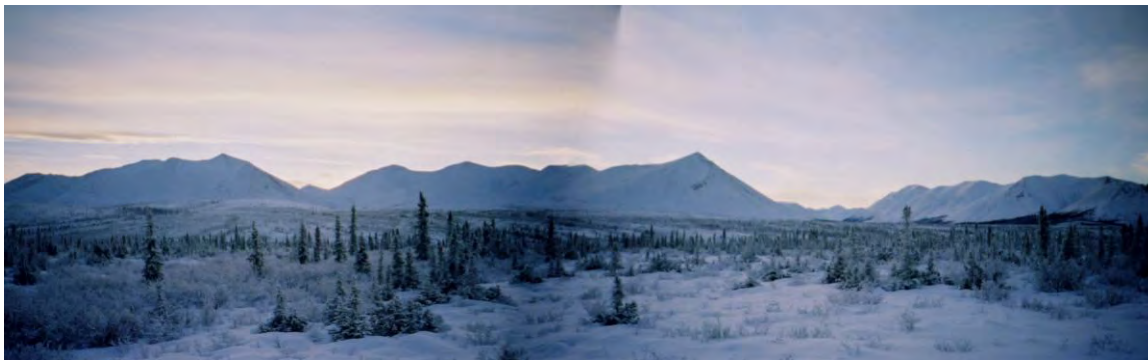


Arctic Red River Headwaters Project Phase II

Cultural Assessment - Interviewing Elders



Submitted by:
Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute

to

Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board
July 2006

COVER PHOTO

Figure 1: Cranswick River valley, on the way to the upper Arctic Red River area, winter 2003. Photo credit: M. Winnie Blake.

PHOTO CREDITS

Kristi Benson, M. Winnie Blake, Sharon Snowshoe

MAP CREDITS

Kristi Benson, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board

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Thank you all!

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute was approached by the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board in October 2004 to undertake a cultural assessment of the headwaters of the Arctic Red River. As outlined in the Land Use Plan Implementation Plan, this research would provide input into determining if the status of this area should change from that of a Special Management Zone to a legislative protected area or a Heritage Conservation Zone.

The Arctic Red River Headwaters study was carried out in two phases. In 2004-05, the Phase I report compiled an annotated bibliography of existing sources related to the traditional use of the area and heritage resources identified to date and extracted information from these sources to produce a baseline report with gaps identified and suggestions for further research. This second document reports on the Phase II research that was carried out in the 2005-06 fiscal year that involved interviewing elders and harvesters in Tsiigehtchic and Fort Good Hope regarding the traditional use of the Arctic Red River Headwaters. The purpose of these interviews is to assist the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board in:

- a) documenting traditional use by Gwich'in and Sahtu people in the Arctic Red River Headwaters area;
- b) documenting traditional environmental knowledge (terrestrial, aquatic and air) of the ARR Headwaters area;
- c) using information gathered to determine an appropriate on-site research strategy for both environmental and cultural research; and
- d) using above information to determine appropriate conditions, designation or management of this area.

1.2 Study area

The *Nanh' geenjit gwitr'tt t'igwaa'in / Working for the Land - Gwich'in Land Use Plan* (2003:85) describes the study area or the headwaters of the Arctic Red River as follows:

The Headwaters of the Arctic Red River is a large area in the southern part of the Gwich'in Settlement Area, in the Mackenzie Mountains. The Mackenzie Mountains are rugged with imposing peaks, and many non-vegetated slopes. Small glaciers flow from the highest peaks. As a headwaters area, it plays an important role in maintaining the quality of water in the Arctic Red River. The Arctic Red River and the many fish, forest, wildlife and heritage resources associated with it are of great importance to the Gwich'in of Tsiigehtchic.

