slept from sheer weariness.

The prisoner up to this time had made no statement whatever, being carefully warned not to.

On the 17th inst. I took his Preliminary Hearing, Corporal Bruce and Special Constable Ilavinik gave evidence for the Prosecution, it being impossible to get the other witnesses together at the time.

The evidence having been given and carefully explained to the prisoner I read the usual warning to him and had it explained to him carefully twice. He said "I want to speak" and forthwith made a complete confession of his guilt.

He stated that he had been the chief instigator of the crime, that they had murdered the Priests in self-defence because the Priests had threatened them with their rifles and beaten them and he thought that he had better kill the Priests before they killed them. The details of the murder were most revolting and can be read in his own statement, a copy of which I attach.

I committed Sinnisiak for trial, on two charges of murder. I was now obliged to leave Corporal Bruce alone in charge of him while Constable Wight and myself had no time to lose to get east again on the chance of finding the second murderer, Uluksak.

I had information from an old Eskimo that Uluksak intended to hunt that summer in the Dismal Lake district and that I would probably find



him at the mouth of the Coppermine when the Eskimos gather before going inland.

If we were successful I intended to return to Bernard Harbour with the second prisoner and take advantage of a safe place to guard them.

Accordingly Mr. Jenness kindly lent me his own Eskimo boy "Patsy" and his sled and team of dogs as I could return to Bernard Harbour and not have to take my own men back again at this already late season. Patsy also knew Uluksak well enough to identify him.

On the 17th inst, Constable Wight, Special Constable Ilavinik, Patsy and myself again struck out for the mouth of the Coppermine River and after a weary trip through water and snow arrived there on the 21st inst. and found that no Eskimos had arrived as yet. However from the top of the Island in the mouth Patsy located through the glasses six sleds far out on the ice and travelling towards us very slowly. Six hours later the sleds had disappeared behind an Island but another sled was seen coming towards us which eventually arrived at 5 p.m. on the 22nd inst. This proved to be the Eskimo Angebrunna and his wife, an important witness that I had not yet interviewed, and he informed us that Uluksak was on the island that we had seen the first six sleds go behind. This was indeed fortunate.

After taking Angebrunna's statement, I left him in charge of most of our outfit and two dogs and with Patsy and his sled. Constable Wight and Ilavinik and one of our sleds set out for the island which lay about ten miles north-east out in the Gulf.

Long before we reached the island we located the skin tents of the Eskimos and while we were yet far away the "Peace Sign" of holding up hands was greatly in evidence amongst a group of Eskimos standing on the high rocks. As we got closer the sign was shown by all the people accompanied by much springing up and down and not until we had answered the sign in the same manner did they run down and meet us, all except the man Uluksak, who hung back. He was immediately recognized by Patsy and as Constable Wight and myself approached him he ran forward holding up his hands and saying "Goana Goana" (Thank you, I'm glad.)

I asked him if he knew what we had come for "Oh yes he knew well, were we going to kill him? The other two white men hit me over the head will you do this?" I told him carefully that he had nothing to fear and he was formally arrested by Constable Wight. We explained that he had to come with us, "Oh yes" he said he would come, he would go wherever we

wanted him to go, but his wife was making him water boots and would we wait until they were finished?

He seemed a very different character from Sinnisiak, and the only weapon he had was a bow and a few arrows. I decided to wait here and write my last reports to send out by Constable Wight who would then return to Great Bear Lake and visit the scene of the murder en route.

We had no trouble with the prisoner's wife although she seemed greatly upset. A present of a small silk tent, a cup, and a box of matches cheered her up greatly. I also told the people they would some day be rewarded if they helped her as she was then pregnant and could not do much for herself.

Most of these people were the same as we had met at Inuaireneruit and the man Koomuck was amongst them. They did not try to hinder us in any way and treated us with the greatest hospitality.

Koomuck confirmed the statements as to Uluksak's coming back from the murder and said he took the cartridges from him.

After giving Constable Wight his instructions I left with Patsy and the prisoner in the afternoon of the 23rd inst. for Bernard Harbour while Constable Wight and Ilavinik were to wait at the mouth of the Coppermine until the Eskimos arrived who could guide them to the scene of the murder. My party would then proceed to Fort Norman as early as possible and I would help Corporal Bruce guard the prisoners at Bernard Harbour and then go out by Herschel Island on the S.S. "Alaska" on May 26<sup>th</sup>. I arrived back at Bernard Harbour with the second prisoner Uluksak. On this trip the Eskimo Patsy was invaluable. The prisoner gave no trouble en route and was cheerful and willing.

It was indeed a relief to get back to Bernard Harbor having now so far accomplished our mission and to have Corporal Bruce there. He with the help of Mr. Jenness had tactfully shipped Sinnisiak's wife back to Victoria Land with a few small presents. We had now simply to guard our prisoners and wait for the ice to go out.

On the 29th inst. I gave Uluksak his Preliminary Hearing and Corporal Bruce gave evidence for the Prosecution. Upon being warned twice and very carefully in the usual manner the accused said "I want to talk" and he made a complete confession of his guilt. The details of the murder were practically identical to the statement of Sinnisiak. Both statements were written down in the vernacular without any prompting. During the

proceedings the prisoner was very nervous and was shivering and shaking. When the proceedings were over he regained his customary spirits.

I judged it best from all points of view to take the prisoners out by the Herschel Island route. There was always the danger of losing them on the long trip overland to Great Bear Lake probably accompanied by the large number of Eskimos who frequent that country. Moreover they still had a dread of the Indians and asked me if I was going to take them into the Indian Country. Of course had we not connected with the Canadian Arctic Expedition I would have tried to take them out via Great Bear Lake but when the Expedition put their whole services at our disposal I thought it was wise to accept. By keeping the prisoners at Herschel Island they would still be amongst their own people and to a certain extent in their own country.

Still I regret very much not carrying out the Commissioner's instructions, possibly I could report to Headquarters quicker by going out via Fort Norman leaving Constable Wight to help Corporal Bruce at Bernard Harbour. Constable Wight however is the best sailor of my party to take it back to Fort Norman, while I myself feel I should take the responsibility of the prisoners until safely delivered at Herschel Island.

As regards the case we have had extraordinary good fortune. Within 27 days after our arrival in Coronation Gulf the whole mystery of the missing Priests has been cleared up and their two murderers under arrest and in a place of safety.

I have had no previous experience amongst Eskimos but had been told beforehand that they would be very hard people to get information out of and that they would be possibly hostile. I attribute our success to good fortune, the loyal support of my men, the painstaking interest Ilavinik displayed in working on the case, the intelligence of the people we were dealing with and finally the spontaneous help of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.

No doubt our work was greatly facilitated by the presence of the Expedition in Coronation Gulf.

The finding of Sinnisiak on the Coast of Victoria Land was a stroke of good fortune. Mr. Jenness, who spent all of last summer with the Eskimo in Victoria Land, told me that usually they were a long way inland by that time.

Uluksak might just as well have been on the Kent Peninsula as he came from Bathurst Inlet and had been living East since the murder had been committed.

As I have only been a month among the Eskimos of Coronation Gulf I cannot give an expert opinion of them, but I find them intelligent, straight forward and hospitable and I went about my business in the usual manner and did not try to deceive them as to our motives.

I believe, and it is the belief of others that know the Eskimos better than I do, that the murderers fully expected to be killed by us on the spot and that the others would not have raised a hand to stop us.

Amongst these people, what one knows is known by all and once we had got the story of the murder everyone seemed to know about it. In getting information they all crowd around and listen attentively and help the speaker along with his story.

Public opinion in Coronation Gulf is against the murderer Sinnisiak all say he is a bad man and that the other man Uluksak was led by him.

The unfortunate Priests may have been the victims of a premeditated murder for the possession of their rifles and ammunition or may have brought on the crime by their own untactfulness. We have only the Murderers own statements as to the latter, and the unfortunate victims will never tell on this earth of the former. The evidence shows that the Priests evidently left the mouth of the river in a hurry when it was late in the then already short days. They had had some trouble with the Eskimo Kormik over the rifle and Koeha and his wife both state that Kormik wanted to kill the Priests, Uluksak also made this statement at his Preliminary Hearing. These were the only voluntary statements I got regarding this affair. However Kormik has rather a bad reputation and has not a prepossessing appearance. He was the man in the possession of most of the Church property obtained by Corporal Bruce and gave me a straightforward statement re the murder. Kormik also acknowledges taking the rifle afterward from Uluksak.

I have not deceived the murderers in any way, I have had it carefully explained to them that it is not for me to judge them but that the Big White Chief must decide what he will do with them. But it is hard for them to grasp the meaning of this, in their life they have no chief, everyone is equal, and their word "Ishumatak" for chief latterly translated means "The Thinker" the man who does the deciding or thinking for the party.

As regards their religion, they have none, although the unfortunate Priests were among them for three summers, all that they say of them is “They were very good white men, they brought us powder and lead and fish lines, we were very very sorry they were killed.”

With regards to the theft of the Priests property, I did nothing in the matter but warn all the Eskimos carefully that this would not be tolerated in the future. They made no secret about taking the stuff either from the unfortunate Priests’ sled or from the houses on Bear Lake. They produced the stuff they had left and showed it to me, they simply said “The men were dead, we took their stuff before someone else would get it, we know now that we must not steal any white man stuff.”

In conclusion I might mention we were dealing with a still practically primitive people, a people who six years ago were discovered living in what might be termed a Stone Age, and hidden away in the vast sub-arctic spaces of the Northland of Canada.

C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.

The Commissioner

R.N.W.M.P.

Regina

Forwarded for your information

Sgd, A.E.C. McDonell, Supt.,

Commanding “N” Division.

Peace River Sep. 7-1916.

## 28. Inspector C.D. La Nauze — Crime Report Regarding Rifle Secured at Eskimo Sinnissiak’s Camp, 7 June 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol.175, file 541-2-5*

Royal Northwest Mounted Police.

“N” Division

Athabasca

Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.

June 7th 1916.

CRIME REPORT

Re The Murder of the Missing Priests The Rev. Fathers Le Roux And  
Rouvière.

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While in Victoria Land on May 15<sup>th</sup> my Guide Uluksuk Mayuk secured for me an Octagon barrellled .45 cal[ibre] rifle at the camp we arrested the murderer Sinnisiak.

Regarding the rifle Uluksuk Mayuk made the following statement.

May 15<sup>th</sup> 1916

That is the white man's rifle who used to live on Lake Imaerinik. I know the rifle well. It was traded for by the Eskimo Ikpuksuk on behalf of Kirkpuk his adopted son to the Eskimo Kormik for a telescope that came from the East, and I took it from Kirkpuk's tent and left my own 30 30 rifle in its place.

Sgd Ilavinik Interpreter.

Witness W.V. Bruce. Corpl.

Sgd C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

Note. I have no doubt that this is the rifle mentioned by Indian Harry and by the Bear Lake Indians, it answers to the description and I have little doubt that this is the rifle that Sinnisiak shot Father Rouvière with. It is a 44 octagon barrellled rifle Winchester No. 42551.

I of course had to purchase the rifle from the Eskimo Kirkpuk who states he got it from Kormik, and as Uluksuk Mayuk gave Kirkpuk his own rifle in exchange the Canadian Arctic Expedition let me have a 30.30 rifle to give to him. It is shown on the Expeditions Account of our supplies.

Sgd C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

## 29. Inspector C. D. La Nauze—Forwarding Statements Taken From “Copper” Eskimos, Before the Arrest of Prisoners, 9 June 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 2161, file 29-1; LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5; reprinted in 1916 RNWMP Report*

Great Bear Lake Patrol  
Bernard Harbour, N.W.T.  
June 9th 1916.

RE: THE MURDER OF THE MISSING PRIESTS THE REV.  
FATHERS ROUVIÈRE AND LE ROUX.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
“N” Division,  
Athabasca.

Sir:

I have the honour to enclose all the statements taken from the Copper Eskimos in connection with the murder of the Missing Priests.

All these statements were taken before we arrested the murderers from the Eskimos camped between Cape Lambert and Bernard Harbour.

It will be seen that we had secured strong circumstantial evidence before we effected their arrest and had a good case even if the murderers had not confessed to their guilt at their Preliminary hearings.

As these people have no conception of writing I did not get them to make their marks on papers. What they told me was the truth and they all told me the same story and said “We will always speak the same.”

I could have taken more corroborative statements from the men’s wives and other Eskimos but I was in too great a hurry to effect the arrest of the murderers at the time as we had no time to lose.

The statements are the result of many hours painstaking interpreting for which I give Special Constable Ilavinik all credit.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your Obedient Servant,  
C.D. La Nauze, Inspt.  
I/C Patrol.

R. N. W. M. Police

“N” Division  
Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol  
Island at Mouth of  
Coppermine River  
May 22nd 1916.

CRIME REPORT  
RE

Murder of the Missing Priests the Rev. Fathers Rouviere and Le Roux.

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Eskimo Angebrunna states as follows: —

I knew the two white men well named Ilogoak (Father Le Roux) and Kulearvik (Father Rouvière) and they were good friends of mine.

Three winters ago they came right to this place where we are now from Imaerinik with many Eskimos. The white men and Kormik had one tent. I cannot remember the people who came with them. I went ahead of the two white men.

The two white men stopped five days and five nights with us. The sun was very low at that time and the ice was not yet strong for spearing seals.

It was one night after the two white men left to go back South that the two men Uluksuk and Sinnisiak went after them. They said they were going to help the people coming from the Dismal Lakes. It was in the night they started and I did not see them go.

I cannot remember in how many days Sinnisiak and Uluksak came back. I cannot tell you straight. When I woke up in the morning the people told me Sinnisiak and Uluksak had murdered the two white men. We were all very sorry. Sinnisiak and Uluksak had the priests' two rifles. In the afternoon the people took the rifles away from them. The people were very sorry and did not like to see the two men with the good white mens' [*sic*] rifles. Sinnisiak cried when the rifle was taken away from him. Sinnisiak and Uluksak took the two white mens' [*sic*] powder and cartridges.

After this I went with Koeha, Kormik, and Kallun to get the white mens' [*sic*] stuff. The same day as we left we got to the place where the dead men were. It was the other side of Bloody Falls on the West bank of the river. I know the place and can show it to you. I do not think there would



be any of the white men's bones there as the animals would have eaten them.

I saw the dead man Ilogoak lying by the sled. There was blood on his body. I did not look very close. There was snow on his body.

I took two small pots and some matches from the sled. The same evening we came back to the mouth of the river.

Last summer I saw the sled and the lower jaw of Ilogoak. I do not know where the other body is.

Witness and Interpreter.

Sd. M. Ilavinik.

Sd. C.D. La Nauze, Insp.

NOTE.

This young man gave a straightforward statement but I do not think he would have if he had not known we knew all about it. He was camped at Kugaryuk when we arrived there on May 2nd. Like the other Eskimos he was very weak as regards time.

It is curious to note that this statement was taken on the identical island where the unfortunate priests camped with the Eskimos before starting back on their fatal trip.

Sd. C.D. LA NAUZE, Insp.  
I/C Patrol.

R. N. W. M. POLICE.

"N" Division.

Great Bear Lake Patrol,  
Cape Lambert, N.W.T.  
May 8th 1916.

CRIME REPORT

RE

The Murder of the Missing Priests Rev. Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux.

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**Ohomik, Eskimo states as follows:**

A long time ago I carried a letter for the white man "Joke", (Captain Joe Bernard) and gave it to the Indian Towier at Bear Lake. I traded with white

men who stopped at Bear Lake. I also knew a white man named "Hornybeena" (Hornby) who stopped at Imaerinik. We were afraid of Hornybeena because he might think that we had killed the two white men and then he would kill us.

In the fall the two white men Ilogoak (Father Le Roux) and Kuelavik (Father Rouvière) went with many people to the sea. Hupo and Kormik were with them and many other sleds. I was behind with a heavy load and hunted east of Dismal Lakes with Ekkeshuina Nachin. We left Imaerinik before the snow came. We travelled very slowly to the coast and the people had left the mouth of the river when we got there. We followed their trail east and got to Kogaryuk where there were many people. They told us that Uluksak and Sinnisiak had murdered Ilogoak and Kuelavik. Uluksak and Sinnisiak were there and Uluksak told everyone what had happened and said Sinnisiak had told him "Come on you had better kill these men." Sinnisiak said nothing, I was afraid to tell any white man before. I was afraid they would kill us. I saw Uluksak eastward where I was stopping this winter. I do not know where he is now. We were all very sorry for the two good white men, they used to bring us powder and lead.

Signed. Ilavinik. Interpreter.

(Signed). C. D. La Nauze, Insp.

NOTE. A very honest man who has a good reputation with the Canadian Arctic Expedition and is commonly known as Bernard's man as he worked for Captain Bernard who spent two winters in the Straits with his schooner "Teddy Bear". He is the man who carried the letter which eventually reached the Roman Catholic Mission at Fort Norman and suggested a mission being established in the Gulf.

Ekkeshuina, Nachin, their wives, and Ohomik's wife corroborated his statement as they were all present at the time.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze. Insp.

I/C Patrol.

R. N. W. M. POLICE.

“N” Division  
Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol.  
Cape Lambert.  
Dolphin and Union Straits.  
May 8th 1916.

CRIME REPORT  
RE

Murder of the Missing Priests: Rev. Fathers Rouviere and Le Roux.

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Arannahea, Eskimo, wife of Koeha, states as follows: —

Three winters ago I was at the mouth of the Coppermine River and what Koeha says is true.

A man named Kormik wanted to kill the two white men and I and my husband stopped them. I saw the white mens' sled loaded up and ready to start. The white men had been living in Kormik's tent.

(Signed) Ilavinik. Interpreter.  
Witness W.V. Bruce. Corpl.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze. Insp.

Note. A most amusing and intelligent woman. I could have secured a longer statement from her had I had the time.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze. Insp.  
I/C Patrol.

**Hupo (Eskimo) states as follows: —**

There were three white men who lived in a house on Imaerinik, we called one of them Ilogoak, Father Le Roux, and the other Kuleavik, Father Rouvière. The other white man named Hornybeena (Hornby) started back for Bear Lake in the fall. My Brother Kormick was hunting for Ilogoak.

Ilogoak talked to me in the Summer and told me he wanted to see the Coast. Ilogoak was about the same size as you, and had a small moustache and beard. Kuleavik had a short beard and was about the size of Ilavinik.

These two men were telling us about the land above the skies. They showed us coloured pictures of Heaven and they said that after we died we would go there. They used to sing just like the Eskimos when they make medicine. They held our hands and taught us to make the sign of the Cross and they put a little bread sometimes in my mouth.

The white men could talk our language well. They were not sick when they came with us, and came with my brother Kormik's sled to the coast and lived in his tent. We travelled across the Barren Lands as it was shorter than going by the woods. There were many sleds with us including Koomuck, Neooktellik, Kingoralik, Uluksak, and Sinnisiak.

There were many families and tents for each family travelling with us.

We camped one night in the Coppermine River and the next day reached the Coast and camped on an Island in the Mouth. We met other people who had reached the coast already when we got there, including Koeha, Itegitak, and Kiteroon. The two white men stayed some time with I do not know how many. My head is not good to remember. We did not have much dog feed as we were so slow coming to the coast.

I went fishing, and when I came back I saw that the white men had already started back up the River and I saw them a little way off. I never saw the two white men again. The next day I started with my wife Ohoviluk to hunt caribou. I came back some time afterwards and there were many people and everybody was talking. The people told me that the two white men had been killed by Uluksuk and Sinnisiak. I was very very sorry and I did not sleep all that night. Sinnisiak had the white mans rifle in his hand and I took it from him by strength, I did not like to see this man with the good white man's stuff. I talked to him and I made him cry. I asked Sinnisiak "Why did you kill the two white men" and he said, "They were going to kill me, Ilogoak had his hand on a knife all the time I was afraid, and I killed him."

It was in the morning that I took the rifle from Sinnisiak. I would have killed him if I had not got it from him, and then I thought I would not kill him as someone would kill my brother then. Sinnisiak wanted to kill Hornybeena in the summertime. Sinnisiak and Kosuktuk went to Bear Lake with Hornybeena. Hornybeena dropped a sealskin line and Sinnisiak picked it up and wanted to keep it. Hornybeena saw him with it and took it back from him and Sinnisiak wanted to kill him.

Sinnisiak is a bad man everyone says so and he told me lies.

The white men were killed three winters ago in the short days of the first winter. They told me they only came to see the Coast and after they would come around by the sea in a big boat and bring plenty of stuff.

I traded the rifle after my heart felt better.

I took much stuff from the white mens houses at Bear Lake last Summer and I will show it to you. Hornybeena brought a bow and arrows from me.

Signed Ilavinik Interpreter.

Sgd C.D. La Nauze. Inspt.

In charge of Patrol.

Note. —

This man gave a very direct statement and produced many articles that he had taken from the houses at Bear Lake, I warned him carefully as to future thefts and told him not to sell any of the stuff as I might want it some day.

I was not in the position to take any of the stolen articles then and they were quite open about the theft. He is also well known by the Bear Lake Indians. His old Father Ajune was also at this camp which corroborates the Indian Woman Aranmores' statement that the two Eskimos who were to accompany the Priests had an old Father. His voluntary description of the unfortunate Priests show how much the Eskimo grasped the meaning of their teaching. I could get no trace whatever of any diary or pocket book ever seen in the possession of the priests. The Eskimos stated they had sometimes seen the priests writing, but had not taken any of these books. Kormick upon being asked for any books immediately said he had one he had found it in their house and produced an ancient "Red Book" Magazine.

(Signed) C. D. La Nauze. Inspr.

**Uluksak, Alias Mayuk states as follows; —**

I knew the two white men very well who lived at Imaerinik and at Great Bear Lake and they told me to go East and get Musk-ox skins for them. They told me they might visit the Coast. I went East and hunted East that summer, and came to east of the Coppermine River in the winter. I wanted

to see the white men again and I had musk-ox skins. Here the people told me that Uluksuk and Sinnisiak had killed the two white men Ilogoak (Father le Roux) and Kuleavik (Father Rouvière). I was very sorry. When the sun was high up and the snow was a little wet I went to Bear Lake with my two wives and Father. I stopped there a long time near the house but did not see any people. I had traded my rifle East, so I had no rifle, and I knew the white men had another rifle so I went to their house on Bear Lake and took it. I found the bolt broken and I mended it and I took several cartridges also and clothing and matches.

I have the rifle now in my camp and will give it to you if you want it. I do not need it now. When the hair of the caribou falls out I went back to Dismal Lake and there I met Ohomik who had a Kyak [*sic*] there. Later on we went back to Bear Lake and met two white men named Hibo (Hodgson) and Arlee (Mr. D'Arcy Arden.) I wanted to tell Hibo and Arlee about the priests being dead, but I could not make them understand. Arlee wanted to go with me to the Coast and I did not want him to go as I was afraid he might be killed too.

I never told anyone about this before although I was asked. I was afraid. I am not afraid of Andese (Dr. Anderson) but I was afraid if I told him he would tell the other white men and they would kill us all. Hornybeena (Hornby) had told me once that if the Eskimos killed one white man the white men would come and kill every one of the Eskimos.

I took plenty of clothing from the white men's house on Great Bear Lake. I thought that if I did not take it some other Eskimos or Indians would take it. I finished the cartridges and now I load them up.

I found the place where the two white men were killed after looking a long time with my father and wives. First I found the sled and then I found a man's jaw bone close to it. My father was very sorry and put it away on a high place. The other body was a little way off in a creek. I saw some clothing, the mud had covered it up. The bones may be there now, I know the place and I will take you to it.

Williken (Mr. Wilkins Canadian Arctic Expedition) told me three white men and one Eskimo were coming from Bear Lake. I am not afraid now. Natkusiak had told me of Ilavinik. I carry this in my head for a long time and now I am not talking foolish.

The two white men had .44 cal[ibre] rifles one had a round barrel and the other was octagon. The octagon barrelled rifle I think is in Victoria Land where Sinnisiak my cousin has it now.

Not long ago I saw Sinnisiak's Camp a long way out on the ice with my telescope. I will go with you and help you to get him, he wanted to kill me once. I know Uluksuk. He is east now.

(Signed) Ilavinik. Interpreter.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze, Insp.  
In charge of patrol.

Note. — This man's statement entirely clears up the theft of the Priests' effects at Great Bear Lake. The rifle he has is an 8 m Mauser which Arden saw with him in 1914 and noticed the bolt had been repaired by him. His must have been the sled track seen by Arden in the spring of 1914. This man is the notorious "Illoogaa" which all the Bear Lake Indians speak about. He had two wives at the time but now has three. He was who was seen wearing the Priests' cassock which he told me he had got from the house on Great Bear Lake. He is about the smartest of the Eskimo and has been of some use to the Canadian Arctic Expedition, although they state he is a shifty character and have no great confidence in him. He however was very useful in guiding me to Sinnisiak's camp which he did quite voluntarily and seemed hugely delighted when we got him safely away. He said at the time if Sinnisiak wanted to fight "I will help you." He also secured for me the Priests' .44 cal[ibre] rifle and identified it.

This man is useful and will speak when he knows it will pay him as his business instincts are more strongly developed than the other Eskimos.

He also accompanied Constable Wight to the scene of the murder. Further notes on this man accompany my Crime Report on the Radford and Street murder.

Signed. C.D. La Nauze. Insp.  
In charge of Patrol.

**Koeha (Eskimo) States as follows: —**

The two white men that were killed came with us in the Fall to the Mouth of the Coppermine River. They came from the Imaerinil<sup>9</sup> [*sic*]

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<sup>9</sup> Lake Imaerinik in the Dismal Lakes region.

across the Barren grounds with a sled and they reached the coast when the ice was not yet strong.

The two white men were Kuleavik, Father Rouvière, and Ilogoak, Father Le Roux. Kuleavik had a short black beard about three inches long, and he was not much shorter than Ilavinik and about one foot shorter than you are.

Ilogoak was more bigger than the other man, he had a small moustache and a small beard.

Both men wore long black coats buttoned down in front to the feet both men could talk good in our language, when we talked together we could understand them.

Eight tents went to the Coast with the Priests including Kormik, Hupo, Uluksuk, Sinnisiak, Angebrunna, Koomuk, and Adjune.

A white man named Hornybeena (Hornby) went back to Bear Lake and Ilogoak and Kuleavik came this way with the people. I was ahead of these people with my wife Arannahea.

The white men stayed with us for five nights. They lived in the tent with Kormik, Kormik took the Priests' rifle and hid it in a corner of the tent. Ilogoak found the rifle and got very angry with Kormik. Kormik got very angry and I watched him. He wanted to kill the white man. I am speaking the truth and am not talking foolish. I did not want to see the good white men killed and I helped them to get away. I helped them to load up the sled. I held Kormik close to the door of the tent by force and after that I told Kormik's mother Kigeuna "You hold your son I go outside." I stood outside the door. I hurried up the priests to pack their sled and they were talking together quickly. Neochtellig helped me to get the white men started, and I started with them pulling the sled in the harness. The white men had two dogs of their own and one they got from me and one from Noweina.

I went up the river with them as far as I could see the tops of the tents behind. Then I said to the two white men, "There are no trees here and you go as far as you can and after that you can travel easy. I like you and I do not want anyone to hurt you." Ilogoak was running ahead of the sled and Kuleavik was driving the sled. He shook hands with me. The sun was very low when the white men left and there was not much daylight at that time.

In two nights after the white men left, two men named Uluksuk and Sinnisiak left to go after them, some people knew that they started as they



said they were going to help some people coming from Bear Lake. They took dogs and no sled. These men caught up with the priests and stayed with them for one day. The next day Uluksuk and Sinnisiak started ahead and the white men stayed in camp, the two white men had no tent it was cold weather.

The two Eskimos came back the same night and camped with the white men again. The next morning the white men started and Uluksuk and Sinnisiak went with them.

They went to a place near Bloody Falls where there is a creek and two small lakes on the west bank of the Coppermine River. They were all walking along. Sinnisiak took a knife and stabbed Ilogoak in the back. Kuleavik started to run away and Sinnisiak told Uluksuk "you finish this man I will shoot the other". Sinnisiak grabbed the white man's rifle and shot Kuleavik. Sinnisiak never wanted to kill the white men for their stuff and the white men never troubled any of the Eskimos.

Sinnisiak and Uluksuk each took a rifle and came back to the mouth of the river, I saw them with the rifles.

I asked Uluksuk "What did you kill the white men for" and he said "I did not want to kill them Sinnisiak told me to kill them." I asked him if he eat any part of the man, the same as he would do if he killed a caribou and he said, "I eat some of his guts."

The two men that killed the good white men do not belong to my people. All the Coppermine River people are very sorry.

Uluksuk and Sinnisiak came back in the night. I think they were away five nights.

After this five people went up after the Priests' stuff named Kormik, Toopek, Kallun, Angebrunna and Kinorlik. There were two men and three women. They started for the place but turned back as they could not get there, then four of us started to go for the place, there was Kormik, Angebrunna, Toopek and myself. I was very sorry that the two white men had been killed and I wanted to go and see them.

I wanted to go and get my dog which the two men who had killed the priests had left behind. When we got to the place I saw one man dead lying by the sled. It was Ilogoak and I cried. I did not see Kuleavik the snow had covered Ilogoak's face all but his nose, he was lying on his back beside the sled with his head up. The man that had killed him had cut up his breast and all inside was cut up with a knife.

I did not see the other white man, Uluksuk told me he had run away and Sinnisiak shot him and cut off his neck and one leg and his breast with an axe. We eat a little of the white mans food. I went to get my dog and to see what way they killed the white men. I look for a long time to tell this to someone for someone to speak for me and now I speak.

I took the two dogs and a small pot about five inches high and one pair of whiteman's boots and a small cod line and I put these inside the pot. The other stuff Kormik, Angebrunna and Toopek took.

They took all the clothing, shirts and pants. Kormik told me I had better take some more stuff. I was afraid. I liked Kuleavik very much, I was afraid of the white men finding this out. The white men were very good to us and gave us ammunition, cod lines and gilling twine.

The white men had an Eskimo sled that they got from Uluksuk. I know the place well. I will take you to the place. I do not think the bodies would be there, some animals might have taken them, but I know the place well and I will take you there.

I kept the little pot a long time and only lately gave it away to Kiooanna who is in Victoria Land. I wore the boots until I threw them away. The sled was left with the dead men. None of us saw the other dead man. Sinnisiak and Uluksuk told all the people that they had killed the white men and how they had done it. The white men had two rifles and one double barrellled muzzle loading gun.

Sinnisiak went back to Victoria Land. Uluksuk lives Eastward.

I stopped the next winter Eastward. Winter came and I came to here.

Summer came again and I went to Iमारinik and now summer is coming again. After this the people did not like to see Uluksuk and Sinnisiak with the good white men's stuff, and Hupo took the rifle away from Sinnisiak by force and made him cry. Kormik took the rifle away from Uluksuk. The rifle was traded many times. I do not know where the rifle is now.

Kormik has two tongues I will go with you when you go to see him and listen if he speaks the truth. He speaks lies.

(Signed) Ilavinik Interpreter.

Witness W. V. Bruce, Corpl.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze, Inspector,  
In charge of Patrol.

Note. — I consider this man one of the chief witnesses for the prosecution. He seemed to want to help us in every way and spoke in a very straightforward manner. He is quite an elderly man. When I went on to the next camp to interview Kormik he came along, and during the time I was taking Kormik's statement we observed him watching Kormik closely.

He volunteered to accompany me to Victoria Land and afterwards guided Constable Wight to the scene of the murder.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze. Inspector.

**Koglugouga (Eskimo) states as follows: —**

I know Lake Imeinik,<sup>10</sup> a man named Anowteltek had made fire in a house there to dry some meat in the fall of 1914. The man went away and other Eskimos told him afterwards that the house was burnt down and Anowteltek was very sorry for this.

Kormik and Hupo who are brothers told me this and not Anowteltek. I think Anowteltek is in Victoria Land now.

Two summers before this happened I saw a white man named Hornybenna (evidently Hornby) very sick at Imerinik, I tried to help him and he got better and went South. After that an Indian woman told me two white men with long beards were going to look for huskies but I did not see them.

The two white men came to the coast in the winter to this place when "Joke" (Joe Bernard) was here with a ship.

I have made five trips to Bear Lake.

Witness and Interpreter Ilavinik.

(Sgd) C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

Note: — This was the first statement taken by the Patrol from Eskimos. Father Frapsance told me at one time that Hornby was very ill once at Imaerinik and Father Le Roux nursed him.

The two white men who came to the Kugaryut were Stefansson and Dr. Anderson in April 1911, who visited Capt. Joe Bernard, who wintered there in 1910-11 with his schooner "Teddy Bear".

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<sup>10</sup> Imaerinik.

It seemed to me while at this camp that the people knew something of the Priests but were afraid to tell it, however here I did not do any direct questioning. The old man this statement was taken from was honest and hospitable. He looked after a cache for us that we left here.

Sgd. C.D. La Nauze. Inspector.

**Ikey (Ingoticiak) Eskimo states as follows:**

On April 26 1916, I saw an Eskimo named Kattak in Artic [*sic*] Sound he had a long white surplice the same as the missionaries wear to the Westward in Alaska. He told me he had got it from Victoria Land that winter from another Eskimo named Anowtellek. His brother Kautak was also with him.

Note: — This must be one of the Church Shirts as interpreted by Ilavinik that Sinnisiak said in his statement Kormik had sold to Anowtellek. Anowtellek sold it to Kattak who was seen by Mr. Johansen in Victoria Land and afterwards down in the Artic [*sic*] Sound by Ikey. This goes to show the range of the Eskimos and how property travels.

Ikey made no attempt to get the shirt.

These are the two men mentioned by Uluksuk (Mayuk) who accompanied Radford and Street from Anniaksiorvik to Koguit.

(Sgd) C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

**Ohoviluk (Eskimo) Wife of Hupo states as follows: —**

I came to the coast three winters ago with my husband. The two white men Ilogoak (Father Le Roux) and Kuleavik (Father Rouvière) came with us from Imaerinik. What my husband has told you about them is correct.

The white men only stopped a few days at the coast with us. I fixed their boots, and their mittens when they got there and frequently sewed for them.

(Signed) Ilavinik. Interpreter.

Witness. W.V. Bruce Corporal.

(Signed) C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

Note: — An intelligent woman who had a better idea of the time than her husband. She of course was present when I took the statement from Hupo.

Sgd. C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

**Kallun (Eskimo) Wife of Kormik states as follows: —**

I was with my husband all the time and what he has spoken to you is true.

Anowtellek told me he was making dry meat at the house at Imaerinik he said he lit a fire and kept the fire there all the time and after he left he took away the ashes. Afterwards the house was burnt.

This happened two winters ago.

(Signed) Ilavinik. Interpreter.

Witness W.V. Bruce Corpl.

Sgd. C.D. La Nauze. Inspt.

Note: — An intelligent woman though she did not strike me as being honest. She was better than her husband on dates, I did not happen to run across Anowtellek on our travels so could not interview him.

(Sgd) C.D. La Nauze. Inspr.

### 30. Inspector C.D. La Nauze, Crime Report re: Eskimo Kormik, 10 June 1916

*Source: LAC RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Bernard Harbour,  
June 10th, 1916.

#### CRIME REPORT.

Re Eskimo Kormik. Attempted Murder of the Rev. Father LeRoux.

The statements enclosed will give you what information I gather re the above.

I did not press the matter at the time as I was then too intent upon arresting of the Priests' Murderers and I had no time to lose.

Kormik was also an important Witness for the Prosecution and I did not want to frighten him any more than he was at the time he gave me his

statement. The evidence received does not state that Kormik made any direct attack upon the Priests. Koeha merely states that he held him after that he called on Kormik's mother to hold him which she did.

As Kormik is a big powerful man he could if he wanted to have escaped from their clutches.

Kormik himself denied point blank that he ever had any trouble with the Priests. Perhaps if I had had time for more careful investigation I might have found out some more details re this, but at the time I had not the opportunity and later on the Eskimos were scattered far and wide.

However it seems strange that these two Eskimo Kormik and Hupo who were evidently the Priests' right hand men should have taken possession of the Priests' rifles from the Murderers after the murder and later on traded them.

Both Murderers in their statements state that Kormik wanted to kill the Priests before they left the mouth of the Coppermine River.

Sgd. C.D.La Nauze. Insp.  
In charge of Patrol.

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M.P.  
Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) A.E.C.McDonell. Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.

Peace River,  
Sept. 7th, 1916.

Re Murder of the Missing Priests Father Le Roux & Rouviere.

Kormik Eskimo, states as follows:-

I worked for the white man Ilogoak (Father Le Roux) by hunting for him, he would give me cartridges and I would bring him Caribou skins, we were good friends. He did not pay me in any other way.

He and Kuleavik Father Rouviere came with me to the sea three winters ago. They lived in my tent. They stopped some days at the mouth of the Coppermine River with me. They eat Caribou meat and white man's grub. I did not kill any caribou on the coast and they were short of grub and told

me they were going back for that reason. They were good friends with me when they left.

Keesha went with them for a short way. After some nights two men named Uluksuk and Sinnisiak told me they were going towards Bear Lake to help the people who were still on the road.

I cant remember in how many nights they came back but it was not many.

When Uluksuk and Sinnisiak came back Sinnisiak came to my tent and told me "The whitemen no more, we killed them". We were sleeping when he came in and he put on my clothes. I then wanted to kill Sinnisiak, and I nearly did only my wife stopped me, her name is Kallun. I was very sorry and would have killed him if my wife had not stopped me.

In the morning, Uluksuk came to me and was very sorry I can't remember all he said and he said "I took the Priests rifle and you had better take it." Uluksuk told everyone the same story of how they killed the white men. Sinnisiak never told of how he killed them he told different stories all the time.

I took the rifle from Uluksuk and gave him mine. It was a 44 octagon barrelled rifle and I traded it since. I then took the rifle and went after the white man's stuff with Kallun, Angebrunna and Koeha. Previous to this I went before with Angebrunna, Toopek, Kallun, and Kingoralik, we did not get there because we saw a big fire in the sky and were afraid. We went again after one nights sleep, we travelled fast and were running and got back to our camp after dark.

We followed the trail and came to an Eskimo sled and found Ilogoak lying beside it on the left hand side. He was dead and was lying on his back with his face towards the sky. I did not see the body good because I was so sorry, there was blood all over his body. He had a caribou skin shirt on and white man's pants. I did not find the other white man.

The shirt was made by my brothers wife, Ohoviluk.

I took the caribou shirt from the sled, dog bells, a long white shirt which I sold, a plate and matches. That was all I took I can remember. The body was covered with snow I took a blanket and put it over the body. We then went back. This was three winters ago, when the sun was very low and the sea ice not very strong.

Last summer I found a man's jaw bone there and the sled was there yet. It must be Ilogoak's jaw bone. I looked for the other body last year in the

bottom of a little creek. I saw some clothing, but no body. I know the place well I will show you the place if you want to go there.

I took an axe, a mosquito bar, a white blanket and an empty powder can from the white man's house at Great Bear Lake last summer. I can't remember all I took and I sold some of the<sup>11</sup> to Jenne (Mr. Jenness C.A.E.) at the place where the ship is close to here.

Sgd Ilavinik Interpreter.

Witness W.V.Bruce. Corpl.

Note:

[Kormick's] story corroborated the others and it will be seen that he is a most important witness.

I do not [believe] that this man would have told the story if he had not discovered that we had already learned of the murders. He seemed frightened, and has not an honest appearance. He is no doubt the man who lived with the Priests while at Imaerinik as he is well known by the Bear Lake Indians. His confession of taking the stuff from the Houses on Bear Lake accounts for the theft of the Priests' effects reported by Indian Harry. He does not bear a good reputation in Coronation Gulf. He denies he ever had any trouble with the Priests but I did not press him on this point as time was valuable to me then.

Kormick's statement as to the fire in the sky when they started for the scene of the murder and turned back may be the result of a guilty conscience coupled with the imagination of a primitive man.

(Sgd) C.D.LaNauze. Inspt.

In charge of Patrol.

### **31. Constable J. E. F. Wight — Visit to the Scene of the Murder of Reverend Fathers Le Roux and Rouvière, 20 June 1916**

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

Dease Bay, Great Bear Lake Patrol,

June 20. 1916.

The Officer Commanding,

R. N. W. M. Police,

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<sup>11</sup> Word missing in the original.



Athabaska.

REPORT re MISSING PRIESTS.

Sir, — I have the honour to submit the following report re instructions received from Inspector La Nauze on an island in Coronation gulf about ten miles from the mouth of Coppermine river.

On May 23 1916, accompanied by Special Constable Ilivinik and dog teams Nos. 1 and 2, I returned from the island to the mouth of Coppermine river.

I camped there to await the arrival of the Eskimos from off the ice and take two, Kormik and Uluksak (Mayok) by name, to show me the place where Fathers Rouvière and Le Roux met their death.

The snow had disappeared so we spent the time in preparing to pack the dogs and ourselves for the return trip to the base at Dease bay.

The Eskimos, Kormik arrived May 28 and Uluksak arrived May 30, and on June 1, we proceeded to find where the priests were killed, after abandoning our two sleds, eight dog harness, two sled wrappers, and one deer-skin robe.

We came to the place on June 3, a.m., the place being about fifteen miles inland from the mouth of the Coppermine, and about one hundred yards from the edge of the west bank. As the day was stormy and the place too wet to camp at I spent about two hours there, then moved our outfit on about half a mile and pitched our tent.

Next day I returned to the scene of the fathers' murder and made a careful search of the place and surroundings, with the following results : —

The first objects that I saw were the two runners of a sled that the Eskimos Kormik and Uluksak said belonged to the priests. The runners were made of heavy timber about five feet long, about a foot high and two inches thick.

About three feet away from them lay the teeth from the lower jaw of a human being, still compact and in good condition. Uluksak said the teeth and sled were placed there by his father who had shifted them from the lower ground to a higher spot.

He also said the teeth belonged to Father Le Roux, who had died by the sled.

On being asked where Le Roux died he took me about twenty yards towards the river and showed me the spot which was easily recognized as a

place where some body had been chewed by animals, as there were numerous very fine bone splinters strewn about.

I collected the following articles about the place: One shake buckle with part of a canvas belt, one piece of blanket, one piece of canvas, three pieces of pair of pants, one piece of sweater, one weather-worn diary (last entry about sixteenth or seventeenth of October), pieces of literature in French language, and three empty rifle shells from a .44 Winchester.

These articles will be forwarded to headquarters with report.

I did not make a grave at the spot where the Father Le Roux died, as we had no implements to work the soil, which was frozen very hard.

I marked the place by placing a cross about two feet high and putting one sled runner at the foot of the cross; after doing so I asked to be shown where the other priest died.

Uluksuk took me about one hundred yards up the river and showed me a large clay hole and said the other priest had laid in the bottom of it.

As there was still over six feet of ice and snow in the place I was unable to get to the bottom of it, and there being no caribou in that part of the country for our dogs I could not stay there until the ice melted from the hole.

I also marked the place with a cross and placed the other sled runner at the foot of it on the west bank of the hole. The place can easily be found by any one travelling along the bank of the Coppermine at that part of it.

The photograph films of the scene and its surroundings will be forwarded to headquarters. I am inexperienced in adjusting a camera, so am not sure they will prove a success.

After placing all the articles collected in a bag I returned to camp and started for our cache about 12 miles further up the river, which I found safe, and after packing dogs and ourselves I took a course southwest to Dismal lake, at which I arrived on the 9th of June, and camped for the day to rest our dogs.

On the 10th we broke camp, a.m., and got to lake Imerak (the priests' base on the Barrens), p.m., and camped.

At 1 p.m. of the 11th we broke camp and started for our base at Dease bay, where we arrived at 1 a.m. of June 14.

The distance overland from mouth of Coppermine to Dease bay I estimated at about 160 miles.

On May 24 the Coppermine river was free of ice and throwing water on the ice in Coronation gulf freely.

On the 30th ice was clear of water and the river was flowing under the ice, and snow on land had disappeared. Travelling was wet, one being in about 4 inches of water and moss continually.

Fifteen miles from the mouth of the Coppermine river the country rises continually in ridge upon ridge of hills to Dismal lake and between the ridges are numerous small lakes and streams, which abound in trout and grayling.

The streams can be waded through easily and the ice on the lakes is good for crossing on until the middle part of June.

On the 10th June the ice on Dismal lake and lake Imerak was about two feet thick, except around the edge, which was open about 100 feet from the beach. Transportation across open space can safely be made by large pieces of ice floating about.

In travelling through the country the Dismal lake can be discerned easily by the large depression in the country about it, it being far the largest lake in that part of the Coppermine and Bear lake country.

At this time of the year the migration of the caribou to the islands in the Arctic is over, and a few remain in the country, but we were successful in procuring sufficient to feed our dogs with.

Approximate distance travelled on return to Dease bay from island at mouth of Coppermine river, 171 miles.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
J. E. F. WIGHT,  
Constable.

### 32. C.D. La Nauze to Officer Commanding "N" Division, Athabasca, 1 August 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

ROYAL NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE.

"N" Division.

Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol.

Herschel Island, Y.T.

August, 1st, 1916.

The Officer Commanding,  
R. N. W. M. Police,  
Athabasca, Alta.

Sir:-

I have the honour to report that so far no publicity has been given to this case and I issued orders to my men returning to Fort Norman not to divulge any of the facts. Of course the news cannot help but leak out in some manner, probably causing facts to be greatly distorted.

Mr. George Wilkins, Official photographer to the Canadian Government who arrived at Bernard Harbour on June 15th, from Banks Land, has asked my permission to publish some of the facts of this case. Mr. Wilkins also represents, "The London Chronicle", ["The New York Times", and the "Toronto Globe". I informed Mr. Wilkins that I had no authority to give him permission and I hoped to consult you on the matter when I arrived to Headquarters. I find now that I will not have the opportunity of consulting you so respectfully ask you to give Mr. Wilkins the necessary permission if you think so fit.

Mr. Wilkins is a man to be trusted, has been one of our kind hosts and has promised me to publish nothing until he receives the necessary authority from you. His Address is:-

G. Wilkins,  
c/o Naval Service Dept.  
Ottawa.

If you will let him know your decision as soon as possible he will be greatly obliged.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.  
Commanding MacKenzie River Sub-District.

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M.Police,  
Regina, Sask.

Forwarded for your information.

I have not communicated with Mr. Wilkins.

(Sd) A.E.C.McDonell,

Supt.

Commanding "N" Division.

Peace River. -- --Sept. 7, 1916.

### 33. Inspector C. D. La Nauze — Forwarding Original Depositions of the Preliminary Hearings of the two Eskimo Prisoners, "Sinnisiak" and "Uluksak," 1 August 1916

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

Herschel Island, Y.T.

August 1st, 1916.

The Officer Commanding,

"N" Division,

R.N.W.M. Police,

Athabasca.

Sir:

I have the honour to forward you the original depositions of the Preliminary hearings of the two murderers Uluksuk and Sinnisiak.

I presume you will forward them to the proper authorities as I do not know the correct person to send them to.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sd) C. D. La Nauze, Inspt.

In Charge of Patrol.

The Commissioner, )  
R.N.W.M. Police, ) FORWARDED for your information.  
Regina. ) (Sd) A. E. C. McDonell,  
Supt.  
Commanding "N" Division.  
Peace River September 6<sup>th</sup> 1916.

### 34. Report of Inspector C.D. La Nauze — His arrival at Herschell Island with Prisoners, 1 August 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5; 1916 RNWMP Report*

"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Herschel Island,  
August 1, 1916.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
"N" Division,  
Athabasca.

Sir,

I have the honour to report that I arrived here on July 28, accompanied by Reg. No. 4600, Corpl. Bruce per the C.G.S. "Alaska" from the Dolphin and Union straits.

I sent my party back by Fort Norman while I was obliged to come by the western route on account of my Prisoners, which we have safely landed here.

It was my intention to proceed with the Expedition ship to Nome and report to Headquarters with all speed, but upon my arrival here I was met by Acting Asst. Surgeon Doyle, Constables Cornelius and Lamont, Ex-constable Parsons, and Mr. C. W. Dawson, all of whom informed me that I was to take over this Sub District. There was of course no mail for me here as I was naturally expected to return by Fort Norman. I was of course greatly surprised, not to mention disappointed as well, but I would not feel justified in continuing my journey as I am confident it is your wish for me to remain here.

I am therefore asking my ex kind host Dr. Anderson to send you a wireless message from Nome Alaska, telling you the results of the Great Bear Patrol and my intention of staying here.

No doubt my party upon arrival at Fort Norman, will hear this news also and I hear one Constable is to be left at Fort Norman while I was to leave the other with Sergt. Edgenton, who is now alone at Fort McPherson. If Constable Withers opens my official mail, no doubt your orders will be carried out.

I understand the whale boat has gone up for Special Constable Ilavinik and family so I expect him here some time during this month.

As I have already informed you though you will probably receive all my mail at the same time, I have retained his services in this case while I have the prisoners on our hands. He understands them well and will be useful here and I hope this action of mine will meet with your approval. If I do not hear from you to the contrary during the winter I will retain his services.

I am sending all correspondence in connection with the murder of the Missing Priests per one large registered parcel in charge of Dr. Anderson, I trust it will reach you safely.

I have endeavoured to make my reports as clear as possible regarding this important case, but I fully expected to be able to tell the story of the country and its strange inhabitants to you personally.

I now possess a thorough knowledge of the conditions in those parts and if by any chance Headquarters would wish to question me upon the many important points I must have omitted to mention I will only be too willing to return in February by the Dawson patrol.

I will of course make the usual patrol to Fort McPherson in January to meet the patrol and will there await your orders.

I was very anxious to apply for leave this coming Xmas as my family affairs owing to the war are very sorrowful. However in these stirring times duty is always first, and you may rely upon me for any duty, as I presume you are shorthanded.

The case of the Missing Priests is now practically out of my hands and I have a competent staff here to guard their murderers.

I presume the Government will send in a judge to try the case, four white men have been now murdered in those parts, and authority will have to be exercised.

Referring to the Trial. If we had to bring together all the Witnesses the only feasible way would be for the judge to go into Coronation Gulf in a strong and comfortable ship and winter there. These witnesses could then be got together and the case tried there. The prisoners could be picked up at Herschel Island and then brought in on the ship. Still there is always the risk of being ice-bound in those parts some years ships fail to reach Herschel Island.

If on the other hand the case could be tried without witnesses the matter would be simple.

The depositions show that both of the Prisoners pleaded "guilty" and I have absolutely no doubt that they will ever change their plea. Their own defence of being illtreated is their strongest point and the prosecution has no witness that will deny this.

So if this way is feasible I will take the liberty of suggesting that the judge come down to Fort McPherson in the following summer by Steamer. He could then quite easily proceed to Herschel Island and try the case and then proceed to civilization either by ship or by returning by gasoline launch up the Mackenzie River which would be a safer route. In this way endless travel and expense would be avoided.

If necessary the prisoners could be taken to Fort McPherson by our Spring Patrol to meet the Judge who could sit on the case there.

If on the other extreme, that the witnesses would have to be brought to Herschel Island, the case would not be concluded for another year as it would mean a ship having to go in for them next Summer and bring them out in 1918.

Trusting these suggestions of mine are not presumptuous.

I have the honour to be,

sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Sgd) C.D. La Nauze, Inspector,

Commanding McKenzie [*sic*] River Sub-District.

The Commissioner,

R.N.W.M.P.

Regina.

Forwarded for your information.

(Sd) A.E.C. McDonell. Supt.

Commanding "N" Division.

Peace River Sept. 7, 1916.



### 35. Inspector C.D. La Nauze- Health of The Eskimo Prisoners “Sinnisak” And “Uluksuk,” 1 August 1916

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

“N” Division,  
Athabasca.

Great Bear Lake Patrol,  
Herschel Island, Y.T., August 1, 1916.

Re MURDER OF MISSING PREISTS, THE REV. FATHERS  
ROUVIÈRE AND LE ROUX.

With further reference to my crime report of June 7, Corpl. Bruce and myself, taking turns on guard, looked after the prisoners from May 26, until we landed them both safely at Herschel Island on July 28.

The account for \$10 for J. Sullivan was when he was relieving Corporal Bruce on guard of “Sinnisiak” while I was away east in search of the second murderer Uluksuk. The prisoners have been carefully handled and I am glad to have to inform you that we have never put handcuff or leg iron on them, even at the time of their arrest.

The prisoners are now in good health and are cheerful and willing and are quick to pick up our ways. “Sinnisiak” is inclined to be nervous, but “Uluksuk” does not seem to worry in the least.

I have no fear of them trying to escape now.

C. D. La NAUZE, *Inspector.*  
*In charge of Great Bear Lake Patrol.*

36. Inspector C. D. La Nauze — Detailed supplementary report of his patrol from Great Bear Lake to Herschell Island via the Coppermine River, South Victoria Land and the Arctic Coast, in search of Rev. Fathers Le Roux and Rouvière, 1 August 1916

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

Herschell Island, Y.T., August 1, 1916.

PATROL REPORT.

The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
“ N “ Division,  
Athabaska.

Sir, — I have the honour to report that I left our base on Dease Bay, Great Bear lake, on March 29, 1916, to continue our search for the missing priests.

My patrol consisted of Reg. No. 6296 Constable Wight, J.E.F., Special Constable, Ilavinik (Alaskan Eskimo), and two toboggans with four dogs to each.

Mr. D’Arcy Arden accompanied the patrol as far as Coronation gulf and brought his own dog team as far as lake Imaerinik (or lake Rouvière) to help with the loads. Indian Harry drove Mr. Arden’s team, and I engaged Indian Ferdinand to help break trail and to accompany Indian Harry back to Great Bear lake.

We also carried an 18-foot cruiser chestnut canoe on top of a load, which I thought we might need later on the Coppermine river.

It was my object to proceed to Coronation gulf via the Dismal lakes and the Coppermine river, to get in touch with the Eskimos who inhabit the gulf, and to do all in our power to clear up the mystery of the “missing priests “. We would search the country as carefully as possible en route, and stay away from our base as long as it was possible for the safety of the patrol.

We carried fish nets and a good supply of ammunition, and intended to live off the country as much as possible, building caches for our return along the route.

Leaving our base at noon we stopped at the north east end of the lake and camped at 6.15 p.m., having made about 15 miles. The day had been wonderfully brilliant and the going good. Passing through the Bear Lake woods we had to cut trail to get the canoe through; this was the only occasion we ever had to cut trail in the woods at the north east end of Bear lake, as they are so open that a toboggan can pass anywhere.

On the 30th inst. we left the Bear Lake woods and struck east across the Barren Lands. The Dease River valley was on our lefthand side, and out of which beautiful mirages radiated in the brilliant early morning sunlight. The snow on the Barrens was hard packed and afforded splendid travelling, but the country was singularly desolate of game, and not a deer track anywhere. When I passed here last October with pack dogs this stretch of country was full of big bands of deer, and now there was not even a track. We camped that afternoon on the northeast branch of Dease river, having made about 20 miles.

The 31st broke fine and clear and we proceeded up the river, passing Stefansson's old house at 9 a.m. Near Big Stick island, numerous wolf tracks were observed, and we spelled for lunch at the tree-limit northeast of Big Stick island. From here we made an 18-mile crossing of the Barren lands and arrived at lake Imaerinik (or Rouvière) at 7 p.m., having made 35 miles. The cache left here by Constable Withers on March 19 was intact, but we had just arrived in time, as there was a beaten trail made by wolverines all around it and they had already gnawed partly through the roof.

The missing priests' cabin and storehouse was in the same condition as we had seen it in September, but the Eskimo cache seen at the southeast end of lake Imaerinik (Rouvière) had been removed, evidently after we had visited the spot in late September.

On April 1 the Indians returned to Great Bear lake ; we would now have to make double trips with our toboggans on account of our heavy loads and carrying the canoe.

So far we had killed no deer, and although I still had several days dried meat for ourselves and dogs, I thought it advisable to hunt for a day or two here. Accordingly Special Ilavinik struck out east and I struck out northwest. Here I came into a woefully bare and stony country without a sign of anything living, but many old deer tracks going north east. Special Ilavinik got back to camp at 9.30 p.m., having killed five deer about 12 miles east of our camp, and having seen over 200. This was splendid; the

deer had evidently started their northern migration, and we hoped to travel north in their company.

On April the 2, 3, and 4, we were held up in camp by heavy snowstorms; it was fortunate, being in the only spot where wood is to be had in these parts.

The fifth broke dull and cloudy and we started out for Dismal lakes, expecting to strike them in two days' travel. Travelling east we passed a high hill at the extreme east end of lake Rouvière (Imaerinik). This hill is a conspicuous land mark for the Divide and, viewed from afar it has the appearance of two peaks. We followed a valley through high and stoney rolling hills and crossing a lake about four miles long, came to a precipitous hill, behind which Ilavinik had killed the deer. It was impossible to get the sleds up the hill, so we scaled it and packed down two deer, which was all we could carry on our loads. Wolverines had accounted for two of the deer already. Proceeding east we struck a deep creek valley, and at 4 p.m. were fortunate to find a fair growth of small spruce on the east side of a precipitous basalt cliff which faced south. We camped here, and deer were seen to the south grazing in small bands on the rocky Barrens. There seemed a considerable difference in the climate now that we were on the north end of the Divide; it was very cold, with a biting northeast wind. The country was very undulating; in fact, slightly mountainous, but the valleys afforded a good route for our toboggans.

Owing to a regular gale from the north east we did not break camp till 9 a.m. the next day and travelling north east around the corner of the hill, we got into a bad blizzard, and could not see a yard ahead. The previous night we had viewed through the gloom what looked to be some timber in a deep valley north east and heading for this down the hill we struck a large lake which we crossed and got into a deep ravine full of fine spruce. It was a fortunate find in the blizzard ; the ravine was well sheltered, and we were soon in our comfortable tent, with the storm raging around us.

The 7th broke fine and clear and we headed north west down the lake, thinking our route of the 5th inst had taken us too far east. After 7 miles we came to a distinct "Narrows" with Eskimo hunting signs of stones placed on end. I was sure we were now on the Dismal lakes, but proceeded 5 miles farther west, and viewed the lake extending far away to the south west surrounded by high rolling hills and in a singularly bare and desolate country. We were on Dismal lakes without a doubt, and if it had not been for the stormy and dull weather we should have viewed it before. The

distance from lake Rouvière is only about 21 miles, while the maps we had showed it to be a far greater distance.

We returned to our old camp, hoping to strike the Kendal river the following day; here we killed two arctic hares; they are a good sized animal and excellent eating.

We were held up by a storm till 11 a.m. on the 8th, when it cleared slightly, and travelling southeast for about 8 miles we viewed the woods of the Kendal River valley. Entering a narrows about half a mile long we entered another lake about 4 miles long, and camped at 4 p.m. a half-mile down the Kendal river. It appears to be a narrow crooked stream about 50 yards wide, flowing in a southeasterly direction. It cannot be very deep, as the ice was frozen to the bottom. The woods extend about half a mile into the Barren Lands from the south bank, while from the north bank they gradually extend from one to three miles back from the river. We saw no timber of any remarkable size. Still it is a splendid camping ground, and sufficient timber could be found for building purposes.

The Dismal lakes are in reality one long lake, in which are two distinct narrows. It runs in a general northwesterly direction from the mouth of the Kendal river, and is about 35 miles in length. The lake lies in a deep depression surrounded by high rolling hills to the south, and along its north shore lies a long line of precipitous terraced cliffs.

We were again out of fresh meat, and as we had such a good camp I thought it advisable to hunt here and make dried meat, and then push on to the Coppermine. Accordingly the 9th was spent in hunting, and deer were found in hundreds on the Barrens south of the Kendal river, and were very easily approached. We killed thirteen, which was all we needed; they were chiefly cows going north to drop their young, and were in good condition.

On the 10th instant Mr. Arden and Constable Wight went back to lake Rouvière to bring across the remainder of our stuff and canoe, while Ilaviniuk hauled the deer we had killed the day previously. The days were now very dull, with slight snowfalls. Mr. Arden and Constable Wight did not return till the 12th instant. They had had a hard trip, as they encountered soft snow and rain on the Bear Lake end of the Divide and were both slightly snow-bound through straining their eyes in the gloom, although they both wore snow glasses. A small cache of food had been left at lake Rouvière for our return.

Special Ilavinik and I were all loaded up, waiting for a favourable day to cross over to the Coppermine river, and meantime we had been smoke-drying the meat, Indian fashion, and feeding our dogs up.

Not being able to wait for the weather to clear, we started on the 15th inst., and passing northeast through the Kendal river woods we struck due east, where we expected to find the Coppermine river. We passed through a low-lying, gently undulating plain, with the woods of the Kendal river on our right and a range of hills, with precipitous rocky sides, in places, on our left. In the middle of this plain there is a conspicuous triangular kopje, with a growth of small spruce on the top. The hills end abruptly in a precipitous peak facing south, and from this the deep valley of the Coppermine was plainly seen; to the northwest lay the Coppermine mountains, which are a series of high rocky hills. The woods extended over a mile from the river, and passing through these I noticed the depression of a small creek, which I headed for. Arriving at the creek I saw two sets of Indian tepee poles, both old, and following the creek down on a good grade struck the Coppermine river at 4.30 p.m.

It was indeed a pleasure to see a good-sized river again, and flowing as it does through the heart of the barren lands between its high spruce covered banks. Noticing a blaze on a tree, I went to look at it and found an empty cache with the following writing on it: —

“Canadian Arctic Expedition. Mail party. Fort Norman. R. M. Anderson, Arnout Castel. February 24, 1915. Returned down river March 19, 1915.”

This party had evidently failed to reach Fort Norman, as we had heard no news of their arrival there last fall.

I now thought we might strike the Canadian Arctic Expedition somewhere in Coronation gulf.

We cached our load here and made open camp, as there was plenty of big dry spruce and brush, and the following day returned to the Kendal river.

I put the distance at 10 miles from the head of the Kendal river across country to the Coppermine; the distance is far shorter than one is led to expect by the maps, and it is a splendid sled route.

On the 17th we moved all our loads, including the dried meat across country to the Coppermine. No deer tracks were seen in the vicinity of the river, so I intended to push on as long as our dog feed held out.

On April 18, Ilavinik and myself, with a load, started ahead down the river. The day was actually clear and warm, and we had good going and met no rough ice. The river flowed between high hills, the west bank being well wooded all the way, and the east in places. It was alternately wide and narrow, varying from 400 to 200 yards, and in the narrow parts the snow was deep and the hauling heavy. Many fox and wolverine tracks were observed.

Willows were seen budding, and the first hawk was observed; spring was now arriving in the valley of the Coppermine. In the afternoon we got into deep soft snow and were obliged to camp, having made about 15 miles. The night was very warm, and the next morning we proceeded around a big bend of the river when we were struck by a fierce blizzard from the northeast. We had the canoe on top of the load and it swung round and knocked Ilavinik down. We were in a small canyon and no camping place in sight, so we proceeded at a great rate of speed with the wind behind us, but soon got into very rough ice. Fortunately the blizzard subsided slightly and I could locate a good camp far down on the west bank, and we managed to get through the rough ice and establish another base. Returning, we crossed the big bend overland, which avoided a considerable detour and got back to camp at 6 p.m.

On the 20th inst. we moved down to the cache I had established, and the trail I had made the previous day was hard and afforded such good travelling that we made the trip in five hours.

On Good Friday Constable Wight and Mr. Arden again started ahead with the canoe and load; the day turned out another howling blizzard from the northwest, and held Ilavinik and myself up from hunting. During the night there was a heavy fall of snow, and Constable Wight and Mr. Arden returned on the 22nd inst, having had a hard time in the blizzard. They had located a camp about 16 miles down stream and said the timber was getting much scarcer. The ice had been very rough farther down stream, and on one occasion Constable Wight, sled and dogs had fallen into a big snow-covered ice crack, and they had to unload everything to get out again.

On Easter Sunday we were all again on the trail made by Constable Wight and Mr. Arden. We passed two precipitous basaltic rocks, about 70 feet high, on the west bank of which were seen some old eagle nests; they were made of dry twigs and must have been at least 4 feet high and 3 feet in circumference. About a mile below these rocks, what appears to be a good-sized river comes in from the southeast, on the east bank, at whose

mouth was a big gravel and boulder bar. Its valley is very heavily timbered, and for about 7 miles down stream from this point good timber extends from one to one and a half miles back from the river. Here the river took a decided bend to the north. The trail made by Arden and Wight left this river on the opposite bank from its mouth, and to avoid the rough ice we travelled through a well-timbered and undulating park-like country. Here I noticed one tree at least two and a half feet in circumference and about 20 feet high. Anywhere in this locality an excellent building sight could be found. It was fortunate we had a good overland trail, as the river was practically impassable, the ice being piled up in huge pressure ridges. After about 10 miles' travel the timber got smaller and was found in bluffs, the banks also changed to high gravel formation, with stunted spruce clinging to them; then the banks eloped and the river ran between a low and narrow rocky canyon.

The camp had been located in a small bluff of spruce on the Barrens overlooking the canyon, and to the north we could see a high range of rocky hills, which Ilavinik said looked like the coast range.

It had been a dull morning but turned out a beautiful afternoon, which was indeed a pleasant change, and the light was good till 9 p.m. Unfortunately, Mr. Arden developed a very bad attack of snow-blindness, and was totally blind.

On the 24th inst., Constable Wight and Ilavinik started out ranging. Constable Wight to locate the river ahead for a suitable place to build a cache, and Ilavinik to hunt northwest. I shod the toboggans with the iron runners we had carried all the way from Bear lake for spring use. Constable Wight and Ilavinik returned about 8 p.m., Constable Wight having located a cache five miles down stream, and the route ahead; Ilavinik having killed two deer. He had seen nine and they were very tame, but two were all we needed. Both were females, shortly to drop their calves.

Ilavinik had also seen the first ground squirrels of the season. I decided to cache the canoe at this spot and build a good cache at the place located by Constable Wight. Mr. Arden's eyes were still very bad but were improving under frequent applications of boracic acid solutions. A very cold south wind blew that night, and on the 25th inst. Constable Wight and myself set out to build the cache, while Ilavinik had the meat to haul which he had killed the day previously. We entered the canyon, which was about a mile in length and 60 yards wide; it was a precipitous basaltic rock, and, its sides were about 30 feet high. Hawks' and sand-martins' old nests



were observed in the ledges. At the end of the canyon the river widened and ran around a huge gravel bar, the rocks changed to sandstone on the west bank, while on the east the high gravel banks continued. Two miles farther down the river ran between high red shale cliffs, about 70 feet high, and the river was about 400 yards wide. The ice was quite smooth, and the creek located by Constable Wight was about four miles down on the west bank, at whose mouth was a conspicuous red sandstone cliff. A few stunted trees were growing at its mouth, but proceeding up a few hundred yards we came to a clump of good-sized spruce. It was an ideal spot and well hidden away in a deep ravine of the creek. I noticed some very ancient choppings here, which I could only attribute to the early explorers of this region.

We cut the logs and dug out a cache site, out of 3 feet of snow.

While returning to camp at 7 p.m. we sighted 5 deer on the east bank of the river. Ilavinik had meantime hauled the meat and had viewed the coast through his telescope from the top of one of the high ridges. On the 26th inst. we built a cache for the canoe and moved down to Wight's creek, Mr. Arden's eyes being much better.

Patches of bare ground were now appearing on the hillsides. That night it started to snow at 6 p.m. which later on turned into a howling blizzard from the northwest, which held us up in camp for 24 hours. It was fortunate our being in this sheltered creek.

On the 28th inst. we built a strong cache, leaving the majority of our stuff and about one month's provisions at this point. I expected to return here and hunt the surrounding country thoroughly when the snow left the ground in case we could get no news of the missing priests on the coast.

On the 29th inst. we started for the coast with about 200 pounds to each toboggan; it was a relief to proceed ahead without any further double tripping.

Proceeding down stream for two miles we again left the river to travel across the Barrens on the west bank towards the big ridges. The river ran between high clay banks, with many bends, and we were able to travel fairly directly across the Barrens, and thus avoided rough ice. The snow was hard packed and our toboggans, with the runners now on, slipped along easily. We came to the ridges in about 10 more miles travel. These were a line of conspicuous high hills, some of which stood apart, and stretched as far as one could see east and west across the river. Their south and eastern aspects are precipitous, and they sloped away gradually to the north. Passing through these we travelled through undulating Barrens. The river

appeared to run in a deep defile, and timber was seen on the east bank ; the day however was very dull and hard on the eyes. About 4 p.m. we struck the bank again, where the river ran through a crooked narrow gorge and widened out between high banks destitute of trees. We camped that night on the Barrens and using our Primus stove for the first time, suffered no great inconvenience. We pitched our tent by lashing it to the toboggans on each side and found this method quite satisfactory afterwards on the coast. Breaking camp early on the 30th inst. we headed northwest to avoid some high hills, and upon reaching an elevation we got a distinct view of the arctic coast. The blue haze over the ocean was unmistakable; another big line of ridges lay parallel with the coast, and the river ran in an easterly direction. We soon got into a very broken up country, full of deep ravines, but Mr. Arden located a good route to the west around these, and travelling along the base of the ridges to the west, struck the mouth of the Coppermine at 5 p.m.

Here the river is about a mile in width, bounded by a precipitous diabase cliff on the west bank and by rolling hills on the east. There are two channels at the mouth, the smaller one running east and the larger one northwest. Opposite the mouth about a quarter of a mile from shore there is a large island. Islands were seen in all directions in the gulf, and the sea ice was snow covered, hard packed, and level.

We had now been a month coming from Great Bear lake to the Arctic coast, and if it had not been for the continual bad weather and the fact of our having to make double trips, we should have made the journey much quicker. The weather was most unfavourable for photography, and I had got few pictures so far. We found good timber for camping purposes all the way from Great Bear lake to within 25 miles of the Arctic coast; in fact, we made several comfortable open camps on the Coppermine while making double trips. The approximate distance travelled from our base in Dease bay to the coast is about 190 miles. We had been singularly fortunate in the matter of game, killing deer as we needed them, and we were practically dependent on the country for our dog feed and our own meat.

The Coppermine seems to be a very rough river to travel on in winter time, especially its lower reaches, but as the Barren Lands lay on either side, a good overland route could always be found. By its appearance in winter, I should judge it to be a river that would have to be navigated with great care by canoe.

Although several old camp signs were observed, we saw none that we could attribute to the missing priests.

The first thing we noticed upon our arrival on the sea ice was fresh sled tracks leading across to the island opposite the mouth of the river, and a group of deserted snow houses on the island. Going across we came upon a freshly broken camp of evidently white men, and a small cache of canned pemmican with fresh sled tracks leading east. I judged we must be close behind a travelling party of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and I decided to follow their tracks the following morning. We camped at this spot, having found some driftwood.

May 1 broke fine and clear and we proceeded east, following the sled tracks which led along the coast line, which was bare and low lying. Groups of high rocky islands running east and west, with sheer cliffs facing south lay parallel to the coast, and a band of ten deer were seen far out on the ice. After about 10 miles' travel we came upon and killed four bull caribou, and renewed our stock of dog feed. These deer were poor, their skins like paper, and the marrow as blood in their bones. We delayed three hours here to skin the meat and eat lunch, and the trail led east between some high rocky islands. At 8 p.m. we struck a lot of fresh sled tracks and, rounding a precipitous cliff, saw an Eskimo village on the ice about a quarter of a mile away. We were promptly recognized as strangers, and a group of people came running out, stopped, and began jumping up and down and holding their hands above their heads. As soon as we answered this sign they advanced, and our dogs seeing the tents started to run, and we soon charged headlong into a laughing and excited group of Eskimos, who, pulling on the sleds, dragged them into camp. We were invited to camp, and, as I did not like to refuse such spontaneous hospitality, I accepted, and there was great rejoicing.