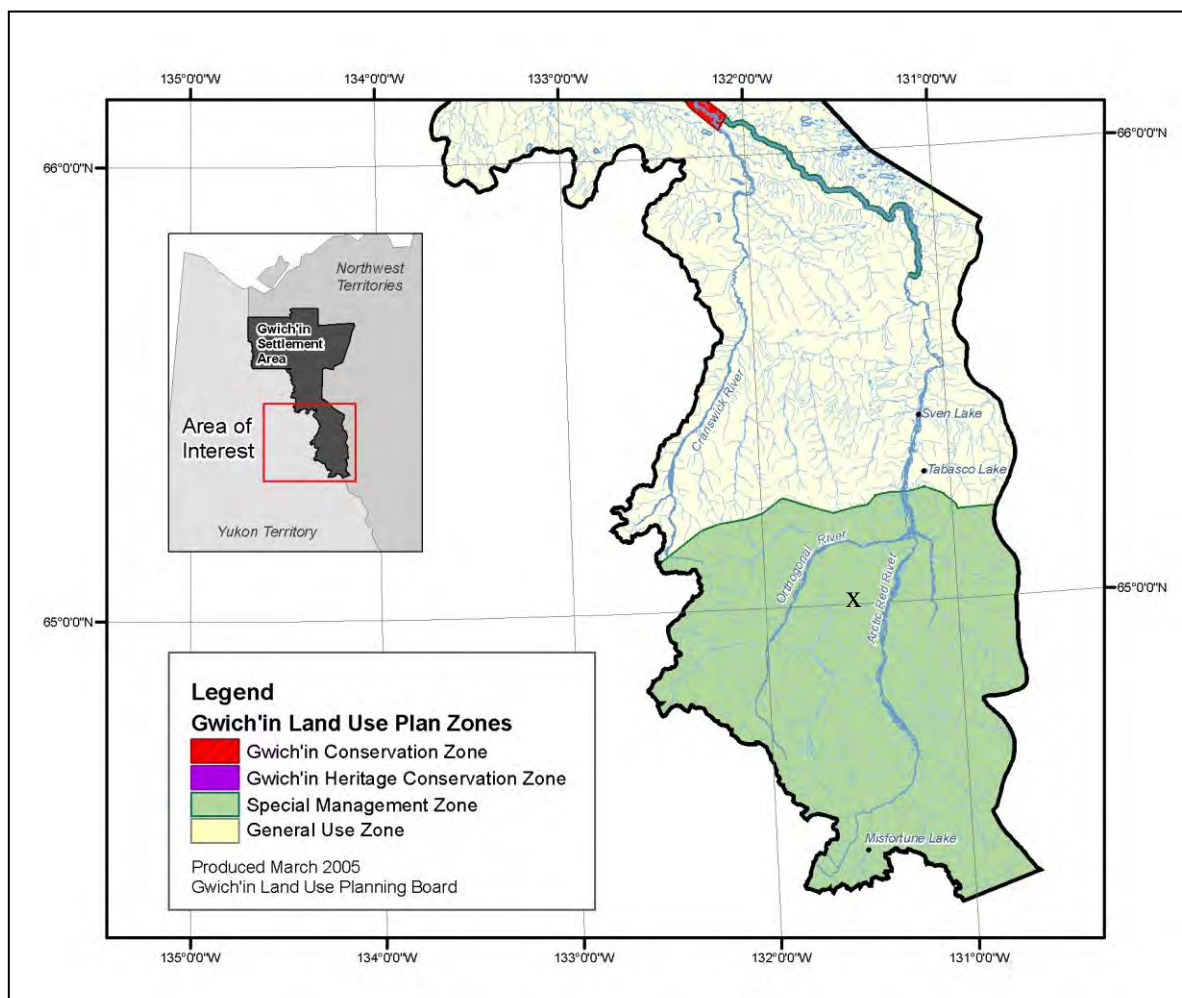


Figure 2: Gwich'in Land Use Planning Zones courtesy Sue Mackenzie, GLUPB office, Inuvik. („X“ marks the location of axe cut stumps noted by Sonny F. Blake.)

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Methodology used

The GSCI carried out the Phase II study and interviews with Elders and harvesters in Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic in early 2006. This section will describe the methodology that was used that include community interviews, tapes recorders, mapping work, translators, transcription and translation work, the spelling of Gwich'in and Slavey place names, and research material.

2.1.1 Community interviews

Prior to the community interviews, the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic Renewable Resource Council offices were contacted and notified about the interviews and dates that were planned for their communities. A list of Fort Good Hope family names (Kelly, Grandjambe, Jackson, Gregory Shae) from Fort Good Hope were suggested previously from Tsiigehtchic interviewees who took part in the Gwich'in Traditional Knowledge Study of the Mackenzie Gas Project Area ("Gwich'in TK Study") in 2004/05. The people to be interviewed in Fort Good Hope were thus developed from that list as well from other Fort Good Hope residents who suggested names of other people who they knew traveled in the study area. The list of people to be interviewed in Tsiigehtchic also came from the Gwich'in TK Study project as several people talked about traveling up the Arctic Red River in their interviews. Two Tsiigehtchic Elders known for their stories about the Arctic Red River Headwaters areas were added to the list. The names of interviewees changed in both communities, several times, over the course of the interview period as people were either out of town, were ill, or they felt they could not contribute because they were too young to remember living in the study area.

Meanwhile interview questions were developed for the community interviews: one topical questionnaire for the group interviews and one detailed questionnaire for the individual interviews. The questions, attached as Appendix 1 and Appendix 2, were tailored to collect traditional use, environmental knowledge and land management information for the Arctic Red River headwaters area.

The interviews were then carried out in Fort Good Hope in early February 2006 and in Tsiigehtchic later in February. The original Fort Good Hope interview dates of January 23 to 27, 2006 were rescheduled to the next week because of a funeral in the community. One additional interview was scheduled in mid-March in Tsiigehtchic with Sonny F. Blake because the first 25 minutes of his first interview did not record. All efforts were made to comply with the scheduled dates laid out in the contract.

The initial plan, as suggested by the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board, was to hold group meetings in both communities with the individuals who were selected for interviews. However the scheduling of such a meeting in Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic and the ability of some Elders to physically go to a central meeting place was not possible. It was more convenient for the people in Fort Good Hope to be interviewed individually in their homes. In Tsiigehtchic, the interviews with the younger

harvesters were held at the GSCI office and with Elders in their homes. No group interview was held in Tsiigehtchic.

At the start of each interview, the interviewees were presented with the consent form developed for the interviews. The interviewees either read the consent form themselves or it was read or paraphrased to them before they signed the forms. The consent form is presented as Appendix 3.

2.1.2 Tape recorders

A professional Sony tape-recorder was used for the first few interviews in Fort Good Hope. A switch was made to the stand-by Sony recorder when the first recorder developed problems. Two technical problems were encountered over the course of the interviews. First, the speed device was accidentally put on 'fast' on the second recorder which affected the voice on the taped interview. Pido Productions from Yellowknife were able to rerecord the fast tape back to normal speed. Secondly, when the last interview tapes were being copied, it was discovered that a portion of one interview did not record on the tape. Another interview was immediately rescheduled with the individual concerned who readily agreed to record the section of the interview that was not recorded.

2.1.3 Mapping

Several map sheets were on hand during all the interviews. They included 1:50,000 NTS maps; 1:250,000 NTS maps; 1:800,000 (Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board) map, and 1:1,000,000 (Energy, Mines and Resources Canada) map. The two maps from the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board and the Energy, Mines and Resources Canada were used to reference interviewees to the area that would be covered during the interview. In the end, the interviewees preferred working on the 1:250,000 map. Six individuals marked trails, cabins and camp sites, named places, burial sites, and habitat areas mostly on the 1:250,000 NTS maps. In Inuvik in early July 2006, Wilfred Jackson marked the location of Slavey place names on the 1:250,000 NTS maps with assistance from his wife, Lucy. The mapped information has been digitized into the GSCI and GLUPB GIS. The following interviewees marked information on the maps.

Fort Good Hope (in blue marker, pencil)

1:250,000 Edward Kelly, Jerry Lennie, Jean-Baptiste Shae

1:50,000 Jerry Lennie

Tsiigehtchic (in green marker, pencil)

1:250,000 Gabe Andre, Russell Andre, Sonny Blake



Figure 3: Sonny Blake of Tsiigehtchic marking trail route on the map. Photo Credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

2.1.4 Translators

In preparing for the interviews in Fort Good Hope, it became quite difficult to line up interpreter/translators even though phone calls were made weeks in advance of the trip. The three interpreter/translators, Florence Barnaby, Lucy Jackson, Alphonsine McNeely, were all out of town during our time in Fort Good Hope. Family members were then requested to act as translators during our interviews. For instance, Vicky Orlias translated for her mother, Dorothy Cotchilly; Marie Boniface translated for her husband, Joe Boniface; Angus Shae translated for his brother, Jean-Baptiste Shae, and Therese Pierrot translated for her husband, Jim Pierrot. Laura Tobac was available to translate for Alice Rabisca and Edward Kelly. In Inuvik in early July 2006, Lucy Jackson translated the Slavey place names to her husband, Wilfred, who marked their location on the 1:250,000 NTS maps. Translation was not a problem in Tsiigehtchic as most of the interviewees spoke English and Alestine Andre was on hand in case translation was required.



Figure 4: Edward Kelly and translator, Laura Tobac. Photo Credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

2.1.5 Transcription and translation work

The Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic interviews produced 20 cassette tapes of interviews. Three individuals, Eleanor Mitchell-Firth, Yoenne Ewald, and Doug Kendo transcribed the interview tapes. Two individuals, Terry Sawyer and Vicky Orlas translated the interviews from Slavey and Gwich'in to English. Additionally, Terry Sawyer also re-translated Julianne Andre's stories (COPE Tapes) from Gwich'in to English. The master tape list for the project is presented as Appendix 4.