We learned that there were two white men and a western Eskimo family in a camp across the bay, and that there was a big ship about four days' travel to the westward. It was indeed a relief to have a competent interpreter with me on our first visit to a strange people.

There were about 15 Eskimos at this camp, and they were living in roomy deer-skin tents, with snow sleeping benches and snow passageways.

On this occasion we did not pitch our own tent, and the women started to cook deer meat for us in a large stone pot, suspended over a seal-oil lamp. The operation was taking so long and we were getting so hungry that I got the Primus stove going and eventually, after midnight, we had supper,

surrounded by the admiring populace. They were entirely clothed in deer skins, some had rifles, and the majority had a few tin kettles. We learned that this place was the Kugaryut, where Captain Bernard, the pioneer trader of Coronation gulf, wintered in 1910-11 with his schooner *Teddy Bear*. Later on we were entertained to a meal of deer meat boiled in the large stone pot over a seal-oil lamp, and then allotted places on the comfortable snow sleeping benches, and thus ended our first experience with the Coronation gulf Eskimos.

The following day I left Special Ilavinik in camp with the Eskimos, and guided voluntarily by two young Eskimos, Mr. Arden, Constable Wight and myself started out to look for the white men.

Crossing a bay about 8 miles wide, we came upon a freshly broken camp, and following the sled trail east we saw a white man ahead, traversing the coast, and were soon heartily greeted by Mr. K. G. Chipman, topographer of the Canadian Arctic Expedition. I was surprised and pleased to hear from him that Reg. No. 4600, Corporal Bruce V.W., of the Herschell Island Detachment, was with him, and that their sled was not far ahead. Mr. Chipman was mapping the coast as far east as Cape Barrow, and had left the southern headquarters of the expedition two weeks previously, accompanied by Corporal Bruce. Their headquarters and their ship, the *Alaska*, were situated at Bernard harbour in the Dolphin and Union straits.

We found their tent, pitched, at 3 p.m., and were met by Corporal Bruce. He informed me of his instructions from Inspector Phillips, to endeavour to connect with my patrol. No news had yet been gained of the missing priests.

On the 3rd inst. we experienced an Arctic blizzard; we had thought that the blizzards on the Coppermine had been bad, but one could not stand up in this one.

Mr. Arden left us at this point to go east with Mr. Chipman, and Corporal Bruce joining my party, acted as guide, as it was my intention to proceed west and visit the native camps Corporal Bruce knew of.

On the 4th inst. we returned to the Eskimo camp and spent the next day interviewing the people and preparing for our trip across Coronation gulf. On this occasion, upon Corporal Bruce's advice, we pitched our own tent and found it much more satisfactory than camping with the Eskimos, in spite of their hospitality. I could not gain any information re the missing priests at this camp.

On May 6, Corporal Bruce led us northwest across Coronation gulf. The day was wonderfully clear and warm and the travelling was splendid on the sea ice. We passed between chains of low-lying rocky islands; they are of diabase formation with precipitous sides facing east and south, and their north and western aspects are gently sloping. Coronation gulf is, in fact, full of islands, not half of which are shown in the charts. Deer tracks were numerous on the ice, going north.

About 5 p.m. we struck a large Eskimo village, situated on the ice between two islands, about six miles off Point Lockyer, its native name is Innuairnerit, which means, the place where people died. Here we were greeted by about forty people, and were accorded another equally as hearty welcome. They brought us some driftwood, which is at a premium at this time of year in Coronation gulf, and we could buy all the deer meat we wanted for a few matches. These people were still sealing and shortly after our arrival several men came into the camp, after a successful bearded seal hunt. Two bearded seals had been speared that day and the meat being divided, each man had come home with his dog dragging his share of the booty.

In spite of careful questioning we could get no information here concerning the missing priests, although I was convinced by the people's attitude that they knew something of them.

Leaving Innuairnerit the following morning we passed the tip of Point Lockyer, which is a long, low, and narrow point, back of which is a high hill. We passed three deserted snow villages, one of which had twenty-seven snow-houses, and at 5 p.m. reached the mainland again at Cape Krusenstern.

A two-mile portage over the neck of the cape is marked by a small bay, at whose entrance are low dolomite cliffs, and this portage saves a seven-mile detour around the cape. A rounded rocky hill lay to the southwest, which is known on the old charts as Mount Barrow. It is a notable landmark of this otherwise flat and dreary coast.

At 8 p.m. we came upon another large Eskimo village situated on the ice underneath Cape Lambert in the Dolphin and Union straits. Here we received another hearty welcome from about forty people, and it was about 11 p.m. when Ilavinik and I started out to get acquainted with people.

Here we met a man named Nachim and his wife Kanneak, who knew of Ilavinik from Stefanason's man Natkusiak. One indeed could not wish to

meet a more pleasant and open-faced couple as these two Eskimos and this man's brother, Ekkheuina who was also present.

When in conversation with the Eskimos, all in camp crowd around and assist in the conversation; we learnt from these people that they had visited Bear lake early last summer, to look for white men, but found none there. The cache we had seen near lake Rouvière belonged to Nachim and his brother, and they had been hunting northwest at the time we were at lake Rouvière in September, 1915. Upon being questioned they all said that they had seen several white men near Great Bear lake.

I saw at once, as did Uavinik, that some information was to be gained here, and Ilavinik suggested that we should go to Nachim's house, and we were escorted to a small snow hut in the middle of the village.

And there in this far away spot on the Arctic coast the mystery of the missing priests was at length revealed to us.

The priests had been murdered on the Coppermine near the Bloody falls by two Eskimos named Uluksak and Sinnisiak. The murder had been committed about November, 1913, while the priests were on their way back from the coast, and the murderers were at large and somewhere in the country. History was repeating itself in the neighbourhood of the Bloody falls, for it was at this spot in 1771 that the early explorer Samuel Hearne witnessed the brutal massacre of many harmless Eskimos by his uncontrollable herd of savage Indians.

Here and at the next village, 8 miles farther west, we obtained irrefutable evidence of the murder, and by May 9 I had all the most important witnesses interviewed. Our next step was to arrest the murderers.

There were two large Eskimo villages between cape Lambert and Bernard harbour, comprising about 100 people, and the usual hearty welcome was accorded to us in each. The natives were all living in deer-skin tents, and were killing seals preparatory to making caches of blubber to leave on the coast before proceeding inland on their summer hunt. All were well supplied with deer meat.

A dance was held in a huge tent on the 9th inst., the performer beating a very large skin drum about 10 feet in circumference, accompanying the beating by jumping up and down and flourishing the drum. The people crowded around, leaving a small space for the dancer, and singing in chorus, not unmusically. Women and men alike performed and joined in the singing.

At this camp I engaged an Eskimo named Uluksak Mayuk as guide to somewhere near Victoria Land where Sinnisiak was supposed to be. The other murderer Uluksuk was living far to the east.

Following the coast, which was singularly flat and dreary, we arrived at Bernard harbour, the southern headquarters of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, on May 10. It was about 25 miles west of cape Lambert, and is situated opposite the Liston and Sutton islands on the mainland. It is an excellent harbour for large schooners. The *Alaska* was wintering in the ice here, and the members of the party lived in a small house made of sods and lumber. Dr. R. M. Anderson, who was leader of the party, was away on a trip east, as well as most of the other members of the expedition, but we were heartily welcomed by Captain Sweeney, master of the *Alaska*, and Mr. Fritz Johansen, naturalist.

Captain Sweeney was in charge and placed everything at our disposal, and rendered us every assistance possible.

Deer were migrating north in small bands everywhere along the Dolphin and Union straits, and Ilavinik and Uluksak Mayuk killed six close to the harbour the same evening. The Canadian Arctic Expedition had plenty of fine seal meat for dog feed, but as our Mackenzie river dogs would have to be starved into this diet, we fed them deer meat, as they still had strenuous work ahead of them.

On the 11th instant the meat killed was hauled, outfit overhauled, and the toboggans repaired. Corporal Bruce laid information before me against Uluksuk and Sinnisiak, and I issued warrants for their arrest.

On the 12th instant, accompanied by our guide Uluksak (Mayuk) we struck northeast across to the Liston and Sutton islands. Our guide wanted to find a deserted snow village where he had seen the murderer during the winter, and we would follow the tracks from there.

The Liston and Sutton islands, whose Eskimo name is Okallit (Hare) are shown on the map as two islands. There are three distinct islands here and are low lying land of dolomite formation, with occasional cliffs. Liston island is about three miles long and half a mile wide and the other two about half this size. Their neighbourhood is a favourite Eskimo sealing ground, and I saw four huge bearded seals lying outside one hole close to here. The morning had been dull, but upon leaving the islands where we lunched we became enveloped in an impenetrable fog. Travelling a long way north we could find no sled tracks, and the fog continuing we camped on the ice that night at 10 p.m., having travelled about 30 miles.

The 13th instant was still very foggy, our guide seemed doubtful, and I thought it advisable to return and prepare for a longer trip. We got back to Bernard harbour at 4 p.m. and were on the trail again on the 14th instant. This time conditions were favourable and the old village was located with fairly fresh sled tracks leading north; following these we passed a somewhat recently deserted village, about 10 miles farther north where skin tents had been used, and at midnight we came to a freshly deserted village with a fresh trail still leading north.

I thought perhaps our man had received word and fled, and as we were all fairly tired we went into camp, intending to keep following that trail in the morning. We had not gone very far the next morning when the low stony coast of Victoria Land showed up quite plainly, and, proceeding north we soon located a village of skin tents situated on the ice just off the shore.

As we approached I saw the men and women separate into groups, the peace sign was not shown, neither did the people run out to meet us. but as we got quite close they all came running out and we were welcomed as usual. There were about forty people, and amongst them were some very fine specimens of men and women. Sinuisiak was not seen, but our guide led us to a tent where he was found sitting down engaged in the manufacture of a bow, and he was formally arrested by Corporal Bruce. The man was absolutely paralysed with fear. I explained to him and the people that he had to come with us and he did not want to come, but the usual Eskimo audience advised him to go, and did not hinder us in the least. Eventually we got the prisoner quietly away from the camp at 5 p.m.

The coast of Victoria Land where we saw it was woefully bare and stony and rolling rocky hills extended inland. It was quite cold there, and there were no signs of spring, the land being covered with deep, hard, packed snow.

These Eskimos were going to hunt and fish in the interior, as soon as they had enough blubber cached. A few of them had rifles, and others were offering everything they possessed for ours.

We travelled all that afternoon and night, and making good time arrived back at Bernard harbour at 7 a.m. on the 16th inst.

On the 17th inst. I took Sinnisiak's preliminary hearing, and he made a complete confession of his guilt. I committed him for trial on two charges of murder.



Mr. Jenness, ethnologist of the expedition, had meantime arrived from a trip west with his Eskimo boy Patsy. He had spent the previous summer alone with the Eskimos in Victoria Land, living off his rifle, and had been living with them most of the winter.

I decided to leave the prisoner Sinnisiak at Bernard Harbour in charge of Corporal Bruce, while I would proceed east with Constable Wight and Ilavinik and try to find the second murderer Uluksuk. If successful I would return to Bernard Harbour with the prisoner and take advantage of this place of safety to guard them until we could convey them via the *Alaska* to Herschell Island. From that point I would proceed direct to headquarters via *Nome, Alaska, the Pacific*.

As it was already late in the season I did not want to have to bring Constable Wight and Ilavinik back to Bernard Harbour, so Mr. Jenness kindly lent me his sled, dogs, and his boy Patsy Klengenbergs so as I could return to Bernard Harbour with them. I had information that Uluksak was liable to be found at that time near the mouth of the Coppermine.

On May 18 we left Bernard Harbour for the Coppermine and camped that night at cape Lambert, killing a deer en route. It started to snow that night, and we were held up in camp by a blizzard which lasted until 3 p.m. the following day. Breaking camp at 5 p.m., when it was warm, fine and clear, we spelled at cape Krusenstern at 9 p.m., and made our first camp of the season on bare ground. Owls, hawks, and deer were observed here. At this time of year we had light all night, and now the weather turned very warm.

The Eskimos had all moved off the ice by this time, and none were seen en route. The going was very heavy, and we camped beyond Innuairnerit at 7 a.m. on the 20th in wet snow. The day was very warm and we dried our footgear in the sun. Starting again at 7 p.m. we travelled through deep slush all night and after a weary and wet march arrived at the mouth of the Coppermine at 10 p.m. on the 21st inst.

We camped on the island opposite the mouth on dry bare ground, and took the opportunity of drying out all our outfit. There was no sign of Eskimos here, but from a high rock six sleds were seen at 11 p.m. far out on the ice and travelling slowly towards us. At 5 a.m. the sleds had disappeared behind a large island lying about 10 miles northeast, and another sled was seen coming from the east towards us, and close into shore. We turned in and slept and awaited developments. The day was warm and wonderfully clear, several Brant geese were seen, small birds were

singing, and the sound of running water was heard at last. Spring had come with a rush to Coronation gulf.

At 5 p.m. an Eskimo, his wife, and two dogs dragging a seal-skin sled, arrived. This proved to be Angebranna an important witness that I had not yet interviewed. He told us the six sleds we had seen were camped on the island, and that the second murderer Uluksuk was amongst the party. This was indeed fortunate. Angebranna also informed us that the island we were camped on was the very place the priests had camped with the Eskimos before starting back on their fatal journey.

Leaving Angebranna in charge of most of our outfit, I took my own stuff with Patsy and his sled, and Constable Wight and Ilavinik with one toboggan, and left for the island northeast at 9 p.m. Long before we reached it the peace sign was greatly in evidence amongst a group of Eskimos standing on the high rocks. When we answered it a group of men came running down to meet us, all except the prisoner, who hung back. He was formally arrested by Constable Wight, and we had no trouble whatever. There were about 20 people here, chiefly comprised of the people we had seen at Innuairnerit. They were living in deer-skin tents and had a good supply of dried deer meat. When "the snow left the ice" they were going inland to fish at Bloody Falls, and hunt deer.

The island was named Iroktoon, and is evidently a favourite resort for the Eskimos at this season.

Constable Wight and Ilavinik were now to return to Great Bear Lake, and to visit the scene of the murder en route. From Dease Bay, Constables Withers and Wight would proceed by York boat to Fort Norman, and from there to headquarters. Special Const. Ilavinik and family would proceed from Fort Norman to Herschell Island via the Mackenzie.

I wrote a short report of our movements to the O.C. "N" Division, to be taken out by my men, and at 3 p.m. on the 23rd inst. left with Patsy and the prisoner Uluksuk for Bernard Harbour.

The weather was glorious and the travelling was better as the snow had melted to water on top of the ice.

Five miles north of Iroktoon there is a range of high islands known to the Eskimos as Nowyeat, or the Young Sea-gull islands. Here I noticed some precipitous diabase cliffs, with limestone underlying.

We got to Innuairnerit at 7 a.m. on the 24th, and had a hard time to get around some deep water in the narrow channel between the islands. We camped on the rocks here, and I shot a seal from the camp. The portage

over cape Krusenstern was almost bare of snow, and a small lake was open here already, geese, swans, cranes, waders, larks, and eider ducks were seen here. Victoria Land could plainly be seen from here, and this spot is a favorite place for deer migrating south in the early winter. This spot is called Ekavtulinoak by the Eskimos, which means "The Short Crossing". We camped at cape Lambert on the 25th and had a good view of the long Lambert island. Eider ducks were in hundreds out in the open water near the island, and deer were still crossing the straits from the mainland; these were chiefly bulls with their new horns starting to grow, and I shot one from the camp for dog feed. Seals abound in this spot, and 34 were counted from the camp within a three-mile radius. Huge bearded seals lay basking on the ice. This was indeed a land of plenty at this season of the year.

The last five miles of our journey was through knee-deep water, caused by opening creeks, and we arrived back at Bernard Harbour at 7.30 p.m. on May 26 inst.

It was indeed a pleasure to get back here and hand the prisoner over to Corporal Bruce. Corporal Bruce and I had now simply to guard our prisoners till we could take them to Herschell Island via the *Alaska*, when the ice broke up.

On the 29th inst., I gave Uluksuk his preliminary hearing and committed him for trial on two charges of murder. He made a complete confession of his guilt and corroborated his accomplice's statement.

There were about 20 Eskimos camped around Bernard Harbour upon my return there, and sealing operations were finished. All the other Eskimos had moved inland to fish and hunt deer, the biggest band congregating at the mouth of the Coppermine, where I learnt that there were over a hundred gathered together from all parts of the coast.

In the summer months the Eskimos cache most of their possessions and clothes on the islands and then move slowly inland to fish and hunt deer. They are unspeakably ragged-looking in their summer dress, which consists of their worn-out clothes of the previous year. During the winter they often suffer privations on the ice during sealing operations, their dogs not being able to smell out the seal holes during the blizzards which often rage for a week on end. At several of the camps we visited I noticed several men had no seal-skin bow cases for their bows, upon being asked where was the case, they said, "We eat it last winter when we were sealing on the ice."

It is hard to realize that these people up to 1910 were a practically unknown race and living in a stone age, within comparatively easy access of civilization. For fire they used iron pyrites and tinder, seal blubber was their fuel, bows and spears their weapons of the chase, and skins their clothing. Soapstone provided their cooking pots and lamps, while native copper supplied the metal parts of their weapons.

Today the people are not greatly altered, although the majority have rifles, metal cooking pots, and matches.

The members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition have treated them with the greatest tact, and have not spoilt them in the least, and no doubt our work in those parts was greatly facilitated by the presence of the expedition in the gulf.

I found the people, in the short time I was amongst them, to be intelligent, honourable and hospitable, kind to their children and good to their dogs; and I went about my business in the usual manner and did not deceive them as to our motives.

This summer, civilization is imminent amongst them; the Hudson's Bay Company have already despatched their schooner to open up a trading post in the Dolphin and Union straits. White trappers and traders are expected also to enter Coronation gulf this summer, and as the natives are only too anxious to learn white man's ways and habits, the advent of civilization amongst them will not tend to their betterment. Game will in course of time grow scarcer with the advent of a large supply of arms and ammunition and the people will beg-in to wear white man's clothes in preference to their own sensible deer skin clothing, which cannot be excelled.

Should any epidemic ever strike these people, no doubt many deaths would result, for the people usually live in large communities. Indeed, to us, who have had the good fortune to see these people live their strenuous, healthy existence on the Arctic coast, we cannot wish them better fortune than to hope that civilization may ever be kept at arms length from them.

It has been predicted that with the advent of civilization the Eskimos will leave their snow-houses and live in tents with sheet-iron stoves, or build wood and sod houses. I do not think this is likely to happen as there is so very little driftwood in the Dolphin and Union straits and Coronation gulf that the small supply would quickly become exhausted. Their snow-houses, with the seal-oil lamp, and their roomy deer-skin tents cannot be

excelled for winter and spring use, although canvas tents will be a great asset to them in their summer life inland.

As regards the resources of their vast country, fur would seem to be of the first importance. White foxes are numerous along the coast, and now that most of the natives know how to trap, a brisk fur trade will start. Wolverines and wolves are the only other animals killed along the coast, with the exception of the Barren Ground grizzly and a very occasional polar bear.

Musk-oxen, I understand, are still fairly plentiful in the vicinity of the country inland from the coast of Bathurst inlet, but along the vast stretch of country from Tree river in the east to as far west as the boundary, the musk-ox has been an unknown animal in the last ten years. There may, however, still be a few left inland from the north shore of Great Bear lake.

Although no native copper was seen personally by my patrol, there is no doubt a vast amount of this valuable metal in the country. All the natives seen had small pieces of copper and copper implements in their possession and they are experts at hammering knives, arrow heads, etc., out of this material. From what information I could gather from them, they obtain most of their copper from that range of high hills or ridges west of the Bloody falls on the Coppermine river; this they chip off from large blocks with infinite labour, and I was informed by special Eskimos of one large block of native copper in that region, which by its description must weigh several tons. Corporal Bruce, while on patrol on the Coppermine in February, noticed the west bank of the gorge of Bloody falls impregnated with copper and iron ore. No doubt Dr. J. J. O'Neill, geologist of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, will have valuable information for the Government on this subject.

Not to mention the Barren Land caribou would be to do that indispensable animal an injustice. To the traveller in these parts the Barren Land caribou is the greatest asset of the country, and is liable to be found in any part of the Barren Lands, even in the depths of winter. As a general rule the caribou migrate north in the spring, and south in the early winter. My party found deer almost whenever we needed them during our eleven months' stay in the country, and were hardly ever without fresh meat from September to July. While travelling north in April and when we were on the coast in May, caribou were seen everywhere going north to Victoria Land; and in the Dolphin and Union straits and on Coronation gulf, deer tracks covered the sea ice. The vast tundras of Victoria Land must pasture

thousands of these animals, and as the few Eskimos who inhabit its shores do not hunt to any great distance inland, the northern part of that island must still be a great game sanctuary. When the sea ice freezes over the deer start their southerly migration from Victoria Land, and cross the straits and gulf in small bands, striking the mainland again from about Cockburn point in the west to as far east as is known. Many cows must drop their calves inland, as in the vicinity of Great Bear lake in September, we saw many hundred cows with calves, and in the summertime along the Arctic coast, caribou were seen regularly.

Owing to their great numbers and their vast range, the Barren Land caribou does not yet stand in any great danger of extermination ; and as the Eskimos are not at all wasteful in their habits, the importation of rifles will not greatly tend to diminish the number of deer.

Small bird life is very abundant in Coronation gulf and the Dolphin and Union straits, during the spring and summer months; the visitors coming from as far south as Patagonia. Game birds are not plentiful, as the great goose flight passes further west, but eider ducks are plentiful in the straits from early in the spring, and ptarmigan are usually to be found in the fall and winter.

June broke cold and stormy with snow, which weather lasted until the 15th inst., when the month ended in clear warm days. The sun blazed down day and night and signs were hopeful for an early break up.

On the previous year the expedition schooner *North Star* had not been able to leave the harbour until August 9 and Captain Sweeney prophesied that he would get out about the middle of July this year.

On June the 6th inst., Dr. K. M. Anderson, leader of the southern party, Dr. J. J. O'Neill, geologist, and Dr. J. Cos, topographer, returned by sled from Bathurst inlet after an extended trip in that region. The party had met Constable Wight at the mouth of the Coppermine, and Mr. Chipman had accompanied Mr. D'Arcy Arden back to Great Bear lake in the hope of reaching Fort Norman in time to catch the first trip of the Hudson's Bay Company's steamer.

Dr. Anderson approved of Captain Sweeney's action in giving the prisoners and myself accommodation, and made me feel as if I was one of their party, as indeed did all the members of the expedition.

Dr. Anderson had got to within 35 miles of Great Bear lake in March, 1915, but meeting very deep snow he was obliged to turn back, as his presence was needed on the coast that spring. He had travelled all the way

by sled from Cape Bathurst. This trip accounted for the empty cache we had found on the Coppermine in April.

On June 15, Mr. George Wilkins, of the Canadian Arctic Expedition's northern party, arrived at Bernard harbour. Mr. Wilkins had travelled by sled from Point Armstrong in the Prince of Wales straits, which lies on the northwest coast of Victoria and opposite Banks Land. Mr. Stefansson's new ship, the *Polar Bear*, had wintered at this point, and Mr. Wilkins made the trip to Bernard harbour in two weeks. In Minto inlet he met 150 Eskimos sealing and hunting polar bear on the ice, preparatory to moving inland for the summer.

Mr. Wilkins informed me that, this spring, Mr. Stefansson was conducting an exploration trip of the northwestern coast of the new land which lies north of Prince Patrick's Land, intending to pass the summer on one of the northern islands and making connection with the *Polar Bear* in the fall. The *Polar Bear* proposes to push northeast from the Prince of Wales straits to Melville island, where she proposes to winter in Winter harbour, where previous explorers have safely wintered. From that point in the following spring Mr. Stefansson proposes to make another ice trip across the Beaufort sea to the northwest.

Musk oxen and caribou had been found by the northern party on Melville island in large quantities.

Mr. Wilkins had left Bernard harbour the previous summer with the schooner *North Star*, and had proceeded to Banks Land. On August 22 he was beset with ice en route to Melville island to connect with Mr. Stefansson, and found the ice solid to the north and west. He then went into winter quarters near Cape Alfred on September 10. At Christmas he got news of the *Polar Bear* and travelled by sled across Banks Land to Cape Kellet, where the expedition schooner *Mary Sachs* is wintering. From there he went to Cape Armstrong, and from that point to Melville island, and from Melville island via Point Armstrong to Bernard harbour. Mr. Wilkins is one of the most capable travellers that has ever been in these parts ; he is also official photographer to the expedition.

By June 25, the Eskimos who were living around the harbour moved to a creek 6 miles east to intercept the annual run of salmon trout. Stone fish traps were constructed and the fish driven into these and speared. In this manner several thousand of the finest trout, averaging about eight pounds in weight, were killed and dried in the warm sun.

The snow had now left the Barrens, and small and beautiful wild flowers covered the tundra. Small birds were nesting everywhere, the inland lakes were free of ice, and the short, though beautiful, summer of the northland had commenced.

By July 8, the harbour was free of ice and the days were very warm. Mosquitoes were quite numerous for a few days, but did not cause the intense annoyance as they do in the wooded country. Open leads were now commencing to open up, but in the straits the ice appeared to be a solid mass, a mile out from shore.

The *Alaska* had a full load of valuable zoological, ethnological and geological specimens collected by the members of the expedition, which they had been busy packing up since their return. A year's supplies were also taken on board in the event; of the ship being ice-bound on her way out.

Captain Sweeney was all ready by July 10, and waiting for an opportunity to get out of the harbour before the winds would jam the mouth full of ice.

On a beautiful calm evening on July 13, the *Alaska* started on her long voyage. Sweeney piloted her safely through the very narrow entrance of the inner harbour, and after forcing her way through the loose ice cakes at the mouth, we steamed west down a lead close in to shore, and were held up by ice 3 miles west of the harbour.

On the 14th inst. a strong westerly wind blew all day and night and the loose ice started to move past slowly west. It was a fine sight to see the huge masses move slowly past, leaving the open ocean behind them. We had just got out of the harbour mouth in time as it was now jammed full by big ice cakes. The appearance of the ice out in the straits began to alter greatly under the powerful wind, and by 8 a.m. of the 13th inst. we had a free passage to Cockburn point, which lies 10 miles west of the harbour. By 5 p.m. the ocean appeared free of ice to the west and after heading through half a mile of ice and following up leads we got into the open ocean at 6 p.m. The westerly wind was still blowing a gale and after we left the ice we got into a regular ocean roll, and the sea was quite rough.

Owing to the proximity of the magnetic pole, the compass cannot be depended on in these waters and the navigator is obliged to steer either by the sun or by landmarks. Other navigators have had trouble in these waters with the compass, and we had an experience of this on the *Alaska*.



During the night a thick fog sprang up which lasted until the 16th inst., and the *Alaska* had to be steered by compass. The compass, however, had turned right round and when the sun came out for an instant at 10 a.m., Sweeney found we were off the coast of Victoria Land and heading east into Coronation gulf. The course was quickly altered and that night we passed Cape Bexley and were held up by a solid mass of impenetrable ice in Stapleton bay on the 17th inst. This big field of old ice appeared to stretch right across the straits, and the *Alaska* was headed into shore to see if she could be worked through the loose ice along the coast. This, however, was impossible, and we anchored close to shore to a large grounded ice cake. The coast line is low and of dolomite formation which extended to about two miles back from the water, before the barrens and rolling tundra commence.

The water was deep almost up to the shore and bearded and common seals were very plentiful. The fine weather now changed to dull and cloudy days, with snow and rain. It was inexpressibly dreary along that barren coast, and we were quite surrounded by ice. The ice was continually on the move and we had to change anchorage many times to avoid being crushed.

No doubt many Eskimos used to frequent this coast in former years, as we found many old stone caches and tent places, and one old grave with a complete set of weapons was discovered. Probably it was somewhere in this region that the western Eskimos used to meet the eastern, before the advent of the whalers in the Beaufort sea.

At last, on July 22, leads started to open up, and Captain Sweeney, pushing the *Alaska* through the ice, got into open water again at 7 p.m. and travelled through loose ice all night.

The 23rd inst. broke fine and clear and we had a splendid run along the coast which, as we got farther west got higher, and the Barren Lands appeared quite mountainous in places. We arrived at Cape Parry at 8 a.m. on the 24th inst., where Mr. Cox went ashore to take an observation. Cape Parry is really the tip of a great peninsula cut up by deep bays which are very little shown on the present charts.

We had a fine passage across the deep Franklin bay, and had a good view of the Smoking mountains from the ship. These are a series of high shale cliffs running sheerup from the water's edge, in which the shale has been burning in different places for many years. Fifteen places, at which the smoke was curling slowly from, were counted from the ship.

At 10 p.m. that night we arrived at the first settlement of "civilization." This was the Baillie island, Hudson Bay Company's post, situated on a sand spit between cape Bathurst and the Baillie islands. There is a good harbour here at which the whalers have wintered in previous years, and the *Alaska* in 1914-15.

It is a dreary and desolate wind-swept spot, and the gravel spit it is built on is only about 100 yards wide. In big storms the waves partly cover the spit. There is no fresh water on the sand-spit, and if no ice comes ashore, water has to be hauled by whale boat a distance of four miles. There were about ten families of Eskimos camped here, living on seals and herrings, which were very numerous. Fur had not been very plentiful [*sic*] during the winter. Several Indians from Fort Good Hope had visited this post during the winter, having come from the upper Anderson river, where they had been hunting. They traded a good many marten, and I would not be surprised if they traded regularly with this post, as the price of goods is so much lower on the coast than on the Mackenzie river. Evidently these Indians have not the dread of the Eskimos like the Indians of Great Bear lake have.

A heavy storm from the northwest struck cape Bathurst at 11 p.m. that night and raged all the next day. We were indeed fortunate to be in a good harbour.

We took the prisoners ashore at this point, so as to break them gradually into western civilization. At first they were rather nervous and the Eskimo children ran away from them, but upon seal meat and fish being produced, the prisoners were promptly reassured of no evil intent, and seemed to thoroughly enjoy their visit amongst their civilized brothers.

Leaving Baillie island at 7 p.m. on the 26th inst. we were soon out of sight of land and heading W.S.W. for Herschell island. Two Bowhead whales were seen spouting within a quarter of a mile from the ship, and a large polar bear was nearly run down the same evening.

The ocean was full of loose ice, but it was so scattered that the *Alaska* was able to travel at full speed. The compass is evidently more reliable in these waters, for we did not sight land again until off King point at noon on the 28th, and three hours later we dropped anchor in the good harbour of Herschell island.

It was a great relief to have our prisoners at last at a police post. Their conduct had been excellent, and it is indeed surprising how quickly these primitive people have adapted themselves to our ways.

Upon meeting the Herschell island Eskimos, the striking contrast between them and the Eskimos of Coronation gulf was at once noticed. We had left behind us a strong and healthy race of people who lived a strenuous though independent life in the hitherto unexploited Arctic regions. At Herschell island we were confronted with a people, both physically inferior and entirely dependent on the supplies of civilization.

An epidemic of influenza was raging on the island, and Dr. Doyle had many patients on his hands.

I found Reg. No. 5548, Constable Lamont in charge of the detachment. Acting Asst. Surgeon Doyle with Reg. No. 5396, Constable Cornelius had not long arrived from Fort MacPherson detachment with the mail.

As I was expected to return via Fort Norman my mail was of course directed to that point, and I received none here. However, Dr. Doyle and the men informed me that orders were awaiting me at Fort Norman to proceed to this point and take charge of the Mackenzie River sub-district, so consequently the Great Bear Lake patrol has ended at this point.

I would especially bring to your notice, Reg. No. 6296. Constable Wight, J.E.F., and also Reg. No. 4600, Corporal Bruce, W.V., who joined my party in Coronation gulf. The loyal support afforded me at all times by these men have made the patrol a pleasure as well as a success.

The conduct of Special Constable Ilavinik is also worthy of the highest praise. By his painstaking interpreting and the interest he has displayed in working on the case, he has proved himself to be a native who can be thoroughly relied upon.

To Dr. Anderson and all members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, I owe my heartfelt thanks for their great hospitality to the Patrol. Approximate mileage travelled since departure from Great Bear Lake, 1.400 miles.

I have the honour to be, sir.

Your obedient servant,

C. D. LA NAUZE, *Inspector.*

*In charge of Patrol.*

### 37. Constable D. Withers — Patrol from Dease Bay to Fort Fitzgerald, 10 August 1916

*Source: 1916 RNWMP Report*

Fort Fitzgerald, August 10, 1916.  
The Officer Commanding,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Athabaska Landing.

Sir, — I have the honour to submit the following report re the above.

On June 14, Constable Wight, Mr. D'Arcy Arden and Mr. Chipman, of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and Special Constable Ilavinik arrived at the base, Dease bay. I then received instructions from Inspector La Nauze (who had left the police party at Bernard Harbour to accompany the expedition on the Alaska to civilization via Herschell island and home, and escort prisoners "Sinnisiak" and "Uluksuk" alleged murderers of the Catholic priests, Father Rouvière and Father Le Roux, to Herschell island, assisted by Corporal Bruce who had wintered with the expedition at the coast) to take charge of the Great Bear Lake patrol and report to Fort Fitzgerald for further instructions.

We immediately set to work and patched up York boat and made all preparations for an early start, and left Dease bay on Wednesday, June 20, at "2 p.m. The party consisted of myself, Constable Wight, Special Constable Ilivinik and his wife and daughter, also Indian James Soldat, employed to assist patrol across Great Bear lake. We sailed with a fine northeast wind to near Big islands, when we were held up by the ice and had to camp at 9 p.m.

On Thursday, June 29, there was a dead calm, and myself and Constable Wight paddled canoe up to point opposite Big islands about five miles, and found passage through the ice at extreme point into the bay. We returned to the boat and struck camp and rowed up to the point, where Constable Wight, in waders, broke up the ice and made a passage through, while myself and Special Constable Ilavinik and Indian Soldat poled the boat through. We camped in the bay on the other side of the point at 12 p.m.

On Friday the 30th inst., with a slight northeast wind we struck camp at 10 p.m. and rowed and sailed about five miles to next point, when we stopped again on account of the ice. Constable Wight and Special

Constable Ilavinik went in canoe to point opposite and reported conditions bad, ice all jammed up in the point and no possible passage through. We camped to wait for the ice to move out.

On Saturday, July 1, there was a good northeast wind and the ice moved into the lake. We struck camp at 2 p.m. and made good time with a fair wind to Caribou point, where we camped at 9 p.m. The wind changed some after camping, blowing a regular gale from the northwest.

On Sunday, July 2, the wind was still blowing hard. Myself and Constable Wight went over to McTavish bay, about seven miles across the point to see what the conditions were there, and found passage completely blocked by ice, ice everywhere as far as could be seen through the glasses.

On Monday, July 3, it was still blowing hard from the northwest, and on Tuesday, July 4, the wind calmed down a little and settled in the west, but the ice still held firm. Mr. Arden, Mr. Chipman, and Indian Harry came into camp this evening. They were camped across the point and had been delayed there six days on account of the ice. I made arrangements to have Mr. Arden and Mr. Chipman to accompany us the remainder of the trip to Fort Norman.

On Wednesday, July 5, we struck camp at 2 p.m., and with a northeast wind sailed into McTavish bay. Big point can clearly be seen from here, and no ice to be seen except small pieces floating around.

I discharged and paid off Indian James Soldat this morning and he and Indian Harry returned to Dease bay in their own canoes.

On Thursday, July 6, with a northeast wind we crossed to Big point and had to break through the ice about five miles from shore, but found a good harbour for the boat at 9 p.m.

On Friday, July 7, a fair wind sprung up and we struck camp and rowed the boat for about six miles in an effort to get around the ice but failed on account of the ice drifting towards McTavish bay faster than we could row. We turned back and camped about a mile farther up shore than our old camp.

On Saturday, July 8, southwest wind (head wind). We stayed in camp until 9 p.m., when we had to move out as the ice was closing in on us. We rowed about six miles farther up the point and pushed the boat ashore through the ice and camped at 1.30 a.m. the 9th inst.

Sunday, July 9, was a dead calm and as far as we could see there was no ice to stop us from making Bear river; there was ice along the shore for a width of about 200 yards, but the bays all seemed to be clear.

On Monday, July 10, it was a dead calm again and we had no alternative but to remain in camp. But on Tuesday, the 11 inst, at 1.30 a.m., a good breeze sprang up from the northeast. We got everything aboard and rowed past the edge of the ice, where we hoisted the sail for exactly twenty minutes, when the wind changed around to the south. We then rowed to Hornby's York boat at the extreme end of the point, and camped, having made about five miles.

On Wednesday, July 12, it was a dead calm, but on Thursday, July 13, we got a north wind and struck camp at 6.30 a.m. We sailed for about two hours when we ran into a head wind and had to rely on the oars to take us ashore, where we camped in Botern bay. On Friday, July 14, with an east wind we struck camp at 9 am in., and camped about fifteen miles from extreme end of Kaharage point at 8 p.m. On Saturday, July 15, we rowed and tracked the boat to the extreme point of Botern bay, about six miles. From here it was possible to make Fox point with a favourable wind.

On Sunday, July 16, we were wind-bound but on Monday, July 17, with a northeast wind we struck camp at 6.30 a.m. and sailed to Great Bear Lake fishery, arriving there at 12 o'clock midnight. It started to rain heavily at 10 p.m., and continued all night. We received news here that the ss. *Mackenzie River* had arrived at Fort Norman and returned up river again, but that the *Northern Trader* had not yet arrived, so we had still hopes of catching the *Trader* on its return from Red river.

On Tuesday, July 18, we left Bear Lake fishery at 12 o'clock noon and rowed to the head of Bear river. We drifted and rowed down the river for about twenty miles when we struck a rocky bar; after much labour on oars and poles we got the boat afloat again only to strike another bar about 200 yards farther down the river. We threw all the dogs overboard and wrestled with the boat for about two hours, all hands in the water, but owing to the strong current could not move it. We then unloaded two loads of the heaviest stuff, provisions, etc., and put it ashore with the canoe, and after a little more labour we got the boat afloat and camped at 11.30 p.m. I decided to cache all the provisions here except what we would need to finish journey down the river, as the channel was so narrow and winding, continually crossing from one side of the river to the other, that the boat was extremely difficult to handle around the sharp curves with so much weight in, and impossible to move off the bars with a crew of only five men.

I am forwarding list of provisions cached with report. We had not the time to make anything but an open cache, as we were anxious to make connections with the *Northern Trader*, if possible, and as the country is thick with bears and wolves I am of the opinion that it would be advisable to have this cache abandoned, as it could not be relied upon with any amount of certainty.

On Wednesday, July 19, with a strong south wind we struck camp at 1 p.m. and rowed down the river about 10 miles, but we had to go ashore at 3 p.m. as the wind was too strong to steer the boat. The wind died down at 10 p.m. and we started off and camped at Wolverine river at 12.30 p.m. as it was too dark to proceed farther.

On Thursday, July 20, we struck camp at 12.15 p.m., but had to go ashore again about two miles farther down the river as the wind had got so strong it was impossible to handle the boat at all, and there was great danger of piling up on a bar and smashing up the boat.

On Friday, July 21, we struck camp at 6 a.m. and reached the head of the rapids at 12.30 p.m. After an inspection of the rapids I decided to abandon the boat here and leave Special Constable Ilavinik and his family in charge of dunnage, dogs etc., while myself, Constable Wight, Mr. Arden, and Mr. Chipman proceeded to Fort Norman, by canoe, where we arrived at 1.30 a.m. of the 22nd inst., just as the *Northern Trader* was steaming in from Fort Fitzgerald.

I hired Messrs. Morrison and Sloan with their poling boat and two canoes and four Indians to freight stuff and Special Constable Ilavinik and family from York boat to Fort Norman, and despatched them up the river the same day.

These rapids are about eight miles in length and for about six miles are absolutely nothing else but bars extending the full breadth of the river. The water here is very low and with a boat drawing about ten inches of water it is utterly impossible to bring it down, especially with an old and wornout boat. The water is very swift and once the boat struck a bar in this water that would be the finish of it.

Special Constable Ilavinik and family with freight and dogs, arrived at Fort Norman O. K. on the 26th inst. Inspector La Nauze had made arrangements last summer with Inspector Philips to have a whale boat sent to Fort Norman to take Special Constable Ilavinik and family back to Fort McPherson: this had arrived and I made arrangements for their transportation to that post, by employing two Indians to assist and act as

guides through the rapids as far as the Red river as Special Constable Ilavinik was not acquainted with the Mackenzie river, and was afraid to go alone.

The *Northern Trader* arrived at Fort Norman on the evening of the 27th on her return trip to Fort Fitzgerald. Myself and Constable Wight got our dunnage aboard and left Fort Norman on the morning of the 28th, and arrived at Fort Fitzgerald on the 4th inst., 11 p. m.

The distance from the base at Dease bay to Fort Norman I estimated at 400 miles, about 100 miles being travelled on Bear river.

I have the honour to be, sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
D. WITHERS. Reg. No. 4749. Constable.  
I/C Bear Lake Patrol  
for Inspt. La Nauze, A.O.D.

### 38. A. Bowen Perry to Comptroller, RNWMP, 20 September 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Royal North West Mounted Police, Commissioner's Office, Regina, Sask.  
20<sup>th</sup> September 1916.

Sir:

re: Murder of the Rev. Fathers Rouviere and LeRoux.

I yesterday forwarded you the original commitment papers of the two Eskimos Uluksuk and [Sinnisiak], who have been committed for trial on the charge of murdering the Reverend Fathers [Rouvière] and Le Roux.

The prisoners are in the custody of the Mounted Police at Herschell Island.

The question of the trial is one of considerable difficulty, and I should be glad to have instructions so that I may be able to send orders to Inspector La Nauze by first opportunity.

The murder was committed in the North West Territories. Herschell Island is in the Yukon Territory.

Two courses seem open. (1) To bring the prisoners to Fort MacPherson and try them, using as evidence their own admission. This I am well aware



is contrary to the usual practice in murder cases, but possibly the Department of Justice, in view of the extraordinary difficulties of bringing the witnesses from the neighbourhood of Dolphin and Union Straits to the place of trial, may consider this the only practical course. (2) That the trial shall take place as near the scene of the murder as possible, and in the presence of the tribes to which the accused belong.

The effect of taking this course will be great among the Eskimos on the Arctic Coast, and in view of the fact that this is not the first murder which has taken place, it seems most important that they should learn that human life must not be taken.

Should the trial take place near the scene of the murder, there may be a difficulty in securing the necessary number of persons qualified to act as jurors, but probably there would be enough in the party accompanying the trial judge.

On receiving the decision of the Commissioner of the North West Territories, I shall be prepared to submit report as to what arrangements will be necessary.

I may point out that as Commissioner of this Force, I have the power of a Stipendiary Magistrate for the North West Territories and that I am quite willing to undertake the trial if it should be the wish of the Right Honourable The Minister that I should do so.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*(Sd) A. Bowen Perry,*

Commissioner.

### 39. Acting Comptroller of the RNWMP to A.E. Blount, Privy Council Office, 25 September 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

25<sup>th</sup> September, 1916.

Dear Mr. Blount,

I enclose, herewith, for the information of the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister, reports received from Commissioner Perry with regard to the arrest of the murders of the Revd. Fathers Le Roux and Rouviere and have

arranged them so that they may give as connected and continuous a story as possible.

You will observe that the Eskimo concerned are now prisoners in the R. N. W. M. Police Guard Room at Herschel Island, Y. T., and the question of their trial will have to be considered very soon, and in this connection I attach hereto copy of a letter from the Commissioner on the subject, details the courses open. I have not communicated with the Commissioner of the North West Territories in the matter, as I have thought that Sir Robert would like to discuss the matter first with Commissioner Perry on his arrival here on the 9<sup>th</sup> proximo.

May I direct attention to the last paragraph of Commissioner Perry's letter, in which he expresses his willingness to undertake the trial if it should be the wish of the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister.

A memorandum covering suitable rewards for the members of The Great Bear Lake Patrol will be submitted in due course.

I have received from the Commissioner a report on the Central or Copper Eskimo by Mr. D. Jenness, [Ethnologist] of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, a copy of which will be forwarded for Sir Robert's information in the course of a day or so.

Yours faithfully,  
[unsigned draft]

#### 40. E.L. Newcombe to the Acting Comptroller of the RNWMP, 21 October 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

A 1321.

Ottawa, 21<sup>st</sup> October 1916.

Sir;

Referring to your letter of 25<sup>th</sup> ultimo, addressed to the Prime Minister's Secretary, with regard to the trial of the Eskimos charged with the murder of Fathers Le Roux and Rouviere, which letter has been referred to me for consideration, I shall be glad if you will tell me at what time you think it would be convenient that the trial should take place, and where, also as to the means of travel to reach the place of trial, and how long the journey would take, going and coming. It appears that Commissioner Perry would have jurisdiction to sit as judge, or that a judge of one of the provincial courts might be sent in to take the trial. I understand that a place of trial

should be selected somewhere in the vicinity of the place where the crime was committed, or where the tribe or band to which the accused belong is located, but I am unable to identify any such place upon the map or to ascertain from the papers before me the facts necessary for a conclusion as to what directions should be given. I should be glad if you will report to me fully in this matter, and if Commissioner Perry be still in Ottawa I should like to see him.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sgd) E. L. NEWCOMBE,  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

#### 41. A. Bowen Perry to the RNWMP Comptroller, 30 October 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Royal North West Mounted Police, Commissioner's Office. Regina, Sask.  
30<sup>th</sup> October, 1916.

Sir:

Re: Murder of the Rev. Fathers Rouviere and LeRoux.

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I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of letter from the Deputy Minister of Justice dated 21<sup>st</sup> October transmitted to me under cover of your letter of the 24<sup>th</sup> instant.

In my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> September I pointed out that the question of trial was one of considerable difficulty and asked for certain instructions from the Department of Justice, on which being answered, I would be able to give details as to how arrangements for the trial might be carried out. These questions have not been answered, but I judge from the letter of the Deputy Minister of Justice that the place of trial is to be selected somewhere in the vicinity of the place where the crime was committed.

I would direct the Deputy Minister of Justice's attention to the Railway Map of the Dominion of Canada, issued by the Department of the Interior in 1914. This map shows the Coppermine River emptying into Coronation Gulf. Near the mouth of the river Bloody Fall is marked. It was near this

place that the alleged murders took place. The tribe to which the accused belong, generally pass the Winter in Coronation Gulf and Dolphin & Union Strait. Point Cockburn which will be found marked on the southern shores of the Dolphin & Union Strait, is the point where the Southern party of the Stefanson Expedition made its headquarters. It is also the point where a trading schooner the "Teddy-Bear" wintered some year ago and traded with the Eskimos along that section of the Arctic coast.

Point Cockburn is reached by sea from Herschell Island. My information is that is the point furthest East on the Dolphin & Union Strait which can be reached with any degree of safety. This is one possible point at which the trial could take place, because the Eskimos could with some trouble be assembled there at a date to be fixed. The date would very much depend. As it is not possible to fix the exact date because of the uncertainty of navigation in Arctic Waters. There is no ship wintering this year at Herschell Island, which would be available to make the trip next Summer to Point Cockburn. Therefore a suitable ship would have to be sent in via Behring Sea. There is always an uncertainty as to whether it would reach Herschell Island, as very often, navigation is blocked at Point Barrow, Alaska.

Supposing a ship to have made her voyage to Herschell Island, there is then the additional uncertainty of reaching Point Cockburn. Under ordinary conditions there ought to be no difficulty.

The cost of chartering a ship for this voyage would be very great owing to the heavy risks of navigation in Arctic waters.

The alternative site for the trial is Fort Confidence at the N. E. corner of Dease Bay, Great Bear Lake. It was from this point that Inspector LaNauze made his trip to the Arctic to effect the arrest of the accused.

The Eskimos leave the shores of Coronation Gulf about the end of April and proceed inland following the deer. They spend the summer inland and return to the coast about September, spreading about the islands in the Gulf where they hunt for seal. An Officer could be sent in by way of Fort Confidence to Coronation Gulf to intercept the Eskimos about the time they are leaving for the interior and persuade the necessary witnesses, and possibly the whole tribe to journey to Fort Confidence. This he would probably accomplish by August 1917 if preparations were immediately made.

The Judge who tries the case could go down the Mackenzie River to Fort Norman and from that place up the Great Bear River to Fort Confidence.

The accused would be brought up the River from Fort MacPherson by the first steamer coming up river. They would be transferred during this coming up river. They would be transferred during this coming Winter from Herschell Island to Fort MacPherson. They would reach the place of trial about the same time as the Court.

This is the only practical way of carrying out the trial within a reasonable time. The Court returning might not find it possible to reach Fort Norman in time to catch the last steamer up the river. They would probably have to remain there until Winter travelling was possible.

As I pointed out in my letter of the 20<sup>th</sup> September last, instructions should be given as soon as possible.

I have the honour to be,  
Sir,  
Your obedient servant,  
(Sgd) *A. Bowen Perry*,  
Commissioner.

## 42. E.L. Newcombe to the RNWMP Comptroller, 21 November 1916

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, 21<sup>st</sup> November, 1916.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo, enclosing a letter from Commissioner Perry with regard to the pro-posed trial of the Esquimaux who are charged with the murder of Fathers Le Roux and Rouviere, it would seem that the project of conducting a trial of these Esquimaux in the neighbourhood of the place where the crime was committed is rather impracticable. I think that the delays and dangers, to say nothing of the expense incident to a special Arctic voyage to Point Cockburn for the purpose of hearing the case are so great as to condemn that suggestion.

Therefore if a trial is to be held it should take place either at some convenient point on the Mackenzie River or at Fort Confidence in

accordance with the alternative suggestion of Commissioner Perry. There would be no advantage in having the trial at Fort Confidence rather than on the Mackenzie, except the possibility of having some members of the band to which these Esquimaux belong present at the trial. The evidence against the accused is to be found in their confession or statement at the preliminary hearing, and in the circumstances of the case, and it appears to be very doubtful that any witnesses could be obtained from the band whose testimony would be essential. There would moreover probably be very great delay in procuring the attendance of such witnesses, even at Fort Confidence.

There seems to be considerable ground disclosed by the statements of the prisoners for the view that they killed these missionaries for motives of self defence, and it is a questionable matter as to what measures the Government should adopt in the case. I should think, it not improbable if the prisoners survive, that they would sooner or later be permitted to return to the band; and that being so, I think that during their detention every possible effort should be made to impress upon them an adequate realization of the laws to which they are subject, that human life and property are to be respected, and the nature of the punishment which is sure to come to those who [willfully] and unjustifiably offend.

The procedure in the case will be further considered, but as it is understood that the only post for Herschel Island before next Spring will leave Edmonton on 28<sup>th</sup> instant, the Minister is disposed to think that he cannot do better for the present than to direct that these prisoners be moved at a convenient time from Herschel Island to Fort Macpherson, so as to be there upon the arrival of the Hudson Bay boat when it makes its annual passage down the Mackenzie next Summer. The prisoners, as [well as] the police officers who have any evidence to give, should be at Fort Macpherson at that time, and either a court will be sent down by the boat to try them there, returning by the boat, or otherwise instructions will be sent as to what is to be done with the prisoners.

Will you be good enough therefore to see that the above instructions are duly communicated.

Your obedient servant,  
(Sd) E. L. NEWCOMBE  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

### 43. E.L. Newcombe to C.C. McCaul, 3 July 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Dear Mr. McCaul:

You wrote to me some time ago that you would be willing to represent the Attorney General of Canada in the prosecution of the two Eskimos who are being brought down from the North for trial upon the capital charge in respect of the death of the two priests, Fathers Rouviere and LeRoux, and I am pleased to inform you that the Minister has authorized me to commit the matter to your hands.

I am informed that the accused will probably arrive at Edmonton in early August; and my instructions were that the police officers who are able to give any information should accompany the prisoners, along with an intelligent interpreter, and any other witnesses, if any, who may be available, bringing with them all the papers bearing upon the case.

The Attorney General of Alberta informed me that there would be no difficulty in assembling the Court for the trial of these prisoners as soon as they arrived, and more recently I have a letter from the Deputy Attorney General in which he states that the Chief Justice has fixed, tentatively I presume, 14th of August for the trial.

The Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs informs me that, as his Department assumes some duties of guardianship over the interests of the Eskimos, he desires to instruct counsel to defend these prisoners, and the Minister of Justice accordingly has named Mr. H.L. Landry of Edmonton for the defence and notified the Deputy Superintendent General who will in due course forward his instructions to Mr. Landry, but which I have no doubt will be in conformity, or certainly not in conflict, with those which I am communicating to you.

The evidence against the accused, so far as I am informed, consists principally if not altogether, of their own confession or the statements which they made to the police, coupled perhaps with circumstances to which the officers who effected the arrest may be able to depose. While it is thought that the prisoners ought to be convicted, the Minister is disposed to think that the case would not justify the infliction of the extreme penalty, and that in the general interest of the safety and protection of these people who are thrown into contact with the Eskimos, the most desirable result of the proceedings would be conviction, sentence to death, and commutation to a term of imprisonment under the police at one of the

forts in the North where these Eskimos could receive some wholesome instruction with a view to being returned to the band within a year or two, in the hope that they may be the subjects of some reformation and that their report of the proceedings may exercise a good influence upon their comrades.

I think it not unlikely that if these Eskimos be strictly defended and not permitted to go into the box, it will be found impossible to justify conviction. The circumstantial proof may be meagre, especially in view of the fact that, as I understand, none of the band with which these Eskimos were associated at the time of the offence was committed is coming down, and the statements which the accused made to the police would, I should think, not improbably be found to have been induced in a manner which would lead to their exclusion under the strict rules of evidence. It is the desire of the Government, nevertheless, from motives of public interest that all the facts should be elucidated at the trial, so far as may be in any manner possible with the material available. Therefore, I do not anticipate that any objection would be raised to the adducing in evidence of any conversations which may have taken place between the accused and the police officer, and moreover I anticipate that counsel defending the Eskimos will be instructed to put them in the box so as to afford them an opportunity to explain their case in the fullest possible manner. Then, whether upon the whole available evidence which would thus be brought out, the accused ought or ought not to be convicted will of course be a matter for the jury under the instructions of the presiding Judge, considering of course also what counsel for the prosecution and in the defence of the accused may urge.

As I have said, while I think it possible that these two unfortunate Eskimos with their limited experience of white men and low order of reasoning power may have considered that it was necessary for their own safety to do away with these two priests, there can, I should imagine, be not the least possible doubt that if they were held responsible upon the same plane as an ordinary sort of white man, they could not reasonably hope to escape conviction. Therefore I think they ought to be convicted, but I am quite certain, and I think the Judge also should be made aware of this, that the Government will not feel disposed to permit the execution of a capital sentence. On the other hand, it is considered most desirable by the advisers of the Government who have experience with the Eskimos, that the lives of these two individuals should be spared, so that after a period of training and attempt to make them understand the enormity of their offence and



the probable consequences which would attach to them or other of their band committing like offences in future, they may return with the tidings to their comrades, in the hope that they may exercise a sort of missionary influence for the general good, and I think that if they be convicted, the Government would consider their case and mitigate the punishment with the utmost expedition, so that they might be taken North again while the travelling holds good this autumn, and thus escape the dangers of disease incident to the sojourn of the Eskimos in the lower latitudes.

I am sending you herewith all the papers which I have and if you require any further information or instructions which can be furnished before the accused arrive, if you will be good enough to communicate with me, I shall endeavour to satisfy you.

Yours very truly,  
Deputy Minister of Justice

#### 44. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 3 July 1917 [with enclosure].

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1917.

ENC.

A-1321.

Dear Mr. Scott,

Referring to our conversation, I am enclosing herewith my letter of instructions to Mr. McCaul with reference to the prosecution of two Eskimos from which you will observe that it would be in now in order that you should instruct Mr. Landry, whom the Minister has named, upon your request, to defend the Eskimos.

Yours very truly,  
*[Sgd: E.L. Newcombe]*  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

**45. E.L. Newcombe to A.S. Williams, Law Clerk, Department of Indian Affairs, 13 July 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, 13<sup>th</sup> July 1917.

Dear Mr. Williams;

Re King vs. Eskimos.

I have perused my letter of instructions to Mr McCaul, and I do not see any objection to your communicating a copy of it to Mr Landry, with instructions to conform to the policy of defence therein outlined, but I think you might say to him that if any further inquiry suggests itself upon perusing these instructions he will do well to communicate with you so that the matter may be definitely cleared up before the prisoners arrive.

Yours very truly,  
*[Sgd: E.L. Newcombe]*

**46. D.C. Scott to H.L. Landry, Barrister, Edmonton, 13 July 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

13<sup>th</sup> July, 1917.

Dear Mr. Landry.

Two Eskimos are being brought down from the North to stand their trial at Edmonton on or about the 14<sup>th</sup> day of August next upon the capital charge in respect of the death of the two priests, Fathers Rouviere and Le-Roux, and it is desired that you conduct their defence on behalf of this Department.

Mr. C. C. McCaul, K.C., of Edmonton, has been engaged by the Crown to prosecute these cases and owing to the exceptional conditions of the accused special instructions have been given Mr. McCaul as to the conduct of the case. I am enclosing a copy of these instructions. The Superintendent General concurs in the suggestions set forth therein and it is desired that you follow them in the conduct of the defence.

If any further enquiry suggests itself upon perusing these instructions will you be good enough to communicate with me at once so that the matter may be definitely cleared up before the prisoners arrive.

I may say that Mr. Inspector Conroy of this Department will be in Edmonton in the interests of this case and will be at your service.

Yours very truly,

*[Sgd: Duncan C. Scott]*

Deputy Superintendent General

**47. H.L. Landry, Landry & Landry Barristers, to D.C. Scott, 17 July 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

LA.

July 17, 1917.

Deputy Superintendent General,  
Department of Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your favor of the 13<sup>th</sup> inst. Enclosing a copy of the instructions issued to Mr. C. C. McCaul K. C., of Edmonton, who has been engaged to prosecute the two eskimos on behalf of the Government, upon the capital charge, in respect to the death of the two priests, Fathers Rouviere and Le Roux, and beg to thank you for having named me to conduct their defence on behalf of your Department.

I have written Mr. E. L. Newcombe, K. C., Deputy Minister of Justice, in connection with the case and would ask you to kindly see him in connection with the matter.

Yours truly,

*[Sgd: H.L. Landry]*

48. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent  
General of Indian Affairs, 23 July 1917 [with enclosure].

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

Enclosure.

Ottawa, 23<sup>rd</sup> July 1917.

Dear Mr Scott;

Re 2 Eskimos.

I am sending you herewith a letter which I have received from Mr Landry, whose name I gave you for the defence, from which you will perceive that he does not wish to act in line with the instructions which I gave Mr McCaul I am informing Mr Landry that I have referred his letter to you.

I do not myself see any sufficient reason why counsel named by your department for the defence should in the circumstances of the case object to conduct the proceedings according to the policy of your department. The trial of course is in the hands of the judge, and it is not intended to impose any view or course of procedure upon him, either on the part of the prosecution or the defence. I anticipate that Mr McCaul will make the judge aware of his instructions, and that if counsel for the defence desire to intimate to the court that he is governed in the conduct of the defence by instructions I should see no objection to that. I have no doubt that the court would see that the prisoners suffer no injustice by reason of any conventional proceedings, and certainly the Government is not carrying on the prosecution for the purpose of affording counsel an opportunity to make or mar his reputation. I would be quite willing in the circumstances, for my own part, to leave the matter in the hands of the judge to nominate counsel to conduct the defence under the direction of the judge, but while I cannot very well become responsible both for the prosecution and the defence, I imagine that if your department is providing for the defence you would wish to have it conducted in accordance with your instructions.

Yours very truly,

*[Sgd: E.L. Newcombe]*

D. M. J.

[Enclosed: H.L. Landry, Landry & Landry Barristers, to E.L. Newcombe, 17 July 1917]

LA.

July 17, 1917.

Deputy Minister of Justice,  
Ottawa, Ont.

Dear Sir:

I am today in receipt of a letter from the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs retaining me to conduct the defence of the two Eskimos now being brought to stand trial at Edmonton on the 14<sup>th</sup> of August next, upon a capital charge.

There was enclosed in the said letter a copy of the instructions given to Mr. C. C. McCaul K. C., who has been engaged by the Crown to prosecute these cases.

I regret exceedingly that I am unable to agree with the instructions given Mr. McCaul, insofar as they are sought to be made applicable to me and under the circumstances I feel that it will be impossible for me to accept the defence unless the conditions are considerably changed.

The charge is one of murder and I feel personally that the prisoners should be afforded every opportunity to defend themselves according to the laws and rules governing evidence.

My objections are; First: as counsel for the accused I am instructed to do something that no lawyer should be asked to do as in my opinion it is contrary to the etiquette and honour of the Profession to allow to go on the record, to the prejudice of the accused, confessions or statements not properly or legally [admissible] as evidence. At this writing I do not know whether such confessions or statements are properly evidence or not. Further such disregard of the rules of evidence by me could have no other tendency than to create an unfavorable impression upon the trial judge. I strongly object likewise to comply with that part of the instructions that suggests that I should put the accused in the box when the probable result of such evidence may be the sole and determining factor of their conviction.

Secondly: There is no doubt but that these cases will be closely followed by many both within and without the profession and if I were quietly to sit back at the counsel table and make no objection to the [reception] of the in-admissible evidence and supinely allow conversations and statements

manifestly not evidence to be received as such there would be created a feeling against me by those following the trail that I do not care should be entertained, a feeling that I am unduly incompetent or unfair to my clients.

You will readily comprehend that the general public will not understand the nature of the instructions given and even were they to appreciate the situation, it is most probable that they would be at a loss to understand the position of the presiding judge. My own personal reputation could not otherwise than suffer as I would be regarded as a lawyer of very limited knowledge of the rules of evidence and as a practitioner of questionable judgement.

In view of what I have indicated, notwithstanding that I would be very pleased to conduct the defence and also to obtain the accompanying fee, I feel that unless I am given an absolutely free hand in the defence it is utterly impossible for me to consider continuing with these cases.

I trust that you will be able to understand my feeling, which I have frankly set forth, in the matter and I would like you to let me know by return mail whether or not the instructions must be carried out according to the letter to Mr. McCaul of the 3<sup>rd</sup> of July, or if I am to be allowed the latitude given when conducting a private case. The reason I would appreciate an early reply is that if I am not to conduct these cases I am taking a vacation for the greater part of next month.

Thanking you exceedingly for your kindness in having offered me the conduct of the defence,

I remain,

Yours sincerely,

*[Sgd: H.L. Landry]*

#### 49. D.C. Scott to H.L. Landry, 25 July 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

July 25<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

Dear Sir -

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> July. I have had an opportunity of perusing your letter to Mr. Newcombe and conferring with him on the subject.

I regret that you do not feel able to conduct the defence of the Indians [*sic*], but under the circumstances we will not ask you to undertake the case.

Yours very truly,  
[*Sgd: Duncan C. Scott*]  
Deputy Superintendent General.

### 50. D.C. Scott to E.L. Newcombe, 25 July 1917

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

25<sup>th</sup> July, 1917.

Dear Mr. Newcombe,

Re Eskimo.

Pursuant to our conversation of this morning, I have written to Mr. Landry stating that under the circumstances we will not ask him to undertake the case.

I would not, however, like to have the Court get the impression that the Department is neglecting to give the accused in this case the assistance that is invariably given in the case of Indians on trial for murder in engaging counsel for their defence. In order to show that we are not neglecting our duty in this case I would like to ask the trial Judge to designate counsel to defend them and to say that such counsel's fees will be paid by this Department after taxation by the Department of Justice, if you think this would be a proper thing for me to do. Will you kindly advise me as to your views in this matter.

Yours very truly,  
[*Sgd: Duncan C. Scott*]  
Deputy Superintendent General.

51. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 26 July 1917 [with enclosure].

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

Ottawa, 26th July 1917.

Dear Mr Scott;

Re 2 Eskimos.

I am sending you herewith, as promised, copy of a letter which I have today written to Mr McCaul.

Yours very truly,  
(Sd) E. L. NEWCOMBE  
D. M. J.

Enclosure.

25<sup>th</sup> July, 1917

Dear Mr. McCaul,

Re 2 Eskimos

I have received a letter from Mr. Landry, who, as you know, was nominated by the Minister for the defence of these prisoners. I had sent the Indian Department copy of my letter to you of 3<sup>rd</sup> instant in order to indicate my proposed method of procedure, and it seems that they communicated a copy to Mr. Landry for his guidance. His reply, copy enclosed, is the occasion of this letter. I have acknowledged Mr. Landry's communication, and transferred it to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, who I understand will write Mr. Landry to the effect that his services will not be required, seeing that he does not find it compatible with his situation to act in conformity with the departmental instructions; and in view of the circumstances I anticipate that the Department of Indian Affairs will now leave the matter in the hands of the Judge who may, if he please, nominate counsel to conduct the defence under the direction of the court.

I may tell you that the manner and policy of these proceedings have been a matter of anxious consideration, and it was concluded to adopt the course which I outlined in my letter of 3<sup>rd</sup> instant as affording possibly the best means that could be devised of securing a full and impressive investigation of the facts, and a disposition of the case which would accord with the justice and at the same time operate so far as possible to impress



the Eskimos with a greater measure of respect for the white man and the law of the country. While I am not very precisely informed as to what the particulars of the evidence against the Eskimos will be, I am disposed to think from the general character of the case that openings may not be lacking for a smart defence such as Mr. Landry stipulates that he should be free to set up. Nobody wishes or has suggested that the judge should be in anywise [*sic*] controlled, or that any view should be imposed upon him as to the admission of evidence or the manner of conducting the proceedings, neither does anybody suggest that counsel should be prevented by his instructions from raising any question which according to a properly balanced judgment the justice of the case may be found to require; but it will readily be perceived that if, as I apprehend, there be a substantial case against these Eskimos, nothing would be less desirable in the public interest, or for the achievement of the salutary and benevolent subjects which are in view, than the raising of technical questions to defeat it and the complications and delays which might be incidental.

I suggest for your consideration, and upon this suggestion you will set or not as you think advisable or expedient, that you might make the judge aware of the nature of the instructions which I have written to you, so that he may not overlook the attitude and the objects of this department and of the Department of Indian Affairs in the direction of the [trial]. Whether or not the procedure now proposed will result in the accused going into the box I do not know, but I cannot help thinking that in some way or other they ought to be called and given an opportunity to state and explain their case to the fullest extent.

I leave it to you as representing the Crown to see that the facts are brought out as fully as may be with the material which you find available, and moreover that no undue advantage is taken of the prisoners.

Mr. Landry's letter suggests that perhaps our proceedings may be made the subject of criticism or hostile discussion, a possibility which I would not otherwise have realised, and for that reason you should be the more particular to see that the whole procedure is conducted with a perfect regard to what is fair and just.

I am sure I need not enumerate to you the considerations which were conclusive against the proposal to conduct this trial at or near the locus of the crime or elsewhere in the North where the band of the Eskimos might attend. The selection of members of the band as witnesses and the bringing of these to Edmonton was an undertaking almost equally difficult;

moreover the forcible taking away of several innocent members of the band for such a prolonged and unprecedented journey, with its accompanying risks and dangers, was liable to be misunderstood; if by reason of accident or disease it should transpire that these witnesses could not be returned, a situation might arise difficult to explain to the satisfaction of the band, and if their powers of reflection should prove inadequate to distinguish between the case of the criminal and the innocent witnesses the event might be very unfortunate. For these and other reasons sufficiently obvious we concluded to bring out the accused with such evidence as the police have been able to gather and trust to the common sense and sympathetic co-operation of the tribunal to investigate the facts in a manner according such due regard to the very exceptional difficulties of the prosecution as might be not inconsistent with the project of a fair trial.

Having said this much I do think it necessary to comment upon the suggestion of permitting counsel nominated by the Government for the defence to exhaust the possibilities of legal methods for the purpose of having the accused acquitted upon any expedient which would involve the excluding or withholding of the available evidence of the facts. Especially do I object that my instruction to you having got into the hands of counsel for the prisoners should operate to defeat their own intent.

Yours very truly,  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

## 52. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 9 August 1917.

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, 9<sup>th</sup> August 1917.

Dear Mr Scott;

### Re Eskimos.

This case has now arrived at the stage where the Chief Justice has nominated Mr J. E. Wallbridge, K. C., of Edmonton to defend the prisoners, who are expected to arrive at Edmonton today, and the trial is fixed for next Tuesday. Mr McCaul reports that Mr Wallbridge is a perfectly safe and reliable counsel, and I think it would be advisable that you should send him a telegram, which might read as follows, or to the following effect:-

“Understand you have been nominated by Chief Justice to defend Eskimo prisoners now arriving at Edmonton. Wish you would see Mr. Newcombe’s instructions to Mr. McCaul of third ultimo. These are in accordance with the policy of my Department, but while I think that the public interest would be served by conducting the defence upon these lines. I do not wish in anywise to limit or restrict the exercise of your judgment in the conduct of the defence as counsel for the prisoners nominated by the court.”

I think it would be right in the circumstances that Mr Wallbridge should be made aware of your point of view, leaving him at the same time a free hand for the defence according to his best judgment, which I understand he may be trusted to exercise discreetly.

If you despatch this message to Mr Wallbridge please inform me so that I may send an intimation to Mr McCaul.

Yours very truly,  
*[Signed- E. L. Newcombe]*  
Deputy Minister of Justice.

## 52. D.C. Scott to E.L. Newcombe, 9 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Dear Mr. Newcombe,

### Re Eskimos.

I have your letter of the 9<sup>th</sup>. instant with reference to the above subject, and in accordance with your suggestion I have today wired Mr. J. E. Wallbridge, K. C., of Edmonton, as follows:-

“Understand you have been nominated by Chief Justice to defend Eskimo prisoners now arriving at Edmonton. Wish you would see Mr. Newcombe’s instructions to Mr. McCaul of third ultimo. These are in accordance with the policy of my Department, but while I think that the public interest would be served by conducting the defence upon these lines. I do not wish in anywise to limit or restrict the exercise of your judgment in the conduct of the defence as counsel for the prisoners nominated by the court.”

Yours sincerely,  
Deputy Superintendent General.

53. Memorandum H.A. Conroy to D.C. Scott, 10 August 1917

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

MEMORANDUM

EDMONTON, Aug. 10, 1917.

My dear Mr. Scott, -

I arrived here yesterday morning with the Eskimos and I have spent every day with them for three or four weeks, and will be very busy with our Attorney Mr. Wellbridge in giving him all the information which I gathered on my trip north. I feel satisfied that our case will be all right, although I do not know exactly yet what the prosecution intends to do.

Mr. Wallbridge and I will visit them every day until the Court meets on the 14<sup>th</sup>, and I think it will take some days before we get the case rounded out.

H. A. Conroy.

54. Transcript of *Rex vs. Sinnisiak*, Edmonton, 14-17 August 1917

Source: McKay Jenkins.

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF ALBERTA

EDMONTON JUDICIAL DISTRICT.

Before the Honourable Chief Justice Harvey, and a Jury, at Edmonton, Alberta, August 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th, 1917.

R E X

-- vs. --

S I N N I S I A K .

-----  
EVIDENCE at TRIAL.  
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Mr. C.C. McCaul, K.C. , and E.B. Cogswell, Esq., for the Crown.

Mr. J.E. Wallbridge, K.C. for the Accused.

I N D E X.

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Opening address by Mr. McCaul

Evidence at trial:

Witnesses:

Father Duchausoir<sup>12</sup>

Corpl. Wyndham Valentine Bruce

Dr. Heber C. Jamieson James Wight

Inspector Charles D. LaNauze

Statement of Accused

Koeha

Ilavinik

Defence:

Sinnisiak

Closing address to the Court and Jury by Mr. McCaul

Charge to Jury

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In the Supreme Court of Alberta  
EDMONTON JUDICIAL DISTRICT  
REX  
vs.  
SINNISIAK

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<sup>12</sup> *Editors' note:* R.P. Pierre Jean Baptiste Duchaussois, OMI.

(An Eskimo charged with the murder of Rev. Pere Rouviere at Bloody Fall on the Coppermine River near Coronation Gulf on the Arctic Ocean, in November, 1913).

BEFORE The Honourable Chief Justice Harvey, and a Jury; at Edmonton, Alberta, August 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th, 1917.

Mr. C. C. McCaul, K.C., for the Crown.

Mr. J. E. Wallbridge, K.C., for the accused.

#### OPENING ADDRESS OF COUNSEL FOR THE PROSECUTION

MR. McCaul: May it please Your Lordship, and Gentlemen of the Jury: I think it is proper to explain to you, in the first instance, how these men, who have been brought down from the extreme north of the North West Territories, from the shores of the Arctic Ocean, come to be tried in the Province of Alberta. Provision is made in the Criminal Code to this effect that offences committed in any part of Canada, not in a Province duly constituted as such, and not in the Yukon Territory, may be enquired of and tried within any District, County or place in any province so constituted, or in the Yukon Territories, which maybe most convenient. Then the Court proceeds in the same manner as if the crime or offence had been committed in the province, in this case in the Province of Alberta.

In the early days of Canada, in the Reign of George III., there was a very similar Statute in force relating to what was then known as Prince Rupert's Land and Indian Territories, by which the Courts of Upper Canada and Lower Canada were given jurisdiction to try offences committed in those far distant territories in very much the same way as this Court has got jurisdiction to try the particular offence which you are here to enquire into to-day, There was a very celebrated trial held in the year 1818 in the City of Montreal, of two men, Charles de Reinhart and Archibald McLellan, who were brought down from away up in the Far West, probably from the neighborhood of Fort Carlton. They were brought down and tried at Montreal before Chief Justice Sewell. Any person who is sufficiently interested can easily get the report of their trials, which was published in book form at Montreal.

So you can see that the trial upon which we are about to embark now is a very extraordinary one, a very important one, a trial which is really historic, a trial which is absolutely unique in the history of North America, not only of Canada, but I think I am right in saying in the history of North America. The long arm of British Justice has reached out to the shore of the Arctic Ocean, and has made prisoners of two of the aboriginal inhabitants of the Arctic Shore, suspected of having committed the crime in question. It has investigated the circumstances, brought the prisoners before a Justice of the Peace who has committed them for trial, and it has brought them out all this long distance, a journey of nearly three thousand miles, to the capital city of Alberta, to be tried before the Chief Justice of the Province, and a jury of our own Canadian citizens, to be given here a fair, impartial and public trial. The entire public have access to the court-room so far as the court-room is able to accommodate those who wish to attend and to see how justice is administered.

The main instrument of justice in the investigation of the crime and in effecting the arrest of the supposed criminals has been in this case, as it has been in so many cases, the Royal North West Mounted Police. You will have presented to you the whole story relating to their arrest from the time the Police first got information leading them to suspect that these two priests, who had not been heard of for two years, had met with foul play, had come to their death in the "Barrens" bordering on the Arctic Ocean. You will have before you a thrilling story of travel and adventure in lands forlorn, and I am quite sure that after you have heard all the story you will agree with me that too much credit cannot be given to the young police officer who is here, Inspector LaNauze, for his discretion and for his splendid courage in effecting their arrest. Inspector LaNauze was loyally assisted by Corporal Bruce who is likely to be one of the witnesses, and also by Constable White. Corporal Bruce came all the way down the Coast from Herschel Island to the mouth of the Coppermine River, while Constable White came over-land from Fort Norman, with Inspector LaNauze, travelling, "tracking," up the Bear River, crossing Great Bear Lake, thence over the Divide, and down the Coppermine to its mouth in Coronation Gulf. Inspector LaNauze also received support from special Constable Ilavinek, the Eskimo interpreter, who will probably also be one of the witnesses. Later in effecting the arrest of the second prisoner [he] had the assistance of this boy, Patsy, half Norwegian and half Eskimo. You can imagine this little expedition starting from the base at Fort Norman and

making their way to the shores of the Arctic Ocean; within twenty-seven days from the time they arrived they not only learned the whole story of the slaughter of these priests, but discovered the names of the two Eskimos who had killed them, effected their arrests, brought them before Inspector LaNauze, the magistrate at Bernard Harbor, and had them committed for trial. All this was accomplished as I have said in less than a month.

I have said this is an extraordinary trial. It is extraordinary in this particular way: the arrest by two or three policemen—*peace officers*—not soldiers—*peace officers*—of the two particular individuals, and of these two particular individuals only, out of the whole tribe of the Eskimo, among whom Father Rouviere and Father LeRoux had been working and extending their missionary efforts. Contrast that with what would have happened if white men elsewhere had been massacred by a tribe of savages: there would probably have been only one or two who had effected the actual killing—let us say, in Central Africa, in Borneo, in the Phillipines [*sic*], or in Mexico or in (a few years ago), the Western States of America. Contrast the different methods, I say: here, with us British Justice reaches out to the shore of the Arctic Ocean and has picked out of the offending tribe two *individual* men; it says: You two men are responsible for these deaths; we do not want anything to do with the rest of the tribe; we have picked the two individuals who we hold to be responsible. What would have happened in the other cases I have referred to? *Retributory* justice would have dispatched a military force, a punitive force, against the tribe. Retributory justice would have sent a punitive expedition and the tribe would have been decimated as a result, possibly exterminated.

This appears to me an [extraordinary] instance of the fairness of British Justice and of the peaceful instead of the warlike methods in which it operates.

I have said that this trial is an important trial. It is important particularly in this. The Indians of the Plains, the Blackfeet, and the Crees, and the Chippeweyans and the Sarcees and the Stoneys have been educated in the ideas of justice. They have been educated to know that justice does not mean merely retribution, and that the justice which is administered in our Courts is not a justice of vengeance; it has got no particle of [vengeance] in it; it is an impartial justice by which the person who is charged with crime is given a fair and impartial trial, and it is only after, a judge—in this case, the Chief Justice—learned in the law, presiding, a jury chosen with care from among representative citizens, with expert counsel



assigned to the prisoner, that we attempt to urge a conviction for the crime charged: and it is only after a conviction by such a trial that punishment can be awarded,

These remote savages, really cannibals, the Eskimo of the Arctic regions have got to be taught to recognize the authority of the British Crown, and that the authority of the Crown and of the Dominion of Canada, of which these countries are a part, extends to the furthest limits of the frozen North. It is necessary that they should understand that they are *under the Law*, just in the same way as it was necessary to teach the Indians of the Indian Territories and of the North West Territories that they were under the Law; that they must regulate their lives and dealings with their fellow men, of whatever race, white men or Indians, according to, at least, the main outstanding principles of that law, which is part of the law of civilization, and that. this law must be respected on the barren lands of North America, and on the shores of the Arctic Ocean, and on the ice of the Polar Seas, even as far as the Pole itself. They have got to be taught to respect the principles of Justice—and not merely to submit to it, but to learn that they are entitled themselves to resort to it, to resort to the law, to resort to British Justice, and to take advantage of it the same way as anybody else does. The code of the savage, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life must be replaced among them by the code of civilization. They must learn to know, whether they are Eskimo or not that death is *not* the only penalty for a push or a shove, or a swearword, or for mere false dealing; that for those offences our civilization and justice do not allow a man to be shot or to be stabbed, to be killed or murdered. They have got to learn that even if slight violence is used it will not justify murder, it will not justify killing, and they must be made to understand that Death is not “the only penalty that Eskimo know” or have got to know. If that is their idea, their notion of justice, I hope when the result of this trial is brought back to the Arctic regions that all such savage notions will be effectually dispelled.

This is one of the outstanding ideas of the Government, and the great importance of this trial lies in this that for the first time in history these people, these Arctic people, pre-historic people, people who are as nearly as possibly living to-day in the Stone Age, will be brought in contact with and will be taught what is the white-man’s justice. They will be taught that crime will be swiftly followed by arrest, arrest by trial, and if guilt is established, punishment will follow on the guilt. You, gentlemen, can understand how important this is: white men travel through the barren

lands; white men live on the shores of Bear Lake; white men go to the shores of the Arctic Ocean; and if we are to believe the reports of the copper deposits near the mouth of the Coppermine River, many white men more may go to investigate and to work the mines. The Eskimo must be made to understand that the lives of others are sacred, and that they are not justified in killing on account of any mere trifle that may ruffle or annoy them.

Just as it is possible to-day for any white man to travel through the country of the Blackfeet, or the country of the Crees, or the country of any of our own Indians, under the protection of theegis of justice, so it becomes necessary that any white man may travel in safety among the far tribes of the North.

The Eskimo with whom we are dealing as I have said, are practically the Eskimo of Coronation Gulf, and of the surrounding parts of Victoria land; they are an uncivilized race; a prehistoric race. Coronation Gulf is this large gulf here. This is the shore of the Arctic Sea (indicating on map). This is Great Bear Lake, and this land is known as Victoria land, or Victoria island. Extending far over on the far side of Davis' Strait [*sic*] we have the Island of Greenland or Peninsula of Greenland, whichever it may be; and here is Hudson Strait [*sic*], and here is Hudson Bay, and Davis' Strait passes through to the North.

Now, the Eskimo of Greenland are, to great extent, civilized. They had the lessons of Christianity brought to them even as early as the year A.D. 1000, by Olaf Erickson. Greenland is under the jurisdiction of Denmark. It is to all intents and purposes a Danish possession, and Greenland is divided into districts and they have overseers. If any persons are under the impression that the Eskimo of Canada are a small and insignificant tribe, it is important that the jury and every other person should have that notion dispelled. There must be many thousands of Eskimo. They are found on the shores of Labrador, out almost as far as Newfoundland: they are found all through, the Territory of Hudson Bay, on the Strait and on the shores of Hudson Bay: they extend on both sides of Davis Strait, all through Baffin's Land, all through these coasts: they are found in Boothia Peninsula and they are found on the Arctic shores of North America, extending clear across and around the North of Yukon Territory, around to Alaska, to the Behring Sea. I myself have seen the Eskimo in their kayaks, seventeen hundred miles up the Yukon River at Dawson City. They extend even further south than the mouth of the Yukon. There are known to be at least

fifty "tribes" of Eskimo. You can thus see the importance of this trial and that the ideas of Justice which we hope to inculcate are not to be confined to some small tribe of people.

The Eskimo with whom we are dealing principally are known as the Copper Eskimo from the fact that they reside in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Coppermine River, in Coronation Gulf. The scene of this tragedy lies in the circle that I am drawing here, showing Coronation Gulf, the Dismal Lakes which are in the neighborhood marked there. It was whilst struggling to extend the knowledge of the Gospel to these Eskimos that these priests, Roman Catholic missionaries, Father Rouviere and Father LeRoux met their death: a homicide, with which the prisoners are charged. It was there and under those circumstances that they became martyrs to their faith. History, gentlemen, is repeating itself. Hard on the footsteps of the explorers in North America have always followed the Roman Catholic missionaries. Our own Canadian history furnishes us with many examples of their courage, their fortitude and martyrdom. The Jesuits, in the early days of North America, and of Canada, were conspicuous for their missionary zeal, and to us in the West the names of Pere Nicolet and Pere Hennepin who were tortured and burned to death at St. Anthony's Falls, where Minneapolis now stands, are household words. But there were others—the Sulpicians, Recollets, Ursulines—who labored among the savage tribes of Canada, and many of them were put to death by the Iroquois among the Hurons on the shores of the Great Lakes, at Michilimackinac, at Detroit, of which you all are doubtless more or less familiar. These two unfortunate Roman Catholic missionaries go off into the barren wilderness a thousand miles or so from their base into the wilds alone among these savage tribes. No white man lives there; there are no means of communication, no telegraphs, no mails: they entrust their lives to the good faith of the tribes among whom they are working.

For the past fifty years or so the Roman Catholic missionaries of our great North West Territories have belonged mostly, if not entirely, to the Order of the Oblates, a missionary order of Roman Catholic priests. It was to this order that these unfortunate priests, with whose death the prisoners are charged, belonged. They belonged to the missionary diocese of Mackenzie. Bishop Breynat was their bishop, and under him was a priest to whom it was the duty of these missionaries to make regular reports by letter whenever they got the opportunity. It was their duty to seize the infrequent opportunities that offered of reporting to their superior officer by letter,

and it was their duty also to keep a diary to be submitted to their superiors from time to time. We fortunately have, gentlemen of the jury, the last letters that were written by Father Rouviere and by Father LeRoux. One is dated on the 25th, the other on the 26th of August, 1913. They were killed in the following November. I propose to tender those letters in evidence to show what the intentions of the priests were at that date and where they were going. We fortunately have, and this was picked up on the scene of their cruel death—the weather stained and wind blown diary kept by Father Rouviere. That I also propose to tender in evidence, proving it by Father Duchausois [*sic*] who is here, the last entry being made about the end of October, 1913, within a day or two of their leaving the mouth of the Coppermine River on the fateful journey which terminated alike their mission and their lives.

Gentlemen of the jury, whether we agree or not with the dogmas and tenets of the Roman Catholic Church, all good Christians must acknowledge and respect the zeal and fervour, the courage and fortitude of these Catholic missionaries, and we can at least all agree that they were sincerely anxious to spread among the remotest tribes of the North the knowledge of God, and of the divinity of Christ, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost. It was for the cause of Christianity, the cause of the Kingdom of God, that Father Rouviere and Father Le Roux laid down their lives. It is in this Christian community, and before a Judge and Jury both sworn in the name of God to render justice, that the men charged with their cruel and dreadful death will have to be tried.

Now, I will try to explain to you what were the conditions and the surroundings at this time. If you travel North from Edmonton to Athabasca Landing, a hundred miles, if from Athabasca Landing you proceed three hundred miles to Fort McMurray, another one hundred and fifty miles to Fort Chippewayan, another four hundred miles from Fort Chippewayan to Fort Resolution, on Great Slave Lake, from Fort Resolution some one hundred and sixty miles to Fort Providence, and descend the Mackenzie River another seven hundred miles, you will arrive at Fort Norman. Fort Norman is a Hudson's Bay Company's post on the Mackenzie River, at the mouth of a river known as the Bear River because it drains the waters of Great Bear Lake into the Mackenzie by which they eventually reach the Arctic Ocean. If then you proceed up Bear River and sail across the lake, a distance of some three hundred miles or more from the mouth of Bear River, you come to the head of Great Bear Lake to

Dease Bay in the extreme north-east. Great Bear Lake is quite as big as Lake Ontario. Then proceed up the Dease River to its head, cross over the height of land to the Dismal Lakes. The priests had a shack on Dease Bay, and they also had a small post, a log shack at Imaerinik (Lake Rouviere) near the Dismal Lakes where the Eskimo were accustomed to come to from the coast on their regular hunts for cariboo. You know every person in this country not from choice but from necessity, must be a meat eater. You do not get any fresh vegetables in that country; every man lives by his rifle. Every white man carries his rifle, whether he is priest or sinner, ordinary citizen or policeman. He lives on what he shoots, and cariboo is the principal food of the Eskimo and consequently of the white man. Then having reached the Dismal Lakes, you follow down this little river called the Kendall River to the Coppermine, and thence down to the mouth on Coronation Gulf. On the way you would pass a point which is marked on the map as Bloody Fall. It was a few miles above Bloody Fall that the scene of the death of these unhappy men was situated. Bloody Fall was so named by a Hudson Bay explorer named Hearne, who coming up from one of the Hudson's Bay Company's posts on Hudson Bay, accompanied by a large number of Indians, reached the mouth of the Coppermine River and was the first white man to determine its latitude, the first white man indeed actually to see the waters or ice of this part of the Arctic Ocean. This was in 1771. The Indians he brought with him found, just as the priests found, just as the Mounted Police found, the Eskimo engaged in fishing at the mouth of the Coppermine River, with spears. The Eskimo, before Father Rouviere and Father LeRoux went among them were not educated in the use of nets, did not know what they were: the fathers taught them. Hearne's Indians, against his remonstrances and he was the only white man of the party, fell upon the unfortunate Eskimo and slaughtered them to the last man, woman and child. Hearne appropriately named this spot Bloody Fall. And now one hundred and forty years afterwards an awful [tragedy] is enacted there which would well justify, if it had not already received it, the name of Bloody Fall.

Those distances that I have given to you amount almost, as the crow flies, from Edmonton to two thousand two hundred miles. That is the locus with which we are dealing at the present time.

Now, there were two missionary priests belonging to this diocese of Mackenzie who were working in the neighborhood that I have already described to you. The first one to take up this Missionary work was Father

Rouviere who we know, and I think my learned friend knows and will admit, began his labors in the year 1911, continued them in 1912, and in 1913 still continued his efforts to evangelize and civilize and christianize the Eskimo as well as the Great Bear Indians. In 1913 he was joined by another missionary, Father LeRoux. We know that on the 26th of August he reports to his superior at Fort Norman that they are about to go to the Dismal Lakes to join the Eskimo who have come up from the mouth of the Coppermine and Coronation Gulf to hunt for cariboo. From that point we have evidence of the actual presence of Father Rouviere and Father LeRoux with the Eskimo during their hunt in the fall of 1913. This man (indicating the witness) Koeha was there and saw the priests. He returned to the Coppermine River a short time before the main body of Eskimo did. But when the Eskimo came back to the Coppermine about the end of October, these two priests came with them to their camp at its mouth. We have evidence which is quite clear in regard to that. They remained there for two nights and two days, possibly one day more. They found that there was a scarcity of food and starvation apparently stared them in the face if they remained where they had arrived. The last date in the diary of Father Rouviere is shortly after their arrival they had reached the mouth of Coppermine, and is on the., 25th of October. The last page of the diary contains this paragraph—

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Well, now, Mr. McCaul,—

MR. McCAUL: Very well, if you have any objection.

I propose to kinder in evidence the diary which I have just shown you, with the entries to which I have referred, but there may be some objection to its introduction which may have to be argued when the proper time comes. At any rate, we have this fact that the priests started back on their return journey by way of the Coppermine River towards their camp at Dismal Lakes. The night after they had started, two men, Sinnisiak and the other prisoner Uluksak, in the middle of the night, with one dog but without any sled or grub, started up the same trail as the priests had gone. The priests had an Eskimo sled with four dogs. The explanation these men give of this occurrence—their departure in the middle of the night with one dog only and no sled or grub—is that they were going up in order to render assistance to any other Eskimo that might be coming back from the Dismal Lake. They caught up to the priests the next day and found them struggling with their loaded sled. The priests offered them traps if they would help to pull their sled. I suppose you are aware—we will show it is a

very customary thing—men and women as well as dogs work in the sleds in the Arctic Regions and these men undertook to assist the priests in pulling their sled. We will have the statement taken before Inspector LaNauze showing just exactly what took place. I am not going to detail it at the present time because I do not know whether my friend is going to object to the introduction of the statement in evidence or not. Probably it is as well that I should not give the details of that until we produce the statements here. At any rate, these unfortunate priests the next day were killed and there is no dispute, I fancy, even between my friend and myself, that they were killed by the prisoner who is on trial here and by the other man, Uluksak, that day in November, 1913. The details of all of this will be laid before you as the trial proceeds. The prisoners returned after the death of the priests, one carrying a rifle and the other a 44 carbine, to the camp at Coppermine mouth, where the Eskimo had lived, where the priests had stayed with them, and from which Sinnisiak and Uluksak had started under the circumstances that I have mentioned to you. This man Koeha who is here was present when they came back. They told Koeha and the rest of the people that they had killed the priests and that they had taken their rifles, A man named Kormik got quite indignant with Sinnisiak over the rifle and took it away from him—so Koeha states. They told the whole revolting details to the assembled crowd, including this witness who will speak of it. They told, gentlemen of the jury, how, after they had killed these men, they ripped them open, tore out their livers and each ate a portion: this is the cannibalism to which I referred.

We come now to the intervention of the force of which we are justly proud in this country, the Royal North West Mounted Police. It was not until 1915 that information was received that induced the Mounted Police to believe that the missing priests—they had been missing for two years—might have met with foul play. Inspector LaNauze was sent out on a special patrol from Regina, accompanied by Constables Wight and Withers. After reaching Fort Norman, accompanied by the interpreter Ilavinek, they crossed Great Bear Lake and established a camp close to the ruins of Old Fort Franklin (Fort Confidence really) where Sir John Franklin had had a post away back in the early years of the last century. They remained the winter there. Then as soon as it was possible to travel Inspector LaNauze made his way up the same trail I have described to you as taken by the priests and the Eskimo over by Dismal Lakes to the Coppermine, and down the Coppermine to its mouth, and proceeded to make enquiries

there. He arrived there on the last day of April or the first day of May. Enquiries were instituted amongst the Eskimo. There they met this man Corporal Bruce who, some months before as I indicated to you, had come down by the little schooner yacht "Alaska," belonging to the Canadian Arctic Expedition, to Bernard Harbor. Corporal Bruce had quietly picked up from this tribe a large number of articles which will be identified by Father Duchausois [*sic*] as belongings of the priests: crucifixes and other such things. Eventually they learned the name of Sinnisiak as being one of the persons who had done the killing. Then follows the thrilling story of the arrest. They learned that Sinnisiak was probably in the neighborhood of Victoria land: the sea ice was still solid and they travelled over the ice to Bernard Harbor. From here the small party set out for Victoria Island, a trip which occupied, I think, two and a half or three days, camping on the ice. They discovered deserted snow villages where the Eskimo had camped; they followed the trail from one village to another until they saw the skin-tents of some Eskimo—the summer tents—quite close to the shore of Victoria Island. They had with them another Eskimo named Uluksak: this guide's name is Uluksak Mayuk. They went on to the village and after making enquiries, Uluksak Mayuk said he saw Sinnisiak's wife. Then afterwards they went around to his tent, the guide, Inspector LaNauze, Corporal Bruce and Ilavinek, these three men, the representatives of the Crown, and the Dominion of Canada. They found this man Sinnisiak making a bow and promptly arrested him. Taking his wife with him part of the way to make things comfortable and pleasant for him, without handcuffs, or leg irons, threats or force, they returned with the prisoner to Bernard Harbor. Fortunately when they got there they got some information about an Island over here near the mouth of the Coppermine which led them to believe that Uluksak was among the people on this island. The police set out again for this island, and on their arrival, the people came down to welcome the party. One man hung back, did not seem inclined to come forward. They spotted him as Uluksak, found they were right, arrested him, brought him back to Bernard Harbor. Both prisoners, after the usual preliminary investigation at Bernard Harbor, were committed for trial. Constable Wight and Ilavinek then were sent back to the scene of the murder to take photographs and to see what they could find. They found there among other things which I will show to you, the diary I have mentioned. The prisoners, in [the] charge of Inspector LaNauze and Corporal Bruce, were put on board the little schooner



“Alaska” and taken to Herschel Island, where they were confined until Inspector LaNauze got instructions to bring them out here.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I must take great exception to my learned friend’s address to the Jury. The address has been unfair, and calculated to prejudice the Jury by reason of the inflammatory remarks of counsel and it seems to me it would be hardly right to proceed unless you empanel a new jury. He made remarks to the jury which I think were very, very unfair.

MR. McCAUL: I am quite willing to leave myself in your Lordship’s hands. I think there is no inflammable language. I put the case quite simply, stating no facts not practically admitted; not common ground.

THE COURT: It is quite unusual to deal with such matters at the opening. Generally counsel merely outlines the case to show what evidence he is going to present. However, I think you can trust, the jury on these matters.

THE COURT: The procedure you have adopted of laying the charges separately may prolong the case for some time.

MR. McCAUL: I considered that this case was of such very great importance that it was necessary that the whole matter should be enlarged on from the general point of view, instead of merely outlining the evidence. I have read reports of many, many trials in which the opening of counsel have occupied pages and pages. In this case I thought I would be quite derelict in my duty if I did not to the best of my ability, take pains and great care to open the case to the Court and Jury, even if at more than the usual length.

Court adjourned till 2 o’clock P.M. today,

2 o’clock P.M. August 14th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment, and the trial of the above entitled action was resumed as follows:

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My Lord, before my learned friend proceeds with the evidence, it seems to me that his remarks to the Jury, that is that there was one offence committed, alleged to have been remitted, by two men against two other men that there shoal be one trial. His remarks to the jury did not show two offences. They showed rather the reverse, that there was one crime committed, if there were any crime at all. It seems to me, from the opening statement, there should be one trial.

MR. McCAUL: If there were any objection of that sort it should have been taken at the beginning, besides the undoubted right of the prosecution is to charge each one separately.

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge knows something about what the evidence was at the preliminary. I had certainly supposed there would be only one trial, but I know nothing of the details. However it is a matter over which the Crown must be given a certain amount of discretion, but I would urge that no unnecessary time be taken.

MR. McCAUL: Quite so, my Lord. Your Lordship will doubtless see, as the case [develops], the reason why the charge is laid against this one prisoner and why this particular charge is laid.

#### NOTE

The prisoner Sinnisiak was acquitted by the Edmonton jury on the charge of murdering Father Rouviere. The venue was changed to Calgary, and the prisoners were charged jointly with the murder of Father LeRoux. They were found guilty, and sentenced to be hung. This sentence was almost at once, after the Chief Justice had officially reported to Ottawa by telegraph, commuted by the Governor General-in-Council to life imprisonment at the Mounted Police guardroom at Herschel Island.

#### FATHER DUCHAUSOIR [*sic*],

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown and duly sworn, was examined by Mr. McCaul and testified as follows:

Q Father Duchausoir, you are a member of the Order of the Oblates, and I believe for some ten years you were Professor of Classics at Ottawa College ?

A Yes, sir.

Q And very well acquainted with Pere Rouviere ?

A Yes; but I was acquainted with Father Rouviere, not in Ottawa College, but in Belgium where we studied theology together just before I was a Professor in Ottawa College.

Q You studied theology in Belgium at Liège ?

A Yes.

Q And you were well acquainted with Father Rouviere there ?

A Yes.

Q And have you seen him since he has been in the North West Territories ?

A I saw him when he passed through Ottawa; I was there before him.

Q Are you familiar with his handwriting ?

A Yes.

Q Can you identify his handwriting ?

A Oh, yes.

Q And you could identify his photographs ?

A Yes; I took them myself.

Q When did you say you saw him ?

A We studied theology in Belgium.

Q Since that ?

A In Ottawa when he passed through, coming here; I was in Ottawa; it was in 1907, I guess.

Q And since he has been up north you haven't seen him ?

A No.

Q He was in the Bishop of Mackenzie's diocese ?

A Yes.

Q Bishop Breynat ?

A Yes.

Q And do you know the name of his immediate superior, the Priest to whom he reported ?

A Father Duclos was in charge of the men at Fort Norman.

Q And you, yourself, were up at Fort Norman, where Bishop Breynat is, in the year 1915, I think ?

A Yes.

Q And how long were you there ?

A Oh, I was there fifteen months in Mackenzie.

Q What duties have the missionaries to perform in regard to reporting to their immediate superior or to the Bishop by letter from time to time when they are out in the wilds ?

A To report as often as they can, especially in that country, because men are very scarce, and then they report once or twice a year.

Q And what about keeping a diary ?

A All the missionaries have to keep a diary; and Father Rouviere was the head of the little mission, and it was for Father Rouviere to write it.

Q Father Rouviere was the immediate superior of Father LaRoux ?

A Yes.

Q I understand the discipline of the missionary order is very similar to military discipline ?

A Yes.

Q The privates report to the sergeants, and the sergeants to other officers, and so on ?

A Yes.

Q When missionaries go out to the far distant wilds what outfit, religious vestments and matters do they carry with them ?

A They take the crucifix like this and -

Q Any vestments ?

A Vestments for saying mass. They have the altar cloth and different articles.

Q Any vessels ?

A Vessels, chalice, sacellum when we are not too far away.

Q Will you please tell me what these articles are that we have here (indicating). In the first place , what is that little book ?

A That is a breviary. We have to say prayers every day in that book. That (another book) goes with it, the two of them.

MR. McCAUL: Exhibits A1 and A2 is a breviary, first and second parts.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Are they exhibits ?

THE COURT : They are not exhibits in the ordinary sense. Of course, if there be any advantage, we can mark them for ordinary reference.

MR. McCAUL: We would like to have them marked. The Corporal will prove them.

Q And that ?

A That is what we call the corporeal when we say mass, the sacrifice of mass.

Q And these ?

A Those are some of the vestments.

Q And that ?

A That is the cincture, the same as this (indicating same as witness was wearing).

Q All of these articles I show you now are connected with the mass ?

A With the mass, yes.

Q And this is a surplice, is it ?

A That is the alb.

Q And that is also a vestment ?

A That is the surplice.

Q And all these articles I am shewing you now are robes for the service of the church ?

A Yes.

Q And what is this ?

A Chasuble.

Q And this ?

A That is the veil of the chalice; put that on the chalice before mass.

Q All the articles that are shown here, with the exception of the cincture, are used in the celebration of the mass ?

A Yes.

Q And also these two vessels ?

A Yes.

Q The article you describe as the cincture is used to fasten around the cassock the same as you have on yourself ?

A Yes.

MR. McCaul: The whole package can be marked for identification.

Two breviaries marked "A" for identification.

Said package marked "B" for identification.

Q And this ?

A That is what we put on the altar.

Q That would be used only for travelling ?

A Only that, yes.

Q It is a little crucifix ?

A Yes.

Q Is the crucifix which you carry peculiar to the Oblate Order ?

A Yes, sir. I never saw any like that, not any Order of this. There may be some that I never saw.

Q Would you say what Order that crucifix belongs ?

A That is our Order, just the same (indicating his own crucifix).

Said crucifix marked "C" for identification.

Q Another one; that is a crucifix ?

A Nothing special.

Said crucifix marked "D" for identification.

Q And this ?

A That is a patina used in the celebration of the mass.

Said patina marked "E" for identification.

Q These ?

A Rosaries. There is nothing special to our Order there.

Q There are two rosaries, two or one ?

A Let me see, please; like four rosaries.

Q Four rosaries ?

A Yes.

Q And those ?

A That is another one. They took off the cross, but it is a rosary also.

Said five rosaries marked "F" for identification.

Q Do you know Father [LaRoux's] handwriting ?

A No. I never saw Father LaRoux, but I have heard lots of him, and there are some who knew him in the city, some months with him in the city.

Q Is there anyone in the city now who would recognise his handwriting ?

A Oh, I don't say he would recognise it, but I can testify to his handwriting according to letters I saw from him addressed to the Bishop.

Q Well, we will get to that presently. Now, this is also a breviary ?

A Yes.

Q And that one ?

A That was given to Father Rouviere, I think.

Q Oh, you are guessing at that ?

A Yes.

Q This one we have here has got "G. LaRoux" ?

A Yes, there is his name.

Q I will ask you presently if you can identify his handwriting, and how you know. These three books that I now shew you are all breviaries ?

A Yes, all three.

Q Do missionaries carry breviaries with them ?

A Four. They change every season. We take another book, every one of us, four.

Said books marked "G" for identification.

Q And this is a book called "La Religion en Tableaux". I suppose that is a catechism, for what purpose ?

A To explain to the Indians with pictures. It is not special to our Order at all.

Q That is the object, to explain to the Indians ?

A Yes.

Q The teachings ?

A Yes.

Said book marked "H" for identification.

Q What is this article ?

A That is a soutane.

Q That is different from the cassock ?

A That is the same thing.

Q It is sometimes called a cassock ?

A Yes, cassock or soutane. The name is there, Rouviere. We used to put our names in the back.

Q Whose handwriting is that in ?

A Oh, that is Father Rouviere's.

Q Whose handwriting is that ?

A I couldn't say that, because sometimes it is the maker who puts it on, but it belonged to Father Rouviere because we used to put the name back there.

Q What are these printed leaves in that envelope ? What is the nature of them ?

A These are parts of the breviary, three leaves there, and some torn off of them.

Said parts of breviary marked "I" for identification.

Q You are familiar, however, with the handwriting of Father Rouviere ?

A Oh, yes.

Q And can identify it ?

A Yes.

Q And when you were up at Fort Norman how long were you under Bishop Breynat?

A Fifteen months, and I am still under Bishop Breynat's jurisdiction, still now.

Q You are still under his jurisdiction ?

A Yes.

Q You are assigned to his jurisdiction ?

A Yes.

Q In what capacity were you acting - as secretary for him?

A My mission is to write the history of the missions, and then he appoints me his secretary.

Q And in that capacity did any correspondence from either Father Rouviere or Father LaRoux come into your possession?

A I think it all came in.

Q All came in to your possession ?

A Yes, all that the Bishop had and Father Duclos too.



Q Have you got that correspondence ?

A I have some at home.

Q Have you got any of it with you in your hand now ?

A Yes, sir. This is Father Rouviere.

Q Letters from Father Rouviere ?

A Yes. This is Father Rouviere's again, and this is Father Rouviere again.  
This is Father LaRoux.

Q You have letters in your hand from Father Rouviere and Father LaRoux ?

A Yes.

Q Pick out the letters from Father Rouviere and tell me the dates of them.  
Who handed you those ?

A The Bishop, Bishop Breynat, and some ones for Father Duclos.

Q They were handed to you by Bishop Breynat or Father Duclos, who you  
have already said was the immediate superior of Father LaRoux ?

A Yes.

Q Now, what are the dates of the letters from Father Rouviere?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I object, my lord. I don't know what is in the letters, never saw them or never heard of them. I don't know whether they are material or immaterial. My learned friend surely cannot, at this stage, give evidence of the contents of those letters.

MR. McCAUL: I cannot see any objection at the stage at which they are given, I am sure.

THE COURT: You can shew Mr. Wallbridge the letters you refer to before you put them in.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: If they are in French, I can't read them.

THE COURT: Are they in French?

MR. McCAUL: Yes, they are in French.

THE WITNESS : There is nothing much in connection with the case except to shew they went there for preaching the Gospel, that is all.

MR. McCAUL: If my learned friend will let me go on in the face of his objection I don't think he will object.

MR. WALLBRIDGE : I don't know whether they are evidence or not, my lord, whether it is something the Jury should hear or not hear.

MR. McCAUL: Just let me go on for a moment and perhaps you will not object.

Q Can you tell me the date of the last letter that you had from Father Rouviere ?

THE COURT: Without telling anything from the letter, perhaps he can tell when he received it. He got it from the Bishop.

A The Bishop gave it to me last winter, before this.

Q MR. McCAUL: This letter is dated the 27th of August, 1913, and from what place ?

A From Fort Confidence.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: As long as my learned friend is attempting to prove that the party was alive on that date I don't know that I have any objection.

MR. McCAUL: Well, that is all now. Now I am going to ask to put that whole letter in, -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Well, -

MR. McCAUL: You can have an opportunity to take your objection. - for the purpose of sheaving what, on that date, Father Rouviere had done so far as his connection with the Eskimo is concerned as reported in that letter to his superior officer, and what he intended to do, where he intended going on the 27th of August, 1913. Do you object, Mr. Wallbridge ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I do.

MR. McCAUL: State the nature of your objection.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I object to this letter going in, my lord, as evidence of any fact. I just stated that I wouldn't take exception to the fact that the man who wrote it was alive on that date. The contents of the letter cannot be of any assistance in clearing up the case which we now have before us. It does not prove or disprove the charge; it is not material.

MR. McCAUL: I wouldn't be putting it in if I didn't think it very material and very relevant to the case. It is quite reasonable to suppose

I couldn't have any object in putting it in if I didn't think it is relevant and material, and you can take it from me it is relevant and material.

THE COURT: I will receive it.

MR. McCAUL: Will you hand me the last letter you identify as Father Rouviere's, you spoke of as of the 27th of August.

A Here (producing paper). That is to Father Duclos, that one.

MR. McCAUL : If Mr. Wallbridge would depute some one versed in French and English to look over it I will read it: "Fort Confidence, August 27, 1913. My Reverend and Very Dear Father, It is the 13th of this month that Father LaRoux has waited since so long a time came to surprise me – "

Q Perhaps you will read it and translate it ?

A Well, I don't talk English well enough.

MR. McCAUL: "surprise me in bed and brought at the same time a full canoe of provisions, of consoling news; one however which was less consoling, that was to inform me that the St. Marie had run aground on a sand bar and had broken her screw blades and her wheel in attempting to move off this bad place. I have learned also that Mgr. Breynat had sold his steamboat to the Northern Company. That certainly seems to me a great loss to our missions.

Last spring after the departure of Father LaRoux I made two voyages far out into the barren lands to go to meet the Eskimo. In my first trip I arrived at some miles from the Coppermine River, but I did not see them. In my second trip I was more happy. They were already arrived at Dease Lake. Then I placed myself with them, and I followed them, and I remained with them up to the 5th of August at which time I left them to come to meet with Father LaRoux. Our progress among them was slow, but there is always a great hope. They respect us and are always pleased to see us. Since the arrival of Father LaRoux they have been followed as closely as possible, and Father LaRoux has done a great deal of good among them. They were not quitted until the month of November, at which time they directed themselves towards the sea. When one stops in their tent they make you master of everything, the proprietor of the tent, and they will demand even permission to enter there. For food they give you what they have of the best. They are also quick to render you service. What a difference

from the Indians who often content themselves with simply looking at you without thinking of giving any assistance if they see that you are in a bad case. What is it proposed to do this coming winter. Nothing is yet fixed precisely. One awaits a letter which comes from the sea from a certain Bernard. This letter is brought by the Eskimo and sent on by the hands of Johnny Sanderson. I have seen Johnny in the barrens, but he did not have the letter. Since it ought to come to the lake in a little time I will await for it there. Perhaps the upshot will be to decide to follow the Eskimo this winter in order to check the zeal of the famous Fry.”

THE WITNESS: The most important is the postscript.

MR. McCAUL: Yes. The rest of it deals with matters of no importance.

“Our houses are almost finished, at least they are habitable. We can say that we have now a home, God be praised. I accept the invitation that you have given me to come out this winter, but I do not know if my poor little dogs can conduct me to Fort Norman. If I come, or if Pere LaRoux meets, our intention is to come also perhaps for the Christmas festivities.

P.S. I have received a letter that you sent me – I received a letter that I enclose to you herewith. Will you please take cognisance of it, and I also think that it should be shewn to Monseigneur. It was not addressed to me directly, but nevertheless I thought it would interest me, and better or worse, I took cognisance of it. It decides me almost to follow the Eskimos this winter to the sea in order to arrest a little the zeal of Mr. Fry who comes to sow the bad seed in our fields.”

The rest of it is only asking the prayers of the Bishop.

Q Now, are you able to recognise the writing of Father LaRoux?

A Yes, judging this one.

Q Are you able to recognise the handwriting of Father LaRoux?

A Judging with this; I know it is Father LaRoux, this one, that is all.

Q How do you know that is ?

A Because the Bishop gave it to me; it was addressed to the Bishop by him, given to me officially for the history of Mackenzie.

Q That is the date of the last letter from Father LaRoux ?

A 25th of August, the day before that one.

Q 29th, is it not ? Look at it.

A No, 25th.

Q I think you have a letter of the 29th ?

A No.

Q Is that the 25th or 29th ?

A 25th.

Q You think that is the 25th ?

A Yes.

Q 25th of August ?

A Yes.

Q A letter from Father LaRoux ?

A Yes.

Q Also from Bear Lake.

Q THE COURT: You said the other one was from Fort Confidence?

A Yes, the same, in Dease Bay.

Q The further end of Great Bear Lake ?

A Yes, Dease Bay.

Q MR. McCAUL: That is where Father Rouviere and Father LaRoux had their Mission house ?

A Yes.

Q Then we fix the date of the last letter you have from Father LaRoux as the 25th of August, in which he tells of going down with the Eskimo to the sea, and the one from Father Rouviere the 26th and since that date you know of no letter having been received ?

A No.

Q And you were there practically through all of 1915 ?

A Yes.

Q Do you recognise those gentlemen ?

A Yes, Father Rouviere in front with Father LaRoux, but I told you I didn't see Father LaRoux, but it was sent by the photograph itself.

Q The one sitting in the stern is Father Rouviere ?

A Yes.

Q And the other one is apparently a Priest ?

A Yes.

Q And this is an enlargement of the same ?

A Yes.

Q The Eskimo speak of Father Rouviere as Kuleavik, and of Father LaRoux as Ilogoak.

THE COURT: Do you want that photograph marked, Mr. McCaul ?

MR. McCAUL : Yes, my lord, I would like that marked. I want these marked as exhibits.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 1.

Q And this at page 253 of *Lands Forlorn*, by George M. Douglas, is a reproduction of the same photograph, exhibit 1 ?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: If my learned friend will permit, I would like to put this book in.

MR. WALLBRIDGE : The photograph is the same thing ?

MR. McCAUL: Yes, the photograph is the same thing. Said book marked EXHIBIT 2.

Q I shew you at page 167 of this book a photograph; who is that ?

A That is Father Rouviere.

Q And there is a large photograph from which that is a reproduction, on a small scale ?

A Yes.

MR. Mc CAUL : The book page 167 would be exhibit 2 and also the photograph from which the photograph in the book was taken will be marked exhibit 2.

Q Here is another one that is in the book, what is that, Father ?

A That is Father Rouviere again.

Q The one with the cassock and the short coat ?

A Yes.

Q You don't know who the other man is, do you ?

A No.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 3.

Q What does this photograph represent ?

A. That is Father Rouviere with some Eskimos around him.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 4.

Q And this photograph here ?

A That is Father Rouviere again.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 5.

Q And this one ?

A Father Rouviere, the last photograph we got when he was in Good Hope, before he started from Good Hope.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 6.

Q That is the only photograph you know of Father LaRoux, you think, that one in the book ?

A Yes.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q Who is the gentleman named Fry ?

A I suppose a minister, a protestant, from the Church of England.

Q An Anglican missionary ?

A That is the only idea I have of him from the letter of the Father's.

Q How many years is it since you saw Father Rouviere ?

A I saw him in 1907, when he was passing through Ottawa.

Q How long before that ?

A From 1901 to 1903 I was with him, two years, in Liege, studying theology.

Q You can't tell us, then, what temperament the man had ?

A Oh, yes, a very energetic man and equilibrium of the faculties, not very bright in the intelligence, intelligent and bright, and very strong and energetic.

Q And rather nervous ?

A No, no, not at all, very calm, very quiet.

Q And a very strong man ?

A A Very, very strong man, yes.

Q But not over brilliant ?

A Not very brilliant, but pretty good for theologians all the same.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q What was his disposition ? Was he docile or otherwise ?

A Docile, very very humble, obedient.

Q Father Duchausoir, have you been able to identify the handwriting in this document ?

A Yes.

Q What is the nature of that document ?

A It is a diary.

Q In whose handwriting is it ?

A Rouviere.

Q Father Rouviere. Have you made a translation of the last couple of entries ?

A Yes; I gave it to you this morning.

MR. McCAUL: I ask that these be marked as Exhibit 6a, and the translation which Father Duchausoir has prepared as exhibit 6b.

Q Does the date appear of that last entry ?

A It looks to be the 28th - on the 28th of October, he wrote from the 8th to the 15th.

Q In the diary ?

A That last date on the other page is torn off.

Q What date did you fix by referring back ? I understand you referred back by taking the dates and looking at the calendar you fixed the date ?

A Yes.

Q What date did you fix for the last entry, as nearly as possible ?

A About the 20th of October.

Q 1913 ?

A Yes, 1913.



Q THE COURT: You verified the truth of that from the diary, did you ?

A Oh, yes.

Said Diary marked EXHIBIT 6A.

Translation of portions of said Diary marked EXHIBIT 6B.

Q MR. McCAUL: Here is a photograph I want to shew you. Who is that ?

A Father Rouviere here; I don't know the other one.

Q The one to the right, the right hand side of the picture ? Yes.

A Under the tree, over the dog ?

A Yes.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 7.

Q And is he in this one ?

A Yes.

Q The one to the left in this one ?

A Yes.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 8.

MR. McCAUL: That (exhibit 8) shews the dogs. That is also in that book, Mr. Wallbridge.

My lord , I intended to state when I came here this afternoon that I have Mr. Cogswell associated with me in the case and who will be associated with me in the rest of the case, representing the Attorney General of Alberta, as per instructions from the Attorney General's Department here, I, of course, representing the Attorney General of Canada under instructions from the Department of Justice.

WYNDHAM VALENTINE BRUCE,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown, and duly sworn, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q Corporal Bruce, you are a Corporal in the Royal North West Mounted Police ?

A Yes.

Q And in the year 1915 you were stationed at Herschell Island, on the Arctic Ocean ?

A Yes.

- Q And you received instructions to proceed along the coast to the neighbourhood of the Coppermine River ?
- A Yes.
- Q With the object of making enquiries into what had become of the two priests, of the fate of Father Rouviere and Father LaRoux who were missing ?
- A Yes.
- Q And you took passage in the schooner, I think she is - ?
- A Yes.
- Q Schooner Alaska, belonging to the Canadian Arctic Expedition, to Bernard Harbour ?
- A Yes.
- Q Bernard Harbour is an inlet from the Dolphin & Union Strait, west to Coronation Gulf ?
- A Yes.
- Q And the Alaska is about forty tons ?
- A Between thirty and forty.
- Q Schooner rate about ?
- A Yes.
- Q I myself marked in pencil on this map because it was prior to the location of Bernard Harbour being fixed. Is that about the location of Bernard Harbour as I have got it marked in pencil ?
- A Yes.
- Q That tiny island in front is Chantry, not marked ?
- A Yes.
- A And opposite are the Liston and Sutton Islands ?
- A Yes.
- Q About what time in 1915 did you arrive there ?
- A September 5th.
- Q And you spent the winter there, and in the neighbourhood, and in Coronation Gulf from September 5th up to May when you met Inspector LaNauze ?
- A Yes.

Q So far as this case is concerned how did you occupy yourself between those dates, between September 5th, of 1915, and the 1st of May of 1916 ?

A Making guarded enquiries among the natives, visiting them, travelling around and attempting to connect with Inspector LaNauze at Fort Confidence.

Q Did you find any traces of the Roman Catholic missionaries? Did you discover any traces of Roman Catholic missionaries ?

A Yes, any amount.

Q Where ?

A Well, in the first instance, on September –

(Inspector LaNauze speaks to the witness.)

MR. McCAUL: He asked the witness where the rifle was, because Inspector LaNauze told me it was downstairs.

Q Do you know where the rifle is ?

A Yes, downstairs. The Provincial Police have it. Mr. Nicholson took charge of it for me.

Q What articles did you get ?

A On September 9th I took a cassock and a small plate, a brass plate, from a cache on an island in Bernard Harbour.

Q That is the cassock which you have here ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think the articles the witness speaks about should be such as he may have obtained from the prisoner, but not articles he may have obtained from somebody else.

THE COURT,: He will have to connect it. It is only a matter of connecting by stages.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It may prejudice the jury. It is not proper to have all these things brought before the jury if they are not going to prove them.

THE COURT: He has already identified them as articles which are used by missionaries, and now this witness is going further, as something he found at certain particular places. We will have to get further than that to accomplish something substantial.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It seems to me he should go the other end first.

THE COURT: I do not think there is any serious objection to their being identified now as being found. They have to be connected with the accused before it amounts to anything in the case.

Q MR. McCaul: This is the cassock which you refer to ?

A Yes.

Q Already marked for identification ?

A Yes, marked Rouviere on the side.

Q (Handing cassock to witness) ?

A Yes, that is it.

Q And the brass patina that was spoken of ?

A Yes.

Q You found those two articles in a cache ?

A Yes.

Q On a little island near Bernard Harbour ?

A Yes.

Q Did you obtain possession of all the articles in this little bundle here ?

A I believe so, Mr. McCaul; I haven't seen them yet.

Q Tell us where you got those. Did you get any in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Coppermine or any of the islands in Coronation Gulf ?

A I saw the crucifix and two rosaries in the possession of one Uluksak on an island off the mouth of the Coppermine in November, but I purchased that on December 11th from Uluksak when he arrived at Bernard Harbour.

Q You saw them in the possession of an Eskimo on an Island near the mouth of the Coppermine ?

A Yes.

Q In November ?

A Yes.

Q And you purchased them in December when he arrived at Bernard Harbour

A Yes.

Q Where did you get the breviaries ?

A I got one breviary from Hupo, and one on December 11th from Uluksak Mayuk.

Q Not the accused ?

A No.

Q And where did you get these vestments ?

A From an Eskimo called Kormik.

Q Where did Kormik live, do you know ? Where did you find them?

A Kormik I first saw in the same village as Uluksak near the mouth of the Coppermine, in Coronation Gulf.

Q You saw them at a village ?

A Yes.

Q THE COURT: What was it you got from Kormik ?

A The mass regalia and the vestments. I got the breviaries from Hupo.

Q MR. McCAUL: Where did you get the silk chasuble and the other articles ?

A From Kormik.

Q Where was the Eskimo village ?

A In Coronation Gulf.

Q On an island off the mouth of the Coppermine ?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what tribe these Eskimo belong to ? By what name are they called ?

A Kogloktomuit, Coppermine River.

Q What does that mean ?

A Coppermine River.

Q Have you ever seen that rifle before ?

A Yes. This was obtained at Victoria Land, at the village where Sinnisiak was arrested.

Q THE COURT: Obtained by you, do you mean ?

A It was obtained by Uluksak who was hired by the police; that is, Uluksak Mayuk who was hired by the police.

Q Were you there ?

A Yes, sir, I was there,

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE : Were you there at the time ?

A I was there at the time, yes.

Q MR. McCAUL: That was at the time who was arrested ?

A Sinnisiak.

Q Uluksak Mayuk was with you at the time ?

A Yes.

Q This is a .44 calibre Winchester rifle ?

A Yes.

Q Is it not a .44 calibre carbine ? That is something smaller and shorter ?

A Yes.

Q And hasn't got an octogan [*sic*] barrel ?

A No.

Q This is a rifle, octogan barrel, .44 rifle ?

A Yes.

Said rifle marked Exhibit 9.

Q Do you know up to what distance those rifles will kill, kill a caribou ?

A Yes, should kill over 500 yards.

Q And they shoot point blank up to about 150 ?

A No, point blank between 50 and 100 yards.

Q You were among the Eskimo, among these people. Had you any previous acquaintance with the Eskimo at Herschell Island ?

A None whatever until we got in that summer.

Q You were among these people from November one year up to May of the next. Are rifles and ammunition prized by the Eskimo men ?

A Yes, very highly.

Q They are highly prized ? Did you see many rifles among them ?

A No.

Q Did you see any others besides this one ?

A Yes.

Q How many ?

A One had one with no cartridges. Uluksak Mayuk had two which he obtained from the expedition, a 30-30. Sinnisiak, the prisoner, had one, a .22 automatic, which he obtained when I was there.

Q. You say you saw a .22 calibre rifle in the possession of Sinnisiak ?

A Yes.

Q At the time that he was arrested ?

A Yes.

Q Are those about all the rifles you saw ?

A No, .38-55.

Q That is a .38-55 ?

A .38-55 calibre rifle a man had, but I can't recollect the name.

Q Another Eskimo ?

A Another Eskimo.

Q How many rifles did you see altogether ?

A Between seven and ten.

Q And about how many Eskimo men during that period did you see ?

A About one hundred and seventy.

Q Do you know the principal food the Eskimo live on ?

A Caribou in the spring and summer - seal in the winter, and caribou the rest of the year.

Q How do the white men live in that country, what on ?

A Caribou.

Q And how do they kill the caribou ?

A Shoot them.

Q With what ?

A Rifles.

Q You told me that you met Inspector LaNauze in the spring of 1916; do you recollect the date ?

A May 2nd, on Coronation Gulf.

Q Whereabouts did you meet him ?

A Thirty-five miles east of the Coppermine River.

Q On the shore of Coronation Gulf ?

A Yes.

Q He was camped there ?

A I was camped there and Inspector LaNauze came to my camp.

Q You were camped there with a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition; who was that ?

A Mr. Chipman.

Q Who accompanied Inspector LaNauze ?

A Constable Wight, Ilavinik, and Mr. D'Arcy Arden.

Q Constable Wight and the interpreter Ilavinik ?

A Ilavinik.

Q And from there where did the party proceed to ?

A Across Coronation Gulf to Dolphin & Union Strait.

Q And went up to Bernard Harbour, did you ?

A Yes.

Q Where the Expedition was. About what time did you arrive at Bernard Harbour ?

A Arrived at Bernard Harbour about seven days - I can refer to my diary?

Q Yes, you can refer to your diary to refresh your memory. That is the diary you kept at the time ?

A The diary was kept at the time. On May 10th we arrived.

Q While you were at Bernard Harbour you received certain information - my learned friend will allow me to lead, I am sure - pointing to Sinnisiak as having had something to do with this case ?

A No, we obtained that before, Mr. McCaul, at Cape Lambert, on our way, between Cape Lambert -

Q And after you arrived at Bernard Harbour you outfitted a small expedition to go to search for Sinnisiak ?

A Yes.

Q What was the condition of the sea ? Was it frozen ? Was there ice ?

A Ice, solid.

Q You travelled over the frozen sea ?

A Yes.

Q With toboggan and dogs ?



A One toboggan and one native sled.

Q You had a toboggan and an Eskimo sled then when you started out from Bernard Harbour. Who composed the party that went to look for this prisoner that you had heard of named Sinnisiak ?

A Inspector LaNauze, Constable Wight, Special Constable Ilavinik, and Uluksak Mayuk and myself.

Q Inspector LaNauze, Constable Wight, Ilavinik and Uluksak Mayuk ?

A Yes.

Q Uluksak Mayuk was your guide ?

A Yes; he said he knew where Sinnisiak was.

Q And what direction from Bernard Harbour did you travel ?

A North-east.

Q North-east from Bernard Harbour, in the direction of what island ?

A Of the Liston and Sutton Islands; it would be practically north from the Liston and Sutton Islands, and north-east from there.

Q How far did you make the first day, roughly speaking ?

A About thirty-five or forty miles.

Q Travelling over the ice, of course ?

A Yes.

Q And there you were met with a fog, were you not ?

A Yes.

Q You had to turn back on account of the fog ?

A Yes.

Q Did you come back to Bernard Harbour then ?

A We came back on the other side of the island to Bernard Harbour.

Q And you made a new start as soon as it cleared up the next day ?

A As soon as it cleared up the next day.

Q Uluksak Mayuk guiding ?

A Yes.

Q And about thirty or forty miles out you came upon a deserted Eskimo village ?

A Yes.

Q From which a trail led northwards ?

A Yes.

Q You followed that northwards and came to another Eskimo village ?

A Yes.

Q You followed that on and you came to another village more recently deserted ?

A Yes.

Q And from there close on the shore of Victoria end, on the north side of Dolphin & Union Strait you saw an Eskimo village ?

A Yes.

Q And the party proceeded to this village. Tell us what took place when you got to that village.

Q THE COURT: Where was that ?

A The village on the south shore of Victoria Island.

Q MR. McCAUL: Wollaston Land I think it is called there. You have arrived now at the skin village. About how many tents were there there ?

A About twenty, I should imagine.

Q Each one representing an Eskimo family ?

A Perhaps two families in one tent.

Q What happened when you got there or just before you got there ? Were there any signs of welcome ?

A No. The people didn't welcome us at this village, which was the custom as a rule, but they, came around as soon as we arrived, crowded around the sleds and started to talk. They knew me anyway, and we couldn't see the accused there at the time; he wasn't amongst the crowd.

Q That is, Uluksak told you he didn't see the accused.

A You didn't know him at the time.

THE COURT; He knows him since; he knows he did not see him then.

A I saw the accused's brother; I knew his brother and knew who the man was.

MR. McCAUL: What took place ?

A Uluksak Mayuk started hunting one way, and the Inspector disappeared another and Ilavinik disappeared another, and Constable Wight stayed at the sleds. Uluksak found the tent where the man was.

Q Inspector LaNauze, and yourself and Ilavinik all went into the tent ?

A Yes.

Q How did the prisoner act when you came in ?

A He was very frightened.

Q What was he doing at the time ?

A Making a bow , if I remember right.

Q Making a bow out of what, bone, or wood or what ?

A No, out of wood , spruce.

Q What took place ? What was said ? I suppose you only know from what Ilavinik told you ?

A Yes. Everything was said through the Interpreter.

Q In the end you arrested the prisoner ?

A Yes.

Q You had previously laid an Information and you had a warrant for his arrest ?

A Yes; on May 11th I laid the information.

Q And when he got up what did you find he had been sitting on ?

A An automatic rifle was underneath his blanket, and two knives were there too.

Q Under the blanket he had been sitting on you found an automatic .22 rifle ?

A Yes.

Q Some conversation passed between Sinnisiak and Ilavinik ?

A Yes, quite a lot.

Q He said some words in Eskimo which you, yourself, did not understand, is that right ?

A Yes.

Q What it was you can't tell except what Ilavinik told you. Then, having arrested the prisoner, you took him back to Bernard Harbour ?

A To Bernard Harbour.

Q You gave evidence at the preliminary investigation. The preliminary investigation was held before Inspector LaNauze, Justice of the Peace, at Bernard Harbour, on May 17th, 1916?

A Yes, sir.

Q You gave evidence ?

A I did.

Q Were you present throughout the trial: ?

A Yes.

Q The prisoner Sinnisiak made a statement to Inspector LaNauze?

A Yes.

Q That statement was interpreted by Ilavinik ?

A Ilavinik, yes.

54.

Q And reduced to writing ?

A Yes.

Q By Inspector LaNauze ?

A Yes.

Q Was the other interpreter, Patsy, present at the time ?

A Yes.

Q Did you have Patsy check the interpretation of Ilavinik while he was interpreting ?

A Yes.

Q And did Patsy say that his interpretation agreed with Ilavinik ?

A Well, I took Patsy's interpretation down in writing and it did agree.

Q Oh, Patsy interpreted it for you and you took that down in writing ?

A Yes.

Q Have you got that ?

A Yes.

Q And it agrees with the interpretation of Ilavinik's taken by Inspector LaNauze ?

A Yes.

Q Before the prisoner arrived at Bernard Harbour and made this statement, confession -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Now, Mr. McCaul, you are going a little too far. You have led the witness to a great extent, and now you are putting words into his mouth that the witness has not suggested.

MR. McCALL: What is the objection ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Putting words into the mouth of the witness that he has not stated. You used the word "confession" which is the first time it has been used here.

Q MR. McCAUL: Previous to the arrival at Bernard Harbour had you elicited or asked for any statement from the prisoner ?

A No.

Q Why ?

A Didn't think it was fair to the man.

Q What ?

A Didn't think it would be fair to him.

Q And the prisoner had made no statements whatever until after his arrival at Bernard Harbour ?

A No.

Q As far as you know ?

A Not that I know of.

Q You never asked him for any statement ?

A No.

Q And he never made one to you ?

A No.

Q When was the first statement that you ever heard the prisoner make with regard to it ?

A At the preliminary enquiry, after the close of the case, when the accused is asked whether he had a statement to make.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I might just as well state now that I intend to make an objection to this man, who doesn't understand the Eskimo language, stating what the prisoner said. Mr. McCaul can obtain whatever statements were made, if they are admissible in evidence, from the Eskimo interpreter.

MR. McCAUL: I have no intention of asking this witness a word of what he said. I propose to put in what is the proper evidence of his statement, the statement taken down by the Justice of the Peace.

Q And before Inspector LaNauze took his statement did you hear any warning given by Inspector LaNauze to the prisoner, and what was it ?

A Yes; he was told very carefully and very emphatically, not once, but if I recollect right, about three times, that he need not make any statement whatever.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, -

THE COURT: It will have to be proved further.

MR. McCAUL: What did Inspector LaNauze state in English to the interpreter to be interpreted to the prisoner ?

A That he need not say anything unless he wished to do so.

Q Do you know the printed form that is used ?

A Yes. The printed form was translated,

Q That was read to him, and, as far as you know, translated to him ?

A It was interpreted; it was read to the interpreter to be interpreted.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Will you please not lead the witness.

THE COURT: His answer was perfectly right. He said it was read to the interpreter to be interpreted.

Q MR. McCAUL: And eventually the prisoner was committed by Inspector LaNauze ?

A Yes.

Q He remained imprisoned in Herschell Island from the 17<sup>th</sup> of May up to the time that you left again in the yacht or schooner to go to Bernard Harbour ?

A Yes.

Q When did you leave Bernard Harbour ?

A About July, 1915.

Q And you took the prisoner to Herschell Island where he remained imprisoned until you took him out for this trip ?

A Yes.

Q After the committal for trial of Sinnisiak what did Inspector LaNauze, Corporal Wight and Patsy do ?

A They, with Ilavinik, went to effect the arrest of Uluksak, while I stayed with the prisoner.

Q You stayed with the prisoner until they returned ?

A Until Inspector LaNauze and Patsy Klengenberg returned.

Q Until they returned with the prisoner Uluksak ?

A Yes.

Q About what date was that ?

A May 27th they returned.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q How long were you at Bernard Harbour ?

A From September 5th, 1915, until about July 15th, 1916.

Q And did you make your headquarters entirely at the Harbour?

A Yes; my headquarters were at Bernard Harbour.

Q And did you visit any other part of the country except on one occasion when you went to Victoria Land to bring back Sinnisiak ?

A No; I was at the mouth of the Coppermine in November, and I went up the Coppermine from Bernard Harbour in February, and I stopped on the Liston and Sutton Island, at the village there, with the natives in December about ten days, and several shorter trips around.

Q You made several trips around ?

A Yes.

Q How many villages did you visit ?

A It is hard to say, Mr. Wallbridge. There was one large village at the mouth of the Coppermine when I went down in November, that is, a snow village. There was a very large village around Bernard Harbour itself between November 15th and the end of December, and then practically all the people moved over to the Liston and Sutton Islands where we spent a time with them there, and in the spring they broke up into innumerable villages, and I spent some time with them.

Q So you actually did see a great deal of the Eskimo while you were there ?

A Yes.

Q And you visited a considerable part of the country around the mouth of the Coppermine River ?

A Yes. How far up the Coppermine did you go ?

A About twenty-five miles up to the first timber on the Coppermine.

Q That is about twenty—five miles up the river?

A That is about twenty—five miles up the river.

Q Did you go on the river or on the side ?

A On the river for about five miles above Bloody Falls, then on the east side of the river above that to the first timber.

Q Did you take the river up as far as the falls or the bank of the river ?

A No, the river.

Q How far is that from the mouth ?

A Between ten and twelve miles.

Q That would be from where the snow village was that you saw at the mouth ?

A I saw an old village at the mouth, but the village I referred to before was on an island off the mouth five miles out in the Gulf.

Q And from there the Falls would be about fifteen miles ?

A About fifteen.

Q And at the Falls you would leave the river and take to the land for a bit ?

A Above the Falls about, about four miles above the Falls we left the river.

Q You had to leave the river to get around the Falls ?

A No, you can just make it. There is open water there, but you can make it along the sides.

Q That would be in February, would it ?

A Yes, that was in February.

Q And above the Falls you left the river and took the east bank ?

A Well, we did; we took the east bank.

Q What is the country like just immediately around the Falls ?

A It is a rolling country.

Q Are there any hills ?

A Yes, there are hills.

Q It is quite hilly, is it not ?



A It is a rolling country, very much like the rolling prairies, you get coulees in it.

Q Just around the Falls ?

A Around the Falls itself there are cliffs.

Q High land, is it ?

A Not particularly high.

Q Coulees ?

A Yes, coulees. Bloody Falls is a ridge. The rest of the land is a sort of clay.

Q How high is the land above the river at the falls, above the normal level ?

A About eighty feet.

Q THE COURT: Just the bank ?

A Yes.

Q WALLBRIDGE : So it is fairly hilly there ?

A Yes.

Q Did you go very far ? Twenty five miles, is that the tree line or just the first trees ?

A The first trees.

Q How far was it up to the tree line ?

A I couldn't say I was there.

Q You didn't get as far as the tree line ?

A The tree line follows the river itself; the trees are closer along the river than they would be inland.

Q The first trees would probably be isolated, two or three ?

A No; the first we came to, a good clump.

Q A small clump ?

A Yes.

Q An isolated clump ?

A Yes; they were getting thicker up the river.

Q They weren't connected up with the main trees ?

A No.

Q About how big a clump would it be ?

A Small stunted spruce, about two or three acres.

Q Then there was an open patch from there on until you came to the real trees ?

A Yes.

Q As far as you knew ?

A Yes.

Q I think you told my learned friend you saw about one hundred and seventy Eskimo men altogether ?

A Yes, altogether, probably about that.

Q And probably the same number of Eskimo women ?

A Women and children. The women are in the minority there.

Q Did you take the opportunity of studying them to some extent?

A Yes; I was interested.

Q What manner of people did you find them ?

A Very simple, kindly, as a rule.

Q What about their intelligence ?

A Well, they are very clever in their work, but their minds don't work like ours.

Q They compare more with children, don't they, than with grown up people, as far as we are concerned ?

A As regards our ways, it is a hard question to answer.

Q That is what I say, as regards our ways, our methods of doing things, they are simple, like children ?

A Yes; they want to examine everything; they are very curious to find out about things, how it is made and how it is done.

Q What you would call primitive ?

A Yes, they are primitive.

Q Mr. McCaul, in his address, spoke about the stone age. I have read Mr. Stefansson's book, and I see he refers to` the stone age.

A Yes.

Q And Inspector LaNauze, in his report, refers to the stone age. Is that your idea, these are men who might have been found in the stone age ?

A Oh, undoubtedly. I don't think they have advanced very much since that.

Q They are men in the same condition now that you would have expected to find in the stone age whom we only know about through the researches of ethnologists ?

A Yes.

Q That was your idea ?

A Yes.

Q Incapable of grasping our ideals and aims ?

A Well, they have never been taught it.

Q How did you find them with regard to strangers, rather afraid ?

A Very hospitable, the majority of them.

Q They were hospitable, but there was a great deal of fear of the stranger ?

A They never feared me, because strangers are always in the minority.

Q When you went first did they not look on you with a little suspicion, the first time they met you ?

A No, they didn't seem to.

Q You came in with a number of others on the Arctic Expedition?

A No; the first band I saw I was alone with an Eskimo at the mouth of the Coppermine.

Q That was in 1916 ?

A In 1915.

Q Do you happen to know whether many white men preceded you there ?

A Just from hearsay.

Q Quite a number within a few months or a year preceding you, were there ?

A There hadn't been many white men in there, no.

Q I understand Mr. Stefanson claims he was the first ?

A Yes.

Q That would be the year 1910 ?

A Yes. Hanbury was through that country.

Q Was Hanbury ever at the mouth of the Coppermine ?

A Yes. I believe it was in 1903, he wrote a book.

Q Mr. Stefansson claims he was the first ?

A I don't know, of course, whether that is true or not. I know Hanbury was through there.

Q Stefansson was through there in 1910?

A Yes, I know; Hanbury was through there before that.

Q You say these men weren't afraid of you at all ?

A No, they weren't.

Q Were they suspicious of you ?

A No; they were very inquisitive. They were a bit of a nuisance.

Q But not afraid ?

A No.

Q You gave them no cause to be afraid ?

A No.

Q None whatever ?

A No.

Q You were very careful not to give them any cause to be afraid ?

A Yes.

Q Did you carry your gun around with you ?

A No.

Q why didn't you carry your gun ?

A I wasn't afraid of them.

Q And you didn't want to arouse their enmity or their suspicion?

A No.

Q At no time while you were there did you carry a gun ?

A I carried a gun for two days when I visited the village of Liston & Sutton islands, but after two days I hid it.

Q You hid it ?

A Yes; not to their knowledge, I didn't carry it.

Q You didn't want them to know that you had it ?

A No.

Q On that occasion you had an automatic pistol ?

A Yes.

Q You had a rifle with you ?

A Yes; we always had a rifle.

Q You left your rifle in the pack ?

A It was on a sled.

Q You kept it very carefully in the pack'?

A Yes; I needed it.

Q You needed it for hunting purposes ?

A Yes.

Q But not with regard to any of your relations with the Eskimos ?

A No.

Q You were better without it ?

A Oh, undoubtedly.

Q Do you know to the contrary that an Eskimo is rather suspicious of a man with a gun ?

A Well, sometimes; they are not always.

Q The man who is taking a gun to go hunting creates no suspicion?

A No.

Q But the man who takes a gun to back up his dealings with the Eskimo creates more or less suspicion or distrust ?

A Yes.

Q What does it mean to an Eskimo for a white man to take up a gun in his presence ?

A Well, if he is going out to hunt it would be in the ordinary course of events, he was going hunting.

Q Suppose he wasn't going out hunting ?

A If he made a threatening action I suppose it would mean he was going to shoot him the same as any white man.

Q It doesn't mean a mere bluff to the Eskimo ?

A I can't answer.

Q Did you ever have any experience ?

A Yes; one time I went into a snow house with a rifle and the man seemed to be scared I was going to shoot him, but I thought he wanted to get

something from me and I wouldn't let him have it and he went away; he got mad.

Q You were having a business transaction ?

A No; he wanted to have a business transaction.

Q And you had a rifle ?

A Yes.

Q And he thought you were going to use it ?

A I don't know whether he did or not, but he didn't look very happy when I went into the snow house with him.

Q He looked as if he thought he was going to be shot ?

A Yes, I suppose he thought that way.

Q And did he make any demonstrations towards you ?

A No, none whatever. No.

Q Was there any doubt in your mind that man was afraid ?

A No, no doubt in my mind at all.

Q No doubt in your mind at all that he was genuinely afraid of you when he saw you with the rifle ?

A Yes.

Q That is just another instance of an Eskimo not understanding white men's ways ?

A No.

Q Do you know anything about these people's religion ?

A Yes, that is, according to ethnologists, their religion consists of a series of taboos.

Q Good spirits and evil spirits ?

A Yes.

Q Things they should do and things they should not do ?

A Yes.

Q Did they ever look you over to see whether you happen to be a spirit or not ?

A No.

Q Anybody else that you know of examined for the purpose ?

A No.

Q I understand they think these spirits come to them in human form ?

A Yes. Those are imaginary spirits they call down. They sometimes say they see spirits, performing that way.

Q And the other men are always in dread of seeing the spirits come ?