2.1.6 Spelling of Gwich'in and Slavey place names

The spelling of the Gwich'in place names and plants were extracted from the Gwich'in place names database and the *Gwich'in Ethnobotany* book. The spelling of the Slavey place names was provided by Vicky Orlas, the Sahtu Atlas (2003) and the Rakekée Gok'é Godi: Places We Take Care Of Report (2000). The Slavey place names will need to be verified at some time in the future. For now the place names from the above sources have been included in this report. Throughout this report the Gwich'in place names, in WinMac font, that have been verified by Gwich'in speakers are presented in **bold type** while the Gwich'in and Slavey place names, in the WinMac font, that require further check are underlined.

2.1.7 Research Material

The research material from the Arctic Red River Headwaters Phase II project include 20 interview tapes, 20 tape transcripts, transcript of six Julianne Andre CDs, 1:50, 000 and

1:250,000 maps, and a CD of digital photographs. The master interview tapes, the transcripts of interviews, and the final report will be forwarded to the GNWT Archives. Copies of interview tapes will be forwarded to the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic interviewees who requested copies of their interviews.

2.2 Elders and harvesters interviewed

2.2.1 Fort Good Hope interviews

The interviews in Fort Good Hope were carried out with nine Elders and harvesters in late January - early February 2006. The people who were interviewed either had first hand experience and knowledge living and travelling in the mountains or they recounted stories they heard from their parents, their grandparents, and other relatives. Two Elders in particular, Joe Boniface (90 years old) and Dorothy Cotchilly (95 years old) travelled and lived near the Arctic Red River Headwaters area with their families when they were young.



Figure 5: Joe Boniface and translator, Marie Boniface of Fort Good Hope and Alestine Andre. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Joe Boniface was born May 1916. His father came from Dawson and his mother, Madeline, was originally from Tsiigehtchic. He said Slavey families left for the mountains in August with dog pack. Every winter they go through the mountains, they never miss going to the mountains. He said since the old mountain people died, nobody goes there any more. Besides himself other mountain people include Peter Mountain, Dorothy Cotchilly, Denise Manuel, Denise's dad Charlie Mountain, Mary Tobac, Alfred

Tobac, Louis Caesar, Dorothy Cotchilly's first husband Joseph Pierrot. Joe said he grew up in this areas as a child. He said, "It's a good place to live. He said he always think about it. Good place for everything. He said lots of people from here were up there, they meet up in the mountains all the time but now they're all gone, just him and Dorothy Cotchilly are alive today... All died, no more mountain people here."

Alice Rabisca

Alice Rabisca said the Fort Good Hope people used to travel to the mountains across the country when there was with no trail. Her brothers, Leon and Edward (Kelly), had to break trail ahead with snowshoe and then go through the trail with their dog teams. They would meet the people from Tsiigehtchic in the mountains and would set up a camp together. Both groups travelled back to their own country when the water started to flow in March. Alice said her mother used to dry everything - i.e. muskrat tails, geese feet. Alice really enjoyed sewing at night after her day's work was done. Their family stayed at the base of the mountains and Alice remembers that Annie Norbert and Nicola and Daria Norbert were there too. Alice said it such a beautiful place that when it was time to return to town she was sad to leave.



Figure 6: Dorothy Cotchilly with translator, Vicky Orlas of Fort Good Hope and Alestine Andre. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Dorothy Cotchilly said she was raised in the mountains. She got married when she was 15 years old. Her best memory was about the place where the people met together at Chįst'e yéde (gather in one camp), when their husbands were gone out gambling and dancing and she said the women stayed at home. The single boys used to go hunting

together and get some caribou and moose, they bring back the meat. The women were busy making dried meat while their husbands are gone. She said that was the best time of her life. She thinks it was about March because everybody started heading back to Good Hope and the Arctic Red people were going back for Easter. She said it was already getting warm. She also talked about two gravesites in the mountains - one is a very young boy and another is her grandfather's sister. It was not too far off the road, on a hill. Her grandparents would stop every time they travelled near by and go to the graves to say prayers.