A I have never heard of them seeing spirits except the shamans themselves.

Q Some of these shamans claim to be able to control the spirits ?

A Yes.

Q But it is a very primitive form ? It consists entirely of these spirits which can be controlled ?

A Not the whole religion.

MR. McCAUL: Is Corporal Bruce an expert ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I don't know; he seems to be an expert on some things.

Q Tell the jury something, because they are interested, Corporal. You have made some observations.

A What is it you want to know ?

Q I want you to tell them the nature of the religion of the Eskimo.

A Well, as I say, the religion consists of a series of taboos.

Q That is a very meagre explanation of their religion.

A That is all I know, Mr. Wallbridge. What taboos are, are simply silly little things; that they are not suppose to eat caribou meat on the ice.

Q That is one of the taboos, what else ? Taboo, you mean something forbidden ?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember anything else ?

A There is a whole series of them. Women are not supposed to sew in the full if the moon, and a few other silly little things.

Q Do you know anything about any customs when they kill the caribou ?

A Well, no.

Q You don't know about that ?

A I believe they generally cut a little piece off of it and throw it one side.

Q Do you know the reason of that ? Did you ever hear of that because the caribou has spirits ?

A I understood it to be that.

Q Spirits go along with the caribou, and they have to appease those spirits ?

A Yes.

Q The same doesn't happen with the deer and the musk-ox ?

A I don't know about that.

Q They haven't got the same ideas of the Supreme Ruler that we have in regard to religion ?

A Not that I know of.

Q Just a mere matter of these spirits ? When you were there in the winter these men were living out on the ice in villages, catching seal ?

A Yes.

Q They make a village, and when the seal are pretty well gathered up they move on to another place ?

A Yes.

Q They cover the ice pretty well in the winter ?

A Yes.

Q In the summer they take to the land again and hunt caribou?

A Yes.

Q Now, these particular Eskimo at the Coppermine River were in the habit of hunting up in the Dismal Lake region ?

A I believe so, yes.

Q Up between Great Bear Lake and the Coppermine River ?

A Yes.

Q And they get pretty close to Bear Lake ?

A. Yes.

Q They cover all that country during the summer time, and as it gets on towards winter again they all come down to the river ?

A Yes.

Q They follow the river down to the mouth at the Arctic ?

A When they move.

Q They move all in a bunch together or in isolated bunches ?



A Isolated, as a rule, perhaps two or three, perhaps one, perhaps two or three.

Q And they might take quite a considerable time to move from one place to another ?

A Yes.

Q Each family may move as it takes the notion ?

A Yes.

Q If people were coming down through the summer shooting grounds in the Dismal Lake region to Bear Lake you would expect them to reach the lake in small bunches ?

A Yes, sometimes three or four families move in a bunch.

Q And probably the whole village would get down in a week or ten days time ?

A Yes, or perhaps longer.

Q And that course is repeated year in and year out with regularity ?

A Yes.

Q Their habits and customs don't change much. Have you any idea of the Eskimo's idea of punishment ?

A No. You mean in what instance or what case ?

Q Did you ever hear of any of them being punished there by the rest of the tribe ?

A Not for stealing.

Q No, they don't steal.

A No.

Q They are not thieves ?

A Some of them may steal.

Q Do they have any form of punishment among them ?

A Not that I know of except they have blood feuds there. This is according to the ethnologists.

Q Were any of those going on when you were there ?

Q MR. McCAUL: You are speaking now of what Mr. Jenness, the arctic ethnologist, told you ?

A Yes.

Q Has he written any report on the subject yet ?

A I believe there is a Government report.

MR. McCAUL: Probably that would be the best place to get Mr. Jenness' views, I would have no objection to that. Rather than take this man's recollection of Mr. Jenness' ideas, it would be better to have Mr. Jenness' report in which he sets out his ideas, probably in the report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, and no doubt we can get the report from the library.

MR. WALLBRIDGE : I want only a very limited amount of information, Mr. McCaul.

MR. McCAUL: I don't think you had better get it this because he might misinterpret. I am speaking of what Mr. [Jenness] told him.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Leave out what Mr. Jenness told you. Did you ever see any person being punished ?

A No, I never saw any person being punished.

Q Did you ever see any of these blood feuds ?

A No.

Q Do you suppose they have any idea of punishment for wrongs done ?

A Not beyond that.

Q Just blood feuds ?

A Yes.

Q That is a matter of the person injured taking vengeance ?

A Yes.

Q That is all ? That is the whole knowledge that the Eskimo has, somebody will take vengeance on him for something that is done whether it is done rightfully or wrongfully ?

A I don't know; I can't give an opinion on that. I am not an ethnologist.

Q If an injury is done to an Eskimo, whether it is done in a manner permissible or not permissible, so long as it is an injury, he must take vengeance for it ?

A No, I don't say that at all.

Q This particular man Sinnisiak had all the appearance of being very much afraid when you came up to him in the shack ?

A Yes, he was afraid.

Q Absolutely afraid, and don't you think he was afraid you were going to kill him right on the spot ?

A I believe so, yes.

Q That was his conception of things ?

A Yes, I think it was.

Q Rather limited, that he thought he was going to be killed on the spot ? He couldn't have had any idea of the question of a Supreme Court ?

A No.

Q He couldn't possibly have had any idea of the white man's justice ?

A No.

Q Do you suppose, sitting there now, he understands what we are doing ?

A Yes, I think he does.

Q Do you think he realises we are taking evidence, weighing the evidence, and are going to judge him on the evidence, or does he not think that the Chief Justice is making up his mind whether he will take vengeance or give him a pardon ?

A No, I think he realises both sides.

Q How about the Eskimo's dress, they all dress in the same manner, do they not ?

A Yes, with deer skins.

Q When you went in among them you wore deer skins ?

A Yes, dressed with the western Eskimo deer skins.

Q It is a dress they are familiar with, the deer skin dress ?

A No, they are not familiar with ours because we always wore snow shirts, a cover on top of the deer skins. It is like a smock on top of the deer skins.

Q MR. McCAUL: What they call a parka ?

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You mean the skin inside ?

A Yes, sometimes.

Q And you wore them ? You wore your snow shirt outside keep it from getting wet ? The Eskimo didn't do that ?

A No.

Q And were there very many of you there ?

A In the Expedition ?

Q Yes.

A I think there were eight white men.

Q So they very speedily got used to that form of dress ?

A Oh, yes.

Q But apart from that, there are no oddities of dress among them ?

A No; they are very uniform in their dress.

Q. And isn't it a fact they are more or less suspicious of every peculiar form of dress ?

A I don't think they are.

Q They show curiosity, in any event ?

A They show curiosity in anything unusual.

Q And the kind of Eskimo which you have described as very primitive, is it very far from curiosity of unusualness to suspicion ?

A No.

Q I am asking you about peculiarities of dress, whether or not the Eskimo have any particular impression from seeing any peculiarity of dress ?

A Whether they take any impression ?

Q Yes.

A They would be curious, they would want to see how it was made.

Q Now, how far is it, considering the Eskimo mind, from curiosity to suspicion ?

A I think they are far removed.

Q What does the Eskimo think, do you know ?

A I think that the Eskimo think they are far removed.

Q What arouses an Eskimo's curiosity will not arouse his suspicion ?

A Not always.

Q That is different from being far removed ?

A Well, suspicion is not curiosity to them - or at least curiosity is not suspicion to them, but, as I say, I can't answer these questions.

Q You don't feel particularly well enough to qualify ?

A No, I am not competent to answer.

Q - to say whether the unusual or the unknown would create suspicion ?

A No, I don't say that the unusual always creates suspicion, for I don't think it does.

Q Now, Corporal, the place that you arrested Sinnisiak and the place that the other man Uluksak was arrested are a good many miles apart ?

A Yes, a good many miles.

Q How many ?

A About ninety, I should say, or something like that.

Q Have you any reason to suppose, or to suppose to the contrary, that Sinnisiak and Uluksak had been together during the last two or three years previous to the arrest ?

A I couldn't say that. They might have been together during the last two or three years, but they weren't together when we arrested them, and I don't think they had been together the previous summer.

Q They hadn't been together the previous summer ?

A I don't think so.

Q As far as you could ascertain they had been separated ?

A Yes.

Q Working with different people ?

A They were hunting in different districts.

Q When you arrested them they weren't brought together, they weren't in the same place ?

A The preliminary of the one was over with, of Sinnisiak; that came off as soon as he was brought in.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q Mr. Wallbridge asked you if you ever heard of any other white men being in there before, and you mentioned Stefansson's name, and you said you had heard of Hanbury. Did you ever hear of Radford and Street ?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I object to that. He asked about Radford and Street.

MR. McCAUL: My learned friend opened the subject.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I didn't refer to Radford and Street.

MR. McCAUL: No, you were very careful not to mention them. You gave the information that only two white men appeared there, and now it appears there were others. I will not press it.

Q However, you have heard of Radford and Street having been in there ?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Well, now -

MR. McCAUL: Well, I will press it.

THE COURT: I think you can find out if he knows.

MR. McCAUL: Very well, now having got the ruling in my favour, I don't intend to ask the question.

Q You told Mr. Wallbridge that it is quite common for any person travelling in that country to carry a rifle on the sled ?

A Yes.

Q For the purpose of killing caribou ?

A Yes.

Q And my friend asked you about the custom of eating a bit of caribou. You don't know the reason of that, I suppose, do you ?

A No. They generally eat a piece of caribou, because it is warm and they like it.

Q That is all, as far as you know ?

A There are little pieces thrown away on the side.

Q In the same way the buffalo hunters here used to like to pick out the tongue and eat the tongue ?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Wallbridge asked you about the Eskimo's idea of punishment, and asked you about the principle of vengeance. Your notion is that Sinnisiak expected, when the police came, not to be arrested and taken to trial at all, he expected to be killed on the spot ?

A Yes.

Q What we would call murder ?

A Yes.

Q That is what he expected ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Now, my lord, I have asked my learned friend on a number of occasions not to lead his own witness. Now he is putting words in his mouth. Now, nothing can be so objectionable as my learned friend putting a word like "murder" in the mouth of the witness, something the man never thought of. Surely this prisoner is to be protected by the Court insisting upon the proper line of examination by Counsel for the prosecution.

Q MR. McCAUL: At any rate, he expected to be killed on the spot, that will do; he expected that the police, instead of arresting him, would kill him on the spot? That was the principal of vengeance that Mr. Wallbridge refers to. Now, you spoke about the overcovering that you wore over your skins. Just describe what that looked like.

A The snow shirt, it is exactly like a smock with a hood on it.

Q It hangs loose down?

A Yes.

Q Makes a wind shield and throws snow off?

A Yes.

Q It is a loose hanging thing?

A Yes.

Q What color is it?

A All colors, white, blue, every color.

Q White, blue, or any color?

A Or any color.

Q Do you happen to know if that is what we call a parka in the Yukon?

A Yes, but the ones up there are not open in the front.

Q Neither are the ones in the Yukon?

A No.

Q THE COURT: Are yours open in front?

A No.

Q You say they eat caribou in the summer, the Eskimo?

A Yes.

Q How do they kill it?

A They have got rifles, and with bows and arrows.

Q With bows and arrows, those that have not rifles ?

A Yes.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock a.m. to-morrow.

10 o'clock a.m. August 15th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and the trial of the above entitled cause was resumed as follows :-

MR. McCAUL: I wish to put in the "Department of the Interior Atlas of Canada, 1915", pages 55 and 56, showing the distribution of the Eskimo in the green.

Said two pages of Atlas marked EXHIBIT 10.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: What is the purpose of shewing the distribution of the Eskimo ?

MR. McCAUL: I will enlarge upon that.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My learned friend handed the jury a map, shewing the distribution of the Eskimo over all the north part of the map. I don't know what purpose it is, and there is no evidence.

THE COURT: Just, the same as these other maps, to give a general idea of the conditions.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Yes, but this map is a special map, shewing the distribution of the Eskimo. I think it is quite improper.

MR. McCAUL: It shows the distribution of the Iroquois, the Cree and all the Indian races.

THE COURT: I suppose it is evidence under The Canada Evidence Act. It is a document prepared by the Government, a Government publication.

MR. McCAUL: I have a witness whose name I regret I didn't give to Mr. Wallbridge with the list of witnesses. It is Dr. Jamieson, of the Provincial Laboratory. I would like to call him. If my learned friend wishes to cross-examine him, he can recall him this afternoon.

THE COURT: You have no objection ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I don't know the purpose of the examination.



THE COURT : You would if Mr. McCaul had given you his name before.

DOCTOR HEBER C. JAMIESON,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown, and duly sworn, was examined by ins. McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q You are of the Provincial Laboratory ?

A Yes, Mr. McCaul.

Q And have you got an article that was submitted to you for examination of the stains ?

A Yes, I have.

Q Will you produce it.

A (Witness produces article.)

Q That is it ?

A Yes.

Q Did you make an examination of the properties of the stains?

A Yes, I did.

Q What is the nature of those stains ?

A Human blood stains.

THE COURT: Is there any advantage in shewing by him where he got that, because I fancy you will have some difficulty in tracing it unless he shews where it came from.

MR. McCAUL: From whom did you receive it ?

A I received it from the Mounted Police, from Corporal Withers, Constable Withers rather, on April 30th. I gave him a receipt for it.

THE COURT: Do you object to its being marked as an exhibit now ? Properly, of course, it is not evidence in the case.

MR. McCAUL: I will undertake to prove where it was picked up, and I will trace it in the hands of Corporal Withers.

MR. WALLBRIDGE : I have no objection.

Said cloth marked EXHIBIT 11.

MR. McCAUL: I would like to recall Corporal Bruce before I call Constable Wight.

CORPORAL WYNDHAM VALENTINE BRUCE,

being recalled as a witness on behalf of the Crown, was examined by Mr.

McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q Have you ever seen this article before (Exhibit 11) ?

A Yes.

Q Where did you first see it ?

Q I bought it from Kormik on March 24th.

Q What time ?

A March 24th, 1916.

Q March 24th, 1916, where ?

A In the Dolphin & Union Strait, Bernard Harbour.

Q And what did you do with it ? When was the last time you saw it ?

A I sent it out in care of Dr. Anderson with the rest of the property that I picked up in there.

Q Care of Dr. Anderson ?

A Yes.

Q Of the Canadian Arctic Expedition ?

A Of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.

Q You have no doubt that that is the cloth you picked up ?

A That is the cloth.

JAMES WIGHT,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown and duly sworn, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q You are a constable in the North West Mounted Police ?

A Yes.

Q And I believe you went up with Inspector LaNauze from Regina to Fort Norman in 1915 ?

A Yes.

Q And did you proceed with him as far as Fort McPherson when you went down there ?

A No.

Q You stayed at Fort Norman ?

A At Fort Norman.

Q Afterwards you started from Fort Norman with Inspector LaNauze to go up to Great Bear Lake ?

A Yes.

Q Who else was with the party besides yourself and Inspector LaNauze ?

A. Constable Withers, Special Constable Ilavinik, and D'Arcy Arden.

Q Had you any Indians trackers ? How did you track the boat up the lake ?

A We had some Indians.

Q Then you crossed Great Bear Lake and went into camp where ?

A In Dease Bay.

Q You wintered there ?

A Yes.

Q The next spring what took place ?

A Inspector LaNauze, and myself, and Special Constable Ilavinik and D'Arcy Arden left for the coast.

Q How long did it take you from the time you left the police camp at Dease Bay to arrive at the coast, about ?

A We left Dease Bay on March 29th, 1916 and reached the coast on, I think it was, April 30th, the evening of April 30th.

Q What route did you follow from Dease Bay to the coast ?

A We left Dease Bay and hit about almost due east, and then turned -

Q Going up what river ?

A We followed along the east side of Deese River, over the Divide.

Q Did you strike any lakes there ?

A We went to Lake Rouviere, Lake Imaernik.

Q I-m-a-e-r-n-i-k, that is the Indian name for it. Do you know why it was called Lake Rouviere ?

A I know it was called from Father Rouviere who worked in that part of the country.

Q After passing Lake Rouviere how did you descend to the Coppermine River ?

A We started across country for the Dismal Lakes, and then -

Q Went through the Dismal Lakes, over the Dismal Lakes ?

A Yes. We made our camp on Dismal Lake, and then went about due east to the mouth of the Kendall River.

Q Kendall River drains - ?

A Into the Coppermine.

Q From the Dismal Lakes ?

A Yes.

Q You followed it to the mouth, and then followed the Coppermine down to the shores of the Arctic ?

A Yes.

Q Arriving there April 30th. Did you ever see this man before, Corporal Bruce ?

A Yes; we met Corporal Bruce at the Coppermine.

Q What time ?

A About the 30th of April, about thirty miles east of the mouth of the Coppermine.

Q About the 3rd of May, you mean ?

A Yes.

Q After you got to the Arctic ?

A Yes.

Q The party then went to Bernard Harbour where the Canadian Expedition was ?

A Yes. The police party turned west.

Q And you all went to Bernard Harbour ?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: If I lead too much, my learned friend will interrupt me.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I objected yesterday, but without effect, and I would ask you now not to lead at all.

Q MR. McCAUL: Tell me what happened after you arrived at Bernard Harbour, in connection with this case. Detail just what happened . I can't suggest anything to you ?

A Before we reached Bernard Harbour we had visited some Eskimo camps along the route, and had got some information about the killing of the two priests, and after we got to Bernard Harbour we started talking about what part of the country these people were in, and what method we would take of getting them.

Q What part of the country which people were in ?

A These two men we were looking for, the murderers of the priests.

Q What were the names of the two men you were looking for ?

A Sinnisiak and Uluksak.

Q Then you say you started to look for them, who started ?

A Inspector LaNauze, Corporal Bruce, Special Constable Ilavinik, myself and one of the natives of that part of the country, a man by the name of Uluksak.

Q Has that man Uluksak got any nick-name or other name to distinguish him ?

A They call him Uluksak Mayuk in that country, the rich man.

Q You started with this party about what date, do you recollect ? Have you got a diary? Did you keep a diary ?

A Yes.

Q Have you got it with you ?

A Yes.

Q You can refresh your memory by looking at it if made at the time.

A (Referring to book) On the 12th of May.

Q Where did you go ? What did the outfit consist of that you started with ?

A The supplies —

Q No, I don't care about the supplies. What were you travelling with - in boats ?

A We were travelling with dogs; we had eight of our own dogs on a large Eskimo sled.

Q Where did you go ?

A We went out to some islands in the Dolphin & Union Strait. They are called the Okallit Islands. Is that the Eskimo name ?

A That is the Eskimo name.

Q Would you be able to indicate the route from the map ?

A Yes.

Q (Mr. McCaul shows map to witness.)

A Bernard Harbour is just about there, (indicating).

Q Where are the islands that you went to, what direction ?

A They would be about up here some place, (indicating).

Q You went out to those islands, what happened then ?

A We found nothing there but an empty snow village.

Q What next ?

A We kept moving across the straits and reached close to Victoria Land without finding any fresh traces of the Eskimo; and we travelled then due west and came into Bernard Harbour again without finding anything but empty snow villages.

Q Did you make another start again ?

A We rested one day and made preparations for another start and went straight across to Victoria Land.

Q What did you do there ?

A We found an Eskimo village just on the edge of the shore. They were all camped there.

Q In snow igloos or what ?

A In deer skin tents, with a snow wall and deer skin roof.

Q Were you travelling by water or by land or on ice ?

A On the ice; we travelled all on the ice. On reaching there the natives all gathered around, and Special Constable Ilavinik began taking the names of the people that were standing around, and he did not get the name of this man among the bunch but through some information that he got from one of the natives there, that he was up in his house, in his tent. I was to look after the outfit while they went up to the tent.

Q You were left in charge of the outfit while the rest of the party went up to the tent ?

A Yes.

Q What was the next thing that you saw happen ?

A The next I remember of is the Eskimos leaving the outfit and running up to the tent.

Q The Eskimo people ?

A. The people, the natives.

Q And have you ever seen this man before (the accused) ?

A Yes.

Q When was the first moment that you set eyes on him ?

A I was instructed by Inspector LaNauze to go to the tent and assist Corporal Bruce with the prisoner, in getting him away.

Q And did you do so ?

A Yes, I went.

Q What was the prisoner's demeanour and how did he act when you went to the tent to assist Corporal Bruce ?

A When I went in I went up to him and shook hands with him, and he was trembling all over.

Q What happened then ? What was done with the prisoner ?

A We took him outside and asked him to get ready to come away, to pack up his goods and chattels, which he did, with the help of some of the other people, and we made ready to start back to the Expedition after he had got his -

C. You did start back ?

A After we got him and his outfit together we started back to Bernard Harbour.

Q Were there any other sleds accompanying you or any other party accompanying you besides your own party ?

A There were two sleds of natives of the place that went across with us.

Q Do you know whether or not this man Sinnisiak had a wife or not ?

A Yes, he had a woman.

Q Did you see her ?

A Yes.

Q That became of her when you left to go away , when you left with the prisoner ?

A She came across to Bernard Harbour - the next day she came with one of the other sleds.

Q So that eventually you got the prisoner to Bernard Harbour ?

A Yes.

Q Were you present at his preliminary investigation ?

A Yes.

Q Did you hear him make, through the interpreter, any statement ?

A Yes, he made a statement.

Q You were present there. Who was the interpreter who interpreted his statement ?

A Special Constable Ilavinik.

Q What was the name of the Justice of the Peace ?

A Inspector LaNauze.

Q That is the gentleman sitting here ?

A Yes.

Q And before he made his statement did Inspector LaNauze give any instructions to the interpreter what to say to him ?

A He told the interpreter to tell him if he didn't want to say anything about it, not to say it, for him not to say anything.

Q How often did he tell the interpreter to tell him that ?

A I don't exactly remember the times, but I am sure he told him at least four times.

Q Were there any members of the Canadian Arctic Expedition present while this preliminary investigation was going on ?

A I can remember one in particular, Mr. Jenness, the ethnologist.

Q Did you hear Inspector LaNauze say anything to Mr. Jenness ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I think that is going rather far.

Q MR. MCCAUL: Then Ilavinik interpreted the statement that the prisoner made ?

A. Yes, he interpreted the statement.

Q In regard to; the arrest of the other prisoner, Uluksak, who started on that expedition, who went on that expedition ?

A Inspector LaNauze, myself, and special Constable Ilavinik and Patsy.

Q After the prisoners were taken to Bernard Harbour did any member of the police force remain behind after Inspector LaNauze and the Corporal had left with the prisoners ?



A Inspector LaNauze, and Patsy and the prisoner Uluksak left to go back to Bernard Harbour, I received instructions from Inspector LaNauze to wait at the mouth of the Coppermine until some of the huskies came ashore off the ice.

Q By "huskies" you mean the Eskimos ?

A The Eskimo Kormik and Uluksak.

Q Kormik and Uluksak Mayuk, and then what ?

A We proceeded to search for the remains of the priests.

Q You proceeded to search for the remains of the priests where? Where were you to go to search ?

A I didn't know where we were to go only in a general direction, but these two knew the exact spot.

Q Kormik and Uluksak Mayuk ?

A Kormik and Uluksak Mayuk. I left the mouth of the Coppermine.

Q Was any person else with you ?

A Special Constable Ilavinik.

Q THE COURT: When was this ? You left them last at Bernard Harbour; that is some distance from the mouth of the Coppermine?

A Yes. We arrested the prisoner -

MR. McCAUL: It was after Inspector LaNauze had left to take the prisoners to Herschell Island, he was left behind.

Q THE COURT: And you went back to the mouth of the Coppermine?

A Yes.

Q. MR. McCAUL: Can you give us the date from your diary?

A That I left the mouth of the Coppermine ?

Q Yes, at this time, the time you speak of ?

A It was on June the 1st, the evening of June the 1<sup>st</sup>.

Q Were you able to travel over the ice at that time ?

A Yes, the ice was still good.

Q You had Special Constable Ilavinik, you told us, with you. Whom did you meet there ?

A I met Kormik, Uluksak and Koeha.

Q And where did you go ?

A We started up the Coppermine to this place where he said the priests were killed.

Q Do you know a place called Bloody Falls ?

A Bloody Falls, yes.

Q Was the place you went to below or above Bloody Falls ?

A It is above Bloody Falls.

Q How many miles, about ?

A About ten miles.

Q About ten miles above Bloody Falls. Did you find any traces there, any articles ?

A The day was very stormy when I reached there, and I went up to the place and found a runner of a sled first, and then the lower jaw of some human being, the teeth strong and compact.

Q You found certain articles there, did you ? You found the lower jaw with the teeth in it, and some other articles there. Would you recognise the articles if you saw them?

A Yes.

Q Come down here and see if they are among any of these articles here. This piece of canvas ?

A Yes, three pieces of pants, and three empty rifle shells.

Q Is this the condition they were in when you found them ?

A Yes; there was three of those.

Q Three shells, three empty shells. What shells are those ?

A .44 Winchester, and the teeth.

Q Anything else ?

A The diary.

Q And also this diary which is Exhibit 6A ?

A Yes.

Q You found that diary on the spot ten miles above Bloody Falls ?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: I would ask to have all these articles, my lord, which the witness has identified, fastened up in a sack and the sack marked whatever the exhibit number.

Said bundle marked EXHIBIT 12.

Q After you found these articles where did you go ?

A I started on my return trip to Great Bear Lake.

Q You started on your return trip to Great Bear Lake with the articles ?

A With the articles.

Q And did you arrive at Great Bear Lake ?

A Yes, I arrived at Great Bear Lake.

Q Did you get any further than Great Bear Lake on your return trip ?

A Our base was at Great Bear Lake or Dease Bay.

Q You stayed there ?

A We stayed there and got ready to cross the lake.

Q Did you cross the lake ?

A Yes.

Q What in ?

A We crossed the lake in the York boat after we got everything prepared.

Q Where did you get the York boat ?

A We had taken the York boat on our way into the country.

Q And you got it when you were coming out. Who was with you on that trip ?

A Coming out ?

Q Yes.

A Constable Withers, Special Constable Ilavinik, his wife, and daughter and myself.

Q You said Constable Withers, and Special Constable Ilavinik, and who else ?

A His wife and daughter.

Q Ilavinik's wife and daughter ?

A Yes.

Q And where did you eventually land up or come to ?

A Our destination at that time was Fort Norman. We arrived there.

Q When did you arrive at Fort Norman ?

A On or about July 22nd, I think.

Q After that date did you get in touch again with Inspector LaNauze ?

A Not until this summer.

Q When did you next see the prisoners after your arrival in July, 1916, at Fort Norman ? When was the next time you saw the prisoners in this action ?

A On the arrival of the steamboat from Fort McPherson this summer.

Q Is Fort McPherson above or below Fort Norman ?

A It is below Fort Norman.

THE COURT: You remained at Fort Norman until you came out this summer ?

A We came out as far as Fort Fitzgerald last year, and returned to Fort Norman in December.

Q MR. McCAUL: But this time you were there when the steamboat arrived ? Did the steamboat go any further than Fort Norman?

A The steamboat came to Fort Smith.

Q Where is Fort Smith, what direction from Fort Norman, up the Mackenzie River or down ?

A It is up the river from Fort Norman.

Q Who was in the steamboat besides Uluksak and Sinnisiak ?

A There was Sinnisiak, Uluksak and – after leaving Fort Norman?

Q Yes.

A And Inspector LaNauze, Sergeant Edgenton, Corporal Bruce, Special Constable Ilavinik, and Constable Lamont, and Mocha, and Patsy, and the two prisoners.

Q Where did you eventually arrive ? What is the last place that the party arrived at? That is the name of the last place the party arrived at ?

A Edmonton.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q Had you any experience among the Eskimo before this trip ?

A None whatever.

Q Came straight from Regina ?

A Yes.

Q Had any experience among the Indians ?

A None before.

Q And how long were you with the Eskimos at the coast ?

A From the 2nd of May until - you mean until I left the coast?

Q I have forgotten now, just say in months ?

A From the 2nd of May until the 1st of June. They came across country with us, the whole party of Eskimo came across country with us.

Q The whole party of Eskimo ?

A Yes.

Q That is the whole tribe, the Copper tribe ?

A No, there were about twenty of them came to Bear Lake. About twenty of the Eskimo who lived at the mouth of the Copper Mine [*sic*] River came with you up to Bear Lake ?

A Seven of them came with me and the rest straggled along.

Q They were going up to their summer hunting ground, I suppose?

A Yes.

Q And you took advantage of that to go with them ?

A No.

Q Or they wanted to go with you ?

A I don't know; I couldn't get clear of them.

Q Just a coincidence, was it ?

A Yes, just a coincidence.

Q And you say a number straggled behind, how far behind ?

A I don't know; they were hunting their food along the line. There were so many of them, of course, they had to delay to hunt their food.

Q They would follow behind a day or two then or three days ?

A Yes.

Q Probably it might take a week or two or more for the stragglers to catch up to the main party ?

A Yes.

Q But they were all headed for the same destination ?

A All headed for the same place.

Q And that is, as far as you could make out , the way they generally travelled, isn't it ?

A Yes; that is their general route.

Q Go ahead, pack some food up and go back, and pack some more food and cache it along the road ?

A They pick up food as they go along, and over and above what they are not able to carry along they cache and pick it up in the summer if they need it or get it in the fall.

Q They continue coming and going until they get up them ?

A Yes. They shift their caches.

Q Now, from the mouth of the Coppermine up to Bloody Falls was the going fairly stiff or was it very easy going ?

A Oh, it was just - well, easy; I wouldn't call it hard.

Q Average going ?

A Yes, average going.

Q Were you on the river or do the land ?

A No, I was on the land packing.

Q The snow was hard ?

A The snow was all gone.

Q The snow was gone then ?

A Yes.

Q There was no snow at all ?

A No.

Q You weren't there in the winter time when the snow was on?

A Only when we went down.

Q What did you find when you went down, was it easier going than when you came back ?

A Yes.

Q It was easier going than coming back ?

A No, it was easier going down.

Q On the snow ` ?

A Yes.

Q Was the snow deep at all ?

A No, the snow wasn't deep.

Q Coming back, how long did it take you to get to the Falls ?

A The Falls is only about five miles from the mouth of the river; we got there in about three hours.

Q And the other ten miles above the Falls that you went, how long did it take you to get there ?

A We left the Falls on the morning of the 2nd, and when we were getting near the place where these people were supposed to have been killed I stopped the party to see if I couldn't shunt off some of the Eskimo.

Q What time of day would that be ?

A It would be in the afternoon about two or three o'clock.

Q So the way you were going, if you started from the mouth of the river, you ought to have reached that spot in a day?

A Yes, in a day.

Q And you weren't making very fast time ?

A No.

Q And almost any person who travels in that time ought to have made the Falls from the mouth of the river in one day's travelling ?

A At the Falls ?

Q Not the Falls, but the point where the priests are supposed to have been killed ?

A Yes.

Q Anybody could have made that in one day's travel from the mouth of the river ?

A Yes.

Q With comparative ease ?

A Yes, quite easy.

Q Did you find the country hilly around that particular spot ?

A Yes, there are hills.

Q Hills and coulees ?

A Yes, broken hills and coulees.

Q Good funnels and channels for the wind to blow around in different directions ?

A Yes.

Q How long did it take you to get up to the trees from the time you left this point where the priests were supposed to have been killed - another day ?

A We didn't go by the timber line.

Q How did you go ?

A We left that place after getting through with our examination -

Q Yes, after your examination you left the point ?

A We left the point and hit about south west for a while.

Q You left the river ?

A Yes, we left the river.

Q At a considerable angle ?

A Yes, on an angle.

Q And where did you go then ?

A We had a cache up -

Q How far was it to the trees by the direction you went ?

A It might be about ten miles.

Q That is the general tree line, or would that be isolated trees ?

A The tree line is only along the Coppermine River.

Q We are at cross purposes. There are some trees along the Coppermine River, and there is a general tree line in the north ?

A The end of that tree line would be about ten miles above this place.

Q You would hit the general tree line in ten miles, you think? That is, the tree line runs within twenty miles of the mouth of the Coppermine River ?

A Yes.

Q I am not speaking about the isolated trees on the Coppermine. Corporal Bruce told us he went up a considerable distance. My recollection isn't good, but I think he went up twenty-five or more miles, and they were still away from the tree line, although he found an acre or two or scrubby trees up there ?

A That is the same.

Q That is to what you refer ?



A Yes.

Q But I am speaking of the general tree line. You know what I mean?

A Yes, I know.

Q You travelled north up in that country and you run out of the trees ?

A There are no trees only along the lakes and rivers. There is no general tree line across country north of Bear Lake.

Q Not beyond Bear Lake ?

A No, no general tree line. It is all barren, with the exception of the lakes and rivers.

Q There are a few clumps of trees along the river ?

A Yes.

Q And there are a few trees about ten miles beyond the point where the priests are supposed to have been killed ?

A Yes.

Q What extent of trees are there ?

A About -

Q Not how big the trees are, but what area is covered with trees ?

A Just along the bank.

Q Just a few trees along the bank ?

A Just along the bank.

Q Isolated clumps ?

A Isolated, yes.

Q Did you notice any larger patches of trees further on as you went ?

A Yes; as we came south the trees get larger, thicker.

Q How far is it from this point where you stopped until you came to fairly decent trees, where you found them continuously?

A To good timber I would say it would be about fifteen miles.

Q When you crossed the Dolphin & Union Strait to Victoria Land for the purpose of arresting Sinnisiak you came up to the Eskimo village on the south side of Victoria Land, did you give some sign to the Eskimo that you were peaceably inclined ?

A No; we gave them the friendly sign, putting our two arms above -

Q What was that friendly sign ?

A By placing the two arms above your head.

Q To shew that you weren't armed ?

A Yes.

Q Apparently they have some fear of an armed stranger ?

A I think they have some curiosity regarding strangers.

Q Yes, but they have some fear of an armed stranger, any stranger who is bearing arms ?

A I don't know.

Q A man with a gun in his hand is not a welcome stranger?

A They never did with us, as long as we were there.

Q Did you carry a gun in your hand ?

A No, we didn't carry any gun.

Q And the reason you carried no guns was that you wouldn't be welcomed if you carried guns in your hands ?

A We didn't want to cause any fear among them.

Q And you had your guns carefully packed in your sleds when you went across the Dolphin & Union Strait ?

A Yes, we had our rifles packed.

Q And you didn't take them out ?

A No.

Q Not even when you went up to arrest Sinnisiak ?

A No.

Q And the reason you did go unarmed was because these natives are afraid of a man with a gun, they don't like it ?

A I don't know; I haven't been long enough with them to know.

Q You don't know when they see a man with a gun in his hand they think he has some intention of using it ?

A I couldn't say that.

Q You don't know anything about their suspicions ?

A No.

Q Or the fear they have of strangers ?

A No, none only what we found among them ourselves.

Q You found something among them. Did you find that that was the case ?

A I have never seen any fear amongst any of them.

Q But you did observe any way the fact that you and your party were very careful to keep arms well packed up ?

A Yes, to keep them out of sight.

Q And I suppose you thought you had some good purpose in doing that ? You knew it was a good purpose ?

A We knew it was good policy.

Q When you came back with Sinnisiak apparently the rest of the tribe were quite willing - they didn't make any demonstrations to keep him there ?

A No.

Q And he himself came quite willingly, after some explanations?

A Yes, after I saw him he did.

Q Although he was very much afraid ?

A He was frightened.

Q Trembling all over, you said, when you went into the shack?

A Yes.

Q Did he have the appearance of a man who expected to be killed on the spot ?

A I couldn't say; he was shaking pretty well.

Q He couldn't have been more afraid than he was ?

A No; I don't think so.

Q However, after some explanation of some kind from the interpreter he came with you ?

A Yes.

Q And you brought his wife and family ?

A They followed, of course, and fell behind.

Q What does his family consist of ?

A I can remember the wife and a boy. I don't know whether the boy was his boy or what relation.

Q They came over to Bernard Harbour with you ?

A Yes.

Q And you used some subterfuge to get the woman to go back to Victoria Land ?

A I don't know anything about her going back.

Q You don't know that she was given presents to go back.

A No.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION of MR. McCAUL:

Q This is a Government map, of the Atlas, shewing the northern limit of trees. It crosses the Coppermine River about twenty-five miles up. Would that be about right ?

A Yes.

Q My learned friend was asking you the nature of the country in the neighbourhood. Did you take any photographs of the country ?

A I took some photographs; I don't know how they turned out.

Q What did you do with the negatives of them ?

A I sent them to headquarters with my report.

MR. McCAUL: Do you want me to trace them out ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Let me see them, Mr. McCaul.

MR. McCAUL: My learned friend was asking you about the nature of the banks and country of the Coppermine River from where the river began. Will you look at pages 197 to 201 of this book and see if those photographs or those pictures there in any way represent the nature of the Coppermine ?

A Yes, I recognise a couple of them.

Q Was the water running in the river ?

A No, it was frozen up.

Q The water wasn't running ?

A Coming down ?

Q No, coming back ?

A Yes, the water was running.

Q (You spoke about a small clump of trees, Mr. Wallbridge.) This book is paged at the bottom. Begin at page 197, and look at the pictures from page 197 to page 205?

A 197, that is about the nature of the last timber; it was very scrubby like that.

Q Do any of these other pictures represent the nature of the Coppermine River from Bloody Falls up to this last timber that you just looked at? How do the pictures look to you?

A This one on page 199, sandstone formation.

Q That picture is familiar to you, is it?

A Yes.

Q And look at the others. Sandstone rapids.

THE COURT: What page?

A Page 200.

Q MR. McCAUL: Can you identify the picture of Bloody Falls?

A I would part of it. I have seen Bloody Falls, I would recognise it.

Q Do you find it there?

A Yes.

Q What page?

A Page 202.

MR. McCAUL: The book "Lands Forlorn" and the pages he mentioned I will ask to have marked.

Said book marked EXHIBIT 13.

Q See if you recognise any of these photographs, (handing photographs to witness). Can you make out any of those?

A Yes, I can make out some of them.

Q Tell us what they are, any that you know. Whereabouts were they taken?

A That is the place where they say they were killed.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 14.

Q Any of the others that you recognise?

A That is another of the same.

Q Another of the same place, a different view. What is this up there?

A That is a cross I put there for a mark, the two cross pieces of the sled.

Q This white thing shown on this is a cross you put up yourself for a mark ?

A Yes.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 15.

Q What is that (indicating another photograph) ?

A A Husky camp on the barrens along the Coppermine.

Q Were those fellows with you ?

A Some that were following our party.

Said photograph marked EXRIBIT 16.

Q And this one (indicating another photograph) ?

A That is some of them on the march, with a pack. That was taken just above Bloody Falls. The same outfit ?

A The same outfit that were following.

Q And those are dogs ?

A Our dogs.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 17.

Q And what are these two ?

A That one is immediately opposite the place where the priests were killed.

Q THE COURT: On the opposite side of the river ?

A Yes.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 18.

Q MR. McCaul: And that one you have there ?

A That is Bloody Falls.

Q This is your photograph of Bloody Falls ?

A Yes, sir. There is a distinction between the two photographs.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 19.

Q Now, Mr. Wallbridge asked you if any of the Eskimo came across with you to Dease Bay, and I think you told him some seven came with you ?

A Yes.

Q About twenty altogether. Do you recollect the names of any of those seven ?

A There were Uluksak, his wife Koptana and another wife Kukiluka, and another wife we used to called Chicken.

Q Any others ?

A The wife of the second prisoner, she had another husband by that time, and her husband -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: This is all nonsense, my lord, to bring matters of that kind into the trial.

R. McCAUL: I asked nothing about that; all I asked was the names.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It is quite irrelevant.

MR. McCAUL: Of course it is irrelevant, quite irrelevant.

Q Did you pass Lake Rouviere ?

A Yes, we came to Lake Rouviere.

Q Did you see any buildings there ?

A There were the remains of the cabins of the priests.

Q The remains of the cabins of the priests were at Rouviere. What is that picture I shew you now ?

A These are the cabins of the priests at Lake Rouviere.

Q That is the condition they were in when you saw them ?

A Yes.

Q In 1916?

A Yes.

Said photograph marked EXHIBIT 20.

Q That was the first time, of course, that you had seen the priests' house ?

A No.

Q When had you seen it before ?

A I saw it before when we were going from Dease Bay to, the coast.

Q That would be in September, of 1915 ?

A No, no.

THE COURT: It was in April ?

A We reached there on March 31st.

CHARLES D. LANAUZE,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown and duly sworn, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q Inspector LaNauze, I am proposing to call Koeha as the next witness. What form of oath is binding upon the conscience of those Coppermine Eskimo ? How would you make them understand to tell the truth ?

A I would speak to him in his own words as he spoke to me in Coronation Gulf; "Whatever you speak now you speak straight, don't speak with two tongues."

THE COURT: I think the interpreter had better be sworn again. He was sworn before the Charge was read.

Ilavinik was now sworn as Interpreter.

KOEHA,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown, and duly sworn, through Interpreter Ilavinik, "Whatever you speak now you speak straight, don't speak with two tongues", was examined by Mr. McCaul and testified as follows ;

MR. WALLBRIDGE; We haven't had any assent from the witness as to whether he is going to speak straight. We haven't had even the nod of his head.

MR. McCAUL: When you told him to speak straight what did he say ? Did he say he would speak straight ?

THE INTERPRETER: He says he will speak straight.

Q MR. McCAUL; Where did you live before you came here ?

A I lived at the Coppermine River, mouth of the river, east side.

Q You lived on the east side of the Coppermine River before you came out here. Do you know that man (indicating accused) ?

A I saw him before.

Q Do you know who that is ? (Handing witness photograph exhibit 2) ?

A Kuleavik.

MR. McCAUL: That is Father Rouviere.

Q Who is that (Handing witness exhibit 6) ?



A I think it is Ilogoak.

Q Who is that (Handing witness photograph exhibit 3) ?

A Kuleavik.

MR. McCAUL: That is a larger one of Rouviere.

Q You know Kuleavik and Ilogoak ?

A The first time I see Kuleavik after some time I saw Ilogoak.

Q Do you know that picture (Handing witness photograph exhibit 7) ?

A Yes, I know.

Q What is it?

A Imaernik.

MR. McCAUL: That is the name for Lake Rouviere.

Q What is that ?

A That is the house Kuleavik lived in.

Q Look at that picture, exhibit 20, do you know what that is?

A Yes, I know, Imaernik.

Q The same place ?

A The same place.

Q Do you remember the time the priests were killed ?

A Yes, I remember.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Mr. McCaul, I suggest that you don't refer to them as "the priests". He doesn't refer to them by "priests"; he mentions them by name.

MR. McCAUL: Kuleavik and Ilogoak. Kuleavik is identified as Father Rouviere. Thanks for the suggestion.

Q Do you know who killed them ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Well, that is not a proper question, my lord, unless he saw it.

Q MR. McCAUL: Do you know who killed them ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Just a moment. I think that is a very unfair question, my lord. If he saw somebody kill them, or perhaps if somebody told him that he killed them there might be something to it, but supposing he heard it from some other Eskimo, that it came indirectly, perhaps from three or four people, that a certain person

killed another person, and he is asked that question in the form in which Mr. McCaul asks it he immediately says, yes, so-and-so did it, and when he is asked, how do you know, well, so-and-so told me. That, my lord, would be a very improper way of getting at the evidence. My learned friend knows a method of getting at it which is not objectionable.

MR. McCAUL: With a witness of this mental calibre it is very difficult.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It is very much worse, because a witness of that calibre is more apt to give an answer in the form of the question.

THE COURT: If he answers the question and nothing more there would not be the least objection to it, but, of course, as Mr. Wallbridge suggests there might be something more.

MR. McCAUL: I think I should be allowed to lead this witness to a certain extent.

Q Did you hear Sinnisiak tell how Kuleavik and Ilogoak were killed ?

A He come back in the night time, Sinnisiak and Uluksak came back one night and he tell me.

Q Who told you the next morning ?

A Ukuksak.

Q Did you hear Sinnisiak say anything about how the priests were killed ?

A I didn't say anything to Sinnisiak.

Q When was the last time that you saw Kuleavik and Ilogoak alive ?

A At the mouth of the Coppermine River was the last time I saw them alive.

Q How long did Ilogoak and Kuleavik stay at the mouth of the Coppermine River before they drove away, how many days ?

A He came to the mouth of the river and he stayed night the first night, and the next day they stayed, and another night they stay again, and the next day they start at noon.

Q Whose tent did they stay at ?

A Lived in Kormik's tent.

Q Where did they come from ? Where had they been before they came to the Coppermine ?

A I saw them come from Imaernik.

Q With some other Husky with them ?

A Yes, Eskimo with him.

Q What time of year was this, ice, snow ? What time of year, summer - ?

A Just frost, in the winter time - in the fall.

Q How many winters ago was that ? How long ago ?

A Five years now.

Q You say Kuleavik and Ilogoak stayed in the tent with Kormik. Do you know whether Kuleavik and Ilogoak had any rifles with them there ?

A I saw them, three guns, one muzzle loading gun and two .44 rifles.

Q Would you know Kuleavik's rifle if you saw it again, if I showed it to you ? If I showed you rifle would you know if it is Kuleavik's or not ?

A I think I might remember it.

Q Look at that rifle. Did you ever see that rifle before (handing witness rifle, exhibit 9) ?

A Yes, I know I saw him; he come up for it one night.

Q You saw that ?

A I saw Kormik take it from him in the tent.

Q Whom did Kormik take it from ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, the question of whether Kormik took this rifle from anyone or not is not a question at issue in this trial. First, did he see Kormik take the rifle.

THE COURT: That is apparently what his answer was.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I would like the interpreter to find out if that is what his answer was.

MR. McCAUL: He said so. That is the interpretation. I want to know now who it was he took it from.

THE COURT: What was the last answer ? What did Koeha say just now ?

THE INTERPRETER: He said he knows this rifle outside, he saw this rifle, and in the tent. Somebody take it outside.

MR. McCAUL: Tell us all that again.

THE INTERPRETER: He said he knows this rifle, and somebody else, he pick up in the tent.

Q THE COURT: What tent ?

A Kormik's tent.

Q Somebody picked it up in Kormik's tent ?

A Uluksak old rifle .44.

Q At that time where was Sinnisiak when Kormik take the rifle from Uluksak ?

A I saw him at the same place, Sinnisiak.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: At the same time ?

MR. McCAUL: That was the question.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I direct that gestion to be answered whether or not Sinnisiak was there at the same time. He said he saw Sinnisiak at the same place, but he didn't say he saw him at the same time.

THE COURT : It was in answer to a question if Sinnisiak was there at the same time.

Q Was it at the same time that Kormik took the rifle that Sinnisiak was there there ?

A He said the same place, mouth of the rifle, he saw both of them, Sinnisiak, at the same place, at the mouth of the river, Kormik.

Q MR. McCAUL: Was that the time Kormik take the rifle from Uluksak ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, the interpreter Patsy informs me that this interpreter is putting him through the third degree, is accusing him of lying, and trying to get him to give an answer which the Eskimo doesn't want to give, as you can see by the manner of this question.

THE COURT: Ilavinik, just ask him the question that the counsel give you. Do not say anything more to him. Just get him to answer that. You can explain that to him, but do not ask him anything else, and do not say anything else to him.

Q Just ask him if the time that Kormik got the rifle, if it was at that time that Kormik got the rifle that Sinnisiak was there with him. He said he was there in the same place. Was he there in the same place at the time when Kormik got the rifle from Uluksak. Just ask him that. Ask him to

answer. When the rifle passed to Kormik from Uluksak was Sinnisiak there at that time ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: According to the interpreter Patsy the witness did answer the question but the other man wouldn't accept it.

THE COURT: Well, we have not got the answer.

Q When Kormik got the rifle from Uluksak was Sinnisiak present there at the same time ?

A Koeha was staying outside, and Kormik bring outside the rifle and take it over to the tent, to own tent. He said he saw Koeha standing outside, Kormik outside take the rifle and he take it over to own tent.

Q Where was Sinnisiak then ?

A He didn't see Sinnisiak at the same place.

Q MR. McCAUL: When Kuleavik and Ilogoak go away, anybody follow Kuleavik and Ilogoak the next day or the same night ?

A Yes, they went back.

Q Any fellow follow them that night ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think my learned friend might put that question in a fair way: Did he see anybody follow them, and how long after ?

Q MR. McCAUL: Did he see anybody, any fellow, follow Ilogoak and Kuleavik ?

A He didn't see him same night, same day, the party when they started.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: He put the question which you asked first and not the question which you asked second.

MR. McCAUL: When Ilogoak and Kuleavik go away did you help them pack the sled ?

A Yes.

Q Had Kormik any trouble, row, with Ilogoak before they go away about a rifle ?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: That is absolutely unfair, my lord. It doesn't matter to this case whether Kormik has any trouble or not. We are not trying Kormik or we are not trying this man for any trouble that Kormik had, and the question whether Kormik had

trouble does not answer the question of whether this charge is true or false.

MR. McCAUL: I reserve the right to recall the Witness on that point after I put in some other evidence when I shew the connection. The connection is not yet made. I will make the connection at the proper time.

Adjourned until 2 o'clock p.m. to-day.

2 o'clock p.m. Wednesday August 15th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment, and the trial of the above entitled Cause was resumed as follows :-

MR. McCAUL: Doctor Jamieson is here now, if Mr. Wallbridge would like to cross-examine him.

THE COURT: Any questions of Dr. Jamieson, Mr. Wallbridge?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: No, my lord.

MR. McCAUL: I think we can make better progress to allow the present witness to stand aside until I present some further features of the case. I propose to put in, my lord, the statement of the prisoner made before the Magistrate, under Section 1001 of the Code.

THE COURT: I think you will have to shew first that it was a statement made by the accused. You have not gone that far yet.

MR. McCAUL: A statement taken by the Magistrate and signed by him proves itself, under Section 1001 (reading).

THE COURT: That is the rule, but we have already established the fact that this was not made in a language that the Justice could understand, and therefore, unless someone who interpreted can swear this is a statement of the accused - we have already had it shewn that this is not a statement of the accused - we had better not admit it.

MR. McCAUL: The formalities appear to have been complied with by the Justice of the Peace, and I submit that the deposition is admissible without further proof.

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge, you did not make the objection; I took the objection. Of course, if you do not wish to press it - if you do, I will refuse to receive it until it is shewn that the statement was made by the

accused. It is a matter for you, however. The circumstances of this case have disclosed it was not made by the accused. The statement made by the accused was not made to the Magistrate but was made to the interpreter. The interpreter is here, and there is no difficulty in establishing the fact. Unless you are willing to let it go in as it is, they will have to shew it is a proper statement.

MR. WALLBRIBGE: I will press the objection, my lord.

THE COURT: You will have to shew that it is admissible. It is quite capable of that. It is only the formality. The objection I offered has nothing to do with any evidence that Inspector LaNauze can give.

MR. McCAUL: Your lordship will have it noted I would like formally to tender the warning given by the Magistrate on the date, and signed by him on the date of the preliminary investigation, dated the 17th of May, together with the statement of the accused taken down in the handwriting of the Magistrate, signed by the Interpreter Ilavinik as interpreter, and by Corporal W.V. Bruce as witness, and also signed by the Magistrate as the presiding Justice of the Peace. I renew my application to put it in without further proof. I submit, my lord, that sections 684 and 1001 of the Code are quite clear on that, and that under those circumstances I am entitled to put it in without any further proof whatever.

THE COURT: You will have to shew that it is a statement of the accused before you can put it in as such. The evidence has left it in doubt. You have already shown that the statutory warning was given by the Magistrate to be interpreted to the accused, and that the Magistrate took down sometimes that the interpreter repeated to him; now, the interpreter can tell whether he interpreted correctly what the Magistrate said and whether he interpreted correctly what the accused said. That is the extent of the objection.

ILAVINIK,

being called as a witness on behalf of the Crown, and duly sworn, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows:-

THE COURT: I do not think it is necessary for you to go into the particulars of that in making up your case. It is already shewn that the Magistrate gave the warning, and it is already shown that something was repeated by the interpreter. If the interpreter swears he interpreted correctly what each of them said, it makes out a prima facie case.

Q MR. McCAUL: Ilavinik, do you remember at Bernard Harbour when Sinnisiak was up before Inspector LaNauze in Court?

A Yes.

Q You interpreted for Inspector LaNauze?

A Yes.

Q Did you interpret right, make Sinnisiak understand everything Inspector LaNauze told you to tell him?

A Yes.

Q Then Sinnisiak at that time made a statement, telling all about what he knew, what he did? Sinnisiak told all about Father LeRoux and Father Rouviere then?

A Yes.

Q Did you interpret all Sinnisiak said to you?

A Yes.

Q To the Inspector?

A Yes.

Q Interpret sure right?

A Yes.

Q Sure right?

A Yes.

Q All he said?

A All he said.

Q Do you remember, did you put a cross at the foot of what he said?

A Yes.

Q You remember doing that?

A Yes.

Q Who else was there at the time, what other policeman, what other constable?

A Corporal Bruce and Constable Wight.

Q You signed your own name? Is that your name? Did you sign that?

A Yes.

Q That is your name, Ilavinik?



A Yes.

Q You signed your own name twice?

A Yes.

Q What you signed was what Sinnisiak told you to tell the Magistrate?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I call your attention to the fact that they are leading questions. The witness was perfectly willing to say that he made his cross, that he didn't sign his name.

THE COURT: Perhaps he did not know the difference between the cross and the name.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: That may be the case, but the questions were very leading.

Q MR. McCaul: You were sworn to tell the right story?

A Yes.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q Now, Ilavinik, will you tell us exactly what you said to Sinnisiak at that time that Mr. McCaul referred to. Tell us exactly what it was you told Sinnisiak at that trial. Never mind telling us what Sinnisiak said to you, but you tell us exactly what you said to Sinnisiak. Tell us what you told him in the Eskimo language?

A I don't understand that.

Q You remember you say to that gentleman there, Mr. McCaul, -

A Yes.

Q That when Inspector LaNauze had the Court at Bernard Harbour you spoke to Sinnisiak?

A Yes.

Q Because Inspector LaNauze told you?

A Yes.

Q Now, tell us what you said to Sinnisiak when you spoke to him. What did you tell Sinnisiak?

A I tell him how the Inspector come a long way and going find out about the Fathers.

Q What else did you tell him ?

A I tell him I came all the way from Fort McPherson, and Inspector LaNauze came from Fort Norman. He wanted me to come up and act as interpreter.

Q What else did you tell him ?

A He says -

Q Never mind what he said. You tell us what you said.

A What?

Q He wouldn't speak unless you did ask him a question?

A I don't understand.

Q When he say he speak you asked him a lot of questions?

A Yes, I asked him.

Q You asked him what you wanted to know? Inspector LaNauze told you what to ask him?

A He told me -

Q Inspector LaNauze told you what question to ask him, and then you asked Sinnisiak the question, is that right?

A Yes; and I tell him not to speak lie or anything, to tell me straight.

Q You warned him he had to tell you straight?

A Yes.

Q And then Inspector LaNauze told you what to ask him?

A Ask me ask him everything; didn't want a lie or anything, and nothing wrong, no two tongues, everything straight.

Q And he say he talk?

A Yes.

Q Then after that Inspector LaNauze told you what to ask him? He told you to ask him some questions?

A Yes, he tell me -

Q Inspector LaNauze told you - don't tell what Sinnisiak said at all; just tell me what Inspector LaNauze said to you. Did he say to you to ask him some questions? Did he tell you what to say to him?

A He just tell me just tell him not lie.

Q That is what you told Sinnisiak, not to lie?

A Yes. He tell me I tell Sinnisiak everything, and it started to come out.

Q When you talked to Sinnisiak and Sinnisiak talked, you asked him questions?

A Yes, I told him questions.

Q You asked him all kinds of questions?

A Yes.

Q And when you got him to give you an answer you told Inspector LaNauze what Sinnisiak say?

A Yes, I give him what Sinnisiak say, and I give him what Inspector say.

Q How long did it take you?

A Well, I don't remember now how long it takes.

Q All day?

A Pretty near all day.

Q And you asked Sinnisiak questions all day?

A Not all day.

Q Pretty nearly all day?

A Pretty near all day.

Q You asked Sinnisiak questions pretty nearly all day?

A Yes.

Q And when he would answer a question from you you would tell Inspector LaNauze what he say?

A Yes, I tell him

Q Did you think that you were swearing Sinnisiak to tell the truth?

A Yes, he tell me straight, tell me the truth.

Q And you told him he must tell the truth, no two tongues?

A No two tongues.

Q All the same as that said to Koeha this morning?

A Yes.

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MR. McCAUL: He can say what Inspector LaNauze told him.

MR. WAMBRIDGE: Yes, you can tell us what Inspector LaNauze told you.

A You want me -

Q I want you to say what you said to Sinnisiak, what you told Sinnisiak in Court.

A Sinnisiak, he wanted to find out what happened. I told Sinnisiak.

Q What did you tell Sinnisiak? Go ahead.

A I tell him he wanted to find out about the priests.

Q What else did you tell him? Is that all?

A The first time I tell him if he didn't want to speak, not to speak.

Q If he didn't want to speak, not to speak?

A Yes, and if you like to speak, you speak.

Q Anything else?

A Two times I tell him like that, two times; the third time the story.

Q That was all you told him

A That is all I tell him.

Q Sinnisiak, he speak out, did he?

A He speak.

Q You ask him questions?

A Yes.

Q Did you ask him a lot of questions?

A Yes.

Q Did he speak every time you ask him a question?

A Yes.

Q And he not speak unless you do ask him a question?

...

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Q All the same as you said to Koeha this morning ?

A Yes.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q Ilavinik, what did Sinnisiak say when you told him he need not talk if he didn't want to, what did he say? Did you tell him to talk or he need not talk? Did Sinnisiak say he wanted to talk?

A He wanted to talk, and I told him -

Q What did Sinnisiak say when you said he could talk or not talk as he liked ?

A I can't understand very good.

Q INSPECTOR LANAUZE: Mr. McCaul wants to find out what did Sinnisiak say after I speak you; I speak you, you are not going to talk unless you want to?

A He wanted to speak.

Q MR. McCAUL: He said he wanted to speak?

A Yes.

Q Did Sinnisiak talk a long time?

A Yes.

Q You translated?

A Yes.

Q Interpret?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: I want to call Inspector LaNauze on one point.

INSPECTOR CHARLES D. LANAUZE,

being re-called as a witness on behalf of the Crown, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows:-

Q Inspector LaNauze, when you were presiding at Bernard Harbour at the preliminary investigation of this man how did you convey to him the statutory warning which is signed by you as having been conveyed to him?

A Well, I took a long time over it and I got it in the end. The simplest way I could translate it to the mind of the accused was: If you want to talk, you can talk; you don't have to talk at all unless you want to. That was the first time I said it to him, and that was explained by Ilavinik.

Q How often did you give him that warning?

A It was conveyed to him twice by Ilavinik.

Q And by anybody else?

A Yes, it was conveyed to him by the ethnologist of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, Mr. D. Jenness.

Q How did it happen that Mr. Jenness also conveyed the warning to him ?

A Because I asked him to, to make everything fair for the prisoner in case that he didn't understand Ilavinik.

Q Mr. Jenness was able to talk the Eskimo language?

A Yes; he was living among them for two years.

Q So that you employed Mr. Jenness to make doubly sure. And what did Sinnisiak say as interpreted to you by the Interpreter when he was told that he need not talk if he didn't want to, but that he could talk?

A Just said four words.

Q What were they?

A "I want to speak."

Q Was the statement that you took down from him elicited in answers to questions by Ilavinik suggested by yourself, or was it a voluntary statement on his part?

A If I had put questions the whole thing would have been mixed up; I simply had to get the man to tell his own story. The man told his own story.

Q You heard Ilavinik say - Mr. Wallbridge tried to suggest to him that the statement was all the result of questions by him?

A Yes.

Q How was that, as a matter of fact?

A Well, Ilavinik didn't simply understand the question very well.

Q As a matter of fact, what did take place there when you were taking the statement from Sinnisiak or Ilavinik? Did you suggest questions and ask Ilavinik to ask questions?

A No, I couldn't; I couldn't talk the Eskimo language.

Q Did you suggest questions in English and ask Ilavinik to ask him?

A No, I did not.

Q And the statement, of course, as you have taken down and signed, is exactly as it was given to you?

A Yes. I have translated it in the vernacular as nearly as I could.

MR. McCAUL: That is all for the present. Of course, I want to recall Inspector LaNauze on another point.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q You mean to say you didn't suggest any question to Ilavinik to ask Sinnisiak?

A No, I did not, as far as I can remember.

Q Not even one question, didn't ask him to clear up anything?

A No; I tried to get the man, as far as possible, to tell his own story.

Q I understand that, but will you say that you didn't suggest any question to Ilavinik that he should put to Sinnisiak?

A No, I can't remember having done so. I know the procedure.

Q THE COURT: Did Ilavinik interpret to you anything you did not understand any time that you might have to ask for further explanation?

A Yes.

Q Then you had to ask for explanations?

A Sometimes I would have to study through a little English myself.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Ilavinik said it took nearly all day to take the statement.

MR. McCAUL: No, I didn't understand that.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The Inspector can tell us how long it took.

A We started in immediately after lunch, and I think we were two hours late having supper that night.

Q That would bring you around to 8 o'clock?

A Yes, but, of course, the other witnesses were called before the prisoner. Corporal Bruce gave evidence.

Q It wouldn't take Corporal Bruce long to give his evidence?

A No.

Q You saw Ilavinik this morning interpreting for the witness Koeha?

A I did, yes.

Q And the Jury saw him?

A Yes.

Q Now, was it not of a much similar matter between Ilavinik and Sinnisiak during the taking of this statement that you refer to, a similar matter of conversation back and forth between Sinnisiak and the Interpreter?

A No, it was not so much.

Q There was some of it?

A Very little except perhaps sometimes Ilavinik would - Ilavinik wants to get everything straight and perhaps he would take some time to get a point he wanted and interpret to me.

Q There was a continuous conversation between these two, and after considerable conversation he would tell you what he said?

A No; after a little while I would stop him and write it down.

Q Do you mean to tell me that the conversation between Sinnisiak and Ilavinik was not similar to the conversation between Ilavinik and Koeha here this morning?

A No, not so much.

Q Wasn't it similar? I didn't ask you if not so much.

A It was not similar, Mr. Wallbridge.

Q Tell us how it was done then.

A It was done, the man told the story in his own simple way as much as he could.

Q And did Ilavinik not have the appearance of asking him questions?

A He certainly did not.

Q And when Ilavinik says he did ask him questions -

A Yes, but Ilavinik didn't quite understand you that time.

Q You are the arbitrator as to whether Ilavinik understood me or not?

A Yes.

Q We had better have Ilavinik back and ask him whether he did understand.

A As far as I can remember, and I certainly do remember, we would never have got anything out of those men if we hadn't got them to tell their own stories.

Q But you wouldn't have got anything out of him if you hadn't got him to cross-examine him?

A I didn't say "cross-examine him".

Q And when Ilavinik says he cross-examined him, that is not the case?

A I don't think it is.



Q You don't understand the Eskimo language?

A No, not very well.

Q You do say they had conversations?

A Oh, yes.

Q Between them? You could see they were conversing?

A Yes, not like this morning.

Q But you could see there were conversations?

A Oh, yes, a little; they have to.

Q All during this interview in which the statement was taken?

A Interpreting doesn't go like clockwork in Coronation Gulf, you know.

Q Can you fix with a little more definiteness what time of the two hours after dinnertime were taken up with the obtaining of the statement?

A Something like that, I know it was past supper time.

Q And that statement is merely three written sheets of foolscap. Ilavinik has interpreted for you on how many occasions with the Eskimo other than with Sinnisiak or the other prisoner?

A Well, I, can't -

Q Ten, twenty, or thirty?

A Oh, well, of course, in Coronation Gulf long before we got the prisoners we spent days with him interpreting.

Q Kormik, Uluksak Mayuk and a whole lot of others?

A Yes.

Q He is interpreting in all these cases?

A Ilavinik.

Q And about how many Eskimo did he interpret for you, roughly speaking, interviews with about how many of the natives?

A Oh, approximately, I suppose, -

Q Not necessarily in connection with this case, in connection with anything, in connection with the price of flour?

A There wasn't any in there.

Q In connection with any subject?

A He was interpreting all the time.

Q Well, about how many times?

A The whole time he was with me in Coronation Gulf.

Q Did he interpret for ten people?

Q THE COURT: Scores or hundreds or how many?

A Thirty or forty.

Q MR. WALDBRIDGE: Were his interpretations satisfactory to you?

A They were, yes.

Q You were satisfied the Eskimo understood what you wanted and you understood what he wanted?

A Yes.

THE COURT: We can receive the statement now.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I would like to bring this view to your lordship's mind, that the Statute provides that the warning must be to the effect that this statement may be used in evidence against the accused on his trial. The point I am taking, this man could not have understood there was to be a trial, and he couldn't have understood the nature of the evidence to be used against him. He was not giving a statement in accordance with the Statute, that is, he couldn't have understood that at all, and I am incapable of explaining to him now the nature of this matter, and I can't take his instructions, so I am just pointing this out to your lordship.

THE COURT: Any statement made by an accused person is admissible in evidence against him so long as it was given voluntarily. The question of whether it was elicited in some improper manner or whether it was involuntarily given, the evidence satisfied me it was given voluntarily, so it is immaterial about the provisions of the Statute about its being receivable without any further evidence or proof of the document itself because it is absolutely proved by the persons who heard it.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I ask to take a formal objection, and with regard to Section 1001 that probably doesn't apply. It is an unsigned statement, and there must be evidence with regard to it.

THE COURT: We have evidence. The Inspector swore that the statement that was taken down there in writing was the statement made to him.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I just want to make my position clear, that I am taking the objection formally, because I can't do anything else; I can't explain it to the prisoner, and I must look to your lordship for direction.

Said statement of the accused marked EXHIBIT 21.

Statement of accused.

"The accused being duly warned in the usual manner makes the following statement:

I was stopping at the mouth of the Coppermine River and was going fishing one morning. A lot of people were going fishing. When the sun had not gone down I returned to camp and saw that the two Priests had started back up the river. They had four dogs. I saw no other men.

I slept one night. Next morning I started with one dog. I help people coming from the south. All day I walked along and then I left the river and travelled on the land, I was following the priests trail. I met the priests near a lake, when I was close to them one man came to meet me. The man Ilogoak, the big man came to me and told me to come over to the camp. Ilogoak said to me "if you help me pull the sled I will pay you in traps" We moved off the same day I arrived to be near wood, Uluksak was with me and we pulled the sled. We could not make the trees, it was hard work and we made camp.

The next day we started back and the priests were going ahead, it started to storm and we lost the road. After that the dogs smelt something and Uluksak went to see what it was and I stayed behind. Uluksak found it was a cache of the priests and told me to come over. As soon as we got there the priests came back.

Ilogoak was carrying a rifle, he was mad with us when we started back from their camp and I could not understand his talk. I asked Ilogoak if he was going to kill me and he nodded his head. Ilogoak said "come over to the sled" and pushed me with his hand.

The priests wanted to start again and he pushed me again and wanted me to put on the harness and then he took his rifle out on top of the sled. I was scared and I started to pull.

We went a little way and Uluksak and I started to talk and Ilogoak put his hand on my mouth.

Ilogoak was very mad, and was pushing me. I was thinking hard and crying and very scared and the frost was in my boots and I was cold.

I wanted to go back I was afraid. Ilogoak would not let us. Every time the sled stuck Ilogoak would pull out the rifle.

I got hot inside my body and every time Ilogoak pulled out the rifle I was very much afraid.

I said to Uluksak, I think they will kill us, I can't get back now. I was thinking I will not see my people any more I will try and kill him. I was pulling ahead of the dogs. We came to a small hill. I took off the harness quick and ran to one side and Ilogoak ran after me and he pushed me back to the sled. I took off my belt and told Ilogoak I was going to "relieve myself" as I did not want to go to the sled. After that I ran behind the sled, I did not want to relieve myself. Then Ilogoak turned around and saw me, he looked away from me and I stabbed him in the back with a knife. I then told Uluksak, "you take the rifle". Ilogoak ran ahead of the sled and Uluksak went after him. The other white man wanted tea. come back to the sled. I had the knife in my hand and he went away again. Uluksak and Ilogoak were wrestling for the rifle and after that Uluksak finished up Ilogoak. I did not see Uluksak finish him. The other man ran away when he saw Ilogoak die. I asked Uluksak is he dead, and he said yes already. I then said to Uluksak "give me the rifle". He gave it to me. The first time I shot I did not hit him the second time I got him. The priest sat down when the bullet struck him. I went after him with the knife, when I was close to him he got up again, both of us were together. I had the knife in my hand and I went after him when he got up again.

Uluksak told me "go ahead and put the knife in him". The priest fell down on his back. I said to Uluksak "go ahead you I fixed the other man already". Uluksak struck first with the knife and did not strike him the second time he got him. The priest lay down and was breathing a little. I struck him with an axe I was carrying across the face. I cut his legs with the axe. I killed him dead.

One man is in a creek, the first one along side the sled.

After they were dead I said to Uluksak before when white men were killed they used to out off some and eat some. Uluksak cut up Ilogoak's belly. I turned around.

Uluksak gave me a little piece of the liver. I eat it. Uluksak eat too.

We covered up both bodies with snow when we started to go back. We each took a rifle and cartridges. We took 3 bags of cartridges each. We started back in the night time. We camped that night.

Next morning we go back to camp as soon as it was light.

I went into Kormik's tent. Kormik was sleeping and woke him up. I told him I kill those two fellows already. I can't remember what Kormik said. Kormik, Koeha, Angibrunna, Kallun, Kingordlik went to get the priests stuff. They started in the morning and came back the same night. Kormik had two church shirts and some clothing. I can't remember the other things. Kormik sold the two church shirts to A. Nautallik. I do not know what he got for them. I can't tell any more. If I knew more I would tell you, I can't remember any more.

Witness and Interpreter:

Witness Ilavinik (Sgd)

X

Interpreter (Sgd) W.V. Bruce, Cpl.  
“ C.D. LaNauze, J.P.

Kormik wanted to kill Ilogoak for his rifle.

Ilogoak was mad with him and would not stop any more so he left his camp.

Interpreter Ilavinik. (Sgd)

Witness (Sgd) W.V. Bruce, Cpl.  
“ C.D. LaNauze, J.P. “

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MR. McCAUL: We will go on with the evidence of Inspector LaNauze now. Your lordship will see now that I have connected Kormik with the prisoner.

INSPECTOR CHARLES D. La NAUZE,

being recalled as a witness on behalf of the Crown, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows :-

Q Inspector LaNauze, you are an officer of the Royal North West Mounted Police?

A Yes.

Q In the summer of 1915 did you get any instructions with regard to the two missing priests in the north country?

A Yes. I was stationed in Regina in May, 1915, and I got orders from the Commissioner to take a patrol north to look for the two priests who were reported missing.

Q Did you leave Regina on that expedition ?

A Yes, I left Regina.

Q About what time?

A I think it was the 15th of May.

Q Did anybody accompany you from Regina?

A No.

Q Did any constable afterwards join you from Regina?

A Yes; Constable Wight joined me in Edmonton.

Q And you two together journeyed up to Fort Norman, I believe?

A Yes; I had another man.

Q Who was he?

A Constable Withers.

Q And you arrived there about what time?

A Early in July.

Q Of 1915.

MR. McCAUL: I am going to lead here a bit unless your lordship thinks it proper to stop me or my learned friend.

Q You went on, I believe, six hundred miles further down the river to Fort McPherson?

A Yes.

Q Where you succeeded in picking up the interpreter Ilavinik?

A Yes.

Q Came bank with him to Fort Norman?

A Yes.

Q And the expedition started for the head of Dease Bay in what month?

A July 17th.

Q July 17th, of 1915?

A Yes, 1915.

Q And you arrived at Dease Bay at what time, about how long?

A I think it was the 13th of September.

Q About the 13th of September you arrived at Dease Bay and went into winter quarters near the site of Old Fort Confidence?

A Yes, Old Fort Confidence.

Q On the south east side of Dease Bay. You spent the entire winter there?

A Not all of it; I was travelling quite a bit.

Q Did you make any trips from Dease Bay at all in the direction of the Coppermine River?

A Yes. I stopped a week at the base I established, and then struck north east from the edge of the Boar Lake woods to find a cabin on a lake on this side of the Divide, between there and the Dismal Lakes, where the missing priests were supposed to have a house.

Q What is that lake spoken of here in evidence?

A The lake is known on Victor's map as Lake Rouviere. It is known on Stefansson's map as Lake Imaernik.

Q Did you find the priests' cabin?

A I did.

Q That would be in what month, about?

A The end of September, about the last of September.

Q Then you must have arrived a little earlier than the end of September?

A I said I arrived on the 13th.

Q I beg your pardon, I thought you said the 30th. Then towards the end of September you went across to Lake Imaernik, and you found what you described as the priests' cabin. What condition was it in?

A The cabin itself was in a state of utter desolation.

Q Did you take any photographs of it?

A I did, yes.

Q Is there a photograph of it marked as an exhibit to-day?

A Yes, it has been shewn already.

Q I shew you exhibit No. 20 and ask you what that is?

A That I then knew as the missing priests' cabin at Lake Imaernik.

THE COURT: You took that?

A Yes.

Q MR. McCAUL: And there is a date on the back of it. When was that made?

A That is my own writing. The priests cabin I found at Lake Rouviere on September 28th, 1915.

Q The memorandum on the back of it shews the correct date in September?

A Yes, 28th; I said about the 30th.

Q When did you start for the mouth of the Coppermine River?

A On the 29th day of March, 1915.

Q And you went up by Dease River to the Divide, and crossed over to the Dismal Lakes and followed down the Dismal Lakes to Kendall River?

A No, I went overland.

Q To the Coppermine?

A Yes, to, the Coppermine.

Q And about how far from the mouth did you strike the Coppermine, how far from the mouth to the Coppermine?

A I travelled along the Coppermine for about thirty miles, and then went overland, because the rough -

Q Where did you first strike the shores of the Arctic Ocean?

A At the mouth of the Coppermine River.

Q About what date?

A 30th of April, 1916.

Q Then you learned of some gentleman belonging to the Canadian Arctic Expedition -

A No, I didn't know it; I saw sled tracks and I followed them.

Q East?

A East.

Q And you discovered whom?

A Discovered Corporal Bruce and Mr. Kenneth Chipman.

Q You saw them encamped?

Q No; Chipman was walking along the coast surveying.



Q You met Chipman and Corporal Bruce?

A And Bruce was encamped.

Q About, how many miles east of the Coppermine?

A About thirty-five miles.

Q Who was with you when you met them? Who was accompanying you?

A Constable Wight, Special Constable Ilavinik and a Mr. D'Arcy Arden.

Q And the party all went from there, I understand, to Bernard Harbour?

A No.

Q That is not right. Well, tell me from there on, in your own language, go on in your own language and tell me the description of what you did from the time you met Chipman and Bruce up to the time you committed the prisoners for trial. Just tell me in your own language, and in detail, exactly what took place.

A May I refer to my notes?

Q Yes. Have you a memorandum, a diary?

A I have it.

Q Yes.

A We met Chipman and Corporal Bruce then, and our party split up then. I wanted the Corporal to come with me, and Arden was anxious to go east with Mr. Chipman; so I took Bruce and Mr. Chipman took Arden, and a couple of days later we struck west for the Dolphin & Union Strait. Up to this we had absolutely no news of the priests we were looking for, nor had Corporal Bruce who had been with the Canadian Arctic Expedition had any news of them. We travelled along, and we got to the large Eskimo camp off Point Lockyer, in Coronation Gulf, and there we started to make some enquiries about the priests, and we were met with distinct opposition, and we pushed on to, a camp the next night - do you wish the dates?

Q Yes, you might just as well give us the dates, to make it consecutive.

A It was May 6th when we got to that camp in Coronation Gulf and met with distinct opposition to our enquiries, and then we pushed on and came to a camp off Cape Lambert, in the Dolphin & Union Strait. If you think we could get on more quickly I could read this verbatim from my notes?

Q No; that is to refresh your memory. Tell us your own story.

A We got to where there were about forty people, and Ilavinik and I started to find out something about the missing priests, and Ilavinik had been working for Stefansson before.

Q Ilavinik had?

A Yes; and he met a man there - he met two brothers there who had known Stefansson's men in there when Stefansson had made his famous trip in there, and we discovered the particular Eskimo. This man knew of Ilavinik through Stefansson's man, and we started to make a few enquiries and we saw at once that these people had honest confidence, and we saw at once something was to be gained here, and Ilavinik said we go now to this fellows house, and we went to a snow hut in that village, and in that spot the mystery of the missing priests was opened to us, and the whole story of the tragedy was unfolded to us in that camp. We stopped there two days, taking statements from the people. It was a very slow process, but eventually we got them, and then we struck up to Bernard Harbour.

Q Tell me the date you arrived at Bernard Harbour?

A On May 11th we got to Bernard Harbour, and we overhauled our outfit, got a little coal oil and a few supplies, and in the meanwhile on our way up to the Dolphin & Union Strait we secured an Eskimo called Uluksak Mayuk, and I took him along as general purpose man, and he told us he thought he could find where Sinnisiak was. Well, we all started off then out on the ice. We didn't know where we were going, but this man was going to take us to an old village we hoped to find and follow or track from there. We couldn't find that village and we camped out on the ice that night and came back the next day and made a fresh start. There was a very thick fog; you couldn't see your hand in front of you, and we came back to Bernard Harbour and made preparations for a longer trip, and the next day things were more auspicious, and we struck across for Victoria Land then, and we hadn't gone very far when we did find the village in question that our guide Uluksak Mayuk was looking for.

Q That was a snow village?

A Yes, a dissipated snow village, and in certain places tracks are visible in the snow the year round; the tracks are even in the ice. The tracks remain indefinitely on the Arctic ice and we followed those tracks, and they kept getting fresher. We came to another village, and another, and

the tracks got fresher, and we came to Victoria Land, we saw the low lying coast of Victoria Land in front of us.

Q In what direction were you travelling?

A First of all, east, and north, then more or less north.

Q Past the Liston & Sutton Islands?

A Yes.

Q You passed them on your left?

A Yes. we camped there one night. We passed them one night, and we camped on the ice one night. It was 10 o'clock on the night of the 15th when we first saw Victoria Land, and we hadn't travelled much further north when we saw the skin tents of the Eskimo, and it was at this camp where our man was supposed to be, and his arrest was effected, and about 5 o'clock the following afternoon we started back for Bernard Harbour.

Q Tell me about his arrest, what took place. Where was he arrested?

A Well, when we got there all the people came running darn to meet us, not at first; they hung back, and I saw a man on one side and a woman on the other, and we got closer and they could see it was a strange party approaching, but they recognised our guide, Uluksak Mayuk who ran ahead and showed the peace sign, holding up the hands; I think he did, at least. They didn't shew it at that camp.

Q They didn't?

A No, they didn't, but I think he shewed it.

Q Then you went on?

A We went on, and all the people crowded around the sleds and were very much interested in our outfit. They had never seen any toboggans or big dogs like we had before.

Q Curious?

A Oh, yes, very curious.

Q And they crowded around to look at your sleds?

A Yes.

Q What did you do?

A I stopped around a little while, and I asked Uluksak Mayuk if he saw the man. I knew enough Eskimo to ask him that question, and he said,

“No, but I have seen his wife,” and so Ilavinik told me to come along. A little previous to that I saw Ilavinik writing down some names, asking “This your name, this your name,” and he would write them down in a book, but we hadn’t got the man we were looking for. Well, we started and I followed them around the camp, and our guide, Ulukak Mayuk, led us to a tent at the far end of the village. It was the only canvas tent in the village, and he waked inside and I followed him. Uluksak Mayuk went first, Ilavinik after, and after, myself; Corporal Bruce was just behind, he was outside.

Q Where was Constable Wight?

A Constable Wight was looking after the outfit. He was entertaining the ladies down there. The first thing I saw was a man sitting at the far end of the tent. He was engaged in the manufacture of a bow, and he sat there trembling.

Q He was trembling?

A Yes, very much; in fact, he was shaking all over. He never moved from the ground where he was sitting, and he told me his name. He told me his name, and that was all he said.

Q That is usual with the Eskimo, to tell their names?

A Yes.

Q What name did he give?

A He said “Sinnisiak”. That is the way he said it. Then he said something to --

Q Who was the man - the prisoner?

A The prisoner, the same man.

Q What took place then? Was there any conversation between -

A Yes; the conversation was afterwards translated to me by Ilavinik. He said to Uluksak Mayuk: “What do you men want? What do you men want?” Uluksak Mayuk said to him - Ilavinik wasn’t talking just then - he said: “White man want you; you have got to go with them,” Uluksak Mayuk said. Well, the prisoner said: “If the white men want to kill me, I am going to make medicine, and they are all going to be lost in the ice.” Well, Corporal Bruce came in just then and the prisoner was formally arrested by him, and we induced him to stand up and we relieved him of a rifle and two knives he was sitting on.

Q That was a little .22?

A Yes, a .22 automatic rifle.

Q A .22 automatic rifle and two knives he was sitting on?

A Yes, two knives.

Q Then you arrested him?

A Corporal Bruce arrested him.

Q On a warrant which you had issued?

A Yes.

Q You brought him back where?

A Then we eventually got him quietly from the camp.

Q And brought him back to Bernard Harbour?

A Took him to Bernard Harbour, and there he had his preliminary hearing on the 17th of May.

Q Now, up to the time that he had his preliminary hearing had the prisoner made either to you, or to your men, or the interpreters in your hearing, any statement or confession at all?

A No, none whatever, because he was warned at that time.

Q Warned at what time?

A At the time of his arrest.

Q What was he warned?

A He was warned that he didn't have to say anything, but the charge, as far as I could make it understood, was read to him, what we were taking him for.

Q So that no statement was taken from him at all until you took the statement that is put in here?

A None whatever.

Q Nor, you got back to Bernard Harbour, you told us, on the 16th of May, 1916, and the preliminary investigation was held on the 17th and he was committed for trial?

A He was committed for trial.

Q If I have overlooked anything or if I have forgotten anything in your diary, you can volunteer.

A The only thing that might of importance, I told him what we had come for. I told him we had learned across the other side of the bay that the people there said he had helped to kill two white men in the year 1913; that is, I explained to him some winters ago, and that I was the man sent by the Government to find out about this. This was explained to him, and afterwards all the people deserted Constable Wight and came running up into the tent, and a lot of them crowded in, and we let a lot in, and Corporal Bruce guarded the door, and we asked the prisoner if he was going to come quietly, because we weren't going to go without him, and he wouldn't come at first, and I turned around and said the same words to the crowd of people that were there. I simply explained our mission, and rather curious to relate, the people were all on our side. They turned around and said: "You must do what the white man tells you; you have got to go with them," and after that we got quietly away from the camp.

Q Had this man a wife?

A Yes.

Q Did you bring her along with you?

A Well, we started out with this one sled and the dogs, and I don't think there are any people who travel as slowly as the Eskimo, and they were travelling too slow for us, and after we got outside the camp we made lunch, and then we just told him he had to come along with us, and if he couldn't run, they could sit in our sleds and ride, and he and his wife rode the most of the way, and we got him into the Harbour.

Q Physically what sort of man is Sinnisiak?

A He is a poor traveller.

Q I say physically what is his shape and muscular development?

A Oh, he is not badly built.

Q And how is Uluksak?

A He is a little chunkier.

MR. McCAUL: Tell that man to stand up (accused).

(Accused steps out of the witness box).

Q Then did Mrs. Sinnisiak go back to the village?

A Not when I was there.

Q How far did she come along?

A She came to Bernard Harbour.

Q And when you put Sinnisiak in prison what became of Mrs. Sinnisiak?

A We didn't put him in prison; we had no prison to put him in.

Q I didn't quite mean that.

A When we landed there -

Q Technically you know you have a prisoner. He was in prison from the moment you and Corporal Bruce started with him, but what became of Mrs. Sinnisiak?

A She remained there with him.

Q Until what time?

A I went away.

Q She was there when you went away?

A Yes; Corporal Bruce attended to her.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q In answer to a question by Mr. McCaul you stated the prisoner had given his name to you?

A Yes.

Q Did you mean to say it was some different name?

A No, it is practically the same, only the ethnologist of the expedition, who is an expert, translated it to us as Sinnisiak.

Q He gave you his proper name?

A Oh, certainly it was.

Q The suggestion that came to my mind was he had given a false name.

A No.

Q THE COURT: He gave him his own name?

A Yes.

Q You have been pronouncing it as the ethnologist gave it ever since?

A Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Where were the first Eskimo you saw on your expedition?

A The first Eskimo I saw was Ilavinik.

Q Yes, but on your expedition where did you meet the first Eskimo?

A About 25 miles east of the Coppermine River we fell into a small camp there, the first I had seen.

Q Were they with the Arctic Expedition?

A No.

Q Was the Arctic Expedition near them?

A Yes; we met them the next day. We camped with those Eskimo that night, and fell in with the Expedition the next day.

Q Was the reception peaceable?

A Yes; they showed the peace sign. They were springing up and down at the same time.

Q They didn't want you to shoot them?

A No, I presume not.

Q Were you armed?

A Yes.

Q Were your arms exposed?

A No. We carried our rifles.

Q The rifles were where?

A They were lashed underneath the ribs of the toboggan.

Q When you got the peace signs of these natives you returned it?

A Yes.

Q Shewed you were friendly?

A Yes.

Q And then came in close contact?

A Then Ilavinik went forward and spoke.

Q I presume you were careful when you were in contact with those Eskimo to keep your arms in the proper place, beneath your sled?

A Yes, always.

Q There was no occasion to do otherwise?

A No.

Q And you were very careful not to skew any offence to the natives?

A It wasn't necessary to.



Q You had no trouble at all with any of the natives? They were always quite friendly?

A I had no trouble at all.

Q Sometimes a little suspicious, curious?

A Well, perhaps a little.

Q And you had a good deal of trouble getting your statements from them because it was difficult?

A Yes.

Q They were diffident about giving you any information, they didn't know what the result was to be?

A No, they weren't; I wouldn't say I had any trouble in getting the information, because it was up to us to get the story voluntarily, and we did it; it was getting it translated that was the difficulty.

Q Had they any fear of the result of the investigation you were making?

A The Eskimo?

Q Yes, as far as you could ascertain?

A Which Eskimo?

Q Any of them, all of them, the tribe?

A The tribe that I took the statements from?

Q Yes.

A No, I don't think so. The statement was given quite voluntarily.

Q Freely. They were not hiding them in any way?

A No.

Q The fact is that all during the investigation you found none of them trying to hide anything from you?

A There was one man there I was suspicious of, but I couldn't get anything of him, a man called Kormik.

Q You think there was one man trying to hide something from you?

A Yes, and there was a man that did hide something on me, but he told me the truth afterwards. Perhaps you heard me mention it in my previous statements -

Q It doesn't matter, he was anxious to give you the information?

A Yes, but they didn't fall down my neck.

Q As soon as it was made plain to them what you did want you got the information?

A Yes.

Q Quite freely?

A Quite freely.

Q And the story you got from all of them, as well as the story you got from this prisoner, the information you got was that these men had killed the priests out of fear?

A Out of fear?

Q Yes.

A No, I didn't know.

Q Your report says they had killed them in self defence?

A I said they might have, I think.

Q They might have?

A They might have.

Q And a man named Hupo gave you that information?

A Yes.

Q And you didn't bring Hupo down?

A I would if I could; I didn't have a chance.

Q And that was the information you got from Hupo?

A Yes.

Q And the statement you got from all was the same?

A No.

Q They agreed in all the material facts, as far as anybody knew?

A Yes, the most material facts with regard to the general outline of the story of the tragedy.

Q This man Sinnisiak was arrested, you were there; you say Corporal Bruce did the actual arresting. You were there present, in authority, and he was very much afraid. In your report you say he was stunned with fear?

A Yes.

Q That is a fair statement?

A Yes.

Q "And I learned afterwards that he expected to be stabbed right then."?

A Yes.

Q That is a correct statement?

A Yes.

Q So that the only conception this man had of your visit was you were going to kill him on the spot?

A Undoubtedly that is what he thought.

Q And it was only by gradual persuasion and kindness you persuaded him to come to any different conclusion?

A We just used a little -

Q You used kindness?

A We didn't urge him at all.

Q You used kindness and a great deal of tact, I think, Inspector, is that right?

A We just carried out our duty ordinarily as I would in making any arrest.

Q You wouldn't say as in making any arrest?

A I wouldn't arrest him the same way as I would run in a drunk for instance.

Q You were arresting a native in a country that was almost unknown. You were in among strangers, people that the learned counsel for the Crown has called savages and cannibals. You certainly wouldn't arrest him the same as you would arrest a white man in a white man's country? You would use a great deal of care and a great deal of tact? The result shows it?

A Well, -

Q When you arrested the other prisoner Uluksak he seemed to be in fear also, just about the same condition?

A Yes.

Q As far as you knew, although Uluksak and Sinnisiak had been living apart for some months?

A Yes, as far as I knew.

Q They weren't living in the same camp?

A No, they were a long way apart.

Q And had been a long way apart?

A Yes, they had been, I think.

Q Quite a long way apart, how many miles?

A Oh, the distance between the spots where the arrests were effected was over a hundred miles.

Q So far apart there was no possibility of any communication between them in that country?

A There was a possibility of communication. There is always shanks' mare.

Q Yes, but these men are going about their daily duties, earning their living by catching seals at that time of the year?

A There is no mail service; they are great travellers, they travel considerably.

Q But when they travel they travel with their wives and families?

A Yes.

Q And as long as they stay apart one hundred miles there is no possibility of communication between them?

A Oh, quite possible, every possibility.

Q Of hearing from each other?

A Oh, -

Q What I want to suggest, there was no possibility of their getting together concocting stories, no probability?

A Yes, there is a possibility; there might be a possibility, but it didn't seem to be that way,

THE COURT: He is asking "probability" now.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Would you say there is any probability of those men, before they were arrested, having got together and concocted a story?

A Before they were arrested?

Q Yes.

A How long before they were arrested?

Q Six months or a year?

A Yes, a probability.

Q You arrested them two years after this tragedy?

A Yes.

Q And you, on your oath, in the presence of this Court, say there was a probability of those two men having got together?

A No, I said there was a possibility. I don't know whether they did or not.

Q The jury themselves are as capable of answering that question as you are, but I am very much interested in knowing what you will say in answer to that. You say there is a probability?

A I just want to get the precise difference between the two words.

Q I will leave it there. These Eskimo are rather a primitive people, you will not deny that?

A No, I will not deny that. There is no reason to deny it.

Q I would like to read something from your report and see if it is a fair statement: "It is hard to realise that these people up to 1910 were a practically unknown race and living in a stone age, within comparatively easy access of civilization. For fire they used iron pyrites and tinder, seal blubber was their fuel, bows and spears their weapons of the chase, and skins their clothing. Soapstone provided their cooking pots and lamps, while native copper supplied the metal parts of their weapons." You have read Stefansson's book?

A Yes; it was a great help to me in that.

Q That was a great help to you in forming an estimate?

A It was a great help to me, that book.

Q You also state in your report: "Should any epidemic ever strike these people, no doubt many deaths would result for the people usually live in large communities. Indeed, to us, who have had the good fortune to see these people live their strenuous, healthy existence on the arctic coast, we cannot wish them better fortune than to hope that civilization may ever be kept at arm's length from them." That is a fair statement of what you thought? They are a strong, healthy, strenuous people in their native state? Now, I would like to read a little of Stefansson and see if you will agree with him. Do you know that Stefansson was really the first white man these people had seen?

A No, they had seen white men before Stefansson.

Q These people living to-day?

A Some have seen Hanbury, the people of to-day, and some have seen Rae, some of the past generation.

- Q The people who were living in the Dolphin & Union Strait in the year 1913 knew nothing about any white man prior to Stefansson?
- A Oh, yes. Captain Bernard was in the with them and lived amongst them.
- Q When was that?
- A 1910, and 1911 and 1912, living in coronation Gulf with them.
- Q Was he with the copper Eskimo, the ones this man Sinnisiak -
- A Yes, he was with them.
- Q Because Koeha told me Stefansson was the first white man he had seen?
- A Yes.
- Q THE COURT: That was in 1910?
- A 1910.
- Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You say Bernard was there in 1910, 1911 and 1912?
- A Yes; he wasn't only in the one place, he went east of the mouth of the Coppermine in 1910, and in 1911 he went to Bernard Harbour. The Harbour was called after him, and in 1912 he went to the coast of Victoria Land.
- Q Well, if Koeha would say the only white man he ever saw before he saw Uluksak and Sinnisiak was Stefansson and his companion Anderson, you wouldn't dispute his words?
- A No. He might have seen Joe Bernard; I don't know whether he did see Joe Bernard or not.
- Q Mr. Stefansson, in his book beginning with Chapter XI, says: "Our first day among the Dolphin & Union straits Eskimo was the day of all my life to which I had looked forward with the most vivid anticipations, and to which I now look back with equally vivid memories, for it introduced me, a student of mankind and of primitive men especially, to a people of a by-gone age. Mark Twain's Connecticut Yankee went to sleep in the 19th Century and woke up in King Arthur's time among Knights who rode in clinking mail to the rescue of fair ladies; we, without going to sleep at all had walked out of the Twentieth Century into the Country of the intellectual and cultural contemporaries of a far earlier age than King Arthur's. These were not such men as Caesar found in Gaul or in Britain; they were more nearly like the still earlier

hunting tribes of Britain and of Gaul living contemporaneous to but oblivious of the building of the first pyramid in Egypt. Their existence on the same continent with our populous cities was an anachronism of ten thousand years in intelligence and material development. They gathered their food with the weapons of the men of the Stone Age, they thought their simple primitive thoughts and lived their insecure and tense lives - lives that were to me the mirrors of the lives of our far ancestors whose bones and crude handiwork we now and then discover in river gravels or in prehistoric caves. Such archaeological remains found in various parts of the world of the men who antedated the knowledge of the smelting of metals, tell a fascinating story to him whose scientific imagination can piece it together and fill in the wide gaps; but far better than such dreaming was my present opportunity. I had nothing to imagine; I had merely to look and listen; for here were not remains of the Stone Age, but the Stone Age itself, men and women, very human, entirely friendly, who welcomed us to their homes and bade us stay." That would be a fair statement of the people you found?

A Yes.

Q Then, on the next page: "Like our distant ancestors, no doubt, these people fear most of all things the evil spirits that are likely to appear to them at any time in any guise, and next to that they fear strangers." That is Stefansson's statement. That is a fair statement, is it not?

A Well, Stefansson is an authority.

Q When this man Sinnisiak was taken into custody, you brought him to Bernard Harbour, and you didn't use any handcuffs or leg-irons?

A No.

Q He came peaceably with you? He came peaceably all the way across the north part of the Arctic to the mouth of the Mackenzie with you, with no trouble?

A No trouble.

Q Absolutely willing to come, and he has come down here peaceably? There has been no suggestion of any improper demeanour on his part?

A None at ail.

Q You have had no trouble with him at all?

A No.

Q He seems to be resigned to whatever is going to happen to him?

A Oh, yes; he knows what he is here for.

Q You took a statement from one Hupo; you say he isn't here?

A No, he isn't here.

Q And it was Hupo's idea that these men had done the killing in self defence?

A I think so. I didn't look over the statement; if it is there, it is correct.

Q And I notice in your own report, page 227, you say: "Their own defence of being ill-treated is their strongest point, and the prosecution has no witness that will deny this."?

A Yes.

Q You were unable to find any?

A No.

THE COURT: Read that again.

(Mr. Wallbridge reads the last quotation above.)

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You say you carried no arms exposed. Do you know what the effect would be of drawing a knife or pulling a gun in the presence of an Eskimo, what his idea of what was going to happen would be?

A That would he think was going to happen?

Q Yes.

A If I drew a knife on him?

Q Yes.

A What would you think if I drew one on you?

Q Well, I am asking you. The Eskimo would think you were going to use it?

A Yes.

Q There would be no doubt about it?

A He probably would.

Q He doesn't know the distinction between a bluff and reality?

A Not unless he knows him very well.



Q And if a white man, a stranger, holds a gun on an Eskimo, the Eskimo hasn't any other notion but what it is going to be used? There is no doubt?

A No doubt.

Q There is no doubt in the world but what it is going to be used? There is no other explanation? Do you know anything about the superstition of eating a portion of an animal that has been killed?

A Yes.

Q They have a superstition under which they eat a portion of the caribou, haven't they, if they kill one?

A Yes; I have often seen them eat a little bit. I have often had a little marrow myself.

Q You have tried it to see if it has any good effect? It is to keep away the spirits, is it not?

A Well, I don't know exactly the reason of it, but I know I have seen Ilavinik, but I haven't seen it on every occasion.

Q I understand they do it with a caribou but not with a deer?

A A caribou is a deer.

Q Well, some other kind of deer?

A That is the only kind they kill.

Q They kill a musk-ox?

A Not those Coppermine, very seldom.

Q You don't know whether they eat the musk-ox?

A Naturally if a man is a little hungry he will take a snack.

Q I am not asking you if he is hungry; I am asking you if you know anything about their eating under a superstition?

A I don't know whether it is a superstition, to tell you the truth. I know they have superstitions about other things. I tell you, to be quite straight, I couldn't tell you whether that is a superstition or not.

Q You never heard it was a superstition?

A No, I don't know that I ever did.

Q And eating a piece of the liver of a human body that had been killed, you wouldn't know whether that was a superstition or not?

A No. That is the first time I heard of it when the statement was given to me.

Q You didn't make any enquiries to find out whether there was any such superstition to make that necessary?

A Yes; I did make enquiries from a member of the Expedition, and he said he had heard of it before, but I didn't hear of it before.

Q You didn't make any attempt to find out from the natives whether it was as a result of a superstition?

A No.

Q One place in your report you suggest that the priests might have been untactful with the Eskimo, page 204.

MR. McCAUL: Would you read the whole of that passage. It is coupled with another suggestion.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I am just going to ask if he has any reason to suppose the priests may have attacked them.

THE WITNESS: Just read what I said.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: "The unfortunate priests may have been the victims of a premeditated murder for the possession of their rifles and ammunition, or may have brought on the Crime by their own untactfulness." That is your statement to your superior officer?

A Yes, that is my statement.

Q I want to know whether you had any information which would suggest this untactfulness?

A Yes; I thought so possibly by the prisoners' statements.

Q You thought it was of sufficient importance to mention it?

A Oh, certainly.

Q So you had it in mind it was a great possibility this murder had been caused by the untactfulness of these priests?

(No answer).

Re-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q Mr. Wallbridge spoke about these poor primitive Eskimo having bows and arrow practically as their only weapons, that they prize rifles there very highly?

A Very highly, yes.

Q How did you find their business instincts?

A They would always want you to give them something. They were always wanting to trade with you.

Q What was the condition of their intelligence?

A It was pretty good in some cases, quite good. They will eventually make pretty good traders, I should imagine.

Q Will you agree with this statement from Amundsen's book of "The North West Passage," which as published in 1908: "However we should be wrong, if from the weapons, implements, and domestic appliances of these people we were to argue they were of low intelligence. Their implements apparently so very primitive, prove to be as well adapted to their existing requirements and conditions as experience and the skilful tests of many centuries could have made them."

A Yes, I quite agree with that, anything the Eskimo makes he has a use for.

Q At page 55, Volume 2, speaking of the Eskimo, Amundsen says: "They had very little with them as they could not travel with heavy loads on these roads, but he gave them wood and iron in exchange for the few seal skins they offered us, and they left highly contented. Umiktuallu was a keen business man. He had noticed that I liked to have neatly sewn clothes, so he bought garments from some of his friends and sold them to me at a large profit." Do you think that is characteristic of the Eskimo?

A Yes, that is very characteristic.

Q You stated to Mr. Wallbridge that if the Eskimo saw you pull a gun they would think that you intended to use it. What would the Blackfeet or the Crees think if you were among them in their camp and you pulled a gun?

A I would imagine they would think the same thing.

Q What would any crowd in a bar room or a gambling room in town or anywhere think, if you pulled a gun, you were going to do?

A Going to hold them up.

Q What did you understand Mr. Wallbridge to mean by the expression "pull a gun"?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Oh, now, Mr. McCaul, -

A Hold them up properly, levelling it at them.

Q MR. MCCAUL: And you advance in your report there were two theories only. Mr. Wallbridge called your attention to the report, and the only two theories that you advanced were, one, that this was a premeditated murder, and the other, that it might have been due to the untactfulness of the priests?

A Yes, I said that in my report.

Adjourned until 10 o'clock a.m. to-morrow.

10 a.m. Thursday, August 16th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and the trial of the above entitled Cause was resumed as follows:-

INSPECTOR CHARLES D. LaNAUZE,

being re-called as a witness on behalf of the Crown was examined by Mr. McCaul and testified as follows:-

Q Inspector LaNauze, how was it that you went able to bring out Koeha and Patsy with you? You came from Herschell Island with Ilavinik. How was it you were able to bring out Koeha and Patsy with you?

A When I got to Fort Norman I found I Koeha and Patsy there. They had come with D'Arcy Arden from Coronation Gulf.

Q And so you put them on the steamer and brought them out with you?

A Those two had just come from Coronation Gulf.

Q That is a photograph of some dog teams on the Yukon River. There was some discussion as to what was meant by a snow shirt. Is there a man there who has got a snow shirt on or what we call a parka?

A Yes, that man there.

Q The end man on the top picture.

A A loose thing made of the same stuff that overalls are made of.

Q And you will notice those dogs, four of them, hitched to each sled; they are harnessed tandem. Is that the way the Eskimo harness their dogs?

A No, they drive them that way, spread out.

Q Each on a single trace?

A Yes.

Q Not tandem as here?

A No.

Q If a man works hauling a sled how does he stand to pull in relation to the dogs?

A Sometimes they pull alongside of the dogs on a long line made of sealskin, and sometimes the line is attached to the sled.

Q It is a common thing for a man to haul a sled?

A Very common, and a woman too.

MR. McCaul: These are pictures I happen to have of my own. They are of the Yukon.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q The questions I should have asked you yesterday, when Sinnisiak was arrested people told, or your report shews that people told him there that he must go with the white man. and do as the white man tells him; that is correct, is it not?

A Yes, that is what the people said, "You have got to do what the white men tell you."

Q And another thing, you told us he was very nervous when he was arrested, he was in great fear, and that fear continued for how long?

A Oh, he was pretty nervous until -

Q He was afraid to go to sleep?

A Yes; that was when we got him back to the Expedition base.

Q He didn't sleep the first night?

A No, not at all.

Q He didn't sleep the second night?

A I think he slept then. He eventually slept from sheer weariness.

KOEHA,

being recalled as a witness on behalf of the Crown, was examined by Mr. McCaul, and testified as follows,:-through Interpreter Patsy Klengenberg, having been first duly sworn:

Q Patsy, ask him before Ilogoak and Kuleavik go up the ...

[page 168 of the original copy is missing]

...

Q That is why he went with them up the river?

Q A JUROR: Who was Kormik going to shoot?

A The priests.

Q MR. McCAUL: So you went up the river with them. How far up the river did you go?

A About half a mile, as far as he could see the tops of the tents.

Q As far as he could see the Eskimo tents at the village, looking back. Did you help the priests load their sled?

A Yes.

Q Did you hold Kormik at the door of the tent while they were loading the sleds?

A I was inside the tent, stopping Kormik from coming out.

Q Did you tell Kormik's mother to hold her son while you event outside?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I have objected to these questions several times, my lord.

MR. McCAUL: I am quite willing to submit to his lordship's ruling. With a witness of this kind it is absolutely necessary to use leading questions to get out the truth. May I ask that question, my lord?

THE COURT: I think it is going rather far.

MR. McCAUL: I will put this in a leading form, and if there is any objection to it -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I have made any objection.

MR. McCAUL: I am going to put it and ask his lordship's ruling on it. I am going to ask if this man helped to pull the sled.

THE COURT: All right.

Q MR. McCAUL: Did he help pull the sled?

A Yes.

Q When you left the two white men, when you said good-bye to the two men, what did you say to the priests, what did you tell them?

A I said: "I am going back."

Q Which one of the two was running ahead, Kuleavik or Ilogoak, running ahead, breaking the trail?

A Ilogoak.

Q How many dogs did the priests have?

A They had four dogs.

Q Good dogs, strong dogs?

A Yes.

Q Who was driving the sled behind?

A Kuleavik.

Q Did the priests shake hands with you then saying good-bye?

A I didn't shake hands with them then I turned back.

Q Had the priests been pretty good to the Eskimo, to the Huskies?

A Yes, they had been good.

Q Who taught them to use nets and catch fish?

A Kormik learned it from Kuleavik.

Q When Sinnisiak and Uluksak came back after the priests had gone up the river, did you see Uluksak and Sinnisiak come back to the village?

A I was asleep, I didn't see them come in.

Q Did you see them the next day after you woke up?

A Yes.

Q Did they have anything with them? What did they have in their hands, either of them?

A When I saw them outside they didn't have anything.

Q Did any people go up the river after the priests stuff, after Sinnisiak and Uluksak came back, any of the Huskies, Eskimo, go up the river after the priests stuff?

A Yes, Kormik.

Q Who were they - Kormik?

A Kormik.

Q Who else?

A Kormik and his wife.

Q What is her name - Kallun?

A Yes, Kallun.

Q Any other man?

A Angebrunna.

Q And two other men?

A Yes, Toopek and Koeha went.

Q Koeha left the priests a dog? The priests had one of Koeha's dogs?

A I go back for my dog.

Q Did you go to where the priests' sled was? Did you find the priests sled, you and these other fellows?

A Yes.

Q Was there any dead man there?

A Yes; I saw Ilogoak by the sled.

Q Did that make you cry?

A I didn't cry.

Q Did you find the dead body of Kuleavik?

A I didn't find him.

Q How far away from the sled did you look to see where Kuleavik's body was - as far as the end of this room?

A I didn't look for it.

Q You didn't see Kuleavik's body near the sled?

A I didn't see him.

Q Were you gearing snow shoes?

A I couldn't see the track.

Q What did you have on your feet when you went up there?

A No show shoes.

Q What did he have on? Show here what you have on now.

A (Shewing) I had seal skin.

Q Was the snow deep? How deep was the snow? Show me how deep the snow was?

A (Indicating just below the knee).

Q Did you look at Ilogoak's body to see how he had been killed?



A I didn't look. I only saw the cut here (indicating lengthways of centre of breast). It was snowed up, I couldn't see much.

Q What did you take of the priests' stuff? What did you take back of the stuff that you found there belonging to the priests?

A I took a tin can, a pair of scissors, spoons, a pair of boots and a cod line.

Q Mocassins and a cod line. What did Kormik, Angebrunna and Toopek take?

A They took pretty nearly everything.

Q Did you ever see any of this stuff before?

A I saw that (indicating chasuble.)

Q Where?

A Kormik had it; I saw Kormik had it.

Q And these are stoles; did you ever see these before?

A I saw Kormik had them too.

Q And this, do you know what that is (showing witness crucifix)?

A I don't know what that is.

Q Did you see these things before (vestments)?

A Kormik had lots of them.

Q Did you ever see that before (crucifix)?

A I never see that before.

Q Did you see that before (robe)?

A I saw Kuleavik use that.

Q Kuleavik wore something like this?

A Yes.

Q After the priests were dead did you see any fellow have this at the village?

A I didn't see that after.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: They are not marked as Exhibits yet.

MR. McCAUL: If the package hasn't been marked as an exhibit, I will ask to have it marked now.

Q What are those (opening another parcel, exhibit 12)?

A .44 cartridges.

Q The same fit this rifle (exhibit 9)? (Mr. McCaul puts the two blank cartridges in the rifle, exhibit 9.)

A I know they fit.

Q Did you find that (set of teeth for lower jaw)?

A I didn't find it.

Q Did you ever see it before?

A No.

Q Did you ever see that before (large crucifix, exhibit 22)?

A I used to see this at Kuleavik's house.

Q Where was that, at Imaernik? Did you ever see this before (crucifix)?

A Kuleavik wore one smaller.

Q Did you ever see this before (Crucifix previously marked "C" for identification)?

A I saw one like that.

Q Did either Kuleavik or Ilogoak wear one like this (indicating crucifix worn by Father Duchausoir)?

A I saw Kuleavik wear one like that.

Q And what about Ilogoak?

A I didn't see him wear one.

Q Did you see anything like these before (Breviaries)?

A Yes, I see something like that book.

Q Who had it?

A Kuleavik had it.

Q Did you ever see any Husky have them after Kuleavik and Ilogoak dead?

A I see Kormik had some like that.

Q What was done with the sled that the priests had?

A They left it there.

Q How many priests dogs did you find when Kormik and Angebrunna and Toopek were there, how many dogs were there ?

A I saw four dogs.

Q (Mr. McCaul requests Ilavinik to stand alongside the witness for a minute.) How big a man was Kuleavik, as big as Ilavinik or bigger?

A He was a little bit bigger.

Q (Inspector IaNauze stands alongside Ilavinik.) As big as that fellow?

A Smaller.

Q How big a man was Ilogoak?

A About the same as the Inspector.

Q About the same height as the Inspector?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever see Hupo take a rifle away from Sinnisiak?

A I didn't see it.

Q Did you see Kormik take a rifle away from Uluksak?

A I saw Kormik take a rifle home.

Q Did you see him take it away from Uluksak?

A I didn't see him take it.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q How long did the priests stay at the mouth of the river?

A They stay there one do after they get in; went away the next day.

Q They sleep there two nights and stay there one day between, that was it, was it not?

A Yes.

Q And they stayed with Kormik? Did they stay with Kormik?

A Yes.

Q Sleep both nights at Kormik's tent?

A Yes.

Q Do you know that one of the priests promised to give Kormik a rifle?

A I heard about it.

Q You heard about one of the priests promising to give Kormik a rifle, and did you hear also, or do you know, that Kormik took the rifle and put aside in his own tent, put it away in his own tent?

A I didn't see him.

Q But you know he did it?

A Yes, I know.

MR. McCAUL: How does he know?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The same as he knows what he told you.

THE COURT: The remarks had better be addressed to the Court.

MR. McCAUL: There is no greater latitude in cross-examination than any other examination. I really have no particular objection, only I would like to have the same privilege.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My learned friend asked this witness questions about Kormik and the priests. I don't see that it is relevant, but it is in the evidence now, and I wait to clear it up. My learned friend has here one Eskimo who is supposed to speak for the village. He is the only Eskimo witness he brought. They could have brought Hupo and Kormik and all the rest, but they contented themselves with this one witness.

THE COURT: I do not think you should make that remark.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I stand corrected, my lord, but the point is, I have got to get this information.

MR. McCAUL: Then I will take the same privilege, with your lordship's permission.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You heard about Kormik putting a rifle to one side. Do you know that the priests loaded another gun and went to Kormik's tent and demanded the first rifle?

A I saw them put cartridges in the gun outside.

Q Whom did you see putting cartridges in the gun outside - Ilogoak?

A Ilogoak.

Q And did you see him go to Kormik's tent?

A I didn't see him go in.

Q Did you see him go towards the tent with the gun with the cartridges in it?

A My wife and another man told them not to go into the tent.

Q Told whom not to go into the tent - told Ilogoak?

A They hold him when he load the gun.

Q Ilogoak loaded a gun, and he was going to go to Kormik's tent, but your wife and another man held him back and wouldn't let him go, is that right?

A Yes.

Q Did they think he was going to shoot Kormik?

A Yes.

Q Is that what he says, they were going in to shoot Kormik?

A That is what he says.

MR. McCAUL: I would like to ask the other interpreter, we can use them both. It is the direct opposite of my instructions and statement.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It is not the direct opposite of mine at all.

THE COURT: It does not matter what the facts are; it is the evidence that is given now, that is what you want to know at the present time.

MR. McCAUL: Quite so; then it would be of advantage to get it right. The other interpreter says it is wrong, and let him state what he understood him to say.

THE COURT: Perhaps you had better ask him again.

MR. McCAUL: Ask him who it was that was held.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I am conducting this examination.

THE COURT: The answer I understood, they were afraid he was going to shoot Ilogoak.

MR. McCAUL: The answer that came back was that they held him back from going into the tent; that is what I understood.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Ask him again, Patsy, if his wife and the other man were afraid that Ilogoak and the other man were going to shoot Kormik?

A My wife - they thought he was going to shoot everybody.

Q And the particular trouble was because Kormik had the rifle, was it?

A Kormik had the rifle.

Q Did Ilogoak get the rifle?

A Kormik's mother took the rifle out.

Q Kormik's mother took the rifle out and gave it to the priests so that the priests wouldn't be shooting everybody in the village, was that the idea?

A Everybody told her to take the rifle out.

Q And the priests mere very angry? Ilogoak was angry?

A He didn't speak as if he was getting mad; he wasn't mad when he got the rifle back.

Q Was he mad before he got the rifle back? Before Kormik's mother gave him the rifle was Ilogoak angry?

A I don't know if he was mad.

Q I suppose you don't know how old you are?

A I don't know.

Q Do you know how old Sinnisiak is?

A I don't know.

Q Do you remember seeing Stefansson?

A Yes.

Q And Dr. Anderson who was with Stefansson?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever see any white men before?

A I didn't see a white man before, only Eskimo before.

Q Then Stefansson and Anderson were the first white men you ever saw?

A Yes.

Q And after Stefansson and Anderson who were the next white men you saw?

A I saw Joe Bernard.

Q When did you see Joe Bernard?

A The same year.

Q The same year you saw Stefansson?

A Yes.

Q Who was the next?

A I saw Kuleavik.

Q And Ilogoak?

MR. McCAUL: It was two years after before he saw Ilogoak?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My learned friend is endeavouring to give the evidence I am trying to get from the witness. I think perhaps it would be better if the witness was allowed to give it.

MR. McCAUL: I am sorry, Mr. Wallbridge; I thought I was helping you.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Kuleavik, you say, was the next man; where did you see Kuleavik?

A I saw Hornby.

Q Tell us whom else you saw.

A I saw Ilogoak after.

Q That is five white men, six white men; did you ever see any others up to the time that the priests were killed?

A That is all I saw.

Q And how many times did you see Joe Bernard before the priests were killed?

A I saw him one time.

Q How many times did you see Hornby?

A Two summers I saw him.

Q How many times each summer did you see him?

A I saw him more than one summer.

Q More than once each summer?

A I don't know how many times.

Q You saw Hornby up near Bear Lake when they were hunting in the summer time?

A Imaernik.

Q That is up in the caribou hunting grounds, isn't it? It is up where they hunt caribou?

A They hunt around there.

Q Did they see the priests up there too? Did you ever see the priests up around Imaernik?

A I saw Kuleavik.

Q But you didn't see Ilogoak?

A I didn't see Ilogoak.

Q Did you ever talk to Hornby?

A He spoke to me, but I couldn't make out what he said.

Q Did you say whether Hornby ever told you that if a white man was killed that the white men would kill all the Eskimo?

A No.

MR. McCAUL: If it will help my learned friend, I will admit that Hornby did make that statement; I will make the admission that Hornby did make the statement that if a white man were killed that the white men would kill all the Eskimo.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: And will you admit also the time it was made?

MR. McCAUL: Yes, I will admit it was made before the priests were murdered or any time. I will admit that Hornby made the statement that if a white man were killed the white men would kill all the Eskimo.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you admit he stated it the year following the death of the priests, the summer following?

MR. McCAUL: I don't know when it was exactly; I admit that that was his view and that is what he stated.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You don't remember Hornby telling you that, telling you about the white men killing all the Eskimo. Did you know the first time that you saw Ilogoak that he was a priest, a missionary? Do you know what a priest is?

A No.

Q Did you know that Kuleavik was a priest?

A I didn't know.

Q Did you think they were trappers or traders?

A I think they came down for caribou, think they were hunters and traders.

Q The Eskimo of your tribe go every summer up to Imaernik?

A They go up every summer.

Q And every winter they go to the ocean to hunt seal?

A Yes.

Q And this time the priests were killed the tribe were just going to the ocean?



A I don't know what the priests came down for, but they were fishing there.

Q But your own people, at the time the priests were killed, were just going on their way to the ocean, is that right?

A Yes, they were just coming down.

Q You got down to the mouth of the river with three or four families first, is that right?

A Three families with me.

Q And you got down to the mouth of the river first?

A Yes.

Q And then next came eight families, seven or eight?

A Maybe nine.

Q And were the priests with the nine families? Did the priests come with the nine families?

A Yes.

Q Was Sinnisiak and his family with the nine?

A Sinnisiak had no wife.

Q Was Uluksak one of the nine?

A Yes.

Q Was Sinnisiak with the nine families?

A Yes.

Q How many more families were left behind?

A There was more than come down.

Q More than came down were still left behind?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: He doesn't count up more than ten on both hands?

THE INTERPRETER: No.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: There was more left behind than came down?

MR. McCAUL: That is only hearsay.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: He surely knows the number of families of his tribe.

Q When did you expect the other members of the tribe to get down to the mouth of the river?

A It would take them quite a while to come down.

Q Did they all come at once, or some come one day and some come another?

A Some one time.

Q One or two at a time?

A Yes.

Q Some come one day and some come another?

A Yes.

Q Do you know whether Sinnisiak has an uncle up there?

A Yes, I know.

Q You know the uncle?

A Yes.

Q Was his uncle among those that were left behind?

A I know he was up there somewhere.

Q And how about Uluksak's brother or brother-in-law ?

A Uluksak's wife is a sister to Sinnisiak's uncle's wife.

Q After the priests went away how long was it before Sinnisiak and Uluksak went away on the trail?

A They stayed two days.

Q The priests stayed two days? How long after the priests left did Sinnisiak and Uluksak go?

A They stayed two days before they start.

Q That is, there were two days after, and how many nights?

A Three nights.

Q Did Sinnisiak and Uluksak have anything with them? Did they have a dog sled? Did Sinnisiak and Uluksak have dogs with them?

MR. McCAUL: Just pardon me again. I want to find out whether he saw them start, from his own knowledge, or if he is now speaking of what is general knowledge in the community. I have no objection to it as long as it is understood. Your lordship will recollect when I commenced to ask those questions I attempted to show the common

knowledge of the tribe. I am glad it is brought out, and I think he is speaking from the general knowledge of his tribe, and I hope I will be permitted to re-examine on that. He stated to me he didn't see them start.

THE COURT: Follow that up by asking him if he knows it himself or if he heard it.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Did you see Sinnisiak or Uluksak start out on the trail? Did you see them start out on the trail?

A I didn't see them.

Q You didn't see them start?

A No.

Q Then you don't know what they had with them?

MR. McCAUL: I have no objection to my learned friend bringing this all out. I couldn't get this out because he was only speaking of the common knowledge. I have no objection to it all being taken, but I want the same privilege.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I am not asking for anything that he doesn't understand.

MR. McCAUL: That is what we have been getting for the last fifteen or twenty questions.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Stop him, Patsy. We will go on to something else. Tell him not to tell us what he does not know.

Q How many days journey from the mouth of the river to the trees ?

A I go in one day to the first timber, the small trees.

Q One day's journey. Do you know what trees the priests were going to? You say you started out with the priests and came back. Do you know what trees the priests were going to, what direction they were going? I just want to know if you know which way they were going, if they told you ?

A They are going up the river.

Q How long would it take them, the way they were going, to get to the trees?

MR. McCAUL: Weather permitting.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Oh, yes, weather permitting.

A I don't know how long it would take them.

Q How long would it take you to get up to the trees if you were going by the river?

MR. McCAUL: He told you before it would take him a day.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Going up by the river?

A It would take me one day .

Q And how long would it take you if the snow were up to your knees?

A I don't know.

Q How long do you think it would take you?

A I don't know.

Q How long do you think it would take you, with the snow up to your knees ?

A About a day and a half.

Q If an Eskimo were going away a short journey, for a day, does he carry food with him? Is it usual for an Eskimo going away for a short journey of one day to carry food with him?

A When he leaves maybe a day or a day and a half, no food.

Q Is it customary when they kill a caribou to eat a little piece of it raw?

A Yes.

Q And is it customary to do the same thing with the musk-ox?

A I don't know; no musk-ox.

Q Is the reason why they eat a piece of the musk-ox to keep off the bad spirits?

A He says he never eat musk-ox.

Q Caribou, at least. Is the reason why you eat a piece of the caribou to keep off the bad spirits?

A I don't know.

Q Do you like to talk about spirits?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: What does he say, Patsy?

THE INTERPRETER: He doesn't want to speak.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Are you afraid to speak about spirits?

A I am not afraid.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: But he doesn't like to speak about spirits?

THE INTERPRETER: No.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Is it unlucky to speak about spirits?

A Yes.

Q Do you know what a horse is? Have you got any name for a horse?

A I don't know if it is a big dog or a big deer.

Q When did you see the first horse - when you were coming down here, wasn't it?

A Yes.

Q And what did you think it was when you saw it first?

A I think this had run away.

Q Did you think it was a big dog when you saw it drawing a cart, sleigh on wheels?

A I think it is a big caribou.

Q And did you think that caribou would pull the sleigh?

A I think the caribou would pull the wagon.

Q And what did you think about the train when you saw it?

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge, this is all interesting, but I am afraid it is hardly worth while.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It shews the mind of the man as regards civilization, my lord. I prefer to ask the question if you will permit it.

THE COURT: It is taking up time unnecessarily.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I would like to ask the question.

THE COURT: All right.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: What did you think the train was when you saw it first?

A I think it is a queer thing, to travel without dogs.

Q Did you think it was a ship travelling on land?

A I think it was more like a sled than a ship.

Q You saw some cattle on the south side, on the road? Did you think those were musk-oxen?

A No, caribou.

Q I want to ask you another question, about the time the priests left the mouth of the river and you went with them, why didn't you go further?

What did you turn back for? Why didn't you take them right up to the trees?

A Because I had nothing with me.

Q Now, these garments you saw, these garments here, did they come off the priests' sled or did they come from the priests' house at Imaernik?

MR. McCAUL: Is he speaking of his own knowledge? Does he know?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Yes, of his own knowledge.

Q You went out with Angebrunna and some others to the priests' sled. I want to know if those came from the priests' sled or from somewhere else?

A I think they came from the sled.

Q All of them?

A I don't know; I think all them came from the sled.

Q Do you think or do you know?

A I know.

Q Did you yourself take anything from the priests' house at Imaernik?

A I never take anything myself.

Q Did you see any of the other Eskimo take things from the priests' house?

A I don't know, I wasn't there.

Q You didn't go to the priests' house?

A I have been there; I don't know who took the stuff; I wasn't there when they took the stuff.

Q Do you know either from Sinnisiak or Uluksak whether they had any food with them when they went out two or three days after the priests started?

A I don't know.

MR. McCAUL: He says he didn't see them start.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You don't know whether, either from Sinnisiak or Uluksak, they had any food with them?

A I don't know.

MR. McCAUL: I would like to call your lordship's attention to what Wigmore says about a case similar to this, leading questions, paragraph 778, Chapter 28 (reading; also reading paragraph 779). That is the principle, my lord, upon which I thought I might be permitted to suggest to the witness the matters that I wanted to examine him about and ask practically for yes or no.

THE COURT: The question I stopped you on was where you asked him if he was told something. It was not a matter of leading, it was a matter of evidence.

MR. McCAUL: It was the matter, of leading that I cited that on. However the witness told me this morning there had been no trouble at all between the priests and Kormik about a rifle.

THE COURT: You mean in the evidence?

MR. McCAUL: Yes, there had been no trouble. What did he tell the Inspector here through this Interpreter about the trouble between the priests and Kormik about the rifle?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My learned friend is taking an unusual course for cross-examination.

THE COURT: It is not cross-examination.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: He is trying to contradict his own witness, and he is asking his own witness what he told to some other person at some other time. It is discrediting his own witness which, I submit, is not permissible.

THE COURT: I am trying to shew that he gave you a wrong statement.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Surely the witness's statement must be accepted.

MR. McCAUL: Not until I have re-examined him, then you have a right to object.

Q What did you tell Mr. LaNauze about the trouble between Kormik and priests about the rifle?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I object to the statement made to Inspector LaNauze.

Objection over-ruled.

Q MR. McCAUL: What did you tell Inspector LaNauze about the trouble between Kormik and the priests about the rifle, did you tell inspector LaNauze that Kormik took the priests rifle and hid it in the corner of his tent?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, that is one of the questions I asked him, and Mr. McCaul stopped me, because he said he didn't see him do it.

MR. McCAUL: No, he didn't know anything about it and you brought it out, and I propose to go over the whole story.

Q Did Kormik take the priests rifle and hide it in the corner of his tent?

A When the priest go outside he hid his rifle.

Q Ilogoak found the rifle and was very angry with Kormik, mad with Kormik? Ilogoak and Kuleavik lived in the same tent with Kormik?

THE COURT: He gave that evidence before.

MR. McCAUL: Yes; I just wanted to get his mind on the same trend for a moment?

A Yes.

Q Ilogoak found the rifle and got very mad with Kormik, was mad with Kormik about it?

A He was mad when he couldn't find it.

Q Kormik got mad with Ilogkak?

A Yes.

Q Kormik wanted to kill Ilogoak.

THE COURT: There are certain limits to leading questions. It would have been better to have put in in the form of a question, because the interpreter will put it in the form of an answer too probably.

Q MR. McCAUL: Did Kormik get mad with Ilogoak?

A Yes.

A Kormik wanted to kill him?

A Yes.

Q Did you hold Kormik close to the door of the tent?

A Kormik was inside the tent.

Q Did you take hold of Kormik and hold him back?



A No, I just stopped him.

Q Did you tell Kormik's mother -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Surely the prisoner ought to be protected to some extent.

THE COURT: What is the question you propose to ask?

MR. McCAUL: Did you say anything to Kormik's mother?

THE COURT: That was the question I refused to let you ask before, not because it was leading, that is not the ground, but because we are going a little too far afield. When you ask him what he told some other person, a matter of communication.

MR. McCAUL: Did you tell Kigeuna to hold her son while I go outside? That is the question I want to ask. Will your lordship permit me to ask that question?

THE COURT: I do not think you should carry it my further. You can ask him if he did anything.

Court adjourned until 2 o'clock p.m. to-day.

2 o'clock p.m., Thursday, August 16th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment, and the trial of the above entitled cause was resumed as follows:

KOEHA,

being recalled as a Witness on behalf of the crown, and the re-direct examination by Mr. McCaul being resumed, testified as follows:-

Q After Kormik said he would shoot the priests; you helped the priests to pack up their sled?

A Yes.

Q Why did you go up the river with them? Why did you go up you with them as far as you could, until you turned back? Why did you go?

A I think maybe Kormik shoot them.

Q When Sinnisiak and Uluksak left it was the middle of the night? You were asleep?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My learned friend took exception to the question which I asked on the same lines, because he wasn't there to see them. Now, obviously from the question my learned friend doesn't

expect him to have been there to have seen him, because he is asking him if he wasn't asleep when they went.

THE COURT: I suppose he cannot say whether he was asleep or not if he does not know when they went.

MR. McCAUL: Your lordship allowed my friend to give all the evidence as to what was the common knowledge of the tribes. I got up and suggested the objection was open, but I wasn't pressing it, because I expected to be allowed the same privilege.

THE COURT: It was objected to several times, and Mr. Wallbridge did not press it, but it does not follow that you can have the privilege of going into everything even though it was not objected to. Of course, he could not say when they went if he was asleep.

MR. McCAUL: He would only know in the morning that they were gone.

THE COURT: Yes. I think that is made clear a couple of times already.

Q MR. McCAUL: If Sinnisiak and Uluksak had gone away when you were awake would you have known they were gone? If you had been awake would you have seen Sinnisiak and Uluksak, go away? If you were awake you would have known yourself when Sinnisiak and Uluksak went away?

A Yes, I would have known.

Q Do these men, Sinnisiak and Uluksak, belong to your people?

A Belong to another place.

Q Where did Uluksak belong?

A To the west side.

Q Uluksak belongs to another people?

A Yes.

Q I suppose some white men might go to the Coppermine River without you seeing them? I want to know if some white men might not have gone into the Coppermine River without your having seen them?

A I see all the white men, only one I never see.

Q Did you see these three fellows, or any of them? Look at that picture and see it you saw those three fellows (showing witness pictures on pages 232 and 233 of Douglas' book, "Lands Forlorn").

A I don't know them.

Q Do you know that fellow? Ever see that fellow (shewing witness picture on page 161 of same book, being a picture of the author)?

A I don't know.

Q I think you told Mr. Wallbridge, were Sinnisisk and Uluksak both up caribou hunting at Imaernik?

A Yes.

Q Then they must have known Kuleavik and Ilogoak at that time? Kuleavik and Ilogoak were up there at the same time? Were they up there at the same time?

THE COURT: Put it in the form of a question, Mr. McCaul.

Q MR. McCAUL: Were Kuleavik and Ilogoak up there at the same time, at Imaernik?

A Kuleavik was there.

Q After the priests were dead did anybody take anything from the priets' house at Imaernik?

A I don't know.

Q You said you didn't take anything, and you don't know?

A No.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: There is one question, my lord, I think the question arose out of new matter my learned friend brought out. He brought out the fact that this man took the priests part of the way on their journey because he thought Kormik might shoot them. I want to ask him if he thought Kormik might shoot them because they had threatened to shoot Kormik.

THE COURT: I think the fact that he went with them in the beginning as given in the examination in chief.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: There is no evidence they threatened to shoot Kormik.

THE COURT: I will allow you to ask the question.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Did you think Kormik might shoot the priests because the priests had threatened to shoot Kormik?

A Kormik thought Ilogoak was going to shoot Kormik.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Another question I wanted to ask, whether Kormik got angry with the priests before or after the priests had loaded their gun.

MR. McCAUL: I think you have got that; I think that is in.

THE COURT: Well, alright.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Did Kormik get angry or mad at the priests, at Ilogoak, before or after Ilogoak loaded his gun?

A He was mad before he put the cartridge in.

Q Kormik was mad or the priest was mad?

A Kormik was mad right along.

MR. McCAUL: On the list of witnesses, my lord, that I gave to my learned friend I had the names Ilavinik and Patsy, the interpreters. Their evidence is only the same line of evidence which has been given before. Neither of them came in until the time the arrests were effected, and I don't think I need occupy the time of your lordship and the jury by calling them to go over the matter which I think is already fully before the jury, so that I will not call any further evidence. That is the Crown's case.

The Crown rests.

----- DEFENCE -----

SINNISIAK,

the accused, being first duly sworn, through the interpreter Patsy Klengenberg: "Whatever you speak now, you speak straight; don't speak with two tongues," was examined by Mr. Wallbridge and testified as follows:-

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Patsy, tell him, first, I want him to speak to the big chief, and I want him not to be afraid, and to say everything. You tell him that. Tell him not to be afraid because all these people are here, to just talk to me as if he was talking to me alone.

Q Do you remember Ilogoak and Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember seeing them at the mouth of the Coppermine River?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember about the time they left the mouth of the Coppermine River?

A Yes.

Q Did you see them again afterwards?

A Yes.

Q Where did you see them?

A Near a lake some place.

Q How did you happen to be there? Why did you go to the lake? Why did you go near the lake?

A I took the same trail.

Q Where were you going on the trail?

A I was going to meet my people.

Q Who were your people, what people?

A Kowhena.

Q And who is Kowhena, what relation?

A My uncle.

Q And who was with you?

A Uluksak.

Q What was Uluksak with you for?

A He was going up to meet the same people.

Q Why was he going to meet the people? What were they to him?

A To help them to come down.

Q What relation were these people to Uluksak?

A His wife's sister.

Q How long after you left the mouth of the Coppermine did you meet the priests Ilogoak and Kuleavik?

A About maybe half a day, maybe a little more.

Q It was in the middle of the day, was it?

A Yes, middle of the day some time.

Q The same day that you started out?

A Yes.

Q Did you sped to the priests?

A I spoke to them a little.

Q Who spoke first, the priests, or you, or Uluksak?

A The priests spoke first.

Q Tell me what the priests did. What did they want you to do, and what did they say?

A To take them over to the other trees.

Q One priest met him and wanted him to take them over to the other trees?

A Yes.

Q Now, what happened next?

A He told me to pull his sled and he would give me traps.

Q How far did he want you to pull the sled?

A I don't know how long he wanted us to pull.

Q And he said he would give you traps ?

A Yes.

Q How deep was the snow?

A Just around there (indicating just below the knee) .

Q And did you pull the sled?

A Yes.

Q How long did you pull the sled that day?

A Pulled all that day.

MR. McCAUL: Which day is this?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The day they met them, Mr. McCaul.

Q You pulled all that day. What did you do that night?

A Sleep.

Q Where did you sleep?

A On the river.

Q Did you have any shelter?

A Snow house.

Q They slept in the snow house then?

A Yes.

Q Where did they find the snow house? Did they build it or did they find it?

A We made it.

Q Who made it?

A Ilogoak and I.

Q How big was the snow house?

A About as big as that (indicating a circular space about eight feet in diameter).

Q Round?

A Yes.

Q Did you all sleep in one house?

A Yes.

Q What happened next morning?

A In the morning we went back.

Q You and Uluksak?

A Yes.

Q You left the priests?

A Yes.

Q Why did you leave him?

A He was going the wrong way.

Q Who was going the wrong way, the priest?

A Yes; he wasn't going the same way we was going.

Q What was the weather like?

A When we started off it started blowing.

Q The weather was threatening then. Did it look as if the weather would be bad? Did it look like bad weather coming?

A Yes.

Q What did you take with you when you went out on the trail? Did you have anything to eat?

A No.

Q Did you have any dogs?

A One dog.

Q Any sled?

A No sled.

Q You were travelling absolutely light. That happened after you left the priests in the morning?

A We started back, and after a while the dog smelt something.

Q How about the weather?

A Blowing.

Q How much?

A Could only see a little ways.

Q Was it what we call a blizzard?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: You understand that?

THE INTERPRETER: Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: It was a storm?

A Yes.

Q So they could see only a little ways in front of them?

A Yes.

Q Were you able to keep the road?

A Sometimes we lost the trail.

Q Then you said the dog smelt something?

A Yes.

Q What was it?

A He smelt a cache.

Q And what did you do then?

A Uluksak got to the cache first, and then I came up.

Q What was in the cache?

A He had lots of stuff, axes.

Q What happened then?

A The two men came over.

Q Ilogoak ana Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q They came over to the cache?



A Yes.

Q What happened then?

A One of them started to throw the stuff on the ice.

Q Who did?

A One of the priests.

Q Into the river or off the river?

A In the river.

Q On the ice, do you mean, or into the water?

A In the water.

Q What took place next?

A After that they tell us to pull the sled.

Q What next?

A We waited to go back, out the priests told us to pull the sled.

Q All right, go ahead.

A When we started off - every time we tried to get out of the harness the priest had his gun and was going to shoot me.

Q How did you come to get into true harness?

A I got into the harness when they pointed the gun at me.

Q When who pointed the gun?

A Ilogoak.

Q You got into the harness when Ilogoak pointed the gun at you?

A Yes.

Q How about Uluksak, did he get into the harness?

A Yes, he got into the harness too.

Q How did he come to get into the harness?

A He put him on a piece of line, he hitched him up himself.

Q Tell us whether you were frightened or whether you were not frightened.

A Yes, I was frightened.

Q Did you pull the sled then?

A Till noon, after noon.

Q They pulled the sled until after noon?

A Maybe just before it gets dark, a little while before.

Q What were the priests doing when you were pulling the sled? What was Kuleavik and Ilogoak doing when you and Uluksak were pulling the sled?

A They walk along both sides of the sled.

Q Did Ilogoak have anything in his hands?

A When he was going he didn't have anything in his hands.

Q Where was the rifle?

A On top of the sled.

Q Did Ilogoak pick up the rifle at all?

A Yes, he picked it up.

Q More than once?

A Every time I go slow and want to turn back he get it.

Q Every time that you went slow and wanted to turn back Ilogoak would point the gun?

A Yes.

Q And you pulled the sled for quite a long time. Were you frightened when you were pulling the sled?

A I was scared, tears came out of my eyes.

Q And you were frightened?

A Yes.

Q What did you think was going to happen to you?

A I told the priest I wanted to go back. The priest said he didn't want me to go back.

Q What were you afraid of, what did you think was going to happen to you?

A I think the priest was going to kill me.

Q Did you ask the priest if he was going to kill you?

A I don't know, I don't remember.

Q You said you asked the priest if he was going to kill you, because you didn't know yourself, is that it?

MR. McCAUL: My learned friend is taking a great latitude of the rule, asking leading questions. I would suggest however that my

learned friend had better exhaust his memory by asking him to tell his story first, and if he doesn't recollect it, Mr. Wallbridge can then ask the questions.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think I am doing it as fairly as it can possibly be done. I submit I haven't intentionally transgressed the rules. I certainly haven't used the method Mr. McCaul used this morning.

THE COURT: Mr. McCaul is only suggesting it could be better if you asked him to tell his story, and then you can fill in the details.

MR. McCAUL: I understood the interpreter to say that the witness said that he didn't remember.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Ask the interpreter to say what he did say.

MR. McCAUL: Ask Patsy if that is what he said in the first answer.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Tell us what the witness did say. The question I asked was this: If Sinnisiak asked the priest Ilogoak if the priest was going to kill Sinnisiak, and did you ask him that question?

THE INTERPRETER: Yes, I asked him that question, and he said he didn't know.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you mean by what you said that you don't know if you did ask the priest?

MR. McCAUL: Well, we have that answer taken down that he gave. He asked him, and he said he didn't know.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Did you ask Ilogoak what Ilogoak was going to do to you?

A I said: "You don't want us to go back?" and Ilogoak say: "Yes."

Q What do you mean by that "yes"? He doesn't want you to go back?

A Yes.

Q Where did Ilogoak want you to go?

A He wanted to take us somewhere this way out of the country.

Q Out where?

A I don't know where.

Q And did you want to go?

A I don't want to go.

Q Did you tell Ilogoak you didn't want to go?

A Yes.

Q What did Ilogoak do?

A He pointed the gun and told me to pull more.

Q Why did you want to go back?

A Because I had wet feet; they were cold.

Q Any other reason?

A I was afraid I would freeze my feet.

Q Did you tell the priest you were afraid you would freeze your feet?

A I told Uluksak.

Q What did Ilogoak do?

A I told Uluksak when we were pulling together.

Q Did you tell Ilogoak your feet were cold when you were pulling?

A Yes.

Q What did Ilogoak say?

A I don't know whether Ilogoak understood or not.

Q Was it easy for you to talk to Ilogoak? Could you talk to Ilogoak easily or was it hard to talk to Ilogoak?

A Speak a little, not much.

Q Did you talk to Uluksak?

A Yes.

Q Did you have any trouble in talking with Uluksak? Did the priest want you to talk to Uluksak?

A He talk all by himself.

Q Did the priest want you to talk to Uluksak?

A We were only talking to ourselves.

Q Did the priest do anything when you were talking to yourselves?

A We were pulling along and talking at the same time.

Q When you were pulling along and talking to yourselves did the priests do anything?

A They don't do anything.

Q Did the priest put his hand over your mouth?

A The priest put his hand on Uluksak's mouth.

Q What for?

A He wanted to go back; he tried to speak.

Q He put his hand on Uluksak's mouth when Uluksak wanted to go back?

A Yes.

Q Why did he put his hand on Uluksak's mouth?

A He told him to shut up.

Q That is ashen Uluksak was talking to you?

A No, when he was talking to the priest.

Q When Uluksak was talking to the priest?

A Yes.

Q The priest put his hand over his mouth and told him to shut up?

A Yes.

Q Did he tell you to shut up?

A No

Q Not at all. How long did you travel that way, half a day, was it ?

A Maybe we travel the afternoon.

Q And did you ever expect to get back to your people again?

A I thought I wasn't going to go back.

Q Did you think you were going to be killed?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: Does your lordship allow that question?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The Crown put it in the statement, my lord; I don't see why they should object to it.

Q When you thought you were going to be killed, that you wouldn't get back to your people, what did you do? What did you think to do?

A I said to Uluksak: "We will kill one of them."

Q You said to Uluksak: "We will kill one of them first."?

A Yes.

Q When you thought you were going to get killed you thought it was necessary to kill the other, is that it?

A Yes.

Q Tell us what happened?

A He didn't say yes right away; after a while he said yes.

Q When you first mentioned it it didn't seem to strike Uluksak quite right?

A Yes.

Q How long after you mentioned it first did Uluksak say, yes?

A I don't know how many times I asked him.

Q How far did you travel while you were talking?

A Just go a little ways.

Q Then they did kill Ilogoak and Kuleavik?

A We both threw off our harness.

Q Yes.

A When they come, we threw off our harness and went around the sled, and the priest told us to go back, and I threw off my belt and said I was going to relieve myself.

Q And what happened then?

A I go behind the sled; then the priest took the rifle.

Q Yes.

A The priest took the rifle and got up close.

Q What happened?

A He put the rifle on the sled, to be ready.

Q THE COURT: Who put it on the sled?

A The priest put it on the sled.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Where did he take it from?

A From the sled; he put it on top.

Q Which way was it pointing? Which way did he point the rifle?

MR. McCAUL: When it was on the sled?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Yes.

A He pointed it in front.

Q Then what happened?

A When he come up to the sled I stabbed him.

MR. McCAUL: What did he say?

THE INTERPRETER: He said when he come up to the sled he stabbed this man.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Before he stabbed him was the rifle pointed at him at any time?

A Pointed the same way this fellow was.

Q It was then he took the chance of stabbing him?

A Yes.

Q How long before that had the priest pointed the rifle at him, when before that had the priest pointed the rifle at him - when he left the harness or when he ran around behind the sled?

MR. McCAUL: I think that is most suggestive. I don't like to object, but my learned friend is putting words into the witness's mouth.

THE COURT: It is very important evidence you are trying to elicit, so you had better be a little careful.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: All right. Tell us over again about throwing the harness off. You threw off the harness, then tell that over again.

A Both of us took the harness off.

Q Both of you together?

A Yes.

Q You took the harness off, then what happened?

A When we took the harness off, the priest told us to go into the harness again, and I told him I wanted to relieve myself. Then we go behind the sled. This fellow, this man, come up to the sled. When the priest turned around he stabbed him.

Q You said something about picking up the rifle.

MR. McCAUL: We have gone over that.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I will go over it as many times as I like.