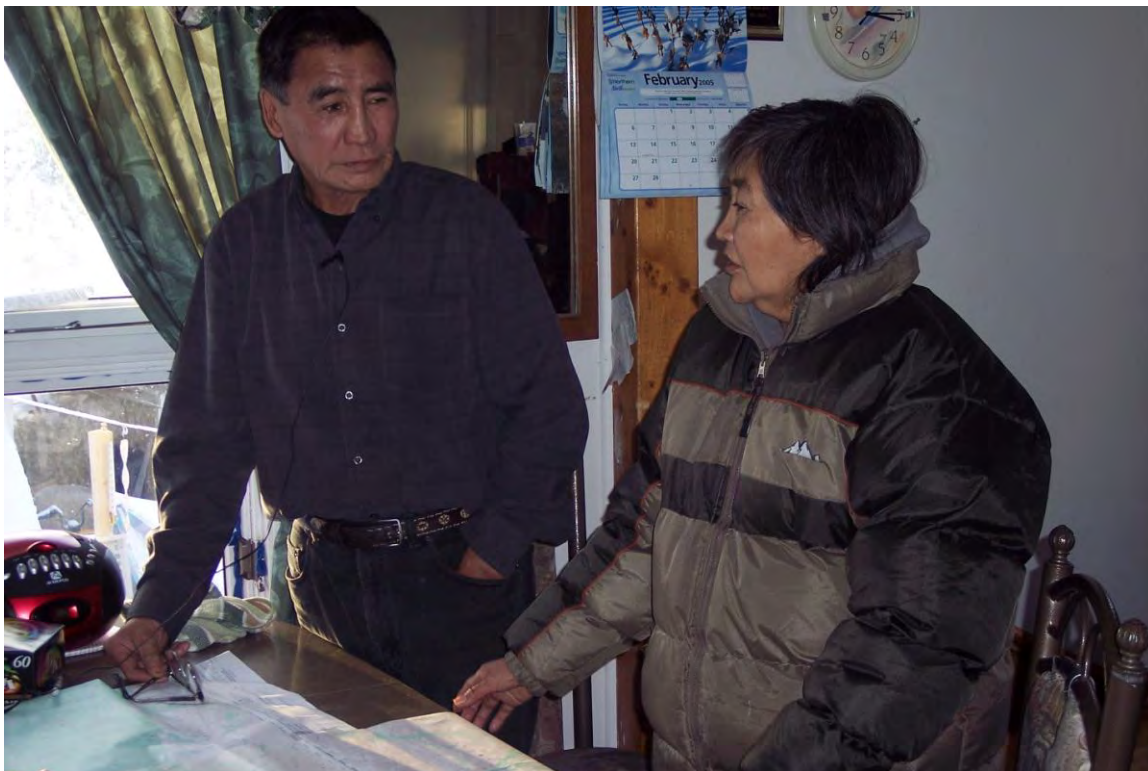


Figure 7: Edward Kelly and translator, Laura Tobac of Fort Good Hope.
Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Edward Kelly said he was too young to remember traveling in the mountains however when he was about 10 years old, around 1942 or 1943, his family traveled by dog team to Bernard Creek. They stopped at James Jackson's camp before heading to the Peel River. From the Peel River the men went to the mountains to hunt caribou. They used to travel when it was -50°F to -60°F in those days. As small as he was at that time, he still remembers he had to walk when they travelled. They used to walk a long ways. Edward said they used to return towards Fort Good Hope when it started to warm up in the mountains.



Figure 8: Jean Baptiste Shae and translator, Angus Shae. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Gregory Shae is father to Jean Baptiste and Angus Shae and their dad used to tell them stories about the mountain area. Their father said Rosemary Lennie's parents used to travel to Mayo and Peter Mountain and Joe Boniface used to go over with dogteam through Gillis River, near Little Chicago where there used to be a trading post. Jean Baptiste said he knows of two trails going to the mountains: one from Little Chicago and the other through the Ramparts River.



Figure 9: Jerry Lennie of Fort Good Hope and Alestine Andre. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Jerry Lennie drew the various trails that led to the Arctic Red River headwaters from various points on the Mackenzie River and provided the locations of campsites, Slavey place names and his trapping line. Jerry told several stories about land features and conditions along the trails to the mountains. He collects his information from his mother, Rosemary (Pierrot) Lennie, his uncle, Jim Pierrot, and other Elders from the community. Jerry believes there is high potential for artifacts in the mountain valleys up the Arctic Red River because the area was used as major travel routes by the Slavey, Gwich'in and people from the Yukon.



Figure 10: Jim and Therese Pierrot and their granddaughter of Fort Good Hope and Alestine Andre. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Both Jim and Therese Pierrot mentioned the mouth of the mountain as a place where the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic people would meet. They gave Slavey place names in their interviews. They also identified and named the grave site at the mouth of the mountain. Therese told her grandmother's stories that contained a lot of information about traditional life in the mountains and about caribou skin dog packs and sleighs, moss houses, caribou skin house, flint and birch fungus for fire making, „caribou and moose chest“ pots, cooking stones, stone axes, fireplace inside teepees, first canvas tent and stove, „moose rib“ knife, loon beak needle, meat pemmican, greased sinew, moose stomach bag to store bone grease, caribou leg skin bags to store meat pemmican, moose hooves for food, disposal of bones, moose hoof cups, rabbit skin parka and blanket, moccasins, and medicine plants. Therese sang a love song that was taught to her by Gregory Shae.