MR. McCAUL: Suppose you say, as many times as his lordship likes.

THE COURT: I think we had better get what took place now by having him tell his story. I think you had better ask him to tell that took place, at this point of the evidence.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The first time he mentioned the rifle, I couldn't just catch what connection it had, and the second time he didn't mention the rifle. I don't know whether that is the fault of the witness or the interpreter.

THE COURT: I think you had better go through and let him tell his story.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you know how many times the priest pointed his rifle at you?

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge, you are disregarding entirely my suggestion. I suggested that you ask him from the time he took off the harness just what took place. Let him tell his story. If he leaves out anything, then it will be time enough.

WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I can't tell what he leaves out and what he doesn't.

THE COURT: I did not suppose you were asking questions simply at random. I supposed you had your instructions.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I wanted to find out how many times he pointed the rifle, but if your lordship rules it out, well and good.

Q Go ahead and tell your story.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think perhaps the better way, my lord, will be to let Mr. McCaul cross-examine the witness. I do not see that I can gain anything by not asking questions. I couldn't get any story out of him before without asking him questions, and I cannot get it now.

THE COURT: All right, Mr. McCaul.

MR. McCAUL: Well, I don't understand.

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge does not seem to be satisfied with my ruling and declines to go ahead with his examination.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I say I couldn't before get anything out of him without questions, and I don't see that I can do it now.

THE COURT: You might try. You have not made any effort.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I have made an effort, my lord.

THE COURT: Very well, Mr. Wallbridge. You sit down and I will try.



Q THE COURT: Patsy, tell him to tell us what took place, what happened, just after he threw off the harness. Go on and tell the whole story. Do not let him tell too much at once. When he tells some, then you tell us what it is.

THE INTERPRETER: I asked him from the time he take his harness off what happened. He said he take the harness off.

Q Go on, then. What did you do?

A Both of us took the harness off.

Q And then what did you do?

A Then the priest go after him. When the priest come up to shove him again he told the priest he was going to relieve himself. He go behind the sled then. When he go behind the sled and stop he took the rifle off..

Q Who took the rifle off?

A The priest.

Q All right; go on.

A Then he finish; then he took his pants up, he come up to him closer. I stabbed him. I stabbed the priest. Then both of the priests run forward in front of the sled. The two priests run in front of the sled.

Q The priests ran in front of the sled?

A They ran away. Then he tell Uluksak to grab the rifle.

Q Where was the rifle?

A It was on top of the sled. Uluksak took the rifle. Then the man came again, again, he went to come to this man, then he made ready for him again with his knife.

Q You say "him", who?

A The priest was coming to me; when he got wounded he started to run off, then he come back to this man.

Q Which priest?

A The one he stabbed. The wounded man go round the other side of the dogs; he went to go after Uluksak. The other man, he go round the sled, and the other man wanted to come too and he made ready for the other man with the knife.

Q You made ready for the other man with your knife?

A Yes. He said when he come up, the wounded man come up to Uluksak and hit him with a club or stick.

Q What is that?

A The priest hit the other man Uluksak with a stick when he come up.

Q He hit this other man with a stick?

A Yes.

Q Which was the other man?

A Uluksak.

Q Who hit Uluksak? You said some one hit someone else with a club?

A Yes; the wounded man hit Uluksak with a stick.

Q Who was hit?

A Who hit?

Q Yes, who hit and who was hit?

A Uluksak was hit with a stick.

Q Uluksak was hit with a stick?

A Yes.

Q By whom?

A By the wounded man, Ilogoak. Uluksak was looking after the other man.

Q The last you said Ilogoak hit Uluksak with a stick?

A Yes.

Q And you got ready with your knife for the other man, that would be for - ?

A Kuleavik.

Q Kuleavik. All right, go on.

A Kuleavik was the other man. He does not look at Ilogoak much; he was the other man.

Q Watched the other man?

A Yes. Then he started to run back, run off.

Q Who?

A Kuleavik, when the other man dropped; then he took the rifle. He shoots first and missed him; hit him second time; he hit him second time.

Q MR. McCAUL: Second shot?

A Second shot.

Q THE COURT: All right.

A Then he come up. When he drop he just sat down, then he came up.

Q Kuleavik dropped?

A Yes.

Q And you came up to where he was?

A Yes. The both of us came up. Uluksak came up. He tell the other man to kill him, to kill him off.

Q They killed him?

A He tell Uluksak to kill him.

Q You told Uluksak to kill him?

A Yes. Then Uluksak, he stabbed, and the first stab didn't go in; the second, the knife went in.

Q Uluksak did that?

A Yes. Then, he didn't die tight away; then this man, he wasn't dead when he stabbed him with the knife.

Q It didn't kill him?

A Yes. This man chop him with the axe around his jaw, around there some place (indicating neck).

Q He chopped him with the axe round his neck?

A Yes, and one leg off close to the feet, when he die - he was dead then.

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge, we have got the general story; now, if you want to get any more evidence in the present case from the witness you may examine him. There was no difficulty in getting a consecutive story, if you had given him a chance.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I had intended to have handed the witness to Mr. McCaul, but as you have continued, there are one or two matters which I would like to clear up. I am not sure, I still do not understand the first part when he threw off the harness, I don't know whether it came out clearly or whether it didn't.

THE COURT: There is no reason why you should not get out anything more you can.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Repeat to me again what happened when you and Uluksak threw the harness off.

A Both of us take it off together.

Q Now, what did you do?

A Then the man go after us again.

Q Who come after him, Ilogoak?

A Yes.

Q Go after him how?

A Nothing in his hand.

Q But how did he go after him?

A He shoved him over with his hand.

Q Now, what happened?

A Then he said he wanted to relieve himself.

Q He threw of the harness?

A Yes.

Q And the priest came up, which priest?

A Ilogoak.

Q And tried to push him back into the harness again?

A Yes.

Q Then what did he do?

A He told him he wanted to relieve himself.

Q Did he tell the priest right there or did he run behind the sled first?

A Right there.

Q Is that what he told the priest?

A Yes.

Q And was it true what he told him, that he wanted to relieve himself?  
Did he really want to relieve himself?

A It wasn't true.

Q He was just pretending?

A Yes.

Q All right.

A Then he pulled his rifle.

Q Then he pulled out the rifle?

A Yes.

Q And what did he do with it?

A He put it on top of the sled.

Q When did he take off his belt, before Ilogoak pulled out the rifle or after?

A Before he took the rifle.

Q He took off his belt before he took the rifle, he took down his clothes?

A Yes.

Q And when he took down his clothes the priest put the rifle on top of the sled, is that right?

A Yes.

Q And when the priest put the rifle on top of the sled he pulled up his clothes quickly and ran and stabbed the priest, is that correct?

A He come up slow.

Q The reason he told the priest he wanted to relieve himself was so the priest could put the rifle down?

MR. McCAUL: This is just merely suggesting something that the prisoner never said at all.

THE COURT: You can ask him what his reason was.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I don't know how I can put it so even Patsy will understand it. I would be glad if you would suggest a question that would answer the purpose.

THE COURT: I suggested that you ask him what was the reason that he did that.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Why did you tell the priest that you wanted to relieve yourself?

A I was afraid of him.

Q What were you afraid of?

A When I speak when I wanted to go back.

Q What did you think the priest would do if you told the priest you wanted to relieve yourself? What did you think Ilogoak would do if you told Ilogoak that you wanted to relieve yourself?

A I thought he would let me go.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I don't see how it is possible except to ask him a direct question what I want to find out, whether that was a ruse to get him to put down the weapon.

MR. McCAUL: There is no evidence he had the weapon in his hand at that time, and certainly the evidence would be most objectionable.

THE COURT: He said he did put down the rifle; I suppose it is a fact. Well, the Jury can draw the inference, what the man intended by his act. It is probably safer that way than his own words.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Why did you eat a piece of the dead man's liver?

A Because I heard from my grandfather - I heard about it from my grandfather.

Q Did you know what it was going to do for you to eat the liver?

A The man might get up again if I didn't eat his liver.

Q Do you like to talk about spirits?

A I don't know.

Q You don't know what? Do you like to talk about spirits?

A I don't know how to speak about spirits.

Q Do you know about spirits? Do you know anything about spirits?

A I know about spirits.

Q Has the eating of the liver anything to do with spirits?

A I think maybe the spirits make the man alive.

Q Did Ilogoak and Kuleavik have any food with them on that journey?

A A little, not much.

Q Did you take the rifle after the men were dead?

A Yes, I take the rifle.

Q Did Uluksak take a rifle too?

A Yes.

Q Some cartridges?

A Yes.

Q Why did you take the rifle?

A It is no good, that I need it; it is no good around there, I had better take it.

Q Did you take anything else?

A Nothing else.

Q Did you take any food?

A No.

Q Why didn't you eat some of the food that was there?

A I don't feel good that day.

Inspector LaNauze stands alongside the prisoner, the prisoner being outside the witness box, Inspector LaNauze being about three and one half inches taller than the prisoner.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Take the witness, Mr. McCaul.

Adjourned to 10 o'clock a.m. tomorrow, August 17th, 1917.

10 o'clock a.m. Friday, August 17th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and the trial of the above entitled Cause was resumed as follows:-

MR. McCAUL: My lord, after consideration, I have decided, although there are some matters I might, from curiosity more than anything else, clear up, that I will not cross-examine the prisoner on his evidence at all. I am content to go to the jury on the evidence in the shape in which it is.

THE COURT: Anything more, Mr. Wallbridge?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, there are two or three questions which I thought, after leaving last night, I should have asked the prisoner, just four or five questions.

MR. McCAUL: I don't like that, my lord, after I have stated I didn't intend to cross-examine the witness.

THE COURT: When he is through it may possibly change your mind.

SINNISIAK,

the accused, being recalled as a witness on his own behalf, for further examination by Mr. Wallbridge, testified through Interpreter Patsy Klengenberg as follows:-

Q How many white men had you seen up to the time of the killing of the priests?

A Altogether, with the two priests, five.

Q Who were they?

A Steffansson [*sic*], Joe Bernard, Hornby and the two priests.

Q Did you know these men were priests, teachers of religion?

A I don't know.

Q What did you think they were? What did you think they were doing there?

A I don't know; maybe they were trading, I don't know.

Q When you went back to the mouth of the river after the priests were killed did you tell anybody about it?

MR. McCAUL: That is in his confession; I don't think it is necessary to take that evidence.

A I went into Kormik's tent. Kormik was sleeping, and I woke him up, I told him I killed those two fellows already.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Did you tell him the reason why you had killed the priests?

A Yes.

Q Did you tell Hupo?

A I didn't speak to Hupo.

Q Did you speak to Hupo afterwards?

A He just found out from the other fellows.

Q The whole village knew about it at once?

A Yes.

Q What became of the rifle that you brought back with you?

A Hupo got the rifle.

Q Was Hupo the first man who got the rifle from you? Did Hupo get the rifle from you?



A Yes, he was the first one, Hupo was the first one.

Q How did Hupo get the rifle from you?

A He said he would give me another rifle.

Q You traded with Hupo for another rifle?

A Hupo got Kormik's rifle.

Q How did Hupo get Kormik's rifle?

A Hupo took the rifle and gave it to me.

Q THE COURT: Took the rifle from Kormik?

A Yes.

Q And gave it to Sinnisiak?

A Yes.

Q And he took Sinnisiak's rifle for it, is that it?

A Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you mean you traded rifles with Hupo?

A Yes.

Q That you traded with Hupo a rifle that Hupo got from Kormik?

A Yes.

Defence rests.

Which was all the evidence given on the trial of the above entitled Cause.

Argument to the Court and Jury by Mr. Wallbridge.

Closing address by Mr. McCaul to the Court and Jury.

His lordship will tell you what self defence is. It is not right to say that because a man is afraid he will be killed he is justified in kilning another person. His lordship will explain to you what is meant by the doctrine of self defence.

My friend has also suggested that these men are entitled to British justice and British fair play. That is what this Court is here for, gentlemen of the Jury. That is why, instead of carrying out what the Eskimo expected,

the tribe would be slaughtered, that is why, instead of doing what the fool prospectors suggested as a proper thing, if you kill a white man the white man will come and kill you all - my friend brought that out, suggested that Hornby had made that statement and I was quick to make the admission that Hornby had made such a statement, that is exactly what the prospectors, the men who may go in looking for copper there, the men who went in there, D'Arcy Arden, Joe Bernard, the Douglas' and many other people who are going into that country, are apt to advocate. The object of giving these people the advantage of British justice and British fair play is to obviate that condition of affairs, and to make it known that if the white men, travelling in that country, are killed, that the tribe will not be exterminated, that no punitive expedition will exterminate them, but that they will be given the same fair trial as any white man, Englishman or Canadian would get under similar circumstances.

I think I tried to be fair and impartial. My friend stated my opening address was inflammatory because I was unable to refer to the shocking death of these men without shewing a little feeling. I don't think a man could make the bare recital of those facts at all, unless he is so cold blooded as to have the heart of a stone, could consider the awful position of these men and the awful death they suffered, without at least feeling a little bit of emotion in regard to it.

There are only two possible grounds my learned friend has put forward in his defence of this man. One is that as these poor men, represent practically the stone-age, ignorant men, childlike men in many ways, childish men in many ways, men who, as my friend says, are afraid of strangers, that their crime, if it is a crime, should be treated by the jury on an entirely different basis from that which you would apply in the case of an ordinary white man. That argument, gentlemen of the jury, is improperly addressed to you, in this way - I don't mean there is anything wrong or improper in Mr. Wallbridge addressing that argument to you - I mean he has addressed that argument to the wrong tribunal. That is an argument which could go only to the mitigation of the sentence which his Lordship may be compelled to pass. That is an argument which it would be proper to make in Council before the Governor General in Council, that they are entitled to the mercy of the Crown; and a more correct method of dealing with the case, instead of carrying the Capital sentence in effect, might be to return these men to the country from which they came and imprison them there, or whatever may be suggested to the Governor-in-

Council in regard to that. That is the tribunal to which which that argument should be addressed. We cannot try these men on the principles of Eskimo justice, because if we tried them in the principles of Eskimo justice we should have had to adopt the suggestion made by my friend, made by Mr. Wallbridge, that without trying them at all we would have had to have stabbed them on the spot; and according to the evidence it would have been much more in accordance with the Eskimo principles of justice they should not have been tried at all, but they should have been promptly murdered, an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a life for a life. We have adopted the other principle. We have got in some way to educate these Eskimo with whom the white men are now coming into contact just exactly as thirty or forty years ago the white man came into contact with the Blackfeet and the Crees - we have to educate them in the elementary notion that the principle of vengeance has got to be dropped, that if an Eskimo or a white man kill a man it does not justify murder in revenge for murder. Murder does not justify murder, but it does justify what we hope to be a fair and impartial trial.

Referring for a moment to what was characterized by my friend as my inflammatory address, perhaps if you will cast your mind back to the items I told you we would be able to prove, to see to what extent it was inflammatory and unfair, I think you will find, I am sure you have found, if you followed the evidence and followed what I said, that every single individual statement that I made in regard to the facts of this case in my opening address has been proved by the evidence of the confession of the prisoner. In every single statement I made, because I was extremely careful to state nothing that I considered was in dispute between counsel and myself, I told the exact facts as they have come out in evidence.

There is another matter - I am going to try to be as short as I can - my friend referred to. He has stated, and wrongly stated, to you that there would have been no evidence against the prisoner at all had it not been for his confession. Gentlemen of the Jury, without the confession at all I wouldn't be afraid to ask any jury to convict, and I submit that any jury would have been justified, at least, in convicting upon the circumstantial evidence in this case without a word of confession from the prisoner or without the prisoner going into the box. I will point out to you presently just how that comes about. Drop all confessions of the prisoner. Take the evidence of Koeha, and take the facts which we have pieced together and we find this: We find that the priests were threatened with their lives by

Kormik on account of a dispute over a rifle; and on account of their lives being threatened there two men, in a tribe of some twenty or thirty families at least, leave with their dogs and go up the river without much grub. There was danger of starvation there. Now, this has not anything to do with the prisoner's confession. They go up the river, and not two days afterwards but the same day that they left, according to the prisoner's evidence given in the box here, the prisoner followed them. He says this; "I met them the same day they started out. I travelled for about half a day," That is the evidence he gave in the box here. The prisoner follows them up. Drop his evidence again, I say. The prisoners leave during the night. We could have had Kormik here if we did not have these prisoners' confessions and could not go on with them, and we could not have called one prisoner against the other. They follow up the same trail as the priests take; they come back two or three days afterwards, each of them carrying a rifle which was known to have belonged to the priests. They go to Kormik's house, and their own statements, not their confessions, their own statements in the village are that they had killed the priests, and they tell the people where the spot is where they killed the priests; and after receiving the information which they bring back, the rest of them go up and find that they have murdered the priests. My friend says we could not have convicted without the confession. Nonsense. There is a perfectly absolutely circumstantial case without the evidence of the prisoners at all. I would not be afraid to go to any Jury and expect to get a conviction on the evidence in that case.

My friend suggested there was no premeditation in this case at all. Now, I am going to tell you what I believe to be the whole true history of this as gleaned from the evidence and the statements presently, but the premeditation has been proved by the prisoners themselves, and has been enlarged upon unwillingly by my learned friend in his address. Mr. Wallbridge told you as these men walked along they premeditated the murder of these men and discussed between each other how to effect it, and Mr. Wallbridge said, how could you blame them for doing it? I was surprised, Gentlemen of the Jury, to hear Mr. Wallbridge suggest that these men are not to be blamed - suggest to you that these men who are civilized human beings, I was surprised to hear any civilized human being suggest that what these men had done was right. Mr. Wallbridge asked you who would say that they are to blame, who would say that they did not do quite right. I am merely surprised, I am absolutely shocked to hear that come

from a civilized human being who has heard the evidence and heard the circumstances of this trial, suggesting under the circumstances the Eskimo did what was right.

Premeditation which is necessary to distinguish this case from manslaughter was proved. You need not search for the motive, whether revenge or the object of stealing the rifle; we have the evidence of premeditation given clearly and squarely in the fact that these men discussed how they were to obtain their opportunity of killing the priests. That is premeditation.

You remember in this case, Gentlemen, that this particular charge of crime – we come to the question of self defence – which you are trying is not the killing of the priest Ilogoak, the one whose body was found and who was killed near the sled; you are now trying this particular prisoner on the charge of killing Kuleavik and my friend suggests he was killed in self defence. Self defence, as his Lordship will tell you, means actual fear of immediate death, not merely injury, but a natural, reasonable fear of immediate death at the hands of a person killed by the person who killed him at the time, at the moment. Now, my friend suggests that this man shot and killed Kuleavik in self defence. What are the facts? These two savages, these two cannibals - because I don't agree with my friend that the evidence does not establish what is meant by the term cannibalism. Cannibalism consists of the eating of human flesh. We know that the Southsea Islanders and many of the savage tribes have very much the same notion. This man says that he ate a portion of the liver, and adds a most extraordinary statement which opens up an enormous field for enquiry afterwards – information apparently he got from his grandfather. He says, because when they used to kill white men they used to eat parts of them, a custom, a custom to kill white men by these Eskimo, and a custom to eat them. What does that refer to? That is his statement in his confession. I will read it exactly so there will be no mistake about it. My learned friend says they have never seen a white man before. They had seen enough of them to be accustomed to killing them and eating them. "After they were dead, I said to Uluksak before when white men were killed they used to cut off some and eat some." And apparently the prisoner in the box was aware of the custom when they killed a white man. He was aware that white men had been killed before by the Eskimo, and he was aware that they had cut off some and eaten some and that was the reason why he ate some.

Now, it is suggested that the moment this man killed Kuleavik, or Father Rouviere, that he was acting in self defence. They had overpowered and killed Ilogoak, the two of them together, that is Father LeRoux, lying expiring by the sled. Father Rouviere had run away, and was running away while they were finishing Ilogoak. Sinnisiak turned round to Uluksak and said: "Give me the rifle." Uluksak got the rifle from the top of the sled. He had time to turn round to Uluksak and get the rifle from him. He says that he missed him at the first shot. They didn't know how far it was away, but the evidence shows a .44 calibre rifle will carry point blank at least 100 yards, eighty to one hundred and twenty yards. He missed him the first shot. He had time to eject the shell and put a new cartridge into the chamber and take a more careful aim, and he said: "The second, time I got him." That is all. "The second time I got him." He was killing this man who was running away from him, in self defence, a man who had no weapon, a man who had come back to try to get the rifle and had been prevented from approaching the sled by this man Sinnisiak, with the knife, while Uluksak and Ilogoak were struggling with the rifle - poor, unarmed priests, trying to escape into the wilderness, afraid to go back into the village where their lives had been threatened by Kormik, this poor man, after they over-powered Ilogoak, Father LeRoux, ran away in the hopes he might escape in the snow, is murdered, is shot and killed by these two brave, courageous gentleman my friend spoke about. He asked you to admire their courage and bravery, the courage of the man who sneaked up behind the priest and drove his knife into his back when he wasn't watching, the courage of the two men who threw the priest down, trampled him to death, stabbed him, took his rifle away from him, the courage and bravery my friend asked you to admire, the courage and bravery, my friend's idea of the man who fires at the poor fleeing priest, running over the snow, and kills him, and the two men come up, and he is stabbed and haggled with an axe. Brave men, Mr. Wallbridge said. Oh; Mr. Wallbridge says, what bravery, what courage!

My theory of this is not of importance in a way, because I think you had the premeditation at the time I spoke about and we have the circumstances which show the futility and the absurdity of attempting to suggest that there was anything approaching self defence in the murder of these men. It is easy to piece this thing out. One does not require to be a Sherlock Holmes. These men were no strangers to the Eskimo. They had known them for a couple of years. These men were in the country near

Imaernik hunting. They go down with a party of the Eskimo, probably accompanied by these two men. Then they go down to the mouth of the Coppermine River. Kormik gets the priests rifle. The priests determine to get their rifle back. They have got to live upon their rifles while they are travelling. They have got to live upon the grub obtained by their rifle. They were determined to get their rifle back, so determined that even if intimidation is necessary they intimidate Kormik and get the rifle back. Kormik threatened to kill him and his friend. The threats were sufficient to make kind old Koeha go with the priests up the river. He said he went up with them because he was afraid that Kormik would kill him. Kormik was one of the men who I hope will be brought to justice eventually and tried. Koeha goes up the river with them. The Eskimo are keen about getting rifles, so keen that when we come to this rifle being taken away Kormik threatens to kill the priest for taking away the rifle from him. It does not seem to the Eskimo mind to be anything uncommon or out of the way. It is considered quite the proper thing, what my friend would suggest as being good taste according to the Eskimo understanding, good taste among the Eskimo, and the day they leave these men, Sinnisiak and Uluksak followed them up. What for? My friend suggests that this story that they were going to meet people at Imaernik, they were going with one dog and no provisions. Imaernik was miles from where they found the priests. They leave in the dead of the night without a sled. They go away with one dog. Of little use one dog will be to the people coming back, but they are going up there to live upon the provisions of the people coming back, and they expect to be away only one day. Where were they going to meet the people? They find the priests. They don't get any opportunity to murder them, and they came back to rob the priests' cache, because when the priests find the position they are in, they can't go back to the village where they are threatened, they came back, and what do the priests do? They go to their cache and throw the stuff into the river. Why? What is the reasonable connection? No Sherlock Holmes business about this. Because they didn't want to have these men have sufficient grub to follow them up, as Mr. Wallbridge so properly said, because they were in desperate straits, and to save their own lives they had put these men in harness to make them work.

My learned friend, I am sure, will not object to my reading from his book which he put in, Mr. Steffansson's [*sic*] book.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I only read, Mr. McCaul, what was in the evidence.

MR. McCAUL: Yes, the book is very interesting. It is a scientific book. After their murder what did they came up for? What does it look like? These men each come back with that prized possession, to the Eskimo, a rifle and three packages of cartridges each. They took nothing else. Now, where do they report when they come back, to Koeha or to the tribe generally? They go to Kormik's house. They go to Kormik's house who is asleep, and they wake him up, and they tell him: "We have killed these men already," Kormik thinks he ought to have the rifle. The rifle is given to Hupo in exchange for a rifle which Hupo gave to Sinnisiak? No. Which Hupo gave to Kormik. These two gentlemen, Mr. Sinnisiak and Mr. Uluksak, having had their pick of the spoil, agreeable to the custom of the Eskimo, the rest of the tribe are invited to go up and help themselves, just as Mr. Steffansson [*sic*], in his book, at page 269; "As a matter of local law there were two or three hunters who would not have needed to go along in order to get a share of the game, for in the division of the spoils only one piece of the seal goes to each household, irrespective of how many hunters representing it are present. The rule is that when a bearded seal is killed, the man who does the killing takes his stand in a conspicuous place near the dead animal and makes signals, usually by springing out his arms at right angles. All those hunters near enough so they can see the sign come running up. Then the animal is divided into as many segments as there are families represented by the hunters present; and when the cutting up has been done, the most influential person present has the first choice, which means that he takes the biggest and best piece, while the hunter himself, irrespective of his standing in the community, takes the last and therefore the poorest piece; but he has the honor, which is no small thing among them, for not only is the deed considered one of prowess but the man who provides so much food for the community thereby becomes a public benefactor, and gets a valued reward in the consciousness of increased public esteem."

Well, we trust these men got their valuable reward in the increased esteem of the tribe for the amount of booty they were able to put at their disposal.

Now, to determine the connection. I say I need not go back to that at all. It seems to me you can trace evidence of premeditation from the moment these men left, and that Kormik was a party to it. As I say, you don't need to go back that far at all. We have the premeditation between



these two men when they were walking along, making up their minds they were going to kill these two men.

Our law, which is got from the British law, is weak in some respects on the question of homicide. There are only two crimes under the heading of homicide, the killing of a man. Homicide is one of three things. It is either murder, or it is manslaughter, or it is justifiable, or what is the more correct term, it is excusable homicide. I cannot prognosticate or prophesy what his Lordship's charge to you, Gentlemen of the Jury, is going to be, but I suggest to you that disagreeable as it may be to you, that on the direction of the law, which his Lordship will give you that your duty is - and it is a very serious responsibility that you have - not to acquit this man. I need not point out the tremendous responsibility that will be taken by you if you acquit this man unless you are perfectly satisfied, and on the directions his lordship will give to you, that the death of these priests, and the death of this particular priest, Kuleavik, came about in self defence, in the proper meaning of the term which the Chief Justice will explain to you. If you do not believe it, you will then bring in, what is always disagreeable to juries, a verdict of murder, the crime with which he is charged.

Our law, as I said, is unfortunate in that we have no degrees; in British laws and in our own Canadian laws there are no degrees of murder; there are no first, second and third degrees. There is nothing but the ordinary charge of murder. There is only one sentence the Judge can pass in regard to that, and the commutation of that sentence is a matter which is not within the Judge's power at all. That is a matter which will have to be dealt with after the verdict has been given, by the Governor-General-in-Council who has full power to make the punishment fit the crime, to make the punishment fit the circumstances.

#### CHARGE.

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THE COURT: Gentlemen of the Jury: The crime of which the prisoner is accused is the most that is known to our law, and naturally that will impress upon you the solemnity of your duty, because it is on you, and on you only, that the duty is cast of determining whether or not he is guilty or not guilty of the charge.

The fact that he is a poor, ignorant, benighted pagan, who comes from beyond the borders of our civilization, does not stand in the way of his

receiving all the protection that our law can give any person charged with any offence. As you have seen he has been furnished with counsel, not some junior counsel who might be desirous of getting the experience of defending an important case, but he has been provided as counsel, with one of the leaders of the bar, who has left no stone unturned during the course of this trial to see that no unfair advantage was taken of the accused, and to see that everything that might be brought out in his favour should be brought out.

Owing to the circumstances of this case, the particular circumstances, I instructed the Sheriff, when empanelling the jury, to see that no person was put on the panel of jurors except men of the highest standing in the community. I thought it was only fair that the prisoner should have the best that our country can afford in answering a charge such as this. But it must be observed that while our system of law and justice furnishes this protection to him, it expects from him, the same as from all others who come under its sway, the observance of and obedience to the laws. Our laws are general. They are not made to be observed by some and disregarded by others. He is subject to the law and you must treat him in the same way as you would any other person charged with the offence.

Our law recognises an absence of liability for crime by reason of deficient mental capacity in certain cases; for instance, a child under the age of seven cannot, under our law, commit a crime. The law says we will assume beyond question that until the child has passed the age of seven he has not the mental capacity that would make him capable of understanding that what he is doing is a crime. It protects him up to the age of fourteen, but not absolutely to that time. It throws the burden, however, on the Crown of showing that he did understand what he was doing; also insane persons whose intellect is such that they cannot appreciate that the act is an act of crime. They are excused. But that is as far as our law goes. It does not say that because a man does not know that what he is doing is wrong that he shall not be punished. It is only in those cases of deficient mental capacity that I have mentioned that he is excused.

Much has been suggested in the present case about the prisoners lack of knowledge of our law and our customs, and his own custom. Of course, that applies to a greater or less extent to many of the foreigners who have come into our country; to the Indians, although they have to become gradually more and more accustomed to our laws, but that cannot be dealt

with by the Court such as this is in considering the liability for the crime. In law a person must be considered liable. In fact, there is a very great difference. That is a matter to be dealt with in the matter of punishment. It is only an example of what we find in cases of most crime, the circumstances, the aggravation, the extenuation vary as much as crimes vary, and it is for that reason that the punishment of crime varies. One person for committing one crime may be punished very severely; another person for committing the same crime may be punished very lightly or not punished at all because of the circumstances connected with the case. But the guilt is the same as far as the crime itself is concerned.

In the present case, while still dealing with the subject of intelligence, you have had the opportunity of seeing the prisoner in the box; you have had other Eskimo witnesses, Koeha, and the interpreter Ilavinik who is also an Eskimo, and you have been able to form some idea of their intelligence. You have had related to you the statement which was made by the accused, and you have heard him make further statements in giving his evidence in the box, and I have no doubt you have come to the conclusion that, while he lacks much of our knowledge and experience, and consequently the mental development that comes from that, he still has a fair share of intelligence. The story he told about the commission of this crime indicate on its face, it seems to me, a reasonable amount of intelligence. He tells the story of the commission of the crime which, to the accused, would probably seem to be no crime at all, would seem to be justified. It is for you now to decide whether that is so or not.

Much of the evidence that was given was given, of course, before the statements made by the accused at the preliminary and his evidence here, but it ceases to be of much importance now since we have had those statements. I think that you will probably not need to bottler with anything very much beyond the statements of the accused himself. The circumstances, of course, you will have to consider in connection with it to decide on how much predence you will attach to all parts of it. It is suggested that you must take it in total. That is right only in one sense. The whole statement that was made by the accused must be given to you. It would not be right, it would not be lawful, to give you part of it and reject part of it. You must have the whole of it, but you are not bound to believe the whole of it. You may believe none of it if it does not seem to you to be reasonable. You may believe such portions of it as appear to you,

under the circumstances of the case, entitled to belief and reject other portions. In your every day life,

time and again, you have stories told you of which you believe part and reject part. You are in exactly the same position in regard to this. As far as it seems reasonable to you you will probably accept it; where it does not appear reasonable you may not be disposed to accept it, or you may come to the conclusion that there is no reason that you should not accept it in whole.

The story seems to be that the accused and his companion left on the next morning after the priests. He says they went up to help others coming out, and in view of the other evidence that does not appear to be at all improbable. There were others still to come out. He went up with the one dog which would indicate no sled, and which would indicate that he was not going on any long journey, and was perhaps going up for that purpose. However, that is a matter that may not be of much importance. They met the priests then, and the suggestion of the treatment by one of the priests may or may not be true. It seems to me hard to think that a missionary who was up in that country to enlighten the people as to spiritual matters, would be disposed to treat them unfairly or hardly, and the story of what took place with Kormik also has to be looked at in that way. On the other hand, it is quite possible, of course, that all these matters are capable of explanation as misunderstandings. It may be, and it seems not improbable, that the priest promised Kormik a rifle for some reason, and by some misunderstanding Kormik got the rifle that was not intended for him and put it in his tent, and misunderstanding came when the priest tried to get that rifle back and let him have the one intended for him. It is said the priest took it and loaded it. That may have been with the intention of shewing to Kormik, that it was just as good as the other one. One can easily see that when people are dealing in this way, unaccustomed to a certain extent to the language and customs, misunderstandings of that sort might easily arise and it might easily have happened that misunderstandings of that sort arose between the accused and his companion and Father LeRoux, because there is no suggestion that the other priest, the one whose murder is now being laid to the accused, was in any way connected with that. But the killing of both of them is admitted. There seems no room for doubt on that score or for doubt as to the identity of the priests who were killed.

The only question then is: Was that killing culpable? Was it a killing for which the accused may not be excused. Culpable homicide, is murder, our law says, if the offender means to cause the death of the person killed. That is all that is necessary to consider in the matter of premeditation. It does not mean that he must have deliberated over it and determined in advance that he would kill a person, if he means to kill him it is murder. The intention may have arisen only the moment before the killing, but the intention to kill must exist in order to make it murder.

Notwithstanding that the intention does exist however, it may possibly not be murder but only manslaughter. That, however, is under circumstances which apparently would have no application here. It is where passion is excited by reason of something being done, whatever it may be; it is the passion that makes, in the eyes of the law, the offender incapable of controlling himself and therefore while it does not excuse the killing it reduces it from murder to manslaughter. On the relation of the facts by the accused there would not appear to have been anything of that sort existing here, so that we need not further consider that.

The question then would seem largely to be one between culpable homicide and excusable or justifiable homicide. Now, homicide is justified if it is done in self defence, but ...

*[Page 240 missing from original copy]*

defence. I think perhaps I have made that clear to you, and I have tried to put it in a way that fits the circumstances of this case.

The prisoner says that he was afraid he was going to be killed and that he could not get back home. There was no immediate danger. He does not suggest that there was. He shewed a certain amount of cunning, reasonable amount of cunning and reason by making a subterfuge to get out of the harness and get back to the sled where he could get control of the gun. He did that and then after they had killed Faller LeRoux, although Father Rouviere had done nothing, they then proceeded to kill him, and did kill him, and on the testimony, apparently, there was no attack of any sort whatever from Father Rouviere. The killing was done deliberately and intentionally and would, therefore, seem to be murder. There would have been no excuse, no justification, in the way of self defence for that killing.

It is your duty to deal with this case calmly and deliberately and not to be affected by your sympathies, but allow your judgment full sway. I say that is your duty. You are human, however, and you have your sympathies

as you cannot help having them, and they, no doubt, will have some effect to upon you; and I want to say to you, therefore, that while it is your duty to find a verdict of murder, if you view the case largely as I have suggested it to you and on that verdict, if you find it, it will be my duty to pass the sentence of death; that would be the only sentence that I could pass; Yet I have no hesitation in saying to you that I would consider it a crime that this man should be executed for the act with which he has been, and for which he is being, charged here; It is there that his condition, his absence of knowledge, his customs, and his absence of knowledge of our customs should have effect, and I would be bound, in the exercise of my duty, to recommend that the sentence of death should not be carried out, and I have no doubt whatever that the authorities could recommend to His Excellency, the Governor-General, that he should not be executed, but that some other form of punishment would be imposed which would meet the requirements of the case, and which would take home to him and to the members of his tribe the knowledge of our laws and our measure of justice. I have no doubt that some such punishment as that would be given to him, and not that the extreme penalty of the law would be exercised. I tell you that so that you may feel freer perhaps to do what the law demands of you, but which might perhaps be abhorrent to your sentiments of humanity if you felt that the strict letter of the law would have to be carried out.

If you come to the conclusion that the verdict should be one of murder you are entitled to couple with it any recommendation that would appear to you to be proper, and any such recommendation would be forwarded by me to the proper authorities with my report.

I think that there is nothing more. I think I have explained to you all the law that has a bearing on this case as it was my duty to explain to you. I have stated to you what appeared to me to be the proper view of the evidence, but I have only done that to assist you. The duty is yours to declare that you think the proper verdict should be on the facts. You are bound to take the declaration of the law from me, but nothing that I have said to you as to the way the facts impress me is binding upon you. You have a perfect right to view them in your own way. You are all intelligent men and understand exactly what the evidence means, and it is your right, as well as your duty to determine the facts for yourselves.

You may now retire and consider your verdict. I think perhaps, Gentlemen, it may be of help to you to take with you the statement that

was made before the Magistrate which was very largely repeated in the evidence here, and read it over, because it was read to you hurriedly and, at any rate, it will be well to refresh your minds with it. I have read it over carefully two or three times myself, and it will be of advantage to you to take it and read it over calmly for yourselves. You may now retire.

Thereupon the jury retired to consider their verdict at 12.13 o'clock.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: My lord, I wish to call your attention to the Charge. I think your lordship should not have stated as you did in regard to the probability of the prisoner not being punished according to the law. I have no hesitation, no doubt, the sentence which you pass will not be carried out. I do not think that is the exact wording, but the first part, I have no hesitation and no doubt are the exact words, and what followed was in regard to the punishment.

THE COURT: What I said was : I have no hesitation in saying to you that I would consider it a crime that this man should be executed.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Then you followed that by saying: No doubt he would not be punished.

THE COURT: No, not that; I did not say he would not be punished. I said I had no doubt that the authorities at Ottawa would look at it as I did.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: A man ought to be convicted or not convicted of murder according to his guilt or innocence. Then you further stated directly to them that you were telling them that so that they would feel freer to bring in a verdict, another statement, my lord, to which I take exception, that you should not have told them that the evidence of the prisoner does not suggest there was any immediate fear.

THE COURT: I do not know that I said "immediate fear". What I meant was immediate death; it was not impending.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think the purport of the evidence of the prisoner was fear, a continuous fear, and he thought that his fears would be realized. Then, my lord, I think you should have directed. the jury that a reasonable apprehension of violence - if it is reasonable and it is an apprehension - is sufficient to justify the act.

MR. McCAUL: The cases all point out, my lord, that that is what you should not do.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I am reading from Halsbury, paragraph 1185 (reading).

THE COURT: That begins exactly as the Code does, authorizing a person to repel force by force. There must be force in the first place to repel.

MR. McCAUL: That is better pointed out at page 255 of Crankshaw and the following pages, in the last edition of 1915.

THE COURT: I think my declaration of the law to the jury on that point is correct.

Thereupon at 1.10 p.m. the jury returned the following verdict: "Not guilty".

### 55. J.E. Wallbridge to D.C. Scott, 17 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

August 17, 1917.

Duncan C. Scott, Esq., Deputy Superintendent General Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

#### Re Eskimo Trial.

I duly received your night letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. regarding the defence of the Eskimo prisoners now at Edmonton. Mr. McCaul did not show me Mr. Newcombe's instructions to him to which you referred but read me portions of the letter, and no doubt all the portions which it was necessary to communicate to me. I gathered that it was the wish of your Department that as far as possible the defence should be conducted on the point of merit and not merely on technical grounds. I do not think that I would have felt at liberty to follow Mr. Newcombe's instructions as they were reported to me strictly as I do not think the Eskimo capable of appreciating the matter and could in consequence give no instructions, but on investigating the matter I found that the proper defence was to have all the facts brought before the Court and so it was unnecessary for me to decide on the question of technicalities.

The Crown Prosecutor laid four charges of murder, two against each of the prisoners, and the trial of the first charge, that of the murder of Father Rouviere by the Eskimo Sinnisiak, was concluded this morning and the jury brought in a verdict of "Not Guilty". Upon the evidence I consider that verdict a most proper one. I of course cannot say what view the jury



took but assume that they followed the plea of self defence upon which I chiefly relied.

For the prosecution besides the evidence of the police officers there was the evidence of the Eskimo Koeha and the statement made by the accused on the preliminary examination before Inspector [LaNauze] was admitted although I thought it necessary to take objection to the latter, which I did not hesitate to do in view of my decision to allow the accused to give evidence. My objection was overruled by the Court and the statement read to the jury. In addition there were a large number of exhibits, including some letters written by the deceased priests to their superiors, and also a mutilated diary which was found at the place of the tragedy. In defence the prisoner gave evidence on his own behalf and told the story practically as in the statement to the Inspector but with some additional details.

At the conclusion of the trial the Court adjourned until Tuesday, the 21<sup>st</sup> inst., when the other charges will be proceeded with unless Mr. McCaul should receive instructions to the contrary.

Yours truly,

*[Sgd: J. E. Wallbridge]*

## 56. Telegraph, D.C. Scott to H.A. Conroy, 20 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, August 20<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

H. A. Conroy

MacDonald Hotel

Edmonton, Alta

Not necessary to attend second Eskimo trial

Duncan C. Scott

## 57. Telegraph, H.A. Conroy to D.C. Scott, 20 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Edmonton Alta Aug 20th17

Duncan C. [Scott]

Deputy Supt. Indian Affairs Ottawa Ont...

The prosecution in the trial of the Second Eskimo are having a change of venue and the case is to be tried in Calgary I would ask to be relieved of attending this trial as I have to go home [sic] answer.

H. A. [Conroy]

## 58. Supreme Court of Alberta Trial, Rex vs. Uluksak and Sinnisiak, Calgary, 22-24 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 18, v.2479, file 62*

IN THE SUPREME COURT OF ALBERTA  
CALGARY JUDICIAL DISTRICT.

REX

-VS.-

ULUKSAK AND SINNISIAK.

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Before the Honourable Chief Justice Harvey, and a Jury, at Calgary,  
Alberta, August 22nd, 23rd and 24th, 1917.

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EVIDENCE at TRIAL. of the accused Sinnisiak and Uluksak only.  
Mr. C. C. McCaul, K.C., and Mr. James Short, K.C. for the Crown;  
Mr. J.E. Wallbridge, K.C. for the accused.

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Opening address by Mr. McCaul

### Defence

Witnesses:

Sinnisiak

“ (recalled)

Uluksak

“ (recalled)

Closing address to the Court and Jury by Mr. Wallbridge

Closing address to the Court and Jury by Mr. McCaul

Charge to Jury

Sentence

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...

MR. McCAUL: May it please your Lordship, and Gentlemen of the Jury: This trial has been perhaps appropriately ushered in by a little taste of arctic weather which we got yesterday afternoon and last night as the trial will be redolent of the atmosphere of the arctic regions.

The trial is, in many respect, a very extraordinary one and, needless to say, a very important one. There may possibly be some of you gentlemen who can remember the first occasion upon which the trial of a Blackfoot Indian took place in either Manitoba or in the North West Territories. This is probably the first occasion on which the trial of one of the Eskimo from the arctic regions has ever taken place before an organized court, before a Judge and a Jury. So I think this trial is both extraordinary and important, practically unique in its way and historic.

You may wonder why it is that these two prisoners were brought down all the way from the Arctic Ocean to be tried in Edmonton. The answer I can give to that is that Edmonton, to all intents and purposes, is about the nearest place at which they could have been tried. Provision is made in the Code that in case a crime is committed in the unorganized territories, beyond the confines of any organized Province or beyond the confines of the Yukon territory – because in the Yukon territory they have a Supreme Court, they have Judges there, and they can summon jurors and try cases of this nature – provides that where a crime has been committed in any of the unorganized territories far beyond the confines of the Province, that such crime can be enquired into and can be tried in any Province of Canada, in the Province of Saskatchewan, Manitoba or in the Province of Ontario exactly in the same way as if the crime had been committed in the Province in which the prisoners are being tried.

That is not a novel provision. In the early days of Canada, when the only organized and civilized portion of Canada was confined to a small portion along the River St. Lawrence and possibly extending up to the lower portion of Lake Ontario in the Reign of George III, there was a similar Statute which provided that where any crime had been committed in what was then known as Rupert's Land and the Indian Territories, the civilized country in which we live to-day, including Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, that such crime could be enquired into by the Courts either of Upper or Lower Canada; and in the year 1818 a very

celebrated trial did take place pursuant to this Statute. Two men, named Charles de Reinhart and Archibald McLellan were brought up from the Indian Territories, as they were called in those days, to stand their trial on the charge of murder before Chief Justice Sewell and a Jury in the city of Montreal.

Now here we would find in accordance with the principles which have characterized British justice and with the principles which have characterized the dealings of the Dominion Government of Canada with the Indians, the crime having been committed, on that understanding the Government having had brought to their notice that there are facts which would point to a murder having been committed by certain members of the Eskimo tribe, the Government adopt just the same principles to bring those men, if they are able to be detected and arrested, to justice as in the case of any ordinary white man; that is to say, while making use of the valuable instrument for the detection of crime and for the arrest of criminals which the Government has in the Royal North West Mounted Police. An investigation of the circumstances extending over a year, regardless of the enormous expenses attached to it, is undertaken by the Dominion Government with the view of trying to ascertain the one or two particular individuals who should be charged with what had appeared to be a very serious and a very grave crime, the crime of murder, and those individuals should be brought out. That method of procedure is the one which has enabled our Dominion of Canada to be free from the troubles of Indian wars, to be free from feuds with the Indians, to establish a feeling of good faith on the part of the Indians and to trust in the white man's justice, to establish in their minds the fact that an Indian or an Eskimo will be treated in exactly the same way and on exactly the same plane as any white man in the country, not only will he be tried for his offences according to the white man's law, and given the same benefit of trial, trial by Jury, a public trial, eminent counsel appointed to assist him and to look after his case, but that he also in turn has a right to resort to that justice, has a right to resort to our Courts and to our laws to assert his rights whether in regard to men of his own tribe or whether in regard to any white man, so that he knows there is justice for the white man, for the Indian or for the Eskimo.

The story of the arrest in this case will, in the course of the trial, be fully detailed to you. Shortly it is this: In the year 1915 Inspector LaNauze, the gentleman who is here in uniform and who will be one of the witnesses, was sent up from Regina to Fort Norman, on the Mackenzie River. Fort

Norman is at the mouth of Bear River. He was sent up to Fort Norman, and in the Fall of that year Inspector LaNauze, having in the meantime gone down the river to Fort McPherson and procured the services of an Eskimo interpreter, one Ilavinik, this man here, he, with this Eskimo interpreter and with two Constables, Constable Wight who is here and Constable Withers, this little party of four, three policemen, one Eskimo interpreter, undertake to go down into the unknown barren lands of North America to search and try to ascertain what had become of two Catholic Missionaries who had been missing, who had last been heard of in the summer of 1913, two years before, to find out, and if the evidence which they procured or the statements which they got pointed to foul play, if they could find out, who the particular individual men were, not, Gentlemen of the Jury, a punitive mission, not an armed military force, as might have happened in other countries, sent against the tribe to punish the tribe for the murders, if they appeared to be murders, and an Inspector of Police and two police Constables go, and they proceed to Fort Norman, and from Fort Norman they passed up Bear River into Great Bear Lake, making it, maybe, with a York boat, taking it up with the assistance of Indians, for that part. They proceeded to the far end of the north east corner of Great Bear Lake and wintered at Dease Bay, the north east corner, close to the ruins of Fort Confidence. This is a very excellent general map, published by the Department of the Interior, of the arctic regions, showing the different tracks of the explorers who explored and charted these particular portions of the coast. They proceeded from Fort Norman, which is shown, on the Mackenzie River, at the mouth of Bear River. They went up the Great Bear Lake which is comparable to any of the big lakes of Ontario, it is as big as Lake Ontario, and they crossed this north west arm here, this bay in here which is called Dease Bay and there is a river which flows into it called Dease River. They spent the winter there, and in the spring of 1915 they left this point on the 29th of May, and it took them practically a month, it was the 30th of April, when they arrived at the mouth of the Coppermine River. They crossed over the divide of land to some lakes here that you will hear a great deal about, appropriately called the Dismal Lakes, in the barren lands, and after crossing the divide, I am not quite sure whether they followed the course of the little Kendall River which flows down the valley to the Coppermine, and down the Coppermine, arriving there on the 30th of April, 1916. There is a larger map here which will give you the details

better from there on, but you may have both the maps in front of you because you will probably require them for references.

Having arrived at the mouth of the Dease River, Inspector LaNauze and his party got some information that would indicate the presence of a white man a little further east; and they proceeded a little further eastward along the shore to investigate. This is a larger plan. That is Dease Bay, and Fort Confidence is marked there, and these are the Dismal Lakes I spoke about, and there is Kendall River, and this lake is Lake Rouviere, sometimes called Lake Imaernik. There is Bloody Falls, which is mentioned as being the place where these men are charged with having murdered the priests, in that neighbourhood. To make a long story short, they met Mr. Chipman, a member of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, camping at Bernard Harbour which is a small harbour off the Dolphin and Union Straits, it is marked on the map. These two islands here are the Sutton and Liston Islands.

From a fortuitous circumstance, the fact that Ilavinik who had been, I believe, with [Stefansson] up there, and the man who had known of [Stefansson] happened to know of Ilavinik, and in that way the police were able to get some very valuable information, particularly from one Uluksak, not the man who is charged here but happens to have the same name; he was called Uluksak Mayuk, Uluksak, the rich man, and this is Uluksak Avingak; and through the information they got, two names were mentioned as being the probable perpetrators of this homicide. They found out beyond any question that the priests were dead, and that they had been killed in the fall of 1913, and the evidence pointed to these two men as being the men who had killed them, Sinnisiak and Uluksak.

They then went out on the ice with toboggans and after having to turn back once, they crossed the ice from Bernard Harbour up to the east of the Sutton and Liston Islands, and eventually discovered in an Eskimo village the man Sinnisiak in camp very close to the shore of Victoria Island, close in there, and arrested him. They brought him back and took him to Bernard Harbour.

They then came back to the mouth of the Coppermine River and ascertained that this man Uluksak was probably in the neighbourhood, and, under circumstances which will be detailed to you, they eventually succeeded in finding Uluksak and arrested him. He was brought back to the harbour I have spoken about, Bernard Harbour, named after Captain Joe Bernard, a well known character; I think he was in command of a small arctic expedition at one time. They took him back to Bernard Harbour,

arriving there on the 16th of May, the second time, and on the 17th of May these two men were actually brought before Inspector LaNauze as Justice of the Peace and a preliminary investigation was held and they were committed for trial. So that this little party of police on this search – it is only comparable to a search for a needle in a haystack – arrived at the Coppermine River on the 30th of April, and seventeen or eighteen days after had unravelled the mystery, found and arrested the prisoners, and had them committed for trial, and eventually they were brought out where they now are for the purpose of standing their trial before a Judge and a Jury here, a fair trial in the presence of the people of this large city, in the Province of Alberta.

I pointed out to you the great importance of this trial, the necessity of proving that an Eskimo, as well as anyone else, is accountable to the law. This is part of the Dominion of Canada. White men are beginning to go in there. There is evidence of several white men having been in there within the last ten years or so; you will hear their names mentioned. It is a matter of common knowledge that there are copper deposits which will, no doubt, be prospected on the Coppermine River. The Dominion Government has sent in an expedition, the Canadian Arctic Expedition, which returned to Bernard Harbour and which explored the shores of the Arctic Ocean and the Coppermine River. You can appreciate the extreme importance of these remote people being taught respect for the law which prevails throughout the entire Dominion of Canada, and that whatever their customs may have been, whether their justice was retributory justice, the law of an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a leg for a leg, that that has got to be replaced, not by retributory justice; our justice is not administered in any feeling of revenge. You are not asked here, no matter what you hear about the death of these priests, to avenge their death. You will be asked to give a verdict which will result in the punishment of these men, punishment so that it will act as a deterrent and an example to the people in future. That is the principle upon which British criminal justice, or criminal justice practically of all civilized nations, works, not upon any principle of vengeance.

The Eskimo are a very large race. It is quite a mistake to suppose there are just a few little scattered tribes. The Eskimo extends all the way from the shore of Labrador across Hudson Bay, up Davis Strait, through Baffin Land, all through the Arctic coast that you see here, extends all through this portion here, the shores of Greenland, and around here, and beyond the mouth of the Mackenzie, around Alaska and down the shores of Alaska

to way beyond the mouth of the Yukon River; so there must be many thousands of them. There are forty or fifty tribes of Eskimo that are known; sub-tribes would perhaps be a little better name for them.

The ground, the waters and the ice that we are speaking about are historic. On this map you will see Coronation Gulf marked. You will see the name of Hearne, 1771, marked at this point, and you will see other names. You will see at this point "Franklin in June, 1847", and that is the point where Sir John Franklin's ships were abandoned and where some of his crew, after he had died a year before this point here landed on these Williams Islands, and left a record, stating the number of deaths one hundred and ten. A man named Crozier came ashore at that point.

There is peculiar repetition of history in this incident, Hearne having been there in 1771. Hearne was one of the Hudson Bay Company's officers, and he made a very adventurous trip over land from Fort Churchill to the Coppermine River. He had no white man with him, but he had a number of Indians. At this spot, Bloody Falls, twelve or fifteen miles from the mouth of the Coppermine River in the Arctic, there were some Eskimo engaged in fishing, and the Indians fell upon the Eskimo, against Hearne's remonstrances, and slaughtered them all. Hearne consequently named the spot Bloody Falls, more than one hundred and forty years ago. That was in 1771, and from that day to this that spot has been known as Bloody Falls; and it was just within a few miles of this spot that these unhappy and unfortunate priests were done unto death.

Now, I am not going to take up more time with detailing what the evidence is going to be, but I will proceed and if you will follow closely, as, of course, you are bound to do, according to the Juror's oath which is to harken to the evidence and to decide between the prisoner at the bar and His Majesty, the King. That means, of course, that the people of Great Britain and the people of Canada are to decide between them according to the evidence.

DEFENCE.

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SINNISIAK,

one of the accused, being first duly sworn, through Interpreter Patsy Klengenber, as a witness on his own behalf, was examined by Mr. Wallbridge and testified as follows:-



MR. WALLBRIDGE: Patsy, you tell him he is to tell these people everything, tell me everything, and not be afraid. He understands that, does he?

THE INTERPRETER: Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you remember when the priests were killed?

A Yes.

Q Where did you see them?

A I saw them at Imaernik.

Q That was before they were killed?

A Yes.

Q Just before they were killed where did you see them – at the mouth of the river?

A They came down the mouth of the river with them.

Q Then the priests went back?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember when the priests went back?

A Yes.

Q And did you go up the river after the priests started back?

A Yes.

Q Where were you going?

A I go up to meet my uncle.

Q Where was your uncle coming from?

A The west side of the lake.

Q They had been up hunting during the summer? Had your uncle been up hunting during the summer?

A Yes.

Q And you went up to meet them? Where were they going to, the uncle – going to the mouth of the river?

A They were going down to the mouth of the river.

Q To meet the other Eskimo that were there?

A Yes.

Q And when did you think you would meet them after you started out?

A Maybe one day, maybe two days.

Q The day you started out did you meet anybody else? Did you meet the priests?

A I met the priests.

Q Was that the same day as you started out?

A Yes.

Q Who was with you? Anybody with you?

A Uluksak.

Q Where did you meet the priests?

A Close to a small lake, close to the river.

Q How far from the Falls?

A I don't know how far, a little way.

Q What did the priests say to you?

A When he gets close to us I think it is the priests.

Q You thought it was the priests, Ilogoak and Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q And did he speak to you?

A One of them came down.

Q Which one?

A Ilogoak.

Q Came to meet you?

A Yes.

Q What did Ilogoak say to you? What was the talk?

A He just take us over to the other fellow.

Q What was the talk there?

A They tell us to pull the sled.

Q What did they say they would give you if you pulled the sled?

A Traps; he said he would pay in traps.

Q Did you pull the sled?

A Yes.

Q Both you and Uluksak?

A Yes.

Q Did you get into the harness, put the harness on?

A Yes.

Q Did you pull ahead of the dogs or beside the dogs?

A One ahead of the sled and pretty near the same line, one a little behind.

Q Was one of you a little ahead?

A Yes.

Q And where were the priests? Did they pull too?

A They didn't pull.

Q And how long did you pull that way?

A We pulled until night, until evening, just before it got dark.

Q What time of day was it when you met the priests?

A Maybe noon.

Q Somewhere in the middle of the day?

A Yes.

Q You pulled until dark. Well, then what did you do?

A We sleep together.

Q What did you sleep in?

A We had a snow house.

Q Did you make the snow house or did you find it?

A We make the snow house.

Q How big was the snow house?

A Maybe that big (indicating about eight feet in diameter.)

Q Did you all sleep together in the snow house?

A Yes.

Q The whole four of you? They slept all night?

A Yes.

Q What happened in the morning?

A We started back in the morning.

Q Who started back?

A I and Uluksak.

Q You started back. What happened?

A We got lost.

Q What kind of weather was it?

A It was blowing a little bit.

Q How was it you got lost? How did you get lost? How did you lose your way?

A From blowing, we couldn't see.

Q The snow was blowing?

A Yes.

Q Well, what happened?

A Uluksak's dog smelt something.

Q What was it?

A Uluksak went up, and he told me to come up.

Q And what happened then? Anybody else come? Did you see anybody there?

A Just before I got up to Uluksak two men came over.

Q What two men?

A The same ones.

Q Ilogoak and Kuleavik.

A Yes.

Q What was the talk then, or what did they do?

A When the two priests got there one of them start to throw some stuff into the river.

Q What else?

A When they get through the priests tell us to go and haul the sled.

Q Was the priest angry or not angry?

A We wanted to go back; we don't want to go on.

Q That is, you wanted to go back?

A Yes.

Q Was the priest angry?

A Yes.

Q What did the priest do when you wanted to go back?

A We wanted to go back, and I take the harness off, and the priest shoved me back into the harness.

Q Where was the rifle?

A He take the rifle up.

Q Who take the rifle up?

A Ilogoak.

Q What did the priest do with the rifle?

A If we stopped they would point the rifle at us.

Q Which priest was that?

A Ilogoak.

Q How long did you pull?

A I pulled part of the day some time.

A And you were afraid?

A Yes, we were afraid.

Q Why were you afraid? What made you afraid?

A I scared of the rifle; I think maybe they shoot us.

Q Did you talk to Ilogoak about it? Did you talk to Ilogoak about the rifle?

A Yes, I talked to the other fellow.

Q What did you talk about?

A I speak about he wanted to kill me.

Q Why did he want to kill you?

A I think maybe they shoot me; we were scared maybe the priests shoot us if we stop.

Q Did the priests let you and Uluksak talk? Did Ilogoak let you talk?

A I tell the priest I want to go back.

Q And what did the priest say?

A He said, no.

Q And did the priest do anything when you talked to Uluksak or Uluksak talk to you?

A He didn't do anything; he speaks -

Q Did the priest ever put his hand over Uluksak's mouth or your mouth?

A The priest put his hand over Uluksak's mouth.

Q What for?

A He tell him not to speak.

Q Why were you afraid to go with the priests? Why did you and Uluksak want to go back? Why didn't you want to draw the priests' sled?

A I didn't want to go any further.

Q Why?

A My feet got wet.

Q Any other reason?

A They put their gun up every time we went to put the harness off.

Q You said you wanted to go back and the priests wouldn't let you. Why was it that you wanted to go back? You said your feet were wet. I ask you if there was any other reason?

A The people we were going to meet were a long ways off to the side.

Q You were going in the wrong direction?

A Yes.

Q Did you and Uluksak have any grub with you?

A Had no grub.

Q When Ilogoak pointed the gun at you and made you pull the sled did you think you would ever get home agan, after Ilogoak point the gun at you and make you pull the sled?

A I think we won't get back.

Q Then you and Uluksak talked it over, and you decided you were going to kill the priests. Why were you going to kill the priests?

A We wanted to kill the priests because we were scared.

Q And they did kill the priests, did they?

A Yes.

Q And how did they do it?

A I take my harness off; when I take off the harness the priest gave me a shove back. I took my belt off, then I go behind the sled.

Q Why did you take your belt off? What did you tell the priest you were going to do?

A I said I was going to relieve myself.

Q What next after that? Did you want to relieve yourself?

A I said, Yes, I wanted to relieve myself. I wasn't going to do that.

Q What did you do?

A Then I take my pants up, and went up to the sled, and then I stabbed the priest.

Q Tell the rest of it.

A When I stabbed him I told Uluksak to grab his rifle. He ran forward; when I stabbed Ilogoak he ran off.

Q Ilogoak ran?

A Yes.

Q Where to? Where was he running to?

A To go in front of the sled.

Q To get the rifle?

A No.

Q Is that what he went to the sled for, to get the rifle?

A I stabbed him alongside the sled, and the priest started to run off from the sled.

Q All right, go ahead.

A They were going to come back, the fellow I wounded, they were going to come back to me. I had the knife ready, and the wounded men go around the other side of the dogs towards Uluksak.

Q Which man was going to come back to the sled?

A Ilogoak.

Q Go ahead, tell us the story.

A He go around to Uluksak. Ilogoak had a stick and hit Uluksak over the head. I was watching the other fellow.

Q The other fellow, Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q Tell us what happened?

A Kuleavik started to run away when Ilogoak dropped down, dropped dead, dropped down. When he started to run off I told Uluksak to give me the rifle. Then I shoot and didn't hit him the first shot; the second time I hit him.

Q What happened after the priests were dead?

A When he got up, the one I shot, he started to run off again and he dropped again, couldn't get up. Then Uluksak killed him. Uluksak stabbed him and it didn't go in, and the second time he stabbed him. He wouldn't die with the first stab, and he stabbed him again, and then he chop him on the neck and around the legs too.

Q And that killed him, did it?

A Yes.

Q After Ilogoak and Kuleavik were killed what happened?

A I said to Uluksak, cut him open.

Q And where they cut open?

A Then I eat a piece of the liver.

Q Why did you eat a piece of the liver?

A I heard it from my grandfather.

Q What was the reason for eating a piece of the liver? What good would it do?

A The dead man get up; when I eat a piece of the liver he not get up again.

Q Are you talking about spirits?

A I don't like to speak about spirits.

Q If you eat the liver the white man can't get up again?

A Yes.

Q You got that from your grandfather, did you?

A Yes.

Q Do you know anything about Indians?

A I don't know.

Q Did your grandfather know anything about Indians?

A I don't know.

Q After you ate the liver what did you do?

A I go in the same way to the other one.

Q Ate the liver of both of them. After you ate the liver of both of them what did you do?

A We took the rifles.



Q Why did you take the rifles?

A We took the rifles because the priests won't use them again.

Q And you went home, you went back to the mouth of the river?

A We started back.

Q Did you have anything to eat before you went back?

A We didn't eat.

Q Why didn't you eat? Wasn't there some food there? Didn't the priests have some food?

A They had some grub, but I don't want to eat.

Q Why didn't you want to eat?

A Because I didn't feel good.

Q Did the priests have much grub?

A A little, not much.

Q How long did it take you to get back to the mouth of the river?

A Sleep one night first, then get home the next day.

Q You slept one night first, and then you got home; how long did it take you?

A The second night, we got home in the night time.

Q Did you tell the people you had killed the priests?

A Yes.

Q And some other men went out and brought in the priests' stuff the next day, did they?

A I don't know, maybe it be the next day.

Q The next day or the day after, pretty soon, was it?

A Yes.

Q What did you do with the rifle?

A Hupo got the rifle.

Q Did you know these people were priests?

A I didn't know; I thought they were white men.

Q What did you think they were doing?

A Maybe trading.

Q How many white men had you seen up to that time before you killed the priests? How many white men had you seen altogether?

A I saw Steffansson [*sic*], Joe Bernard, Hornby, and the two priests.

Q Did you see Dr. Anderson?

A I didn't see him.

Q Did you see any other white men at all up to the time the priests were killed?

A No, that is all.

Q When the priests left the mouth of the river to go up the river they didn't get very far?

A They didn't go very far.

Q Do you know how it was they didn't get any further?

A I don't know.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Will you stand up, Inspector LaNauze, so we can measure the accused (the accused stands alongside of Inspector LaNauze before the Jury.)

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q You gave the rifle to Hupo?

A I traded him; he traded Kormik's rifle.

Q Hupo is Kormik's brother?

A Yes.

Q And you say that he traded Kormik's rifle for the gun you gave Hupo? Hupo gave you Kormik's rifle, and you gave Hupo this rifle?

A Yes.

Q Is that the rifle (exhibit 9)? Is this Kuleavik's rifle?

A I think the other priest's.

Q THE COURT: Do you say it is the one you traded with Hupo?

A Another one.

Q MR. McCAUL: Kuleavik's rifle you gave to Hupo?

A Yes.

Q Is this the rifle that Uluksak took from Ilogoak that he shot Kuleavik with?

A Yes.

Q Where did you find Kuleavik's rifle – tied up in he sled, inside the bundle?

A Underneath the lashings.

Q When Kuleavik was running away, when you shot him, when Kuleavik was running away, Kuleavik hadn't a rifle at all when you shot him?

A No, he had no rifle.

Q He was unarmed, no arms?

A He had nothing.

Q Ilogoak, the other priest, was dead at the time you shot Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q What were you afraid of Kuleavik for then when he was running away and hadn't a rifle? Why were you afraid?

A Sure.

Q Were you afraid of the spirits again, or what were you afraid of when Kuleavik was running away?

A I don't know what I think, I shoot him.

Q You didn't know at that time what you thought when you shot him?

A Yes.

Q Had you ever shot a rifle before?

A Yes; I used to shoot with the rifle in the summer time.

Q What are those little things for (indicating sight)?

A To put them up when you go further off.

Q How far away can you kill a caribou with a rifle?

A Close.

Q How close? How far?

A As far from here to that red house over there, as far as that red house (indicating house in the next block to the Court House, about seventy-five yards.)

Q Are you a good shot?

A No.

Q How far away was Kuleavik when you made the second shot? Was he as far away as that house?

A Something like that.

Q Something like two hundred yards away. How long had you known Kuleavik?

A One summer.

Q You knew him well before this?

A I think Koeha and I go together and see Kuleavik at Imaernik, and Hornby.

Q When was that? Was that the year before, winter before, or that same summer.

A Same summer.

Q Is that where Kuleavik and Hornby lived (showing witness photograph exhibit 7)?

A Yes.

Q That is where you saw Kuleavik and Hornby?

A Yes.

Q And that is a picture – do you know that dog?

A Hornby's dog.

Q And that is Kuleavik, and that is Hornby? Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q Hornby?

A Yes.

Q That is Kuleavik's house after it was broken down by a Husky?

A I don't know.

Q Is that Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q And Ilogoak?

A Well, I don't know.

Q I will show you the little picture?

A I think that might be Kuleavik and Ilogoak (exhibit 1).

Q Then you were up hunting caribou at Imaernik in the fall? Ilogoak and Kuleavik were there with the Huskies? Ilogoak and Kuleavik were with the Huskies hunting caribou?

A Yes, I seen them.

Q And you were all good friends, Ilogoak, Kuleavik, and the Huskies?

A Yes.

Q And Ilogoak and Kuleavik came down to the Coppermine River with Kormik?

A Yes.

Q And you stayed there two days and two nights?

A Two nights, and stay one day; the second day they go off.

Q Kormik took one of the rifles of the priests and hid it, is that right?

A He hid the rifle, and his wife had some scrap.

Q It was his wife hid Kormik's rifle, was it?

A Kormik hid the rifle.

Q And the priests made Kormik give up the rifle? The priests told Kormik they wanted the rifle back?

A I don't know; I wasn't there.

Q The priests had to have their rifles to take back on their trip to Imaernik with them to shoot caribou? The priests had to have their rifles?

A I don't know.

Q The priests didn't use bows and arrows, did they? The priests didn't know how to shoot caribou with bows and arrows?

A I never saw them.

Q What did the priests kill the caribou with? The priests killed them with rifles, didn't they?

A Rifles.

Q How many days trip from the Coppermine to Imaernik?

A I don't know how long.

Q (Mr. McCaul indicates four by the fingers of one hand)?

A I don't know.

Q When you and Uluksak started up the river after the priests what time of night was it, how late in the night?

A Maybe a little daylight.

Q Just before daylight?

A Yes.

Q Did you tell Kormik where you were going?

A I tell Kormik I was going up to meet my people.

Q Going up the river?

A Yes.

Q Koeha and the rest of the people were asleep in their tents, weren't they?

A I don't know, maybe the others sleep, maybe some of them are awake.

Q And your uncle had been hunting at Imaernik? You went up to meet your uncle? Your uncle had been hunting caribou at Imaernik?

A A little bit this side.

Q And that is where you expected to find him when you started out? You expected to find him there when you started out, where he was hunting?

A I think maybe closer.

Q But you didn't know?

A I didn't know.

Q Had you got any message from your uncle, telling you when he was going to start?

A Some of the people.

Q How were you going to help, you and Uluksak, how were you going to help?

A We were going to help pull the sled.

Q That is, each one of you would get into the harness and pull the sled? Quite a common thing for an Eskimo man to get into the harness and pull the sled, is it? The Eskimo men often put on the harness themselves and help the dogs pull the sled?

A Yes; they always help pull.

Q That is not the way the Eskimo harnesses his dog, ahead like that (showing witness exhibit 8)?

A Not like that.

Q That is a sled (drawing sketch). Now, if the Eskimo have three dogs they have them fastened that way?

A That is right.

Q Now, if an Eskimo pull is that the way the man pull (indicating on sketch)?

A There is one there (indicating).

Q There is one in the middle?

A Yes.

Q Is this where one man would be? One man pulls there?

A The dogs are harnessed in a single trace.

Q How many dogs had Ilogoak hitched to his sled when you were helping to pull the sled, when you and Uluksak were helping to pull the sled, how many dogs?

A Five dogs.

Q They had Uluksak's dog as well?

A Yes.

Q Was it hard going, hard travelling?

A Yes, it was hard going.

Q That is the way the five dogs were (indicating on sketch)?

A Two of them was like the other picture.

Q Draw it.

A (Witness draws sketch). They have them this way.

Q What is this, a line?

A Yes, two dogs here, and two dogs there.

Q That is the way the five dogs were?

A Yes.

Q Two dogs each on a line there, and along there was the other dog. Now, where did you pull?

A I pulled here.

Q You pulled there, what on – a line? You had a line from the sled?

A A long line from there.

Q Where did Uluksak pull – a short line?

A Yes.

Q Beside the dogs. Where did Ilogoak walk? Where was Ilogoak? Kuleavik and Ilogoak (indicating on sketch)?

A Yes.

Q And there were all going in that direction?

A Yes.

Q All going in that way?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: I will make a duplicate of that sketch. He said he was pulling on the single line along ahead; Uluksak was pulling on a short line, and Ilogoak was in this position in regard to the sled, and Kuleavik there. Those black marks marked "D" are intended to indicate dogs. I will ask to have that marked as an exhibit.

Said sketch marked EXHIBIT 34.

Q When you first met the priests how long did they talk before you began to pull the sled?

A Not very long, just only a little while.

Q Did you promise to pull the sled for the priests if the priests gave you traps?

A They were going to give us traps.

Q Did you say, all right, we pull if you give us traps?

A We did; we wanted to get traps.

Q And you pulled all that day? You pulled until dark?

A Yes.

Q When you slept in the igloo, the snow igloo? Did you sleep all night when you go to bed?

A Yes.

Q So you don't know whether the priests were both asleep or not, you can't tell?

A Maybe wake up, I don't know.

Q You turned back the next morning?

A Yes.

Q Were the priests asleep when you went back, were the priests asleep in the igloo?

A They wake up.

Q Did you tell the priests that morning, after they slept one night in the igloo, the snow house, the next morning, you go back? Did you tell the priests you wouldn't pull the sled for them?

A We didn't tell them much; we just started to go back.



Q Take Uluksak's dog with you?

A Yes.

Q When you left was it storming?

A Just going to blow.

Q By and bye, big storm, big wind, snow drifting, came up?

A Snow blowing.

A Snow drifting? You get lost?

A Yes, we got lost.

Q How long after you left the igloo?

A When we go a little ways, not very far, we started to go round.

Q When you left the igloo was it just about daylight?

A Yes, daylight.

Q When was it you found the cache - about the middle of the day?

A I don't know what time it was; I couldn't see the sun.

Q Had you been walking a long time?

A We go round a long time, don't know how long.

Q Did you know the priests had a cache on the way back to the Coppermine? You and Uluksak knew that the priests had a cache back there?

A Yes, we know they had a cache.

Q And you went to the cache on the way back? Your explanation is the dog smelt something. Now, when you were at the cache, you said the priests came over. Where had the priests come from, come over from where?

A From the sled.

Q How far was the cache from the sled?

A Maybe two hundred yards.

Q And what were these men doing at the cache, taking some stuff?

A We didn't do anything.

Q When the priests came up you said the priests threw some stuff into the river. What did the priests throw into the river?

A Axes, and some ammunition and some other stuff, I don't know.

Q And did they throw the ammunition into the river?

A Yes.

Q They threw the ammunition into the river, and the axes they threw into the river?

A Yes.

Q The river was running?

A Yes.

Q Were the priests frightened of you and Uluksak when they threw the ammunition into the river, were the priests scared?

A I don't know.

Q Why did they throw the ammunition into the river then?

A Because they were mad.

Q They threw their own ammunition into the river because they were mad. Didn't they throw it into the river so you couldn't get it, and that fellow (Uluksak) couldn't get it?

A Maybe.

Adjourned until 10 o'clock a.m. to-morrow.

10 o'clock a.m. Friday, August 24<sup>th</sup>, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and the trial of the above entitled cause was resumed as follows :-

SINNISIAK,

being recalled as a witness on his own behalf for further cross-examination by Mr. McCaul, testified through interpreter Patsy Klengenber, as follows :-

Q You agreed to pull the sled for the priests if the priests would give you some traps?

A Yes.

Q Were the priests going back to Imaernik?

A I don't know; maybe they go back, I don't know.

Q That is where you thought they were going? You knew the priests lived at Imaernik, had a house at Imaernik?

A Yes, I knew they had a house there.

Q You pulled the sled there (indicating exhibit 34)?

A Yes.

A And Uluksak there?

A Yes.

Q And the priests were behind all the time?

A Yes.

Q They would never let you get round behind them either?

A When we took of the harness we wanted to get back.

Q The reason why you told the priests you wanted to relieve yourself was so you could get behind?

A I wanted to go behind.

Q And the priests had one rifle up on top of the sled?

A Yes.

Q And that was lying on the sled, pointed that way, ahead, the way the sled was going?

A Yes.

Q And when you stabbed Ilogoak the rifle was on the sled, pointed that way, when you stabbed Ilogoak (indicating ahead)?

A When I stabbed the priest the priest didn't pick the rifle up; he just ran off.

Q The rifle was on the sled, pointing that way (indicating pointing ahead)?

A Yes.

Q That is what you told the Chief Justice, what you told the Judge at the other trial.

A The rifle was on top of the sled.

Q And the priest wouldn't let you and Uluksak talk together, didn't want you and Uluksak to talk to each other?

A They never bothered when we were speaking together.

Q When you tried to stop pulling the priest shoved you and told you to pull?

A Shoved and pointed to the rifle at the same time.

Q Shoved you and told you to pull?

A Yes.

Q That made you angry, mad, hot inside?

A I was scared.

Q Were you mad, angry?

A We weren't so very mad; we were very scared.

Q When the priests started up the river was there plenty of grub at the village?

A Yes.

Q Why didn't the priests take plenty of grub with them?

A I don't know.

Q The Eskimo had plenty of grub in the village?

A They had just enough grub to get along; they hadn't very much, they just had enough.

Q Just enough for themselves?

A Yes.

Q Why did you go to Kormik's tent when you came back and tell him about killing the priests? Why did you go to Kormik's tent?

A Because I stopped with Kormik.

Q You stopped with Kormik. Where did Uluksak stop?

A He has his own tent.

Q Where did you come from? Where is your home?

A I come from the same place Uluksak when we were small boys.

Q Where was that? Was that north or east of the Coppermine?

A It was to the north.

Q How many days journey over the ice, how many nights? How long did you travel over the ice?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: It would just depend on the condition of the weather.

Q MR. McCAUL: Yes, average weather, how many days travel?

A Not very far, I don't know how many days.

Q Did you tell Mr. Wallbridge at Edmonton, at the other trial – Mr. Wallbridge asked you: What did you think was going to happen to you?

You said you told the priests you wanted to go back. The priest said he did not want you to go back. Is that what you said?

A I tell the priest, he didn't want us to go back; the priest say, yes, we will not let you go back.

Q THE COURT: You told the priest what?

A I want to go back. The priest said, yes, we will not let you go back.

Q MR McCaul: Mr. Wallbridge asked you: Did you ask the priest if he were going to kill you? and did you tell Mr. Wallbridge then: I do not remember; I do not know.

A I don't remember if I said the priest -

Q That is not the question. I will ask you this, -

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think Patsy was going to say something else, and I would like to have him tell it. I think it is fair that whatever the answer is should be given out.

MR. McCaul: He was going to state to Uluksak.

A I said to Uluksak I wanted to kill the priests.

Q MR. McCaul: Mr. Wallbridge asked you at the trial in Edmonton - you remember giving evidence at Edmonton, you remember giving evidence at Edmonton, you remember being like you are now, in the box giving evidence? Do you remember talking to the Court?

A Yes.

Q Mr. Wallbridge asked you: "Did you ask the priest if he was going to kill you?" That is the question Mr. Wallbridge asked you. Do you remember Mr. Wallbridge asking you that question. All we want to know is if you remember Mr. Wallbridge asking you that question. That is all.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Hadn't the interpreter better give what the witness said?

A I don't know.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: If this man was being examined in the English language the Jury would hear what he says, and it is not fair that my learned friend should shut off the interpreter from saying what the witness says.

THE COURT: He is trying to get the interpreter to interpret the question that he is asking him.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: That may be, but if this man were answering in the English language the answer would be audible to the Court.

MR. McCAUL: My friend knows if it were a white man he would not be allowed to answer anything but yes or no.

THE COURT: As Mr. Wallbridge says, the answer is frequently given, but we do not have the practice, as it is on the other side, of striking out the answer because it is not responsive.

Q MR McCAUL: Do you remember the judge asking you a whole lot of questions through the interpreter?

A Yes.

Q Is this what you told the Judge, you said: "I take the harness off."?

A Yes.

Q "Both of us took the harness off."?

A Yes.

Q "Then the priest go after him." This is what you told the Judge?

A Yes.

Q When the priest come up to shove you again you told the priest you were going to relieve yourself?

A Yes.

Q When you go behind the sled and stop the priest took the rifle off?

A Yes.

Q "Who took the rifle off?" "A. The priest." This is what you told the Judge, is it?

A I don't know.

Q Did you tell the Judge this: "Then he finish, then he took up his pants, he come up closer." "Q. Sinnisiak?"

A Yes.

Q "You stabbed him? You stabbed the priest?"

A Yes.

Q "Then both of the priests ran forward in front of the sled."?

A Yes.

Q "The two priests ran in front of the sled."?

A Yes.

Q “They ran away.”?

A Yes.

Q “Then I tell Uluksak to grab the rifle.”?

A Yes.

Q “Where was the rifle?” “A. It was on top of the sled.”

A On top of the sled.

Q “Uluksak took the rifle.”?

A Yes.

Q “Then the man came again, he want to come to me.”

A When I stabbed he was going to come, and I made ready for him.

Q You made ready for him again, with the knife?

A The priest was coming to me.

Q “When he got wounded he started to run off, then he come back to me.” He was going to come back, that is what you said?

A Yes.

Q “The one you stabbed.”?

A Yes.

Q “The wounded man go around the other side of the dogs. He want to go after Uluksak.”?

A Yes.

Q “The other man, he go around the sled, and the other man wanted to come too.”?

A The other man tried to come and I got ready for him.

Q “The wounded man come up to Uluksak and hit him with a club or stick.”?

A Yes.

Q And you got ready with your knife for the other man, Kuleavik?

A Yes.

Q You did not look at Ilogoak, you watched the other man, Kuleavik?

A I did not look at Ilogoak; I looked at the other man.

Q Then he started to run off? Kuleavik started to run back, to run off?

A He started to run off when the other man dropped.

Q That is, when Uluksak had killed the other man?

A Yes.

Q Then you took the rifle from Uluksak? Uluksak gave you the rifle?

A He give me the rifle.

Q You shot first and missed, and shot the second time and got him, Kuleavik?

A The second time I hit him.

Q And that is what you told the Judge when the Judge asked you at Edmonton?

A Yes.

Q You said the priest had five dogs, three dogs of their own, one dog of yours and one dog that Koeha lent them, Koeha's dog?

A They had four dogs; Uluksak's dog makes five.

Q Uluksak's dog?

A Yes.

Q And one of Koeha's dogs?

A He had one of Koeha's, and one of Itegitak's, and three of their own.

Q Show him that (sketch, exhibit 34.) Was that the way the dogs were harnessed, or this way, (indicating on another sketch)?

A Uluksak's dog was over to one side.

Q Take a piece of paper and draw it just as you would draw it on the sand.

A (Witness makes sketch.)

Q Now, where was Uluksak's dog?

A (Witness indicates).

Q Where were you pulling? Show it.

A There.

Q Where was Uluksak pulling?

A There.

MR. McCAUL: I will mark these points he mentions now "A" and "B".

Q Where was Kuleavik working?



A (Witness indicates.)

Q There is where Kuleavik was, "C", and where was Ilogoak?

A There (indicating point marked "D".)

Said sketch drawn by the witness marked as EXHIBIT 35.

Q That is Uluksak's dog there. Which was Kuleavik and which Ilogoak?

A (Witness indicates.)

A Ilogoak there and Kuleavik there?

A Yes.

MR. McCAUL: He says Ilogoak is there at "C" and Kuleavik at "D". That is his drawing.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q Were you there at Kormik's place when Kormik had the trouble with the priests, or did you just hear about it from the other Eskimo?

A I was out fishing.

Q So you didn't see it?

A I didn't see it.

Q Who told you about it?

A I heard it from the people.

Q The people told you about it when you came back?

A Yes.

Q You were living with Kormik, were you?

A Hupo's place.

Q Kormik living at Hupo's place?

A No, I was living at Hupo's place.

Q You told me just a little while ago you were stopping at Kormik's; explain that.

A When Hupo go out I had to go with Kormik.

Q So you sometimes stayed at Kormik's place and sometimes at Hupo's.

A No, Hupo was away, that was why I stopped at Kormik's.

Q Hupo was Kormik's brother, was he, I think you said yesterday?

A Yes.

Q And was Hupo or Kormik any relation of yours?

A They marry my people.

Q Did you have a wife at that time?

A I had no wife.

Q You had no wife then; did you get a wife after?

A A long while after.

Q Did you tell anybody you were going up the river to meet your uncle?

A The people know I was going.

Q How many people know?

A Plenty of them.

Q Did they know Uluksak was going too?

A Yes.

Q And you started out in the early morning; why did you start out early?

A Maybe we think we go a long way.

Q How early did you start?

A A little daylight.

Q And were they the days of the long daylight or days of the short daylight?

MR McCAUL: It was days in November.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: We can assume it was the days of short daylight?

MR. McCAUL: Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: How long were you away altogether from the time you started from the mouth of the river until you got back again when the priests were killed? How many nights were you away?

A Two nights.

Q That is, from the time you started out until you got back?

A Yes.

Q You slept away two nights?

A Yes.

Q And what time did you get back after the second night? What part of the day was it? Was it in the night or in the day?

A It was dark.

Q You slept away two nights, and then then you got back in the dark of the next night, is that what you did?

A Yes.

Q Did you always walk like that or did you change position some time (showing witness exhibit 34.)?

A Sometimes we change.

Q So you didn't always walk like that?

A The two white men go like that all the time.

Q And how about the others, the rest?

A Sometimes we change.

Q And the white man Ilogoak always walked on one side of the sled, or did he go to the other too?

A He always stayed on one side of the sled.

Q And Kuleavik always stayed on the other side, did he?

A Yes.

Q Did either one of them ever walk behind the sled?

A No.

Q But the others, the places were changed?

A Yes.

Q And were the dogs always in the same place?

A Yes.

Q How about Uluksak's dog?

A He stopped in the same place all the time.

Q And Uluksak and you sometimes walked in different places?

A Yes.

Q Was that the same on both days you pulled?

A The two days we changed a little.

Q On the second day you left them in the morning and you lost the road, and you came up to the priests' cache. What was this cache?

A We find the cache.

Q What was it? What did it look like?

A Piled up on the ground.

Q What did it look like, how high?

A Just round like that (indicating).

Q Just a pile of stuff on the ground?

A Yes.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Patsy, this word cache you learned from white men. What did he call it in his own language?

THE INTERPRETER: Tookut (?)

MR. WALLBRIDGE: How would you translate that?

THE INTERPRETER: I don't know.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: You don't know how to translate that?

THE INTERPRETER: I don't know.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: What does it mean?

THE INTERPRETER: It means just a pile of stuff.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you know when that pile of stuff was put there?

A I don't know.

Q Did you ever see it before the dog smelt it when you came to it?

A I don't know it before.

Q That was the first time you knew about it?

A Yes.

Q How far away was the pile of stuff from the priests' sled when you came to it? If the Court room isn't big enough, show us out of the window.

A Down to that little house?

Q The little red barn?

A Yes, with the one window (about ninety yards).

Q When you came up to the cache the priests came up?

A Yes.

Q Now, do you really know what was in this pile of stuff, or do you just guess it?

A They had stuff on top; I didn't know what was inside at all.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: This man here (Mr. McCaul) asked him if there was ammunition in it, did you translate the word ammunition?

MR. McCAUL: I didn't ask him that; I asked him if he threw the ammunition in the water.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do you remember translating "ammunition"?

THE INTERPRETER: This man, only this man speak about ammunition, he said.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: I will ask you about ammunition; do you know what ammunition is?

A I know ammunition, I know the boxes.

Q Boxes of cartridges or what?

A Yes.

Q Is that what it is?

A Yes.

Q Do you know or do you not know whether there was any ammunition in that pile? If you do, say so, and if you do not know, say you do not know.

A I saw the cartridges there.

Q Where did you see the cartridges?

A I know the boxes got cartridges in.

Q Where did you see the boxes with the cartridges in?

A At the place where they were thrown away.

Q You saw cartridge boxes there?

A Yes.

Q How many did you see?

A They had a little bag.

Q Who had the bags?

A Only one bag.

Q Who had the bag?

A The priests had the bag.

Q Where did he have the bag?

A He threw the bag away.

Q Whereabouts?

A With the stuff.

Q Was the bag open or was the bag closed?

A Closed.

Q How do you know there were cartridges in it? Do you know there were or do you just think there might be?

A I know cartridges are in it.

Q How do you know?

A I can see inside; I can see the cartridges.

Q Inside of the bag?

A Yes.

Q You think the priests threw that into the river, do you?

MR. McCAUL: That is what he did say.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: I ask you again if you think the priests threw that into the river.

A Yes, I know it, he throw them away.

Q Do you know anything else that was in the pile?

A He had some axes, some deer skin and some other stuff I didn't know.

Q Do you know whether or not this stuff was on the sled the day before or not?

A Yes, it was on the sled before.

Q With regard to these dogs, the priests had four dogs of their own?

A Yes.

Q Two they brought with them when they came to the village?

A They had their own two dogs.

Q How did they get the other two?

A They buy them.

Q They bought one from Koeha?

A They bought one from Koeha.

Q And one from another one. They owned the four dogs when they went back, and then they hitched up Uluksak's dog too?

A Yes.

Q That made the five?

A Yes, that made the five dogs.

Q Did the priests ever do any pulling?

MR. McCAUL: He told you on your first examination; he told you the priests didn't pull. I didn't ask him about that.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Now, my learned friend asked you, when you were speaking to Uluksak, you said the priests never stopped you, and I understood you to tell me that the priest put his hand over somebody's mouth. You said before the priest put his hand on Uluksak's mouth when he went to speak to the priest?

A He speak to the priest, then the priest put his hand over his mouth.

Q Not when you speak to Uluksak?

A No.

Q Or when Uluksak speak to you?

A Not when we speak together.

Q Now, tell us again what happened when you threw the harness off and ran behind the sled.

MR. McCAUL: I object. We have gone over this two or three times, and there is no new matter; it doesn't arise out of cross-examination. My friend asked that in direct-examination, and I had a right to cross-examine on that matter, going over it with the statement he made to your lordship. There is no new matter. It doesn't arise out of cross-examination. If it were anything he had overlooked in his examination I wouldn't for a moment object. It is absolutely no matter arising out of cross-examination at all.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Owing to my learned friend's method of cross-examination, I don't know whether, and I am sure the Jury don't know whether the answers my learned friend got were what were said at this time or what was said on the previous trial, or whether the witness was answering what was said at the trial or answering sometimes what had actually taken place. I don't know, and I rather think the jury are confused.

THE COURT: If there is any particular matter you think there is any doubt about you perhaps better refer to it, but not to go over the whole matter.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I just want him to relate again what took place after he threw off the harness up to the time he stabbed the priest.

THE COURT: It would be just repeating what he said in examination-in-chief; we have that all down.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I couldn't gather from the answers whether it was different from the statements elicited by my learned friend or not, and I want him to tell what happened and we will have it clear. In fairness to the man, I want him to tell it in case there is any confusion or doubt or discrepancy.

THE COURT: If there is any matter that is in doubt you can clear that up, but I hardly think you had better ask him to go over it all again. If there is any question you desire to ask, ask him. We will not repeat the whole conversation.

RE-CROSS EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

MR. McCAUL: There is one question I forgot, my lord.

Q When Uluksak and you came back with the rifle after you killed the priests did you have any cartridges with you?

MR. WALLBRIDGE: That has been asked before, my lord.

THE COURT: It is asked now; I don't know that it has been asked the other time.

A We took the cartridges.

Q MR. McCAUL: How many?

A We take three boxes .44, and two boxes of what might be .38-55.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Some cartridges for your rifle and some for the other, is that it?

A Just took two boxes of cartridges .38-55 and three boxes of .44.

Q Is that all the cartridges you found?

A Uluksak took three boxes.

Q Were those all the cartridges that were there?

A Yes.

Q And were they in bags or boxes.

A They were in little boxes.



ULUKSAK,

one of the accused being called as a witness on his own behalf and duly sworn through interpreter Patsy Klengenberg: "What you speak you speak straight and not with two tongues," was examined by Mr. Wallbridge and testified as follows:

THE COURT: Will he do that?

THE INTERPRETER: Yes.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Do not be afraid of these people; tell us whatever we ask you about, and to speak out and not be afraid.

A Yes.

Q How old are you?

A Maybe I am eight years old (holding up fingers of both hands).

Q Are you married?

A Yes.

Q Babies?

A No babies.

Q Do you remember the time Ilogoak and Kuleavik were killed?

A Yes.

Q Do you remember being at the mouth of the Coppermine River just before the priests were killed?

A Yes.

Q And do you remember going up the river some time after the priests went up the river?

A I saw them going off when they got quite a long ways from the place, I saw them going off.

Q Where were you when you saw them going off?

A I was out fishing.

Q About how long after that, after you saw them going off, did you go up the river?

A I think it might be two days; it might be one day.

Q It was some time after you went up, and why did you go up the river?

A I was going up to meet my people.

Q Going up to meet whom?

A My people.

Q Where did you expect to meet your people?

A Maybe one day.

Q One day's journey you think you might meet your people?

A Yes.

Q Where were your people coming from?

A On the west side of Dismal Lakes.

Q They were coming down to the ocean?

A They were coming down to the river.

Q Did you tell anybody you were going to go up to meet your people?

A I didn't tell them.

Q Do you know whether Koeha knew you were going up? Did Koeha know you were going up?

A All the people knew we were going up.

Q But you didn't tell anybody?

A No, I didn't tell them I was going up.

Q When did you meet the priests? How long after you left did you meet the priests?

A Maybe at noon.

Q Tell us about what happened when you met the priests.

A When we got close Ilogoak come up.

Q What did Ilogoak say to you?

A Ilogoak tell us to come over to the sled.

Q What else did he say?

A I said, yes, when he tell us to go over to the sled.

Q You said yes. Well, did you go over to the sled?

A We got to the sled.

Q What did Ilogoak say when you got over to the sled?

A The priests would take us up to the trees and give us traps.

Q How far was it from the trees, how many days' journey with the sled?

A Maybe two days, good walking one day.

Q And pulling the sled?

A Maybe two days.

Q Did you get into the harness and pull the sled?

A Yes, we pulled. I put my own dog on too.

Q What did you say?

A I put my dog on too.

Q How long did you pull?

A Just before it got dark we stopped.

Q And what did you do?

A When we stopped the priests make a fire and cook.

Q And cook and you had a meal?

A Yes.

Q Well, before you had the meal what did you do?

A After we make a snow house, we eat - while they were cooking.

Q While the priests were cooking the meal you two made the snow house?

A Yes.

Q You got the snow house done and then ate your dinner?

A Yes.

Q What kind of a snow house was it?

A Maybe as big as this (indicating about eight feet in diameter).

Q A round one?

A Round.

Q Big enough for you all to sleep in?

A Yes; we were going to sleep together.

Q Did you sleep together in the same snow house that night?

A We sleep together. We had deer skins underneath and on top.

Q And what did you do in the morning?

A We eat something first, and then we started back.

Q What do you mean by "started back", back to the river?

A Yes, back to the river. I tell the priests which way to go.

Q Showed them the road, and then you started back?

A Yes.

Q All right.

A When we started off it started to blow and then we come back.

Q Why did you come back?

A We were going round with the wind, and the dog smelt the cache.

Q What do you mean “going round with the wind”?

A Got lost, don’t know which way to go.

Q Got lost in the snow?

A Yes.

Q Could you see far ahead of you?

A Just see a little ways.

Q You got turned around, did you?

A Yes.

Q You got back, and what was it you found?

A The cache.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: Does he say a cache or a pile of stuff?

THE INTERPRETER: A pile of stuff.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: Who found it first?

A I found it first.

Q And how did you come to find it?

A The dog smelt it.

Q Did you ever see that pile of stuff before?

A I don’t know; I didn’t know the cache was there.

Q Do you know whether it came off the sled or whether it had been there for some time?

A I knew it came off the priests’ sled.

Q You knew it came of the priests’ sled; how did you know that? How could you tell that?

A I knew the deer skins, and sleeping skins, like that.

Q And do you know what else was in the pile?

A There were some axes and cartridges.

Q What else?

A Some traps.

Q Anything else?

A Some sleeping skins, that was all I see.

Q While you were there at that pile of stuff did anybody come up to you?

A The priest come over while we stay there.

Q Where did the priest come from?

A He came from the sled.

Q How far away was the sled?

A Maybe about as far as this house (indicating).

Q Which house?

A This house here.

Q The house with the horns out front of it there, the first one here?

A Yes.

Q This house with the two windows and the dormer?

A Yes.

Q Is that the same one the other man said?

THE INTERPRETER: The one a little bit to the one side of the little house.

Q The priests were at the sled. Did they have the dogs hitched to the sled?

A Yes, all hitched up.

Q What did the priest say to you? Which priest was it, first?

A One took the rifle and the other took the knife.

Q Which priest was it that came over and talked to you?

A The priest didn't say anything.

Q You said the priest came over from the sled to the pile of stuff; which one came over, or both of them?

A Both of them.

Q What did they ask you to do?

A I thought I was going to get shot.

Q Did the priest tell you to do anything?

A They didn't do anything, just throw stuff into the river.

Q One of them?

A Yes.

Q What did the other one do while the one was throwing the stuff out on to the river?

A The other one stepped off to one side; he had a gun.

Q The man that stepped off to one side had a gun?

A Yes.

Q Which one was that?

A Ilogoak had the gun.

Q And he stepped off to one side. Did the other priest have any arms at all?

A He had nothing when he threw this stuff out; he had no knife.

Q What did they do after that?

A They tell us to go over to the sled.

Q And did you go to the sled?

A Yes.

Q Why did you go to the sled?

A We were scared; I think maybe the shoot us.

Q And what did you do when you got to the sled?

A When we got to the sled the priest make a line to pull.

Q Make a line?

A Make a harness to pull.

Q And what did you do?

A We were scared; we had to go into the harness.

Q And did you get into the harness?

A Yes, we got into the harness and pulled.

Q Did you pull the sled.

A It was hard going; the snow came up to our knees.

Q And how long did you pull?

A Maybe noon, up till noon.

Q Why did you pull so long?

A The priest pointed a gun every time I wanted to stop; I was afraid I get shot.

Q What did you feel like?

A I was going to meet the people, and I was scared I was going off. I got to pull the sled; too bad I go off from the river.

Q Tell us the rest of it.

A When we go along Sinnisiak tell me we are going to kill him, Sinnisiak say he is going to kill the priest.

Q Why did Sinnisiak want to kill the priest?

A Because he was scared.

Q Scared of what?

A Every time we want to go back the priest point the gun at us.

Q What did you think the priests were going to do with you?

A We though the priests were going to kill us.

Q Did you know how far the priests were going to take you away?

A We think maybe take us a long way.

Q Did you expect to see your people again?

A I think I wouldn't see them again.

Q Then Sinnisiak suggested you had better kill the priest?

A Yes.

Q And what happened them? What did you do after Sinnisiak said you had better kill the priest?

A I don't want to: I scared of white men. I didn't want to tackle the white man.

Q And what happened then? What did Sinnisiak say about that?

A Sinnisiak was going to kill him all the time.

Q He was going to kill him anyway?

A Yes?

Q What made you decide that you would help Sinnisiak?

A I think maybe they take us a long way away and kill us, and after a little while Sinnisiak said it, I said yes.

Q What did you do?

A Then we go a little while and we take the harness off.

Q Tell us just what happened now.

A When I take this harness off we were going to kill them.

Q Who said that to him?

A Sinnisiak said to me.

Q Tell us what else.

A Sinnisiak tell me we are going to kill one of them before we get killed.

Q Tell us what happened.

A Sinnisiak said to the priest he wanted to go behind the sled and relieve himself. We go behind the sled then; then he just sit down, and he got up again and came up to the sled; then he stabbed the priest and he ran away.

Q Who ran away?

A The priest ran away when he got stabbed.

Q How far did he run?

A Close.

Q Just moved away a little bit, is that what you mean?

A Maybe something like over there, a little the other side of the box (indicating prisoner's dock).

Q What happened then?

A Sinnisiak tell me to get the rifle, then Sinnisiak take the rifle.

Q Where was the rifle?

A It was on top of the sled.

Q How did it get on top of the sled?

A The priest put it on top of the sled?

Q When?

A When I took the harness he put on, ready.

Q THE COURT: Who did you say took it, Sinnisiak or yourself?

A I got the rifle, then the priest come around the sled to go after me.

Q Which priest?

A Ilogoak.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: What did he do?

A He hit me with a stick. The priest had me by the shoulder; then I stabbed him, the first time it didn't go in, the second time it went through. That is Ilogoak. When Ilogoak dropped Kuleavik started to



run away. Sinnisiak said to give him the rifle. Sinnisiak shoot first and missed him, and the second time he hit him and knocked him down.

Q How far away was he?

A Maybe as far as that small house there.

Q That is the barn there?

A With the one window (about seventy five yards).

Q What happened?

A When he dropped down we walked up to him. When we come up we stabbed him, stabbed him first, didn't go in, and the second time go in. It didn't kill him with the rifle, and we kill him with an axe, and Sinnisiak cut leg off (indicating above ankle), and cut here again (indicating below thigh). Then Sinnisiak tell me to cut him open, he heard from his grandfather to cut him open.

Q You cut them both open, did you?

A I take a piece of the liver.

Q How big?

A A small piece.

Q And you ate that, did you?

A Yes.

Q Out of both Ilogoak and Kuleavik?

A We did the same with the other one.

Q What did you do after that?

A Sinnisiak tell me to take the rifles. I was going to throw them in the river first, but Sinnisiak went to take them home.

Q What then?

A I take one and Sinnisiak take one, and we look inside the sled and take the cartridges. We take three boxes .44. Sinnisiak take two boxes, maybe three boxes, .38-55.

Q And then did you go to the mouth of the river?

A We started to go home and it get dark.

Q Did you take anything to eat first?

A We didn't need; we didn't feel good.

Q And you started right home, and did you get home that same night?

A We sleep one night close to the priests; we sleep one night, didn't sleep very far.

Q You go home the next day?

A Yes, late next day.

Q Did you start home that day you killed the priests and sleep on the road, or did you sleep before you started home?

A We started first.

Q And then you slept when it got dark, is that it?

A Yes.

Q And the next day you got all the way home?

A We got all the way home got in in the night time.

Q Did you tell anybody about killing the priests when you got back to the mouth of the river?

A When I got home I tell my wife.

Q Tell anybody else?

A Two families stopped together.

Q What is that man's name.

A Kingoulik.

Q And you told him?

A Yes.

Q Did you tell anybody else afterwards?

A In the morning I tell everybody.

Q Did you know that Ilogoak and Kuleavik were priests, teachers of religion?

A I think they just white men.

Q What did you think they were doing?

A I don't know what they were doing.

Q How many white men had you seen before you saw Kuleavik and Ilogoak?

A I saw five altogether.

Q Who were they?

A Joe Bernard -

Q Who is the first white man you saw?

A Steffansson [*sic*].

Q Did you see Dr. Anderson with Steffansson?

A After a while I saw him.

Q When? At the same time you saw Steffansson?

A I see Steffansson first, and then I see Dr. Anderson afterwards.

Q Whom did you see next?

A Kuleavik.

Q When did you see Joe Bernard, after you saw Kuleavik, or did you see Joe Bernard before the priests were killed?

A I saw Kuleavik first before I saw Joe Bernard.

Q Then you saw Joe Bernard, and did you see Hornby too?

A I see Hornby too, and Joe Bernard.

Q And the last one you saw was Ilogoak?

A I see Ilogoak after I see Joe Bernard, the same year.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: One of the jurors is asking me who Hornby is. He is a white man who has been up there around Great Bear Lake.

MR. McCAUL: The evidence shows that one of the priests lived in Hornby's house. That book of Douglas's speaks of Hornby.

Q MR. WALLBRIDGE: You saw Hornby, Kuleavik, Joe Bernard, and [Steffansson] and Anderson, and after that you saw Ilogoak; had you seen any other men before you saw Ilogoak?

A That is all I seen before.

Q Can you tell us why it was the priests hadn't gotten any further away from the mouth of the river when you met them?

A The priests weren't very far away from the mouth of the river when I and Sinnisiak met them again.

Q Tell us how it was they weren't further away. Do you know?

A I don't know why they were stopping there.

Q They were stopping, were they?

A Yes.

Q The priests had stopped there. Did they have a camp there?

A They had no camp.

CROSS-EXAMINATION by MR. McCAUL:

Q Is that about the size of an Eskimo knife, the same knife Sinnisiak stabbed the priest with (indicating sketch)?

A A smaller knife than that.

Q Draw it just the same way you would draw it on the sand, and show me how big.

THE COURT: We will adjourn now.

Q MR. McCAUL: Draw it after dinner.

Court adjourned until 2 o'clock p.m. to-day.

2 o'clock p.m. Friday, August 24th, 1917.

Court met pursuant to adjournment and the trial of the above entitled cause which was resumed as follows :-

ULUKSAK,

one of the accused, being recalled as a witness on his own behalf, was further cross-examined by Mr. McCaul and testified as follows:

Q Is that about the size of the knife (showing witness another sketch of knife)?

A No.

The witness draws a sketch of knife on the same piece of paper as above.

Said sketch marked Exhibit 36.

Q How long had you known Kuleavik before you killed him?

A Three summers I saw him, I knew him.

Q Kuleavik good fellow?

A Yes.

Q How long had you known Ilogoak before you killed him?

A Two summers I know him.

Q Ilogoak pretty good fellow too?

A No.

Q Didn't like Ilogoak?

A No.

Q Had you ever been to the priests' house at Imaernik?

A Yes.

Q Where is that (handing witness photograph, exhibit 7)?

A Yes, I know that house.

Q At Imaernik?

A Yes.

Q Do you know that dog?

A Yes, Kuleavik's.

Q Who is this man?

A Ilogoak.

Q Is Hornybaena there? Do you know Hornybaena?

A I can't quite tell.

Q Did you know Hornybaena, Hornby?

A Yes.

Q Who is that fellow (showing witness photograph exhibit 2)?

A Kuleavik.

Q Did Sinnisiak tell you to eat the liver because when white men were killed before they used to eat a bit?

A Yes.

Q Did you ever hear of white men being killed before?

A I never hear.

Q Except what Sinnisiak told you?

A Yes.

Q When you saw the priests going up the river you were out fishing?

A I see them going off; I thought maybe somebody coming, my own people. Then I went home when I saw them going off.

Q But you were out fishing?

A Yes.

Q You thought the priests were going back to Imaernik?

A When I saw them going off, along ways, I thought it was some of my own people coming.

Q Do you know Bloody Falls?

A Yes.

Q How far up the river above the place where the priests were killed? How far are the trees up above where the priests were killed?

A Maybe one day.

Q You and Sinnisiak agreed with the priests to haul their sled up to the trees?

A Yes, we were going to the trees.

Q You all slept one night in the igloo?

A Yes.

Q What time did you and Sinnisiak get up in the morning – early?

A We get up daylight, the same time the other two fellows get up.

Q You left the priests in the igloo and turned back, went on the back trail.

A Yes.

Q Did you take your dog with you?

A Yes.

Q Did you wake the priests up and tell them where you were going?

A We tell them we are going back.

Q What did the priests say?

A The priests say, yes.

Q How far did you go back before the storm came up?

A We go a little ways and it start blowing.

Q You go a little ways?

A Yes, not very far.

Q Up to that time when you left the igloo there had been no trouble between you and the priests?

A No trouble.

Q Trouble began when they found you at their cache, first of all?

A They were mad.

Q That was the first trouble, when the priests found you at their cache, they were mad; and how far was the priests' sled away?

A About as far as that house down there (indicating about seventy five yards), maybe as close as the first house.

Q The priests were mad and they threw all the axes and the cartridges into the river?

A I think the priests put them there they might throw them away.

Q What they did was when they found you fellows there, they threw the axes and the ammunition, the cartridges, into the river?

A They throw them away; they throw the stuff out.

Q When did the priests make that cache, do you know?

A Maybe they put that cache when they going down and coming up.

Q Did you see the stuff on the sled the day before?

A They put the cache when they coming up.

Q You saw the stuff on the sled before that?

A Yes.

Q You thought the priests were going to take you a long way?

A I think maybe they go up to the trees some place, go up to the timber.

Q But you said you thought that the priests were going to take you a long way, and you wouldn't see your people any more?

A I think we won't see them again.

Q And that when the priests got you a long way off they would kill you?

A Yes, I think maybe they take me off to one side and kill me.

Q That is why you helped Sinnisiak to kill the priests?

A A long way after I said, yes, I tell him I help.

RE-DIRECT EXAMINATION by MR. WALLBRIDGE:

Q Did you see the priests put the cache where you found it?

A I didn't see them put down.

Q When was it that Ilogoak first got angry, the first time he got angry, when?

A He got mad when we come to the cache, when I stopped at the cache.

Q You said you saw Kuleavik three summers before he was killed?

THE COURT: Two summers.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: That would be almost an impossibility, unless he counts the same summer as one.

Q Count on your fingers how many summers you saw Kuleavik before.

A (Witness holds up three fingers). I saw him three summers.

Q Was that the same summer, the summer of the year he was killed one of those summers?

A Yes.

Q And Ilogoak how many summers?

A Two summers.

Q The summer of the year he was killed was one?

A Yes.

Q How many times did you see him each summer? How many times did you see Kuleavik the first summer?

A The first summer I see him once. I see him every summer. I don't know how many times I see him in the summer; I see him every summer.

Defence rests.

Which was all the evidence on the trial of the above entitled cause.

Address to the Court and Jury by Mr. Wallbridge for the defence.

These Eskimos are men absolutely unlettered, knowing nothing of civilization except such as they have gathered from the half dozen men they have seen in their life time up to the time of this tragedy. This must be to them a most strange proceeding but probably not more strange than the other sights they have seen. Buildings like our Court House must be real mountains. Horses look like big caribou, and trains like ships that run on the land. Indeed it is strange and we wonder if these poor men can understand, even with the education which has been given to them, if we can call it education, by the police, even the information they have since they were arrested and started on their journey, we wonder if they have any conception of what this Court is, whether they can conceive there is such a thing as justice, or whether it is that they think the Chief Justice is sitting there to determine whether or not he will take vengeance on these men, or whether, in the goodness of his mercy, he will send them back to their people. I think that is all they understand about this trial.

You have seen them, gentlemen, for the last few days. They are sitting there. They see what is going on and they hear but they cannot understand a word that they hear, and I take it that they comprehend nothing they see.



They have been called men of the stone-age. Stefansson went into this country in 1910, three years before the tragedy, and Stefansson and his commission were the first white men they saw; and it would be a very strange thing if in the three years following the visit of Stefansson, with no one else there but Joe Bernard, the Master of the ship, and the man Hornby they found trailing near Bear Lake, and these priests, that they should have any idea of the laws of justice or civilization.

I read from Stefansson his first impressions, and as he states their condition much better than I can, I will read it over to you again:

“Our first day among the Dolphin and Union Straits Eskimo was the day of all my life to which I had looked forward with the most vivid anticipations, and to which I now look back with equally vivid memories, for it introduced me, a student of mankind and of primitive men especially, to a people of a bygone age. Mark Twain’s Connecticut Yankee went to sleep in the nineteenth century and woke up in King Arthur’s time among knights who rode in clinking mail to the rescue of fair ladies; we, without going to sleep at all, had walked out of the twentieth century into the country of the intellectual and cultural contemporaries of a far earlier age than King Arthur’s. These were not such men as Caesar found in Gaul or in Britain; they were more nearly like the still earlier hunting tribes of Britain and of Gaul living contemporaneous to but oblivious of the building of the first pyramid in Egypt. Their existence on the same continent with our populous cities was anachronism of ten thousand years in intelligence and material development. They gathered their food with the weapons of the men of the Stone Age, they thought their simple, primitive thoughts and lived their insecure and tense lives – lives that were to me the mirrors of the lives of our far ancestors whose bones and crude handiwork we now and then discover in river gravels or in prehistoric caves. Such archaeological remains found in various parts of the world of the men who antedated the knowledge of the smelting of metals, tell a fascinating story to him whose scientific imagination can piece it together and fill in the wide gaps; but far better than such dreaming was my present opportunity. I had nothing to imagine; I had merely to look and listen; for here were not remains of the Stone Age, but the Stone Age itself, men and women, very human, entirely friendly, who welcomed us to their homes and bade us stay.”

“Like our distant ancestors, no doubt, these people fear most of all things the evil spirits that are likely to appear to them at any time in any guise, and next to that they fear strangers.”

I say, I cannot well improve on Stefansson’s statement of his first impressions, just three years prior to this tragedy.

Stefansson, when he went among them, was apparently endowed with the necessary amount of tact and good sense to make friends, and nothing happened to him because he treated the natives in a way which they ought to be treated. Nothing has happened to Hornby. He also has apparently had good sense and good judgement, and if anything happens to any other man it must be because he transgresses some law either wittingly or unwittingly, or some custom and runs contrary to what these people imagine a man should be. In the words of the witness, he “makes them afraid”. They fear strangers, Stefansson says, next to the fear of spirits is the fear of strangers, but we do not know why they fear strangers. We only know that it is a fact, and because they do fear strangers is all the more reason why strangers should be very, very careful not to do anything which would cause that fear.

Now you men are asked to judge these primitive natives as to whether or not they have been guilty of a murder, the most serious crime we have in our Statute Book, and I say that when you judge these men as to whether they are guilty or not guilty, as to whether what they did was right or wrong, you must judge them not by our standards, not by our own conduct, not what is required by us in our dealings with our fellow men, but, if possible, by their own standards. You have heard the evidence; you have heard something about the mentality of these men apart from what is in Stefansson’s book. Inspector LaNauze gave you some insight into it as far as he could. Corporal Bruce gave you the benefit of his knowledge and observations, so you have considerable information, and you must come to the conclusion that mentally they are of a very low order. Yet they are very wise in their own ways. They are good hunters and fishermen because they earn their living that way. But apart from their knowledge of traps or the practice of hunting, they know nothing. They do not have for instance any conception of time. This witness Uluksak said he was more than eight years old, and that is a fair example of his knowledge. Koeha had no idea how old he is. Only the half breed boy Patsy, who has been associated with white men, has been able to tell his age.

Now I say when you judge these men you must judge them according to their own standard, if you can do that. The great charter of English liberties which we call the Magna [Carta] was passed many years ago, and provided that every man should be judged, not by his superiors, but by his peers. Now, we cannot judge this man by his peers. We have none of his peers here if peers mean his equals in his own land, but we can try in our minds to approach to something of the same by trying to understand his point of view; and when you judge as to whether the conduct of these men was reasonable or unreasonable, try, if possible, to put yourselves in the position of those untutored savages and say whether in their minds they were justified or not justified.

Stefansson left them three years before this tragedy; that he stopped long enough to educate them or teach them anything is not possible. He was there to study them, not to teach them. That Joe Bernard, the next man who came there, taught them anything is not possible either. He was there to trade, perhaps to study; we do not know what his object was. These priests, who are the unfortunate victims of this tragedy, no doubt did their best to teach them, but that they were able to teach them anything of the white man's ways is beyond belief, because, as you have seen from the letters which the priests wrote in the early part of the same year in which they were killed, they had made no progress whatever among them. They were deploring the fact that they were not able to make progress. They had learned almost nothing of their language, and it is not likely that in the summer which followed that they did anything more except perhaps to learn enough of the language to make themselves just understood.

There are two reasons why I urge that these men should be acquitted. The first is, that they should be treated like children, young children or imbeciles, and I say that a young child or an imbecile is incapable of committing a crime, and that these men were equally incapable of appreciating crime or that it was a crime which they committed. For hundreds of years, I do not know how far back, these Eskimo have been governing themselves in the way in which you have heard, by custom. They have no rulers, no laws, nothing but custom. They are like children turned loose on the prairie, if you can call the arctic ice a prairie. They are turned loose without any semblance of government or order, just allowed to shift for themselves. When they have a dispute they settle it among themselves; how they settle it we do not know; perhaps it is by the life of a victim. They cannot be treated like the civilized men in the city, cities that

Stefansson says are ten thousand years ahead of the civilization of the Eskimo; but treated like the wild Indians, not the wild Indian that you have seen since you came to this country, rather something like the Iroquois Indian of the eastern parts of North America when the first explorers came from England, from the old land, Spain, or wherever they came from and landed on the coast of America. They met these Indians, and would you say that because these Indians now and again happened to kill some who came to the shores for the first time, who happened to kill a trader, who happened to kill a missionary, who happened to kill an explorer, should have been taken back to England or the old land and hanged for the murder of that trader, explorer or missionary? When strangers come from an unknown foreign land to an unknown people, savage people, people of the stone-age, is it not a fact that they take their chance, that they believe that by a certain course of conduct they can walk safely among them and go and come. Do they not take the chance of offending those people and paying the penalty of that offence? It may be that the offence is unwitting. It does not matter; it is an offence, and if they do offend the people, then I say that such people are not responsible for the consequences, when they do not appreciate that there is any wrong.

That is a defence in itself, and it is also incidental to another defence which I urge before you and which defence is open to the white man as well as to the savage. His lordship will direct you that there is such a thing as justifiable or excusable homicide. Any man, whether he is white, or whether he is black, whether he is civilized or whether he is uncivilized, is justified in killing another in his own defence. If he does kill in self defence, that killing is what we call justifiable or excusable homicide. It is not an uncommon thing and it is not the first time the defence of justifiable homicide has been raised in our courts; and it is not necessary that the man who kills another in his own defence should be in immediate fear of death. As long as he reasonably believes that he is either going to be killed or that he is in danger of bodily harm or of serious violence, then he is justified, in defending himself up to the point of taking the life of another. And I ask you to find that what these men did was nothing more than any of you would have done if the cause to your minds had been the same. Now, I do not pretend to say that you would, under the same circumstances, have probably believed that those priests were going to kill you. Probably you would not, probably you would. You would, in any event, have resisted; I will not suggest that you would have come to the conclusion, knowing

priests as you know them, knowing your fellow beings as you know them, that the priests were going to kill you. But with these Eskimo, these primitive men, savage men of the stone age, were they not justified in the conclusion which they came to, were they not justified in believing under all the circumstances, that these men were going to kill them? Was it not reasonable, considering the extent of their mind, the little knowledge they had of the white race; the two great fears they had, they fear of spirits and the fear of the white man, the stranger, were they not, under the circumstances, justified in believing that their lives were in danger.

Let us look at the facts. These two priests came to the mouth of the river for what purpose it is not shown. Probably from the letters, it was their intention to look over the ground for the purpose of forming a mission, a very [laudable] purpose. They went to the mouth of the Coppermine River to look after the Eskimos. They were friendly up to that point. However, they got into trouble. My learned friend, no doubt, will tell you that that trouble was caused by Kormik, an Eskimo who had designs on the priests rifle. We do not know how the trouble started, but the evidence before you, the evidence of Koeha and the evidence of the others and Koeha seems to know a great deal about all this trouble – it is that Kormik was promised a rifle, and naturally when he was promised the rifle he would set it aside, he appropriated it; it was his. The priests apparently did not have the same idea. Perhaps there was a bona fide dispute between Kormik and the priest as to whether he has been promised a rifle, but instead of sitting down and reasoning with the Eskimo, showing him perhaps that this promise would be carried out when they came back to the hunting ground in the spring, Ilogoak, the larger priest of the two, settled the matter in a high-handed way, he loaded his other rifle and recovered the first one at the point of the gun. Kormik's mother was wiser than he, she brought out the rifle, and in that she saved the village or thought she did, for as Koeha tells us, they believed that they were all going to be shot. That is what the Eskimo thinks when the rifle is pointed at him, or when the rifle is taken up when not needed for hunting. He knows if a man picks up a rifle to shoot caribou that it is not to do him any harm, but when there are no caribou and the rifle is flourished, it is taken for one purpose and that purpose is to shoot some person; and when the priest loaded the rifle those men know, or thought they knew that they were going to be shot. The whole village was afraid. Kormik's mother did a

commendable thing, she saved the village. No doubt she thought that she had done something that was worthy.

Koeha, on account of that incident, helped the priests to get out of the village. There are two reasons Koeha gave for going with them part of the way, one was that he wanted to see they did not shoot back, and the other was to see that the people back did not shoot the priests. Naturally Koeha, thought there was a great possibility that what these priests had done might cause a disturbance. However, they got safely away.

Whether it was because of the trouble they had with Kormik that they did not ask for food or for some other reason, we don't know. We know there is no evidence of their having asked for it. We find in their diary that they were starving. They did not have enough food. The words are: "We are menaced with starvation and we do not know what to do." Now, there is to my mind the key to the whole situation. The priests got away quickly from the mouth of the river because they were afraid of trouble. They got up to the Falls, and probably were camped there. They were not nearly as far away from the mouth of the river as they should have been on two days journey. They were up to the falls probably about one day's journey, and must have camped there for a day, probably looking for something to shoot. They were not acquainted with the country. They did not know whether there was any food in sight or not. While they were camped these two unfortunate prisoners came along, and that they were out on the road lawfully, for a lawful purpose, I do not think you can doubt. Old Koeha said that the whole village knew they were going. He knew they were going, everybody knew they were going. They were going up to help the family which was related to them both, who were coming down. My learned friend may tell you it is absurd they should go all the way to Imaernik to help that family. But I think from answers to his own questions that it is very plain that they expected to meet that family not more than a day's journey from the mouth of the river. The evidence of Koeha and Corporal Bruce shews that the Eskimo people travel in small groups. Four families come to the mouth of the river first, then eight families, the particular eight with whom the priests came. Many others were expected shortly, as many more were behind, and that these two prisoners were going back to help their own people I do not think you can doubt. If they were going after the priests, as was suggested by the questions from the Crown Counsel, they could not help but have expected the priests to be much further away than they were and they would have

prepared for a longer journey. They would not have gone light which presupposes a journey out one day and back the next, but would have taken supplies, and I ask you to find that their meeting with the priests was purely accidental.

When these men came up with the priests, the priests were still in the condition they were when they left, when they made the entry in the diary. It is perhaps there they made the entry, "We are menaced with starvation; we do not know what to do." When these men came along they saw an opportunity of having their sled pulled up to the trees or wherever they wanted to go where they might find some game for food, or in any event be closer to their destination. And these men went willingly into the harness and pulled for these priests for a whole day until night. There is no doubt they did that. The witness Sinnisiak gave you very, very full details of how they were hitched up to the sled, and how they did this, that, and the other thing; and my learned friend did not ask the other prisoner whether the dogs were harnessed in the same positions or whether the men were in the same places. He took it for granted that the other prisoner would say the same, give the same details, which is proof positive that these men did, as they say, pulled that sled the whole of the first day. And if they did, it does away with any suggestion that they followed these priests with the intention of murder. At the end of the first day they built a snow house and they all slept together, the four men, the two priests and the two Eskimos and I say that if those men had then murder in their hearts, if they had gone to those priests to take the rifles as my learned friend will suggest to you, then was the time that they would have taken the rifles and have done away with the priests. They would not have waited until they were again out on the trail; they would have done it right there in the snow house at night when the opportunity was best. But nothing happened and the next morning when they got up, they told the priests that they were leaving and went away.

You have heard the evidence of how rough country is around that part where the tragedy took place with its hills and coulees and the high range of land. It must be easy even for a native, used to the country, to run around in a circle in a blizzard. These men ran into a blizzard; they could not see very far. The description the native gave of a blizzard was not very vivid. None of his descriptions has not been very vivid. He talked a lot to the interpreter, but the interpreter did not say very much to us. Sometimes he spoke several sentences and the answer was, yes. So that we do not know how much he may have described to the interpreter or how much he may

not have. But the fact is that the storm came up, they could not see ahead of them, they lost their way, and they made a circle, and they came back to where the priests were, and the dog smelt out their cache, or rather pile of goods. The priests saw them, their sled was only a little way off, why they started pitching the goods into the river, I don't know; I don't suppose the Eskimos know. It is quite easy to see why they had taken the stuff off their load, because they had one less dog to pull with, and no men to help them. The entry in their diary still held good. They were menaced with starvation and did not know what to do. So when these Eskimos left them in the morning and were not going to pull them any further the priests did what any other reasonable human being would have done, they lightened their load; they took off all the surplus stuff which they did not need to carry. They took off some axes and apparently some surplus ammunition, still having plenty to do them until they got back to their headquarters. Ammunition is heavy. They lightened their load and no doubt when they were lightening their load, looking around to see what they could do, they found what a really difficult task they had ahead of them, to go with four dogs and the sled which Koeha says was as large as the Jury box; so when these men came back again I do not know what they thought they had come for, but they saw their opportunity. Men who were desperate, who were menaced with starvation, would not likely hesitate to take full advantage of the situation and would any man, I don't care who he is, hesitate under the circumstances to do what the Eskimos did afterwards, adopt a law of self-preservation. I remember when we used to write in the copy-book; "Preservation is the first law of nature," and when these men say that they were forced at the point of a gun to get into the harness and pull this sled, you cannot help but believe it. There is no evidence to the contrary. There is their own statement, and you must remember this, that this whole case is built on the evidence of the men themselves who are charged with this crime. If it were not for the statements of these men there would be no trial because there would not be a tittle of evidence to connect them. They alone have stated how the crime, if there were a crime, how the tragedy if there were a tragedy, happened, and without their statements the Crown would have absolutely nothing to lay before you. And I say that you must believe them when they say that they were forced to get into the harness again to drag that sled against their will for, we do not know how far in miles, part of a day; and I say that when they say to you that they were afraid, that they believed their lives were in danger, that you must



believe them. I say that you cannot disbelieve the men who have given their evidence in such a straightforward manner and who have not been afraid to come before you and tell you all they know about it. I say those fears to them, whether they were real or otherwise, if you were judging them by their own standards, were very real when you have to look at it through their eyes, through their minds, and that they did believe, and honestly believed, in what they thought would happen, and that they were justified in doing what they did do consequent upon their belief.

Now, it is a general rule of practice, a rule which I think you follow yourselves, that if a man makes a statement that statement is to be taken in its entirety or it is not to be taken at all; and when those men say to you that they stabbed those priests, and they tell you how they stabbed them, how they killed them, you must also take with that their statements of the reason why. It is not fair to them, it is not according to our own practice, to take the fact of the killing and disregard the reason why. These men are very plain; and matter of fact, they have stated without hesitation, without fear, the awful, gruesome details of this tragedy, and they also, in all confidence, have stated to you men why it was they found it absolutely necessary to enact the tragedy.

Now consider this: This happened in the year 1913, about November. They day after it happened they got back to the village where the other Eskimo were and told all about it. They did not hide anything. There was nothing to hide. What they had done was justified in their own minds. Old Koeha tells us that the whole village knew it. He tells us what Uluksak told him when he got back. And if they kept silent as far as the white men were concerned and did not tell any white men they met, it was merely because they feared the white man's vengeance and not his justice. They thought if the white men found out what they had done that the whole village would suffer injury as a consequence.

Two years passed or a little more when Inspector LaNauze made this journey to the Arctic Ocean and Corporal Bruce made his to find out what has become of the priests, they suspected there was a murder. It was just equally plausible that they had been lost in a storm or something else had happened to them. They went to ascertain what had happened the priests, and they found out from these Eskimo, they took statements, and found out how the priests had been killed by these two prisoners. They also at the same time found out why they were killed. All the Eskimos knew why. There was no hiding. They found Sinnisiak on the south shore of Victoria

Land, way to the north of the Coppermine River, and they found Uluksak way to the east, a hundred miles apart, and they brought them in to Bernard Harbour. On the 17th of May, before Uluksak was arrested, they took Sinnisiak's statement and you have that statement before you. On the 29th of May, when there was no possibility of any collusion, in fact no idea of any defence, they took a statement from Uluksak who had not been arrested but was still out on the ice, when Sinnisiak's statement was taken; and you will have that statement before you, and you must find that these men could not have manufactured those two statements. Indeed what purpose could those two men have in manufacturing statements when they expected that nothing less would happen to them than that they would be killed on the spot for what they did, that the white man was going to take his vengeance. There was no purpose, as far as their minds could see. They told all they knew, simple minded natives that they are; they told what had happened. They were asked to tell, and they did tell. And very likely they believed when they did confess that it was they who did it, that they would probably save the rest of the village. Their confession was complete. They told why they had done it as well as the fact that they did do it, and that "why" justifies it. It would justify any white man, and it would justify the savage. There is no reason why because the savage happens to kill a white man that he did not have a proper reason for it.

Just compare the statements they made at that time. I think it was in the early part of 1916, nearly two years and a half after the tragedy, a year and a half ago, with the statements they have made before you in the box here, and you must come to the conclusion that they are true. No savage, no man of a primitive mind, no man of a stone-age, could manufacture statements, whole statements, and keep them in his mind if they were not in accordance with the actual facts. There is nothing you can find in those statements that creates any discrepancy. The two statements which are taken down by the police are not as full as those which have been made before you under examination and cross-examination, but they tell in detail, they tell sufficiently. Sinnisiak's statement is a little longer, the statement that you have in writing, the statement that is taken by the police, it is probably half a page longer than Uluksak's, but Sinnisiak was put through a process of cross-examination by the witness Ilavinik, and as far as Uluksak was concerned Patsy says he allowed him to tell it himself. You have the witness making his statement, then you have the interpretation for such as it is worth; then you have the Inspector taking it

down according to his idea of what was interpreted. Now, I say there is nothing in that story that cannot be judged even by white men's standards.

These Eskimos did not want to go with the priests on the second day. They had good reason for not wanting to go. In the first place, it was going to storm, and perhaps that storm helped to put the priests in the panic which I say the evidence shows they were in. The other reason was that they were going in a different direction from the direction in which these Eskimos wanted to go. They were going to meet their people; they wanted to go in another direction. And Constable Wight says that when he found the remains of this tragedy when he went to the spot to which Koeha took him, it was three miles past the point where the Eskimo trail turned off. The Eskimos had a regular beaten trail which they used in going to and coming from the Barren lands, and that trail left the route which the priests were on three miles before they came to the spot of the tragedy. Now, the minds of these men, if they kept on going in that direction, under the compulsion that was behind them, the big man with the rifle and the other man to aid him, it was sure starvation as they could not return; wither that or, as they said, when they got far enough along they were to be killed. Considering the circumstances, considering that these men were in the harness in front and the two priests behind, one of them armed with a rifle, I say it took a degree of courage on the part of these Eskimos to do what they did, and you can understand what the one Eskimo said to the other, "you will be strong too." These Eskimo, in their minds, thought that they were doing a justifiable act; they thought it was a case of necessity. The man Uluksak, the second witness who went into the box, at first did not want to kill them; he was afraid, the odds were too great, but the other man encouraged him and said, "You will be strong too." I say to you that what they did was, in their minds, courageous, it took a great deal of courage. The odds were against them and they had to rely upon their wits as well as their strength. Sinnisiak went behind on a pretence of relieving himself but that it was only a ruse to get the priest to put down the rifle. That was strategy. And no matter how much we personally may want to blame these men for killing the missionaries, we cannot help but think that in their own minds they were courageous, and I ask you to find that what they did was reasonable under the circumstances; looking through their eyes and through their minds, that it was done from necessity.

My learned friend has asked one or two witnesses if the Eskimo does not prize the rifle. Certainly he does. It is very much a more efficient

weapon than the bow and arrow; and so does every small boy in a civilized community prize a rifle, but because one prizes a rifle is no reason to commit murder. These Eskimos prize a rifle and there should have been many murders if that was sufficient reason to commit murder, as there were many opportunities. They might have murdered Stefansson, they might have murdered the man who was with Stefansson, they might easily have murdered Hornby, they could have murdered the priests two or three summers before, but we do not find that they did. Their prizing a rifle was not less in November of 1913 than it was in the summer of 1913, or the summer of 1912, or the summer of 1910; they prized the rifle just as much, and it was just as useful to them. It is absurd to say that because they prize the rifle they were willing to commit murder in November, 1913, although they had plenty of opportunities during the previous summer and during the summer before that without it being done.

The only evidence that the rifle had anything to do with it is the fact that these men took the rifles. Certainly they took the rifles. What would you expect men in a similar circumstance to do? Would you expect them to leave the rifles there? Sinnisiak said to his companion, let us take the rifles, and they did; and they took what ammunition there was and brought them back to the village, and the whole village could see they had the rifles, and they told the whole village how they got them. If theft were the motive, why isn't old Koeha indicted with them? Because he went out and got a share of the booty; he got a pair of boots and wore them until he wore them out, and he did not think he was doing anything wrong; neither did any one of the others who went out and took some of the belongings of the priests. There is no evidence of murder in their hearts, that they were doing anything other than they said they were doing, killing these priests in self defence. There are many articles produced by my learned friend, and there is not one shown that came from these prisoners. Why they are produced I don't know. They were among the tribe. Perhaps they came from the house at Imaernik which was some time later burned down.

There is the detail of the eating of the liver; I do not think it is necessary to refer to that very much. Sinnisiak said it was to keep away the spirits, to prevent the dead men from coming to life; and I do not think it requires a very great stretch of the imagination for you men to believe that it had nothing to do with murder. It does not aggravate the killing or mitigate it or make murder, if it was not otherwise murder. As primitive beings they must be excused in their superstition, if they thought it was necessary, that

is sufficient explanation, it is a mere incident. The statement says, when white men were killed before. Koeha doesn't know whether any white men were killed before; Uluksak does not know, and Sinnisiak said that he heard it from his grandfather. There has been lots of white men killed in the wilds, men who have had the courage to go into the lands of new discovery.

I want to say this, that there is such a thing as British justice and fair play, and although it may occur to you that these men are out of the pale of civilization, you will not find any reason why they should not have the same fair play as anybody else. Every man in this empire, whether black or white, whether civilized or uncivilized, is entitled to the same fair treatment. When you give these men fair treatment you will judge them according to their standard and not according to ours. There is another principle of British justice that every man is innocent until he is proven guilty, and to prove a man guilty you must prove him guilty beyond all reasonable doubt. If there be any doubt in your minds, any doubt whatever, the prisoners will receive the benefit of that doubt; so if you are in doubt as to whether the prisoners statements are true or false, then you must find them true, because the prisoner must have the benefit of that doubt. Personally I see no doubt myself. I think the stories which the witnesses told are straight and strong and must carry the conviction, that they were justified in their own minds.

It may be suggested to you that these men, whether they are guilty or whether they are not guilty, must be made an example of to prevent other incidents of the kind recurring in the wilds, in the Barren lands, at the Arctic Ocean. That, gentlemen, is not in accordance with our ideas of justice and fair play. If these men are guilty of murder, they should be found guilty of murder and should pay the extreme penalty. If these men are not guilty of murder, then they should be sent to their homes, free. Either they are guilty or not guilty. There is no half way measure. And it might be suggested to you that it was suggested once – that if you find these men guilty they will not be punished by the extreme punishment which is meted out to murderers, but their sentence may be commuted, probably will be commuted, and that they will be imprisoned perhaps or dealt with according to the ideas of the Minister of Justice. But I say to you that is a matter which you should not take into consideration at all, that because a man may not be severely punished is no reason why he should be found guilty if he is not guilty.

Now, these men, as I say, wither are guilty of murder or they are justified. If they are guilty of murder, let them hang; if they are justified, send them home to their wives and their families who are just as much to them as our wives and families are to us. Perhaps it might be said that a few years confinement would not do them any harm; it might be a lesson to the people behind. They do not need to be taught a lesson, they have been in jail, they have been in custody, for a year and a half, and they have been taught that, if a man is killed, it is necessary to justify it. These men have had to come here to justify the killing of those white men, and that is all the example that is needed and they have, I say, justified it. I say if your verdict puts any punishment upon men from reasons of supposed policy or any other reasons other than the fact that the men are, in your judgement, guilty, then I say that is persecution and not justice. I shewed you a picture of these men in the police report, very rugged, homely men, and I would like you to compare those pictures you saw with the weak features of the men as you see them in the box and see the result of their confinement, the result of their being taken away from the land and arctic climate they are accustomed to, and if your verdict has the effect of even confining those men to prison even for six months or a year, you will find that you are condemning them to a slow death that is worse than hanging. Those men cannot stand it; and it does not matter whether they are confined in Edmonton, confined in Calgary, or whether they are sent to the north and confined, the fact is that they are under restraint; and these primitive men are not men who can stand restraint.

There are natives who can be treated with the whip, natives of Africa I understand, thrashed into the way of the white man, made to do his bidding. But that is not the way with the Eskimo; he is a free, independent man. You cannot coerce him. You can coax him; you can make him do your bidding by kindness, but you cannot coerce him. His motto is the one made [famous] by Patrick Henry, "Give me liberty or give me death."

I think it is my duty to mention another matter. My learned friend at the opening told you about the trip down from the Arctic Ocean, the arrest of these men, and their being brought down to Edmonton. I think I should continue and tell you why the men are brought down from Edmonton to Calgary. Now, I think that is my duty.

THE COURT: Mr. Wallbridge, do you not think you had better confine yourself to the evidence? The Jury has nothing to do with that.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: As I stated, my learned friend spoke at length about their coming down. The fact that there was a trial at Edmonton has been referred to by your lordship and by my learned friend during the trial. Now I want to explain to them why it is that this trial was not held in Edmonton but was brought here.

THE COURT: It is not at all necessary for you to do that. It is quite improper.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I think it is something that naturally arises out of the statement of my learned friend and I ought to be at liberty to tell it. If your lordship rules against it, I bow to your ruling.

THE COURT: Certainly.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: If you can allow me to do it -

THE COURT: It is quite improper for you to refer to that at all. It does not come out of the evidence.

MR WALLBRIDGE: Gentlemen I have to bow to his lordship's ruling, but I think I can go this far and tell you this, that is your privilege as jurors, to find these prisoners not guilty, if you believe, in your own minds, that they are not guilty. Of course if you believe otherwise you will find accordingly. It is your province to say whether they are guilty or not guilty, and no suggestion and no dictation either by the Crown Counsel, myself or any other person can take away from you that privilege. That is the liberty that the people of England gained many years ago when they forced the King to sign the Magna [Carta], that great [Carta] of English liberty; and that is, that you along are to say whether these men are guilty or not guilty, and I leave it with you with confidence that you will say they are not guilty.

Closing address of Mr. C.C. McCaul, K.C., to the Court and Jury.

May it please Your Lordship and Gentlemen of the Jury: My learned friend has very properly said that British justice is fair play. In an extremely careful way Mr. Wallbridge, my learned friend, who is appearing as counsel for the prisoners, has watched every turn of the evidence and has taken advantage of every possible point which might be turned to the advantage of the prisoners. He has made a forcible and eloquent address, being appointed by the same Government that appoints the prosecutor, appointing a man representing the agent of Indian Affairs. I think it is shown, beyond a reasonable doubt the desire of the Government not to persecute, but to give the prisoners all the advantage that can be given, the

same advantage as the man of wealth could have, so that their case may be brought properly before the Jury.

My friend properly referred to the great benefit and the great boon which British people, obtained when they were granted the right of trial by Jury, and he told you what is true, that it is your province to find these prisoners guilty or not guilty. It is the province of every jury, but it is not the province of any jury, either this jury or any other jury, to set by way of referee and simply say, we have the right to say whether this man is guilty or not guilty. It is the province of the jury to do what the Judge does when there is no jury, carefully to weigh the evidence that is given before them and to arrive at their conclusion from that evidence and nothing else. The Jury, as is correctly said, are the judges of the facts. The facts having been found, this jury must take the law applicable to those facts from the Judge. This is what is meant by the Judge's charge. The Judge charges the jury on the facts that they find and tells them how the law is to be applied to the facts that were found.

My learned friend's address, you will notice, has developed into two lines. The one is he asks you to take it on his doctrine of what is meant by self-defence, which is not the doctrine recognized by British law nor by our law at all, that a man may kill him if he is afraid of being killed; there is no such law; there is no such law in the British Empire, that a man may kill because he is afraid of being killed. A man may kill only when he is actually in immediate danger at the moment of being killed, the moment of an assault to kill another person, he may kill; and he must not kill if there is any other method, such as overpowering his assailant and binding him which will prevent the necessity of killing. He must not kill until it is the last resort; and he must not kill until he is in actual immediate danger. Take a very extreme case. Suppose any one of you gentlemen and myself had been cast adrift from a wrecked ship in a boat, and you pull out your watch and put your revolver down in front of you, and you say: it is now a quarter to four; at four o'clock, unless we sight a vessel, I am going to kill you; I cannot kill by virtue of that threat. I cannot kill you even at four o'clock without being guilty of murder; and if I did kill you without you actually at that moment attempting to kill me, not threatening, actually attempting to kill me, I would be guilty of murder, and if a ship would appear on the horizon a few minutes after I was arrested and the dead body found, my statement of these facts that fifteen minutes before the man had



said that at four o'clock exactly he would kill me, would not avail for a moment in any British Court of Justice.

My learned friend admits that the theory which he has presented would be no defence to a white man. My friend admits that no white man would be justified, under the details outlines, if he was in immediate danger, in killing through fear of death, and consequently I say his address has been, while most eloquent and formidable, a very skilful blending of the creeds, asking you to take the degree of justifiable murder, justifiable homicide, but he couples with that – and the only way in which he can apply it is by asking you to consider the condition of the Eskimo and to judge this case not by the law of the land, not by the only dogma upon which these men can be tried in this Court, but he asks you that they be tried by the law in the Arctic Ocean, and that they be judged according to their standards of vengeance and value of human life; and their standards are to be applied to white men who go into that country because, as my friend says, they go there and they take that risk; that is to say, when the Canadian Arctic Expedition was in there, when the Douglas Brothers were in there, when these other persons are in there, under similar circumstances to these, the Eskimo, if they were justified in their minds, should be acquitted in any Court of Justice by which they should be tried afterwards. That is the gist and entire substance of my friend's appeal for the prisoners.

I am going to go over these matters a little carefully because I think it is my duty to do so, representing the Crown, the Department, and I will be as short as I can. The facts in this case naturally group themselves into three periods. The first period is the period prior to the fall hunt of 1913. I mention that because my friend has dwelt a great deal, both in his line of cross-examination and in his address to you, upon the fact that the Eskimo were frightened of strangers, might be frightened at the dresses of the strangers. Now, the evidence is clear that the Eskimo had been up to Imarnik, that they knew the priests, the priests from letters which could have been written with no other object than to detail precisely to their superiors the true facts of the case, had met the Eskimo time and time again, and they looked upon Rouviere as a good fellow and Ilogoak as a crank and didn't like him. So the suggestion that they had any reason to be frightened of these priests coming among them can be dismissed from your minds without further consideration. There can be no possible doubt about that position. They all recognized the house. They recognized Kuleavik, but are doubtful about Ilogoak.

Then we come to the period, close to the critical moment, of the fall hunt of the caribou in 1913 when it is quite clear that both priests were present with them in the neighbourhood of the Dismal Lakes, Imaernik and in that neighbourhood where, as you know, the caribou throng in herds of thousands upon thousands. If you have ever seen pictures of herds of caribou crossing the Barrens, there must be more than the buffalo in the old days upon the plains here. The priests are there with them. Kormik was up there. Koeha saw the priests there. Sinnisiak saw the priests there, and we know why they were with them. Whether they were rightly guided in their ideas or not, they regarded it to be their duty to go with the Eskimo to the coast at the conclusion of the fall hunt, and they were there with them, hunting no doubt themselves. Every person, as it has been pointed out in books, etc., every man in that country must necessarily be a flesh eater. There are no vegetarians inside the arctic circle. They have to live on flesh without vegetables, caribou without salads; it is caribou straight. There are no meatless days inside the arctic circle; and doubtless they were hunting. They had their rifles, which is necessary to any traveller there, and they decided to come down to the coast.

My friend suggests that without the confessions of the prisoners the Crown could not possibly present any case to the Jury. I am going to present the case to you, first of all without the confession of the prisoners; and I will tell you that I have no hesitation on the circumstantial evidence which is coupled up by the witness Koeha who is here by a mere fluke, he happened to come through with this boy Patsy to Fort Norman just at the time when the Inspector was passing through on the steamer, and he got him there and put him on the boat and brought him down; I say, taking his evidence which couples all the facts, I would have no hesitation in asking the jury to bring in a verdict of guilty against these men. You never heard of a man making a confession of murder that he did not try to excuse it in some way. Their statements are the only things upon which my friend can base any plea for these prisoners.

The unhappy and unfortunate priests are not here to give their statements of what took place, but I do not think you will have much difficulty in piecing this story together and arising very closely at what must have taken place.