Figure 11: Wilfred Jackson of Fort Good Hope and Alestine Andre. Photo credit: Sharon Snowshoe, GSCI.

Wilfred Jackson said he flew with students to Tabasco Lake in a plane one fall to hunt caribou. Wilfred heard stories about the Fort Norman people who used to travel across the mountains along a traditional trail that later became known as the Canol Road. Fort Good Hope people went overland toward the trail and connected up with it near the mountains. He said that Joe Boniface was a good man to interview because he travelled in this area. Wilfred provided information about the preparation of traditional foods like dry meat, dryfish, dried geese, moose sausages, storage bags from animal innards. His specialty is taking young people on the land to make dry meat, dried geese and snaring rabbit snares. Wilfred keeps track of the bird disease situation because it affects his hunting of migratory birds for food. He said he will not hunt the birds if they are diseased.

2.2.2 Tsiigehtchic interviews

The interviews in Tsiigehtchic were carried with six Elders and harvesters from early February to mid-March. The people who were interviewed in Tsiigehtchic either had first hand experience and therefore knowledge about living and travelling near the Arctic Red River Headwaters area. Two Elders recounted stories they heard from their mothers about the use of this area.



Figure 12: Gabe Andre of Tsiigehtchic. Photo credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

Gabe Andre went up the Arctic Red River with Ron Cruikshank in the early 1990s – they flew up and paddled down as far as the Forks. Gabe remembers that the valleys are heavily timbered and the mountains are barren. He knew of an old time trail that went into the mountains from the Forks and that people would cross the mountains from this area to Dawson to get their tents and stoves. Gabe remembers that there were many signs of caribou and sheep in the valleys. He knew that in the past, caribou were sought in the Cranswick River valley; if none were encountered, hunters moved to the Arctic Red River valley. Gabe saw a lot of evidence of historical use of the Arctic Red River area including burials at **Ddhahzhit Gwichoo** – his mother told him that people used to pass the spring in the area, meeting up with people from Fort Good Hope, Fort McPherson, and Mayo.



Figure 13: Herbert Andre of Tsiigehtchic. Photo credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

Herbert Andre has traveled about 20 miles past the Forks by boat, up the Arctic Red River. After this point, the river is impassable except for floating down it on a raft – it is very shallow and fast flowing. He flew by plane to Tabasco Lake on a hunting trip one time. The weather changed so his group was weather bound and they spent five days in the area. He remembered the area as being very beautiful and the game plentiful. Moose travel down the Arctic Red River out of the mountains during the fall rut. Herbert's late mother, Alice Andre, told him stories about a trail that went into the mountains from the Forks. The people of Tsiigehtchic used this trail in the past to get to the mountains to hunt and trap.



Figure 14: Russell Andre of Tsiigehtchic. Photo credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

Russell Andre has traveled extensively up the Arctic Red River in the early 1990s when he and two friends spent months up the Arctic Red trapping. During this time he discovered why the old time trails always went from the Forks south to the headwaters region on the west side of the Arctic Red River – because the area on the east side is very difficult terrain! The east side has deep, steep-sloped valleys and crevices while the west side is characterized by more gentle terrain. On his trip on the east side of the Arctic Red River, Russell encountered deep snow, overflow, open water, wolves, and many other issues while trapping and travelling in the area. They hunted caribou on the flat plains just north of the mountains. Russell has an excellent memory of the terrain and conditions of much of the Arctic Red River.



Figure 15: Sonny Blake of Tsiigehtchic. Photo credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

In the early 1990s, Sonny Blake traveled up to Fish Lake and the **Naatsàk** areas in the winter trapping with his father, Frederick Blake. Later Sonny spent two seasons working as a guide for Kelly Hougen who operated the Arctic Red River Outfitters at Sven Lake. During this time Sonny guided extensively on foot in the headwaters of Arctic Red River area. According to Sonny, the mountains are not forested. “It’s mostly just moss and little willows.” In the past when people traveled through the area, he thought they would have to bring their own tent poles. As a guide, Sonny walked to such places as **Ddhahzhit gwitsal** or the Cranswick River valley, **Ddhahzhit gwichoo** or the Arctic Red River where it flows out of the mountains, the Gayna River, Sven Lake, and the Orthogonal River valley. About five miles before the Orthogonal River empties into the Arctic Red River, there is an area that Sonny indicated was a good area for a camp. About five kilometres further up, he saw „cuttings“ on trees – where people used the area in the past.

Annie Norbert

Annie Norbert said she traveled to the mountains with her parents as a young girl to **Nihtavan dinunlee** or Fish Lake; **Ddhahzhit gwitsal** or Cranswick River where it flows out of the mountains; and to **Ddhahzhit gwichoo** or Arctic Red River where it flows out of the mountains. They used to meet up with families from Fort Good Hope at these places. The women were making caribou dry meat by hanging meat on stages at the camp. They were also working with hides. While the women were at the camp, the men from both groups would hunt in the mountains. Sometimes they would spend the night at

an open camp, sleeping by a fire. They would return with caribou. When it got warm, the Gwichya Gwich'in families moved down to Bernard Creek to pass the spring. She remembers that they had many bales of dry meat to carry, so much that it took four or five trips to carry it all, "We stayed for a while at each camp as the men went to haul bales of dried meat ahead. When we arrived at the place, again we stayed there for a few days while the men brought loads of meat ahead."



Figure 16: John Norbert of Tsiigehtchic. Photo credit: Kristi Benson, GSCI.

John said that he travelled up the Arctic Red River with his parents when he was about seven years old. They travelled to a camp at **Nihtavan dinunlee** or Fish Lake after Christmas with three dog teams. He was in his old brother Eli's sleigh. His younger brother Joe was in Julius' sleigh. He remembers there were other Slavey families such as Kelly, Grandjambe, Jackson, and Shae at the camp. He remembers hearing Gregory Shae drumming and singing from his tent at night. From Fish Lake, the men went towards the **Ddhah zhit gwitsal** or Cranswick River area to hunt caribou. The people traveled to the mountains because they knew the caribou were there. John remembers trapping his first mink, an accomplishment that prompted his parents to prepare a feast for him the next summer. John recounted the camp chores that he and his brothers had to do: changing spruce boughs in the tent, collecting snow for water, and hauling wood. Even though he was too young to remember the people's use of the ARR Headwaters, he did hear some stories from Small Remi about people travelling along a trail that went through the valley over to Mayo. He said there was a big camp at a place called Lansing. The people went over to buy items like tents, stoves and axes.

3. **GWICH'IN AND SAHTU TRADITIONAL USE OF THE ARCTIC RED RIVER HEADWATERS**

The information about the Arctic Red River headwaters will be presented in this section and will include traditional use, place names, old time trail routes, grave sites, traditional camp sites and gathering places, historic cabin sites, legends, and sacred or spiritual sites.

3.1 Traditional use

The interviews with Elders and harvesters in Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic about the traditional use of the Arctic Red River Headwaters area revealed a continued use of this area by both groups until recently. Today only a few people continue to travel to the upper Arctic Red River area to hunt, trap, hunt, or to work.

In the times prior to 1900 and the early 1900s, the valleys of the headwaters area were an important place for moose, caribou, and sheep that the Gwich'in and Slavey groups depended on. The location of at least one campsite inside the headwaters area, several grave sites, and the valley where axe-cut trees were seen are marked on the map. The area at the entrance of the Arctic Red River to the mountains or **Ddhahzhit gwichoo** was an important camp site and a gathering place that was close to the caribou that the groups depended on.

Gabe Andre indicated that the mountains are barren, although the river valleys and channels are timbered with smaller spruce trees. He saw signs of old time people around the mountains, including axe-cut stumps and blazes along trails. In particular, he remembers one area where the Arctic Red River exits the mountains where the axe-cut stumps had a lot of moss on surface of the cuts, indicating the tree was felled long ago.

Both groups started to travel to this area through various trail routes in the early fall and they stayed over the winter months to hunt caribou and make dry meat and bone grease. Both interviewee groups also talked about meeting family groups in the upper Arctic Red River area that resulted in many days of games and celebration. Many bales of caribou dry meat and bone grease were made at such winter camps.

Most people recollected hearing stories about a trail route that went over the mountains through which both groups travelled in the past to get to Lansing and Mayo to buy tents and stoves. As temperatures warmed up in the spring and the water began to flow on the Arctic Red River, family groups began to return to their skin boat making camps. Moose was harvested along the way and the hides were then used to make moose skin boats which were used to travel back to town.

Gabe Andre's mother, Julianne Andre, told him about the first winter the people from Fort Good Hope, Mayo, Fort McPherson, and Tsiigehtchic met up in the mountains. They all started stick gambling, and gambled for so long that it was spring time by the time they were finished. They had to abandon their toboggans

and use dog packs to leave the mountains – and they were all out of supplies. “Gambling is so long that they run right out of everything. No more meat....They just eat meat and drink the broth, that’s all.” When they arrived in Tsiigehtchic there was no ice left on the rivers.

As time passes, the Gwich’in names of distant places in the mountains told in stories are being forgotten. For example, Gabe Andre talked about Gwich’in names of places in the study area. He said, “I know they call it **Ddhahzhit gwichoo** and there’s a big river, uh? That’s the Red River [Arctic Red River] and they go up in there. They got some names for hills. But that one...I was told that story so long ago, I don’t even remember, uh?”