Now apart from the confessions, we find that the priests are with the Eskimo at their hunting grounds, and they come down with one of the little bunches of them. They come down, as Mr. Wallbridge says, in little

groups of eight or ten families at a time. They came down with a little group or family named Kormik and his wife, and when they got to the mouth of the Coppermine the priests stayed at Kormik's tent. There is no doubt that Sinnisiak is a relative of Kormik's. He was on very intimate terms with Kormik. He stayed, when he was there, in his brother Hupo's house, and when Hupo was away he stayed with Kormik, so that he would naturally know everything that Kormik was doing and everything that happened.

The priests had been there for a short time, and whether they had promised Kormik a rifle or whether they had not promised Kormik a rifle does not make very much difference. It is not suggested that the priests had actually given Kormik a rifle. My friend said that Kormik, having been promised a rifle, did what was proper, appropriated the rifle. At any rate, Kormik, on my friend's theories, did appropriate the rifle and it was hidden away, and he refused to give it up when the priest demanded it. Now, the priest might possibly have overlooked it. As to the gluttony of the Eskimo, we know that the Eskimo will eat caribou meat until he cannot see. It is admitted by the prisoners themselves that there was a great shortage of food in the village. And the priests realized that they are menaced by starvation. Thank goodness that though the wonderful intervention of providence the diary of the priests was found on the same spot where they were killed, and from the last entry contained therein we find they were menaced with starvation, "We do not know what to do," – now nothing about the confession, follow me – menaced by starvation. The Eskimo had evidently turned ugly. They were no longer the hospitable host as has been described of putting the best of food before them and giving the entree to their houses, and being so polite that they would not enter a house they were staying in without first asking permission to do so. They were quite disenchanted with the Eskimo and they realized they were seven or eight days journey, in the month of November, in the arctic winter, from the nearest base where they had a home, where they could go; that they were two days journey from the only place where they could have a fire on the way, the first place where they could get wood; and they realized that they could get no food from the Eskimo, and that during their return journey they would be dependent upon their rifles to keep them from dying of starvation.

My friend, Mr. Wallbridge, suggests, and I think rightly, that probably they camped the first day for the purpose of hunting, to kill the caribou

and eat it raw. The books point out that the Eskimo are just as fond of raw meat as they are of cooked meat. Now they said: that rifle that that man has hidden we must have even if we have to take it by intimidation; and the rifle not being given up, the evidence shows that the priests put three or four cartridges into the magazine of the rifle, and with the rifle in his hand demanded the delivery of the other rifle which was required by them to save their lives. The rifle finally is given up, not by Kormik, no. Kormik was not going to give up the rifle. Possibly my learned friend was right in his idea there might be some shooting in that village if it was not given up, and pressure if brought to bear, and Kormik's mother – who was older than he was – went and got the rifle and handed it to the priest.

I think we may conclude, and not unfairly, – and you can follow me, and if you think I am wrong I would like you to correct me – that just as you have seen in a Blackfeet village or camp, the people divided in two parties, the young bloods anxious to go upon a scalping expedition, and the older or cooler heads saying, no, no, you just keep quiet and we will settle this thing with the white man. These police have come in to arrest these men, in the camp of the Blackfeet, and the older heads say, keep quiet, this is white man's justice, that that is what happened there. There were two parties in this camp. There were Kormik and his intimate friends who were for killing the priests – undoubted evidence of that, not from the confession, but in Koeha's statement that Kormik wanted to kill the priests, – and there were the older men of this Eskimo tribe, of the type of this good natured fellow here, old Koeha, who said, no, it will not do, we cannot let these priests be killed and you cannot kill them. And Kormik does not make any overt attempt, and no overt attempt is made, in the presence of Koeha or the older men; and Koeha says: I will take these men on their way as far up the river as I think it proper to go, as far as I can see the tops of the tents of the village, looking back, and get them up to the wood unmolested, and they have caribou meat, and they will have a fire and they will not freeze, and they can get to the woods, and consequently he goes with them and takes the out on their way, and his evidence is that he left them some two or three miles up the river, and they continued on up the Coppermine River, and that he then turned back, having gone for the purpose of protecting them, to see that they were not shot. He could not have protected them otherwise, and up to that point I do not think there is any dispute about the facts. I think my conjectures, although they are not essential to this case, are probably correct and acceptable as almost

the only way to account for these things which have occurred up to the present time.

Then the next circumstance which I would lay before a Jury if I were depending on proving my case by circumstantial evidence, would be this: That in the middle of the night, or at any rate at the earliest appearance of dawn, immediately after the priests have left, these two men, Sinnisiak and – I was going to say tool – the man who was certainly not the leader in the enterprise, Uluksak, start out on this trip and follow up the line taken by the priests. Now remember we are not considering the confession. And there is no explanation of why they did it, no explanation of the reason of their going out. They announce or give it to be understood for some reason or other that they are going up to meet the people coming back. Now, as my friend suggested, and quite correctly, there are no telephones or telegraphs from the mouth of the Coppermine, so they could not have known whether their friends had left or not, whether they would meet them in one day or five days, but suppose we strike an average and say they might reasonably have expected to meet them half way, five days journey. As my friend says, they start light; they do not take a bite of food with them, and they take only one dog. You can imagine, if they were going to help their friends, they would have taken five, or six or ten dogs to help pull the sleds down when they did meet these people. But they start off light at the time I mentioned. Koeha, at any rate, did not know, Koeha was not let into the secret, of their departure. These men go out, and there the circumstantial evidence ends until two days afterwards when these men – no confession – return, and each one of them is carrying something, which would appear to be fairly good circumstantial evidence of something having happened. One has one priest's gun, and the other has the other priest's gun, and they each have cartridges. My friend says he could not possibly have presented this case without their confession. What conclusion would any reasonable jury draw under these circumstances as to what happened to the priests if the priests were missing and no persons had seen them since that time? But these two men do confess, admit following the priests, and they come back with a gun of each of the priests. Would I not be justified in asking a jury to decide that these men had killed the priests? But that is not all. These men come back to the camp and they tell the whole story. Koeha's statement is enough for me with the circumstantial evidence. They tell openly all the details, what happened, point out the place, and the next day, true to the Eskimo custom of hunters who have brought down their

quarry, of hunters who have killed the seal and who have discovered the dead whale and have taken the meat of it, they have taken their choice, they have taken their rifles and the cartridges, they say to the rest of the tribe – it is the communistic custom – go and divide the loot up among yourselves. Now note the coincidence in this case. One coincidence is enough to excite suspicion, two coincidences are a moral certainty, and three coincidences are a practical proof; but we have a dozen coincidences in this case.

To what house did the prisoners go, or to what tent, when they returned? Where did Sinnisiak go? He went straight to the tent of Kormik, wakes him up in the middle of the night and tells him: I have killed those men already. I admit Kormik ought to be here and ought to be in the dock with them; it is very unfortunate that he is not. He goes straight to Kormik and tells him. Look at this coincidence: The rifle that Kormik wanted to get and over which the trouble first arose, within two days after their return, is within Kormik's possession. Kormik gets their rifle, and this man (Sinnisiak) trades it to Hupo for Kormik's rifle, and he gets it into his possession. Kormik believes himself to be entitled to a larger share of the loot than any of the others, because when they go up he takes away practically all the stuff of the church festivities and brings them back. Now I do not think I would have, under these circumstances, any great degree of trouble or I would be accused to exhibiting any wonderful amount of nerve if I were to say: Gentlemen of the Jury, I ask for a conviction on the evidence which I put before you, and I think it is a case in which the circumstantial evidence would be complete that I do not see how your verdict, apart from the explanations which those men have given could be anything other than the verdict of guilty. I do not think there is very much in Mr. Wallbridge's suggestion that if it had not been for the confession of these men that the Crown would not have been able to make a case at all.

Now then, taking their confession and evidence, all other points I have mentioned are common ground between the Crown and the Defence. There is not one single one of those facts in dispute, but the Crown has the confession of these prisoners, and my friend, Mr. Wallbridge, is quite wrong in his law when he suggests to you that when a confession is made you have got to take it all at its full value. The rule is this: I could not read a portion of the confession without reading it all, but the jury can say: We believe this portion of the confession, but we do not believe this explanation; we believe they committed this act in the way they say they

did, but we do not accept their explanation, or we accept it with the same degree of credit that we give to the rest of it.

The details of the killing are most revolting. I agree with Mr. Wallbridge that, to some extent, the question of eating a bit of the liver is only an additional horrible detail of the matter, and that probably too was due to superstition in some way; as every person who has read anything of American history and the history of the Indians knows they were in the habit of eating the heart of their enemy with the idea that the bravery of the enemy who was killed would pass into and be absorbed by them. And that comes under the head of cannibalism as described in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* which says it may be divided according to the motives of the set, and he mentions a species of cannibalism called protective cannibalism, "which consists in the consumption of a small portion of the body of a murdered man, in order that his ghost may not trouble the murderer; according to Hans Egede, the Eskimo, when they kill a witch, eat a portion of her heart that she may not haunt them." If you are familiar with [Macbeth] you will remember when the ghost of Banquo appears to [Macbeth]: "Out, damned spot! Out, I say." That was the idea, that the ghost of these men would haunt them.

You will recollect that it was suggested that the reason they objected to going on and pulling any further was because they had passed the place where their trail turned off to go to the Dismal Lakes hunting ground. The last few questions that I asked the witness Uluksak quite clearly and effectually disposed of any such suggestion as that; and these things are, of course, very strong tests of the credibility of these witnesses in regard to their explanation of why they committed this horrible homicide, with all its horrible details and detestable method in which it was carried out. They had agreed to help pull the sled and knew that they were going to pull the sled far past the place of the murder, one day's journey beyond the place of the murder, because Uluksak told me that they had agreed to pull the sled as far as the trees, and that the trees were one day's journey above Bloody Falls, and about one day's journey above the place where the priests were killed; so when they gave that as an explanation that they were past the place where they were going to turn off, they are mistaken about that.

These priests, under the circumstances I have mentioned, have got away on their journey. They are hurrying on, but their dogs evidently are not up to very much, and they make the cache the next day, or after the Eskimo catch up to them at some period they make the cache. They see these two

men come up, and you can imagine what their feelings, under the circumstances, must have been when they recognized two of the Eskimo from the village, this man Sinnisiak, a friend of Kormik's, accompanied by another man, and find they have followed them up on the trail. However, they make the best of the situation and, as my learned friend says, quite properly from their point of view, got them to help haul their sled, to help them up as far as the woods. These men contracted with them, entered into an agreement with them, in payment of traps, to pull their sled as far as the trees, and consequently they start off. Do you wonder, Gentlemen of the Jury, that under those circumstances, at any time either when they were pulling that day or the next, that the priests were taking no chances, that they kept these men in front of them and on no condition would they allow either one to get behind them. Both of these priests did not carry rifles. One was inside of the lashings, and the other one was on top of the sled, and one man was within reach of that rifle, and these prisoners were walking ahead of them, dragging the sled. Why? For the simple reason that the priests would not for one instant again face what had occurred in the village, knowing that they could not, under any possible circumstance, safely go back to the village, but were bound to get through to Imaernik, and never, under any circumstances, with any degree of sense, would they for a single moment allow either of these men to get behind them for fear of a stab in the back, for fear of the very exact thing which, owing to a single moment of forgetfulness or carelessness on the part of the man who was not as well skilled as Father Rouviere, resulted in their death. However they pulled for the one day. They had no tent. The priests have no tent; they have no fire. They make an igloo, a snow house, and they sleep in it. Sinnisiak tells me he does not know whether the priests slept that night, but I think if one of those priests was not awake all the time the other one slept, they were taking very desperate chances indeed, and I do not think that, under the circumstances, there was a single moment during that night that one of those priests was not awake. However, the Eskimo say they want to go back, and the priests I think did not object.

You will observe that the priests had made the cache undoubtedly, as my friend says, with the idea of lightening their load, because it is inconceivable that they would leave axes and ammunition, which he describes, behind in a cache until next season, with the possibility of the Eskimo coming up there and breaking into it and stealing it, unless it were done for the purpose of lightening their load. Both the Eskimo stated that



they knew of the cache. My friend brought out on re-examination that they did not see the priests make the cache. They both knew that a cache had been made; they both knew these things had been on the sled the previous day. My friend suggests that the cache was made after they had turned back for Imaernik. The priests go back, and what do they find? Here is the coincidence again. They find the extraordinary coincidence by a happy fluke, by the happiest fluke in the world, they have arrived at the priests' cache. Their dog has smelt the priests cache. Well, if I had marked down a covey of prairie chicken somewhere and wanted to find it, I can go out with my dog and turn him loose and if the covey of prairie chickens is within two miles of where I turn my dog loose I find the covey. And the priests probably came back to replenish their ammunition. These two men, who started to go back to the village, are found there at the cache. Do you wonder that the priests are mad? They cannot drag this stuff, and rather than take any chances of the men getting away with the axes and ammunition, ammunition which is as gold to a real estate broker in this country, ammunition which to as Eskimo is everything that gold is to any of us in this country, finding them at the cache, they take the ammunition, which is valuable to them too and rather than take any chances about it they throw it into the river, and then they proceed, and I am not going to weary you at great length by describing all the incidents that occurred afterwards. Quite true these men are kept in front, and quite true or the probability is that every time they attempt to break out from their harness the gentle reminder is, keep away, keep ahead. What do these men do? It is quite clear they could not get behind either Father Kuleavik or Father Ilogoak without some ruse, some plan, and they were allowed to talk to each other. At some moment they throw off their harness and step apart from the sled. Ilogoak runs over to one man, Sinnisiak, and tries to send him back. Sinnisiak makes an excuse which sounds plausible. The man goes behind the sled for the purpose which he indicated. He says himself that he had no desire in that way, that that was only a put up job, as we would say, it was just a ruse to get behind them. He comes up, and when Father Ilogoak, not with the rifle, Ilogoak hadn't a rifle in his hand at that time, was here, his rifle is on the sled, and the other man, Kuleavik, is on this side, and Uluksak is on that side. Sinnisiak was coming on, and comes up behind and stabs him in the back. The unfortunate priest, Kuleavik, who was killed shortly afterwards, has no weapon at all. The evidence is that his rifle was lashed up in the sled. The only rifle is this rifle which the

priest who was stabbed tried to get. Uluksak seized it; the priest seized it too, and they struggle for the rifle, and Uluksak finally succeeds in getting it. Kuleavik tries to come back to get the rifle, and Uluksak says: I have finished Ilogoak, and Sinnisiak turns round and says: Give me the rifle. He takes the rifle from Uluksak. Father Rouviere is running away, unarmed. They kill this other man who was unarmed, and at the moment he was killed he was not threatening their lives; he was not in a position to kill them. Father Ilogoak is dead. Father Rouviere runs away, Kuleavik. Why didn't they let the poor fellow run? Why didn't they let him go off and starve to death in the wilds? Why didn't they let him have a sporting chance of getting back to the village and getting assistance? Why didn't they let him have a sporting chance of meeting the uncle of Uluksak or some of these people who were expected to come down from Imaernik? No, my friend, Mr. Wallbridge, tells you they had to kill him in self defence. In self defence they had to kill him. In self defence they killed Ilogoak, and just the same plea and just the same way, and just with as much reason, they had to kill this poor unfortunate priest who, when he was brought down with the second shot, was apparently too wounded to rise again. My friend must admit, everyone must admit, that in the case of a white man, under those circumstances, the jury could not possibly take five minutes consideration before they would bring in a verdict of guilty. Those are the true facts of this case.

My friend puts it to you very eloquently, and quoted the language of [Stefansson] which is probably more rhetorical, the fine writing, than any attempt to put the actual facts in regard to these men as being of the stone-age. That is a rhetorical way of stating the facts that they were uncivilized savages, not a particle more uncivilized than the Blackfeet Indians were when the Mounted Police first came in here, when the missionaries first came in or when the hunters and traders first came in. The only advantage that the Indians had over then was that the Blackfeet had knowledge of horses. They killed buffalo instead of musk-oxen and caribou; they used bows and arrows – a better example of the stone-age, the war clubs of the Blackfeet and Sioux Indians being actually made of stone. Had my friend Father Lacombe been murdered under circumstances similar to these when he was afoot on the prairie, would my friend have justified the murder of Father Lacombe on the ground that the Blackfeet Belonged to the stone-age? If the Sarcees or the Stoneys had seen meet to make war on Father McDougall, would my friend make the same plea to you that these men

were not to be judged according to civilized standards, but rather according to the standards of the stone-age?

I think his lordship will charge you that the facts of this case do not bring the case at all within the doctrine of killing in self defence, of justifiable homicide in self defence, as it must be in justifying murder or killing at the time it was done.

When homicide is committed, under our law, there are only three possible verdicts that a jury can bring in. They may bring in a verdict of murder; they may bring in a verdict of manslaughter, that is, killing in the heat of passion; or they may bring in a verdict of acquittal.

I submit that under the circumstance of this case a verdict of acquittal is an absolute impossibility for you conscientiously to arrive at. Acquittal means this: If these men are acquitted it means that the jury find that they were quite right and justified in killing these missionaries under the circumstances that have been detailed; it means that these men go forth from this Court room without a shadow of a stain on their character; that they can return to their tribes and be able to say to their village community and to all the tribes that the white men, the big chief and his councillors, told us we were perfectly justified in killing the white men under the circumstances that we killed these men. It is just stating a pure matter – I do not want to use any sentiment in my address at all – of reasonable common sense. If you bring in a verdict of manslaughter, the sentence for manslaughter is such a term of imprisonment as the Judge may see fit to impose, the maximum, being for life, or to a year or two. If you bring in a verdict of murder, it will be the Judge's duty to pronounce the formal sentence which is invariably pronounced in cases of murder.

To these unhappy men my sympathies go out, and yours too. They are men of the stone-age, in a way, and my sympathies go out to them, and I may say, for my own part, that I entirely agree with Mr. Wallbridge that it would be a terrible thing if the extreme penalty or if any long term of imprisonment should be meted out to these men, but that is a matter for the Governor-General-in-Council. My friend's address to the jury can be looked at as a plea of mitigation of the punishment rather than a suggestion that they are not guilty at all. That is a matter that can be dealt with and will, in the natural course of things necessarily have to be dealt with. The Judge has to make a full report to the Minister of Justice, which is to be put before the Governor-General-in-Council, and it will then be for the Governor-General-in-Council to see that such reasonable punishment is

meted out to these men, not by way of vengeance, but as a deterrent for the future, to render the country safe for the white men going into it. It will then be for the Governor-General-in-Council to use the collective wisdom of the council who sit with him, the Minister of Justice, the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the Minister of the Interior and other who may be interested in seeing that a reasonable and proper punishment is meted out to these men.

You cannot do as the Jury in the United States can do, you cannot say we find this man guilty of homicide and fix the term of imprisonment at such a period. That has got to be done, and only can be done, in the way in which I have indicated. And it seems to me the ideal thing, it appears to me to be the ideal thing, that if these men were to be found guilty of murder, as I submit to you, with some confidence, that the evidence not only justified but requires that they should be found guilty of murder and that they should be sentenced, and that they should know that, and that that sentence should be such that in the wisdom of the Government who are anxious, as you can quite understand, to establish amicable and friendly relations with the Eskimo and to bring them forward to the same plane of civilization, at least, as we have brought the Blackfeet, and the Crees and the Sarcees, that they would realise what the white man's justice is, and that then they would be able to go back and say that in spite of the custom of the white man to hang for murder the Government in our case – the first case brought down – has sent us back to the arctic region for a short term of imprisonment, and that they might be there as an object lesson to spread among the tribes that knowledge which they have acquired in travelling down to this civilization which they can see. That, gentlemen of the jury, I submit, would be absolutely ideal if it could be accomplished, and that, as far as I am concerned, is what I sincerely hope and trust, and will strive for, will be the result in this case. I would be as sorry as any person in this room could possibly be if the extreme penalty of the law or that of any long term of punishment should be inflicted upon these men. But they must be punished, and I repeat that your verdict of acquittal means what I say. It would: You men were justified and quite right in killing the priests under the circumstance which you did. I submit, under the circumstances, the Crown is right in asking for a verdict according to the charge.

CHARGE.  
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THE COURT: It is true, as has been emphasized by counsel, that the two prisoners in the dock know nothing of our customs and our habits. They come from a distant place where they and their ancestors have for centuries been living in their own way, apart from and outside of civilization entirely. But they are Canadian citizens and the law of Canada in respect to crimes and offences is uniform. They have the same right to the protection of our laws as you gentlemen have, as any of us have. They have a right to have their case considered fairly, and fully and honestly; but on the other hand they owe a corresponding duty. They are subject to the laws; they owe obedience to the laws just in the same way that all of us do. It is not an uncommon thing in this Province to see persons in the Criminal dock who have not been accustomed to our ways and who are charged at times with offences which, under their habits and customs, have not been offences. We have many foreigners here who come from other lands where they have different rules and different customs of life from what we have. As has been pointed out, the Indians, up to a recent time, were absolute savages and knew nothing of our methods of life, but the laws are the same for all; they are all equal before the law, and what would be an offence for one would be an offence for another.

It no doubt may seem to you, as it does to many, that the legal adage, that ignorance of the law is no excuse, does not seem founded on common sense. It seems rather cruel that a man should be punished for doing something that he does not know is illegal, but we are not responsible for the laws at the present time. The Legislatures that make the laws must take the responsibility for that, and we have to enforce the laws; and you can see, if you look into it, how dangerous it might be and what risks might be run if any other rule were applied. If it were permitted for a man to excuse himself for not knowing the law, he might escape entirely. Such matters, however, can be dealt with very largely in the question of punishment. There is no doubt that the measure of punishment for the commission for a particular act which is a breach of the law should not be the same in all cases. It depends very largely upon the circumstances, and that is why punishments differ as much as they do for the same offences.

The charge in this case is murder. It is the most serious offence that we know. You, when you entered on this case, took a solemn oath to give a verdict according to the evidence. The terms of that oath indicate, to some

extent, the principles upon which our trials are conducted. We must come to a decision upon the evidence and the evidence only. Nothing in the way of prejudice, nothing in the way of suspicion of what might have been or of rumours, nothing in the way of sympathy, should enter into the decision of this case. Your judgement, and your judgement only, should be your guide. This judgement should be applied, must be applied, according to your oaths, to the evidence that has been given before you and to nothing else. It also points out the respective relations of the Judge and the Jury. You deal with the evidence; the Judge deals with the law. The Judge has nothing to do with the evidence for the purpose of finding out what the facts are. The Jury has to determine the facts. It is the Jury's province and the Jury's duty alone to determine what the facts are on the evidence. It is the Judge's duty to explain the law in-so-far-as it is necessary that the Jury should know it in order to apply it to the facts when they are found. In the ordinary case the Judge very frequently has to give the law in a general way because the facts are more or less uncertain, and have to be determined by the Jury after the Jury is informed as to the law.

In the present case it is much simpler both for you and for me because the facts are practically not in dispute. The evidence is not, as it is in the ordinary case, evidence of conflicting testimony on the part of the witnesses or evidence of circumstances from which inferences have to be drawn. In the present case the direct evidence is made up of statements by the accused which admit the killing of the priests; and I may say to you that the charge which is before you is a charge of killing Father LeRoux who has been referred to in the evidence as Ilogoak. It is only that one; we are not dealing in this case with the killing of the other priest; it is only that priest, and as far as the admissions are concerned, the statements made by the accused, the statement made by the prisoner which was put in evidence here is evidence against him only; the statement made by the other prisoner is evidence against him only. That matter, however, will probably not give you any special concern, because they both went into the box and gave their evidence here, and that evidence is evidence against both of them, and that evidence is very similar to the evidence contained in the statements. For that reason it will not give you very much trouble.

These statements and the evidence here show that the two prisoners killed the priest with whose death they are now charged on this charge of murder. That being the case, the law presumes that the killing was malicious, that it was deliberate; in other words that it was murder, but

circumstances may shew, of course, that that is not the case, and you have to take all the facts together to determine whether the homicide, that is, the killing of a human being, is culpable or is not culpable. It is urged in this case that it is not culpable, that it was in self defence.

Now, it is my duty to explain to you the law on that point so far as it is necessary for you to know it, to apply it to the facts. Evidence was given by the accused, and as was pointed out to you, you may not accept their explanations of why they committed this act. If they appeal to you as reasonable if you see no reason for not accepting them, you probably will accept them but you are not bound to. If you think it is an excuse and that they did it in some other way, you may reject any part of it. But it is pointed out by their counsel, and it seems to me there is a great deal of force in this, that they made the statements and they coincide; while the details are not all the same, the explanation is given practically in the same way.

When they killed these men there does not appear to be any particular reason for thinking that they had any idea they would be punished for it. There was no one in their own tribe that would punish them, and there was no one they knew of who would be likely to punish them. There would, therefore, be no special reason why they should concoct any story, any explanation, of their having done it which would not be true. When they were arrested they were long distances apart; they had not been together for some time, we do not know how long. There was no reason why they should make up any story in the meantime; and they were brought before the Tribunal which gave them the preliminary investigation, and they told stories which were alike and very much the same as those which they told in the box here at this trial. If they strike you as being probable then you will likely believe them. It may be noticed that they bear evidence on their face of a very fair degree of intelligence. You have seen the prisoners; you have heard them give their evidence too, and I think you must be satisfied that they are intelligent men. They are not men who have education. Such education as they have they have acquired in their method of life, but they seem to be fairly intelligent; and the excuse Sinnisiak gave in order to get back behind the priest, in order to commit the act he did, shows a considerable degree of shrewdness and is a mark of some considerable degree of intelligence. So I think on the score of intelligence you will have no difficulty in thinking that these men were quite intelligent enough to understand what they were doing.

If you believe their story, you will find they started up to help some of the stragglers who might be coming down. You heard from the evidence that the villagers come down by degrees, they do not all come at once. These two men had been down for two or three days, and they may have thought that it was about time for the others. The climate at this time of the winter makes it necessary for them to come down. They move down to the sea where they get fish; that makes it necessary for them to move down, and they may have expected them, and they may have started out for that purpose. But when they found the priests there seems to have been no suspicion on that day at all; everything was harmonious. There was no suggestion on their part that there was any trouble that day; in fact, they say there was no trouble. They made an arrangement to help pull the sled up to the trees. Then the next morning, for some reason, they decided not to carry that out. There has not been anything that seems to satisfy me as to why they came to that conclusion. They must have known, from their own evidence, when they made the arrangement it was going to carry them for some considerable distance past the place where the other Eskimos were coming out, because they say it was a day's journey up to the trees. But, at any rate, whatever the reason was, whether it was because they found the going heavier than they thought, or for some other reason, they decided to go back, and the priests let them go. The priests, finding their load now had to be drawn by four dogs whereas the day before they had had the additional assistance of another dog and the two Eskimos, probably found it necessary to lighten their load and took off part of it. Then some little time later they found these two Eskimos, who said they were going back at the pile of supplies they had put there. We do not know how they came there. It may be true that they were lost in the storm and the dog smelt this and led them to it and they happened to be there, but whatever the circumstance was, it seems not unnatural that it might excite suspicion on the part of the priests in view of what took place down at the camp the day before, and that might possibly account, to some extent, as it has been suggested, for the conduct of the priests during that day. At any rate, whatever accounted for it, and it is not really very important for the conclusion as to what was the reason for it, we find they travelled for some hours further with the priests, and then Sinnisiak got frightened, or they were getting more and more frightened and thought they were going to be taken far, far away and would not get back to their own people and perhaps



from killing them. That is their story. That is the only explanation there is of anything that would excuse the killing.

I think I may tell you definitely that that is not an excuse for a killing, that would not justify a killing, as a killing in self defence. It is not self defence as it is known to our law. It is stated in one of the text books; "Even where another is meditating the taking of one's life, this extreme defence cannot lawfully be resorted to until some overt act is done in pursuance of the meditation; in other words, till the danger becomes immediate." Now at the time this took place there was no immediate danger. The prisoner Sinnisiak deliberately and by a subterfuge got behind the man who was killed, where he could be when he had not the gun in his hand, and then he stabbed him. We can easily see perhaps that to them it might have looked justifiable. They had no laws, no customs, nothing that would keep a man from killing another person, not what is right or wrong because they do not understand those words as we understand them, but what would be justifiable. But they give an explanation which to them is quite sufficient. If they had not any ideas like that, we would expect them to say simply: "We killed them," but they give a reason, a perfectly good reason, which they work out and which to them appears probably sufficient. It is not sufficient in our law, however, and we here must carry out the law as we have it. We have a case, a somewhat famous case, not very long ago. This law of self-defence is founded on the law of necessity, as Mr. Wallbridge pointed out to you, the law of self-preservation, which is said to be the highest law of nature.

In the case which I mentioned three men were cast adrift on the ocean. They were a thousand miles from land. They drifted about in an open boat for eighteen days. They had been seven days without food, and the situation became desperate. It was suggested at first that they should draw lots as to which one of them should be killed in order that his flesh might be eaten to preserve the others. However, it was finally decided by the two stronger men to kill the weakest one, and that was done. They ate his flesh, and several days afterwards they were picked up still alive, but almost exhausted. They were tried for murder. These facts were established: It was found that probably they would have died before they were picked up had it not been for the nourishment they derived from eating the flesh of the one who was killed. The Court held, however, that it was a case of murder, the deliberate taking of a life which was not justified. Lord Justice Coleridge said in the judgement: "Though law and morality are not the

same, and many things may be immoral which are not necessarily illegal, yet the absolute divorce of laws from morality would be of fatal consequence; and such divorce would follow if the temptation to murder in this case were to be held by law an absolute defence of it. It is not so. To preserve one's life is generally speaking a duty, but it may be the plainest and the highest duty to sacrifice it. War is full of instances in which it is a man's duty not to live, but to die. The duty, in case of shipwreck, of a Captain to his crew, of the crew to the passengers, of soldiers to women and children, as in the noble case of the *Birkenhead*, these duties impose on men the moral necessity, not of the preservation, but of the sacrifice of their lives for others." Of course, that case is different from this. In that case the man who was killed was absolutely innocent of anything, of any suspicion of anything; but the law of self-defence is founded upon the same rule, the rule of necessity, self-preservation, but it only applies to cases, as it is pointed out there, where the danger of death is immediate.

There are many other circumstances about the law which I could mention to you, but it is not necessary to go into them. I simply state that on the facts as they are here, undisputed, it is not a defence to this charge.

The killing them becomes one of culpable homicide, and it is a question of whether that culpable homicide is murder or manslaughter. Culpable homicide is defined to be murder if the offender means to cause the death of the person killed. We find in this case that both the prisoners admit that they had decided and determined, before any attack was made at all, to kill the priests, so that there is no doubt they intended to kill them and that it is murder unless there is something which reduces [it] to manslaughter. The law provides that: "Culpable homicide which would otherwise be murder may be reduced to manslaughter if the person who causes death does so in the heat of passion caused by a sudden provocation. Any wrongful act or insult of such nature as to be sufficient to deprive any ordinary person of the power of self control may be provocation if the offender acts upon it of a sudden and before there has been time for his passion to cool." Now you see the circumstance that is necessary to make the case one of manslaughter. Speaking generally, the principle appears to be that it must be such as to deprive the offender of his self-control if he loses control of himself such as he would have under normal conditions. The usual case, of course, is a case of anger. On principle I am not prepared to say that there should be any difference between one emotion and another. It might possibly be that fear might cause a person to lose his self

control as much as anger would so that he could not deal with the case as he would under normal conditions. I do not know of any case, I have never known of an instance, where such has been the case, but it seems to be that on principle it might be so, but it must be limited, of course, to the cases where he has not had an opportunity of recovering his self control. It is said in the Encyclopedia of the Laws of England:

“But the provocation will not extenuate the offence unless it actually deprives the person provoked of control, or if there is evidence, by proof of interval or otherwise, that the accused acted on reflection.”

If that is a true statement of the law, it would appear from the facts here that it could scarcely be manslaughter because they appear to have acted on reflection and deliberation. But that is the one point upon which it appears to me there can be any question, and it is a matter which you have to determine, whether the circumstances were such that they had lost control as ordinary persons and that they acted under that condition. If they did not, if they acted in a normal condition, simply a deliberate determination to kill these people, treating it rationally and normally, simply for the sake of protecting themselves from what they thought might come in the future, it would be neither a case of self-defence nor a case of manslaughter but would be a case of murder. It appears to me that on the evidence there should be a verdict of murder rather than of manslaughter, but I do not feel like directing you any more definitely on that because I think there are such circumstances as make it incumbent upon me to leave it to you to say finally whether that is the case or not.

Now, I have told you that you should deal with this case without prejudice and without sympathy. You are human beings, and you cannot help feeling sympathy, and it is very difficult for one to guide one's conduct apart altogether from his feelings of that sort. It is hard for one to feel that he has to declare the law in a way that does not appear to him to be just; but the only reason why it would appear to you to be unjust that these men should be convicted of murder would be, it seems to me, because you probably all feel as most of us must, that the penalty of death is not a proper penalty to impose in the case of these ignorant pagans for the act which they committed. However, our law provides for that. The law is not at fault. The law can be observed and justice done even in that respect. While the only sentence, if a sentence is necessary to be passed on a verdict of murder, is a sentence of death, that sentence is never carried out until the matter is dealt with by the Governor-General-in-Council. Under our

law he has the utmost and fullest power of pardon or of interference to whatever degree may be deemed necessary with any sentence or with the punishment for any crime. Of late years the infliction of the death penalty has been imposed only in the most serious cases, cases where nothing could be said in extenuation.

I propose to tell you, because I think it is right to say so, that my sentiments in this case are the same largely as those which were expressed by counsel for the Crown, that I feel that the prisoners should not have the death penalty imposed, and it would consequently be my duty, if the verdict were one of guilty on the charge, to recommend, whether you recommended it or you did not – of course, it would be quite competent for you to make a recommendation if you saw fit – to His Excellency that the death penalty be not imposed; and I have never known of a case where, in the face of the Judge's recommendation to the contrary, the death penalty has been imposed. I simply say this to you, it is part of the law not applicable to the facts of the case but of such importance that it may help you in coming to a proper conclusion. We should all, of course, come to a conclusion which is right and honest and in accordance with the law regardless of sentiments, but it is vastly easier to come to the right conclusion when we feel we are not going to do any injustice to anyone, and it is from that point of view that I have said to you what I have now on this.

It is not necessary to go any further into the case. I have not dealt at all with the evidence of a circumstantial nature because it is not really important now after having the direct evidence by way of admissions of the accused. You may now retire to consider your verdict.

Thereupon the Jury retired at 5.20 p.m. o'clock to consider their verdict.

MR WALLBRIDGE: My lord, my objection to the charge is that your lordship should not have charged the jury that in the event of their finding the prisoners guilty of murder that you would recommend the clemency of the Crown. All that portion of your charge referring to that I think should have been left unsaid, and your lordship should call the jury back and tell them to disregard that.

Your lordship should have also stated to the jury that, on the ground of self-defence, that a reasonable belief that they were about to be killed or were in danger of serious violence would be sufficient reason for them to

act upon. I think the cases I cited to your lordship at the Edmonton trial go that far. I had the book at the last trial, Bishop on Crimes, and his statement go that far, that if the prisoners had the reasonable belief that they were able to be killed or in danger of serious violence that they were justified.

THE COURT: It depends on what causes that reasonable belief.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: The Jury have a right to say from the evidence whether the prisoners reasonably believed they were about to be killed or were in danger of serious violence. I think your lordship ought to call the jury back and tell them the law.

THE COURT: I think it is not the law.

MR. WALLBRIDGE: I also take objection to your lordship's charge on the law that the facts pointed either to murder or manslaughter without any qualification.

THE COURT: Of course, that follows from the evidence.

Thereupon, at 6.06 o'clock p.m. the Jury returned the following verdict: "We find the prisoners guilty of murder, with the strongest possible recommendation to mercy that the Jury can give."

THE COURT: Gentlemen of the Jury: You have performed a very unpleasant duty and, I think, have come to exactly the correct conclusion in all respects. I think the verdict is the only honest verdict that could be rendered on the evidence and the recommendation is most proper. It will be submitted by me with my own recommendations to the same effect at once.

THE COURT: Mr. McCaul, I think I will defer sentence. There is only one sentence that I can pass, but there is nothing that requires me to pass it immediately, and if there should be executive action before it is passed it may obviate the passing of it. I have not any doubt in my own mind there will be executive action which will not merely avoid the infliction of the capital punishment but that it will very much reduce any punishment in the way of imprisonment, and some special measures may be made with regard to it. There are other objections to imposing the sentence.

Patsy, tell them to stand up. Patsy, tell them that the jury have found that they were guilty of killing the priests without right to do it; that under our law when people kill others that way they have to give their lives, but

the great white chief further away than the distance they have come may interfere and show them mercy, may be kind to them.

THE COURT: Now I will remand them in the custody of the police to be taken back to Edmonton, and I will defer sentence, and if it becomes necessary to pass sentence I will have them brought before me. I will telegraph tonight the Minister of Justice.

Edmonton, August 28th, 1917.

THE COURT: Patsy, tell the prisoners to stand up. Tell them what I have to say. You told them in Calgary the other day that I would ask the Big Chief far away not to be too hard on them, and I have asked him by the way we have here, a long way, by telegraph, and he says because they did not know our ways, that they did not know what our laws are, he will not have them put to death for the killing of these men this time. They must understand though that for the future they know now what our law is and if they kill any person again then they have to suffer the penalty.

I am going to pass sentence. I do not think it is necessary to explain the particulars of it now, but in the usual course action will be taken so that it will not be carried out. I impose the sentence of death in the usual form, and I will fix the 15th of October as the date of execution. That is, of course, under the circumstances, something more or less a matter of form, but it is a form the Minister desires to have the proceedings take so that the commutation of the sentence may be in the usual way. He authorizes me to state the sentence will be commuted. You may tell them just what will be done I cannot say, but they will know in a few days. They will probably be punished in some way, but I do not know just what form it will be.

Patsy, you might tell them when they get back home, if they do, they must let their people know that if any of them kill any person they will have to suffer death. They know now what our law is.

## 59. "Calgary Jury Brings in Verdict of Guilty Against Sinnisiak and Uluksuk," *Edmonton Journal*, 25 August 1917

Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5

### Calgary Jury Brings in Verdict of Guilty Against Sinnisiak and Uluksuk

*Chief Justice Harvey Holds Out for Eskimo Murderers of Priests That Death Penalty Will Not be Visited Upon Them When Recommendation For Clemency Is Recorded*

(By a Staff Reporter)

CALGARY, Aug. 25. - Just forty-five minutes was spent by the jury empanelled in the Eskimo murder case in arriving at a verdict. They retired at 5:49 after hearing the addresses of C. C. McCaul, K. C., and J. E. Wallbridge, K. C., [counsel] engaged in the case, and receiving their final instructions from the chief justice. At 6:05 p. m. they sent word to his lordship that their verdict was ready, and the immense crowd which has been following every session of the trial, streamed back into the court room.

Through their foreman, H. Melvin, the jury conveyed its verdict which was as follows: "We find the prisoners, Sinnisiak and Uluksuk guilty of murder with the strongest possible recommendation to mercy that the jury can make."

Before dismissing them, his lordship thanked the jurymen and said: "You have performed a very unpleasant task in a commendable manner and have rendered the only verdict possible. It is a proper one and one with which I thoroughly agree. I have not the slightest doubt that the minister of justice will take full cognizance of your recommendation and that the death penalty will not be visited upon these two unfortunate men. I will be much mistaken if your verdict does not materially reduce the length of imprisonment."

#### **Hope of Mercy.**

In the meantime the prisoners were standing in the prisoners' dock entirely at sea as to what was occurring around them, and ignorant of the fact that they had been found guilty of the most serious offense against Canadian laws. His lordship quickly saw the accused men's plight and told Patsy to inform them that:

“The jury has found you guilty of killing the priests without right to do. Under the law when people kill others that way they have to give their own lives. The great white chief who is many miles away may interfere and be kind to you.”

The chief justice said he would reserve his sentence until such time as he received an answer to the wire which he intended dispatching immediately to the minister of justice, and in the meantime entrusted the prisoners to the custody of the R. N. W. M. P. at Edmonton. In event of the death penalty being commuted his lordship said arrangements would be made to send the Eskimos to some northern point immediately where they might be imprisoned in a climate more suitable to their constitutions.

### **Amenable to Canadian Law.**

In summing up the evidence the presiding judge said the jury must not lose sight of the fact that the Eskimos, in spite of their untutored state, were Canadians, and as such amenable to Canadian law. It might seem cruel that a man be punished for doing something he didn't know was wrong but all citizens are equal before the law.

He reminded the jurymen that at the time they were sworn in they took an oath to give a verdict according to the evidence and must come to a decision on the evidence alone, not allowing prejudice or sympathy to influence their judgment. The jury deals with the evidence alone; the judge explains the law.

His lordship said that in the present case the statements of the prisoners' admitted the murder, and the jury must decide whether it was culpable or non-culpable.

“I think I may tell you definitely that the explanation given by the Eskimos does not admit of a plea of self-defense as taken by our law. At the time of the murder there was no immediate danger to the accused. The law of self-defense only applies to cases in which the danger of death is immediate.”

### **Culpable Homicide.**

The judge went on to say that the killing of Father Le Roux was culpable homicide, either murder or manslaughter and from the facts could hardly be termed manslaughter. “It appears to me from the evidence that it is a case of murder rather than manslaughter, however I don't believe in directing you any further,” said his lordship.



Before asking the jury to retire the chief justice informed them that he was firmly opposed to the death penalty being visited on these men and could assure them, in event of a murder verdict, that the extreme penalty would not be invoked. The department of justice would make arrangements for some milder form of punishment which would impress upon the Eskimos the fact that human life must not be treated lightly and white men must be free to come and go in the barren lands of the Arctic circle.

Mr. Wallbridge registered two objections to his lordship's summing up, on the ground that the jury have been informed reasonable fear on the part of the Eskimos that they were about to be killed or reasonable apprehension of violence is justifiable homicide. Also that the promise of clemency in regard to the death penalty should not have been mentioned to the jury. Neither objection was allowed.

#### **Statements Ruled Out.**

Towards the end of Mr. Wallbridge's address to the jury several of his statements were ruled out by the court. Counsel for the prisoners had just said: "I think I should tell you why these men were brought from Edmonton to Calgary for trial," when his lordship interposed with "I think you better confine yourself to the evidence."

"I just want to explain, your lordship," replied the solicitor.

"It is not at all necessary," was the answer, and counsel for the defense closed his address by telling the jury it was entirely within their province to find the prisoners not guilty. They alone had the power to say whether or not the prisoners at the bar were guilty.

He pointed out that clemency regarding the death penalty might be mentioned to them. This should not be taken into consideration. The men were either guilty of murder and should hang, or were not guilty and should be sent back immediately to their families. No half measures, by way of example, should prevail. These men had already been under surveillance for eighteen months and had been taught their lesson. If by the jury's verdict they were given further imprisonment it was merely condemning them to a death worse than hanging. The primitive man cannot stand restraint but faded away and soon dies.

Counsel for the defense said it was very strange a primitive man should be brought from the Arctic circle to Calgary to stand trial for murder, a man to whom white men were unknown prior to 1910. Could the Eskimos, between 1910 and 1913 be expected to assimilate the white

man's law and differentiate between right and wrong. Stefansson had necessary tact and good sense to make friends. Nothing happened to Hornby. If anything did happen to a white man in that country it must be because he runs contrary to the customs and transgresses some law, in this way making the Eskimos afraid. It must be remembered that they first fear the spirits and next, strangers.

**Not Responsible.**

Mr. Wallbridge said that instead of charging Sinnisiak and Uluksuk with murder, they should be treated like young children or imbeciles who are incapable of crime. Explorers take the chance in offending these people and if they do offend, must take the consequences, as primitive men are not responsible for their actions.

He said that justifiable homicides or self-defense held good when a man reasonably believed he was going to be killed or was in danger of bodily harm. The evidence showed that the Eskimos were justified in defending themselves even up to the point of taking the priests' lives, as they were laboring under the impression the priests were going to kill them.

Mr. Wallbridge pointed out that the Eskimos had a good excuse for their trip towards the hunting grounds and that their meeting with the priests was purely accidental. There was no evidence the accused men followed and murdered the priests for their rifles. Their statements rang true and must be believed in their entirety or else set aside entirely. In event of the latter course being followed by the crown's case would collapse as the only real evidence of the killing was embodied in these voluntary confessions. No effort had been made by Sinnisiak and Uluksuk to hold back any of the details. Their plea that they had acted under the stress of fear must be accepted as true. What they had done was justified in their own minds.

"There is such a thing as British justice and fair play. It is one of our boasts that every man in this empire gets the same treatment. Judge these men according to their standards, not ours, and remember that they must be proven guilty beyond any reasonable doubt. Should the least doubt prevail in your minds then they should be found not guilty." said the prisoners' counsel in conclusion.

In opening his address C. C. MaCaul, K. C., crown prosecutor, informed the jury that British law does not say that a man may kill because he is afraid of being killed. At the moment of assault he may kill, only if he is unable to overpower his assailant. He advised the jury they must not act

by caprice. It was their province to carefully weigh the evidence and to take from the judge the law applicable to these facts.

### **Confessions only Defense.**

Taking exception to the defense's statement that the crown would have failed completely were it not for the statements of the accused, Mr. McCaul said he would first show that the crown had sufficient circumstantial evidence to convict. In fact the confessions were the only defense the prisoners had.

The crown prosecutor then proceeded to piece together the evidence, exclusive of the confessions, giving what he said was his impression of the causes underlying the tragedy. He named Kormik, whom he said should be in the prisoners' box alongside Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, as the keynote of the whole thing. The priests came down from the hunting grounds with Kormik and stayed in his tent at the mouth of the Coppermine, Sinnisiak was on intimate terms with Kormik, but the facts concerning the promise of the rifle were not relevant.

Probably through gluttony there was a dearth of food and the Eskimos, who do not celebrate meatless days, grew sullen. The priests realized they were menaced with starvation, and were eight days' journey from their nearest base. During their return journey they would be dependent upon their rifles to save them from privation and it was necessary they secure the gun Kormik had stolen from them and secreted.

It was a time for extreme measures and Father LeRoux was justified in the steps he took, although he may have frightened the villagers.

### **Two Elements in Village.**

In this village, as in other communities there were two elements the young bloods and the older heads. Kormik and his friends were for killing the priests while the older fellows like Koeha (the witness) counseled caution. Koeha, fearing for the lives of the priests accompanied them on the first lap of their trip.

The next circumstance was at break of dawn, when Sinnisiak and Uluksuk started out on the trail of the priests. They go up and two days later return, each with one of the dead priests' rifles. On this fact a conviction might be asked for. But these men came back and told the whole story to Koeha who had given evidence at the trial.

Another coincidence was that Sinnisiak went immediately to Kormik's tent and said: "I have killed those men already." Two days later the rifle

was in Kormik's possession. Mr. McCaul said it was a case where the circumstantial evidence alone would have warranted consideration. He did not think the question of eating the liver warranted consideration, as the men were only adhering to an old superstition.

He asked the jury to picture the feelings of the missionaries at the arrival of two men from a hostile village and said they were perfectly right in acting as they did and taking no chances. It was fear of the stab in the back, which eventually did transpire, that caused the priests to watch the Eskimos so carefully. Mr. McCaul pointed out that acquittal in this case was an impossible verdict and if rendered would allow the Eskimos to think they could murder with impunity.

## 60. H. Harvey to the Secretary of State, 28 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1.*

Edmonton, Alberta

August 28th, 1917.

Dear Sir,

Pursuant to the provisions of the Criminal Code, I beg to report that I today sentenced to death two Eskimo prisoners, Sinnisiak and Ulukauk, who were found guilty at Calgary, on the 24th inst., of murdering Father LaRoux at Bloody Falls, on the Coppermine River, N.W.T., in or about the month of November, 1913. The date of execution is October 15th. The evidence is being extended by the stenographer and will be forwarded in due course.

The evidence at the trial disclosed, however, nothing more than is contained in the statements made by the prisoners on their preliminary enquiry, which statements have been in the hands of the Department of Justice. It is, therefore, unnecessary for me to deal further with the facts.

The Jury made "the strongest recommendation to mercy" that a Jury can make, and in that recommendation I express the fullest concurrence. The case is clearly one for the utmost executive clemency. The prisoners are pagans, with no knowledge of civilized methods of customs, and with no religious belief. They are governed only by customs, and in the killing of Father LaRoux they did what they felt was quite justified.

I have already communicated the facts by wire to the Minister of Justice, and this report is for the purpose of formally complying with the Provisions of the Statute.

Yours truly,  
[sgd] Horace Harvey  
C.J.

### 61. J.E. Wallbridge to D.C. Scott, 28 August 1917.

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

August 28, 1917.

Duncan C. Scott, Esq., Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs,  
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Mr. Scott:-

#### Re Eskimo Trials.

I have your letter of the 22<sup>nd</sup> inst. suggesting a further report in these cases. After the verdict of the jury in the first charge against the prisoner Sinnisiak, of which I wrote you on the 17<sup>th</sup>, the Crown Counsel, Mr. McCaul, made application to the Chief Justice for a change of venue to Calgary upon the allegation that there was a very strong feeling in Edmonton favorable to the prisoners and consequently a fair trial could not be had here. The Chief Justice made the order as requested and the two prisoners were tried at Calgary on the charge of the murder of Father Le Roux, the trial commencing Wednesday last. The result was a verdict of guilty of murder with recommendation for mercy. The prisoners were then remanded for sentence and at the request of the Department of Justice sentenced today. It is understood that the sentence will be at once commuted and the prisoners sent, probably this week, in charge of the R. N. W. M. P. to Herschel Island, or some other point in the far north. I do not know what period of detention the Minister may have in mind but public opinion here would approve of immediate release, or at least no longer detention than next summer, when they can be conveniently taken back to their own people. I believe the Eskimos themselves have been given to understand that they are to be sent back this time but if another white man should be killed by any of their people the persons responsible will be

brought out and will not return, and I think they understand that thoroughly and it is perhaps as much as they can appreciate. Imprisonment is not at all likely to be understood as a punishment, death being the only redress that they have known.

The evidence in the second trial was practically the same as in the first, with the exception of the statement and testimony of the prisoner Uluksuk, which served principally to corroborate the other prisoner Sinnisiak, and I am still of the opinion, which I suggested in my previous letter, that upon the evidence the prisoners should have been acquitted, as assuming their statements to be true, and there was nothing to the contrary but rather every indication of truthfulness, there was justification,- they had an honest belief, based on reasonable grounds (reasonable from their point of view), in the necessity of their act,- though I cannot avoid the conclusion, apart from the evidence that the state of their mind was induced by some misunderstanding and no doubt the priests were also laboring under some misapprehension. The prisoners are very simple minded and direct and I cannot see any possibility of their having concocted their story. However, one cannot say that public policy is not best served by a conviction under all the circumstances, especially if the Minister of Justice intends to send the prisoners back to their people.

The principal factor in the result was the charge of the Chief Justice to the jury. It was very carefully considered and very strong against the prisoners, so strong in fact that under ordinary circumstances I would feel it my duty to ask for a reserved case and carry the matter to the Appellate Division, but I do not understand that any such course is expected of me and I merely mention the matter so that you will have full information. The Chief Justice charged that upon the evidence no plea of self defence or justification was open and that the jury was bound to find either murder or manslaughter, with very slight reason for finding the latter, and he assured the jury, so that they might feel free to bring in the verdict suggested, that the usual consequences of a verdict of guilty of murder would not follow.

The trials were followed with a great deal of interest both here and in Calgary, and one opinion was frequently expressed that a conviction was really necessary as an example to other Eskimo, especially after so much trouble had been taken to bring the prisoners out for trial, but the other view was more often mentioned to me, perhaps on account of my connection with the defence, that with the Eskimos' belief in the necessity of their act there would be more danger in a conviction than in acquittal, as

the Eskimos must still carry their idea that punishment is merely a matter of vengeance and will not feel at liberty to protect themselves even against unscrupulous persons who might go among them, or they might become outlaws. However, I do not believe that the prisoners even yet understand what has really happened and it is quite possible for the Minister to meet both views by his decision as to their future.

Yours sincerely,  
*[Sgd: J. E. Wallbridge]*

## 62. P.C. 2414, 29 August 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt.1.*

P.C. 2414

At the Government House at Ottawa  
Wednesday, the 29th day of August, 1917

PRESENT:

His Excellency

The Governor General in Council.

Whereas the Minister of Justice has been advised by a telegram from the Honourable Chief Justice Harvey of the Supreme Court of the Province of Alberta, that he has pronounced sentence of death, to be executed on the 15th October, 1917, upon Sinnisiak and Ulusak [*sic*], two Eskimos, who were recently tried jointly before the Chief Justice with a jury at Calgary upon the capital charge of murdering Father Leroux, a priest, in the neighbourhood of Coronation Gulf, in the Arctic regions, in the month of November 1913, and found guilty;

And whereas, the jury, however, added to their finding the strongest possible recommendation to mercy, in which the Chief Justice states that he fully concurs, and it appears moreover that the Chief Justice, in view of the circumstances of the case, informed the jury in his charge that if the prisoners were found guilty he would recommend that the death sentence should not be inflicted;

And whereas in these circumstances the Minister of Justice recommends, although he has not yet received a copy of the evidence taken at the trial, that the sentence of death pronounced upon the prisoners be commuted in the case of each of these convicts to imprisonment for life;

And Whereas the circumstances of this case have been fully considered by the Governor General in Council together with the report of the Minister of Justice in favour of the commutation of the said sentence;

Therefore the Governor General has thought fit to order and it is hereby ordered that the sentence of death passed upon the prisoners by commuted in the case of each of the said convicts to imprisonment for life.

And Whereas the Minister of Justice states the commutation is a matter of very great urgency because he is advised that it will be necessary for the preservation of the prisoners' health that they should immediately be removed to the Arctic climate, and that in order to take advantage of the latest opportunity for travelling North this year it will be necessary that the party should leave Edmonton, where the prisoners are now confined, not later than Thursday morning, 30th instant. The Minister also states that the case will be further considered and he may think is advisable to submit a further recommendation after he shall have been afforded an opportunity to review the evidence taken at the trial; in the meantime, however, he entertains no doubt that the sentence should be commuted.

THEREFORE, His Excellency the Governor General, by and with the advice of the King's Privy Council for Canada, is further pleased to order and it is hereby ordered that the prisoners be immediately conveyed in the custody of the Royal North West Mounted Police to the police guardroom at Herschel Island, in the North West Territories, and that the prisoners be there confined for life, unless another place of confinement, or a shorter term of imprisonment be hereafter authorized.

*[Sgd: Rodolphe Boundreau]*

Clerk of the Privy Council.

### 63. P.C. 2430, 1 September 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1.*

P.C. 2414

At the Government House at Ottawa  
Saturday, the 1st day of September, 1917

PRESENT:

His Excellency

The Governor General in Council.



Whereas the Minister of Justice states that upon further inquiry he had ascertained that it would be advisable that the Eskimo prisoners Sinnisiak and Ulusak [*sic*] should be detained until the further order of the Governor General in Council at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake rather than at Herschel Island;

Therefore His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the Minister of Justice, is pleased to order that the Order in Council amending the capital sentence of the said prisoners to imprisonment, shall be and the same is hereby amended accordingly.

*[Sgd: Rodolphe Boundreau]*  
Clerk of the Privy Council.

#### 64. Telegram, Thomas Mulvey, Under-Secretary of State, to the Superintendent of the RNWMP, 4 September 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file CC-50 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1*

##### CANADIAN PACIFIC R'Y. CO.'S TELEGRAPH

...

Ottawa, 4th September, 1917.

The Superintendent of the Royal North West Mounted Police,  
Edmonton, Alta.

His Excellency the Governor General has been pleased to order that sentence of death passed upon Eskimo prisoners Sinnisiak and Uluksuk by Chief Justice Harvey, such sentence to be executed on the fifteenth October nineteen and seventeen, be commuted to life imprisonment. His excellency is further pleased to order that prisoners be immediately conveyed into the custody of the Royal North West Mounted Police at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, and that the prisoners be there confined for life.

THOMAS MULVEY

Charge SS.

Under-Secretary of State.

## 65. Thomas Mulvey to the Superintendent of the RNWMP, 4 September 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file CC-50 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt.1*

No. 12876  
Capital Case.

Ottawa, 4th September, 1917.

Sir,

Confirming my telegram of to-day's date, I am commanded to inform you that His Excellency the Governor General has had under his consideration the case of the Eskimo prisoners Sinnisiak and Uluksuk, who were tried before the Honourable Mr. Justice Harvey at Calgary, Alta., on the 24th August, 1917, for the crime of murder, and having been convicted thereof, were sentenced to death, - such sentence to be carried into execution on the 15th day of October next, and to state that His Excellency has been pleased to order that the sentence of death passed on the said prisoners be commuted to imprisonment for life.

His Excellency is further pleased to order that the said prisoners be immediately conveyed into the custody of the Royal North West Mounted Police at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, and that the prisoners be there confined for life.

Kindly acknowledge the receipt of this communication immediately after the same has reached you.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THOMAS MULVEY

Under-Secretary of State.

The Superintendent of the Royal North West Mounted Police,  
Edmonton, Alta.

**66. Superintendent Commanding “G” Division, RNWMP, to T. Mulvey, 11 September 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file CC-50 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1*

Edmonton, Alberta. 11th September, 1917.

Thomas Mulvey Esq.  
Under-Secretary of State,  
Department of the Secretary of State,  
OTTAWA .

Sir:-

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your communication of the 4th inst: which reached me today.

I have already acknowledged receipt of your telegram, and would state that the prisoners Sinnisiak and Uluksuk are now on their way to Fort Resolution in accordance with instructions contained in that telegram.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

[*Unintelligible signature*] Supt.

Commanding “G” Division.

**67. R.B. McCleish, Official Court Reporter, Supreme Court of Alberta, to Secretary of State, Ottawa, 15 September 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file CC-50 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1*

SUPREME COURT

ALBERTA

Edmonton, Alta., Sept. 15, 1917.

Sir:-

Rex vs. Sinnsiak and Uluksak.

I am forwarding by this mail a copy of the evidence in the above case.

At the suggestion of Mr. McCaul, K.C., Counsel for the Crown, the full evidence has been extended in the first case, but as the evidence for the

prosecution in the second case was practically the same it has not been extended but merely the evidence of the witnesses for the defense, the charges in both cases being included.

I have the honor to be,

Your obedient servant,

*R. B. McCleish* [sgd]

Official Court Reporter

The Secretary of State,

Ottawa, Ont.

### 68. C.D. La Nauze to the Commissioner, RNWMP, 20 September 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 2161, file 29-5*

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Regina, Sask.,

Sir:

I have the honour to recommend that Eskimo Interpreter Ilavinek be suitably rewarded for his services in connection with the search for and arrest of the Eskimo murderers Uluksuk and Sinnisiak.

The splendid work of Ilavinek is fully set forth in the various reports submitted by me from time to time regarding the case, and by his painstaking work he was largely responsible for the success of the patrol.

A presentation from the Dominion Government in the form of a gold watch suitably engraved, also a gold chain would be highly prized by him and by his tribe. I would respectfully suggest that if a gift were made it might take this form.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*[Sgd: C.D. La Nauze]*

Inspector.

**69. Assistant Under-Secretary of State to Deputy Minister of Justice, 21 September 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file CC-50 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt. 1*

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF CANADA.

GE/JN.

No. 12876

Capital Case Register.

Ottawa 21st September, 1917.

Sir:-

I beg to transmit to you, herewith, for the information of the Minister of Justice copy of the evidence taken at the trial for murder of Sinnisiak and Sinnisiak and Uluksak respectively.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*P. Pelletier* [sgd]

*Asst. Under-Secretary of State.*

The Deputy Minister of Justice,

Ottawa, Ont.

**70. J.E. Wallbridge to the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 24 September 1917**

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

September 24, 1917.

Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:-

I am enclosing you herewith my account for services in connection with the recent trials of the Eskimos at Edmonton and Calgary, and trust the same will meet with your approval and that a cheque will be issued at an early date. The actual time occupied by the trials was four days at

Edmonton and three days at Calgary but with preparation etc. the time occupied was well over two weeks.

Yours truly,  
J. E. WALLBRIDGE.

IN ACCOUNT WITH, J. E. WALLBRIDGE, K. C.

1917. August,

Taking instructions, preparation and Counsel Fee at trials (2) at Edmonton and Calgary of Eskimos Sinnisiak and Uluksuk on charge of murder	1500.00
Paid telephone to Calgary	1.10
Expenses to Calgary	37.00
Paid A. A. McGillivray- Counsel Fee selecting Jury	25.00
Paid for interpretation of exhibits written in French	10.00
Paid Court Stenographer for extracts from evidence	3.30
	\$ 1576.40

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE October 1<sup>st</sup>, 1917 I hereby certify that I have examined this account and taxed the same at the sum of \$1576.40  
Sgd. W. Stuart Edwards, Secretary D. of J.

## 71. Comptroller to the Commissioner, RNWMP, 13 October 1917

*Source: LAC, RG 18, vol. 2161, file 29-5*

Royal North West Mounted Police  
Office of the Comptroller  
Ottawa,

No. 466/1917.

13th October, 1917.

Sir,

Referring to your endorsation [*sic*] of the 21st, on Inspector C.D. LaNauze's letter of the 20th ultimo, recommending that a gold watch and chain, suitably engraved, be presented to Special Constable Ilavinek, -

Eskimo Interpreter, - in recognition of his meritorious service rendered to the R.N.W.M. Police in connection with the search for and arrest of the Eskimos murderers of the Revd. Fathers Le Roux and Rouvier.

I have now the honour to inform you that the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister has approved of the above mentioned reward being made and you are hereby authorized to purchase the watch and chain from public funds and to have it suitably engraved for presentation from the Canadian Government, at a total cost not to exceed \$75.00.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*L. duPlessis* [sgd]

for Comptroller.

The Commissioner,  
R.N.W.M. Police,  
Regina, Saskn.,

## 72. D.C. Scott to E.L. Newcombe, 24 April 1918

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

April 24, 1918.

Dear Mr. Newcombe,-

I had a call recently from Rt. Rev. Bishop Lucas, Anglican Bishop of the Mackenzie River diocese, and a little later Inspector [LaNauze], of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police, came to see me; they both gave it as their opinion that the Eskimo murderers now at Resolution should be moved to Herschel Island this summer. Kindly give this matter your favourable consideration. I shall be glad to call upon you and give further explanations at any time that will suit your convenience.

Yours sincerely,

*[Signed- Duncan Campbell Scott]*

Deputy Superintendent General.

### 73. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 7 May 1918

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, 7<sup>th</sup> May 1918.

Dear Mr. Scott;

Referring to your letter of 24<sup>th</sup> ultimo, in which you suggest that the Eskimo murderers now at Fort Resolution should be moved to Herschel Island this Summer, I suppose if this be done directions should be issued at once, and I shall be glad to have your further explanations as soon as you find it convenient.

Yours sincerely,  
[Signed- E. L. Newcombe] D. M. J.

### 74. D.C. Scott to E.L. Newcombe, 17 March 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

March 17, 1919.

Dear Mr. Newcombe,-

I beg to call your attention to the case of the Eskimos who were convicted of murder at Calgary in the summer of 1917, and who are now under detention at [Fort] Resolution. In reporting to me under date of August 28, 1917, Mr. J. E. Wallbridge, who defended the Indians, writes as follows:-

“The result was a verdict of guilty of murder with recommendation for mercy. The prisoners were then remanded for sentence and at the request of the Department of Justice sentenced today. It is understood that the sentence will be at once commuted and the prisoners sent, probably this week, in charge of the R.N.W.M.P. to Herschel Island, or some other point in the far north. I do not know what period of detention the Minister may have in mind but public opinion here would approve of immediate release, or at least no longer detention than next summer, when they can be conveniently taken back to their own people. I believe the Eskimos themselves have been given to understand that they are to be sent back this time but if another white



man should be killed by any of their people the persons responsible will be brought out and will not return, and I think they understand that thoroughly and it is perhaps as much as they can appreciate. Imprisonment is not at all likely to be understood as a punishment, death being the only redress that they have known.”

It is my opinion, and in this I am supported by Inspector Conroy, who saw the Eskimos last summer, that they should be now released and sent back to their people. Mr. Wallbridge, who called on me this morning, is strongly of this opinion. I cannot think that any good result will be served by detaining them longer, in fact, that any beneficial influence on the natives of that country which might be expected to come from this trial will be lost if they are further detained.

Yours sincerely,

*[Signed- Duncan Campbell Scott]*

Deputy Superintendent General.

## 75. Deputy Minister of Justice, Memorandum for Mr. Narraway, 19 March 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk pt.2.*

Ottawa, March 29th, 1919

### MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NARRAWAY

I have discussed the case relating to the two Eskimos at [Fort] Resolution with the Acting Minister and he is of the opinion that they ought to be discharged in time to return to their people during the ensuing summer, and I wish you would put the file before me with the necessary information upon which to prepare a recommendation in the nature of further clemency. I do not know whether these papers are with you, in the docket, or in the Remission Branch, but I should be obliged if you will get for me what is necessary.

[Signed]

D.M.J.

Remission fyle herewith

[Signed]

## 76. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 29 March 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt.1.*

March 29th 1919

Dear Mr. Scott,

I have received your letter of 17th instant with regard to the two Eskimos imprisoned at [Fort] Resolution and I have discussed this matter with the Acting Minister who agrees that these men should be permitted to return to their people during the coming summer, and I shall prepare a recommendation for the approval of the Governor General to that effect as soon as I can overtake it.

Yours very truly,  
(sgd) E.L. Newcombe

Duncan C. Scott, Esq.,

Deputy Superintendent General,

Department of Indian Affairs, Ottawa.

## 77. P.C. 1024, 15 May 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk pt.2.*

P.C. 1024

*Certified copy of a Report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by His Excellency the Governor General on the 15th May, 1919.*

The Committee of the Privy Council have had before them a Report, dated 11th April, 1919, from the Acting Minister of Justice, submitting with reference to the Orders in Council of 29th August and 1<sup>st</sup> September, 1917, with regard to the Eskimo prisoners Uluksuk and Sinnisiak, who are now detained pursuant to the last mentioned Order, at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, that upon further consideration of the case that in his opinion the time has arrived when these prisoners may be returned to the region from which they came and set at liberty among their own people conditionally upon the instructions and terms herein submitted for approval, and that they should, therefore, be conducted thither by members of the Royal North West Mounted Police assigned to that duty

during the next ensuing season for Arctic travel, or at the first convenient opportunity.

The Minister considers that these prisoners should before their discharge be informed by the police in a manner of expression which, if it be possible, the understanding of the prisoners will make them fully to comprehend that having taken the lives of the two priests without legal justification or excuse they were pursued and apprehended as required by the law, and in accordance with a practice which admits of no exception whatever; that they were thereupon pursuant to the strict procedure of the law tried by the tribunals at Edmonton and Calgary for their said offence and condemned to suffer death upon evidence establishing their guilt as found by the jury empanelled at Calgary to try their case; that this sentence would undoubtedly have been executed, and that they would, therefore, long since have suffered the extreme penalty, had it not been for the gracious intervention of His Majesty the King, from whom all justice proceeds; that His Majesty, as represented by His Governor General of Canada in Council, was graciously pleased to consider the very exceptional circumstances of the prisoners and of the band of natives to which they belong, and that they, living in a remote and inhospitable region without access to and having very limited intercourse with the settled and civilized parts of the country, by reason of their native conditions were in a large measure ignorant of the laws by which they are governed, and perhaps did not even realize the capital gravity of the offence which they were led to commit, or the extreme punishment which the law justly prescribes therefor; that considering these conditions as affecting the prisoners' responsibility, and all the mitigating circumstances of the case, the Governor in Council was pleased to exercise the authority which he had to commute their death sentence to one of indefinite imprisonment in the belief that by this means not only would the interests of justice be served, but that the prisoners would also profit by the instruction which they would during their imprisonment, receive from those who were charged with their custody; also that now, since these unfortunate men have been in prison, either awaiting trial or under sentence, for a period exceeding three years, it has been determined that they may be set at liberty conditionally upon their undertaking solemnly for the future to respect human life and property, and to make known to the members of their band and native associates in additions to the facts aforementioned, that the Eskimos live and are governed under a system of law which, with equality as against

both white man, Indian and Eskimo, exacts speedy and rigorous punishment for crime according to the degree, and that by mandate of the law, capital punishment must follow a capital offence; and moreover that while for the reasons aforesaid these prisoners have been visited by a dispensation of mercy whereby their lives have been spared, notwithstanding the offence which they committed, these reasons are not likely to be permitted to avail on another occasion, either for them or for any other Eskimo, seeing that the proceedings in the present case have served to inform them of their responsibilities, and that they are solemnly charged with their duty to serve God and honour the King and carefully to observe his laws.

The Minister recommends that authority be granted for the release of the prisoners at the time and in the manner and subject to the conditions aforesaid.

The Committee concur in the foregoing recommendation, and submit the same for approval.

[Signed]  
Clerk of the Privy Council.

## 78. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 19 May 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Enclosure.

Ottawa, 19<sup>th</sup> May 1919.

Dear Mr. Scott;

I enclose herewith, for your information, certified copy of an Order-in-Council of 15<sup>th</sup> instant, with regard to the two Eskimo prisoners, Uluksuk and Sinnisiak. I have communicated a copy of this Order to the Comptroller of the Royal N. W. Mounted Police for the necessary action in conformity with the Order.

Yours very truly,

*[Signed- E.L. Newcombe]*

D. M. J.

79. T. Mulvey, Under-Secretary of State, to Comptroller,  
RNWMP, 19 May 1919

Source: LAC, RG 13, vol. 1484, file C-C-550 Uluksuk Sinnisiak pt.1.

NO. 12876  
CAPITAL CASE  
REGISTER.

Ottawa, May 19th, 1919.

Sir,

I am commanded to inform you that His Excellency the Governor General has had under consideration the care of the Eskimo prisoners Uluksuk and Sinnisiak who are now pursuant to an Order-in-Council passed on the 1st September, 1917, serving a life sentence at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake, and that His Excellency is advised that the time has arrived when these prisoners may be returned to the region from which they came and set at liberty among their own people conditionally upon the instructions and terms herein submitted for approval, and that they should be conducted thither by members of the Royal North West Mounted Police assigned to that duty during the next ensuing season for Arctic travel or at the first convenient opportunity.

... I am therefore to convey to you the authority of His Excellency the Governor General for the release of the above mentioned prisoners at the time and in the manner and subject of the conditions aforesaid.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

*(Sgd) Thomas Mulvey*

Under-Secretary of State

The Comptroller of  
The Royal North West Mounted Police,  
Ottawa.

## 80. E.L. Newcombe to D.C. Scott, 29 May 1919

*Source: LAC, RG 85, vol. 175, file 541-2-5*

Ottawa, March 29<sup>th</sup> 1919.

Dear Mr. Scott,

I have received your letter of 17<sup>th</sup> instant with regard to the two Eskimos imprisoned at [Fort] Resolution and I have discussed the matter with the Acting Minister who agrees that these men should be permitted to return to their people during the coming summer, and I shall prepare a recommendation for the approval of the Governor General to that effect as soon as I can overtake it.

Yours very truly,  
*[Signed- E.L. Newcombe]*

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