The following map of the Arctic Red River headwaters area show named places, trails, burial sites, camp sites, cabin sites identified by both Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic interviewees.

3.1.1 Gwich’in, Slavey and English place names

The following map shows the Gwich’in and Slavey place names in the Arctic Red River headwaters area.



0

15

30

60

90

120

Kilometers

Gwich'in and Slavey Place Names

Origin

☆

Gwich'in

☆

Slavey



Figure 17: Gwich'in and Slavey place names map

27

The Gwich'in, Slavey and English place names that are located in the vicinity of the trails that lead towards the mountains and the Arctic Red River headwaters area are presented in Table 1 below. A brief description is provided with each place name. A complete list of Gwich'in, Slavey and English place names for places inside and outside the study area is presented as Appendix 5.

Table 1: Gwich'in, Slavey and English place names near the Arctic Red River headwaters area.

Gwich'in place name and meaning	Slavey place name and meaning	English place name
	<u>Faka ké</u> „flat rock“ #1 A campsite located at the mouth of Ramparts River and the starting point for the people who traveled to the mountains.	
	<u>Tu yah lo</u> „end of a lake“ A lake located on the way to the mountains.	
	<u>Dah who</u> „top of the hill“ A big ridge located below the mountains. Fort Good Hope can be seen from this high hill.	
	<u>Shí shíne</u> „below the mountain“ An area located below the mountains and not far from the Arctic Red River.	
	<u>Chíst'e yéde</u> „gather in one camp“ A gathering place located at the mouth of the mountains where Slavey and Gwich'in families gathered to celebrate with playing cards, drum dances, and stick gamble.	
	<u>Béwq nádéyí line</u> „water run around the point“ A bend on the river. Dorothy Cotchilly thought there might be a grave of a very young boy here. She said in those days the people used to bury their deceased people on the land anywhere they had camps.	

<p>Ddhahzhít gwíchoo „a big (river) flowing out of the mountain“ The area of the Arctic Red River where it flows out of the mountains. Gwich’in hunters traveled into the valley to hunt caribou and sheep.</p>	<p><u>Sh’ye kádelí</u> „running water out of the mountain“ An area located at the entrance of the mountain where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains. Dorothy Cotchilly said the name means 'the water that's coming out of the mountain rock'.</p>	<p>Arctic Red River, the area where it flows out of the mountains</p>
	<p><u>Shí déh leré</u> „into the mountain“</p>	<p>Mackenzie Mountains</p>
<p>Tsugehnjuk „iron river“ Refers to the length of the Arctic Red River from its headwaters to where it meets the Mackenzie River.</p>	<p><u>Dalé nǐlíne</u> „dusty above river“ A big and wide river located on the way to the mountains. Dorothy Cotchilly said the name means 'the dirt of the hill is on top'. Joe Boniface said Dalé nǐlíne does not come from a lake, it comes from all kinds of creek joining together.</p>	<p>Arctic Red River</p>
	<p><u>Sq ?eh da</u> „shit point“</p>	
	<p><u>Fe dǎq nǐlíne</u> „rock mouse creek“ Joe Boniface said this river comes from the mountain.</p>	
<p>Tseevú choo nǐlǐq „big tree river“</p>	<p><u>St’udéh nǐlíné</u> „big tree / timber river“</p>	<p>Ramparts River</p>
<p>Ddhahzhít gwítsal „a small (river) flowing out of the mountain“ The area of the Arctic Red River where it flows out of the mountains. Gwich’in hunters used this valley to travel into the draws to hunt sheep and caribou.</p>		<p>Cranswick River</p>
<p>Níhtavan dǐnnúlee This name refers to three lakes that are strung together by a creek at the foot of a hill near the mountains. There is a fish run on the lake for a few days after New Year’s.</p>		<p>Fish Lake</p>

<p>Naatsak A distinctive looking bald hill near the mountains, south east of Gurn choo.</p>		
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Few interviews provide first hand description of the inside of the Arctic Red River headwaters through place names. It is important, therefore, to present a summary of several place names provided by Sonny Blake, a young Gwich'in trapper and harvester from Tsiigehtchic, who guided for Kelly Hougen of Arctic Red River Outfitters for two summers in the mid-1990s. The following are his observation and traditional environmental knowledge of the Arctic Red River headwaters area.

The mountains in the headwaters of the Arctic Red River

Sonny Blake has traveled extensively in the headwaters of Arctic Red River area while guiding on foot for Kelly Hougen's outfitting company. According to Sonny, the mountains are not forested. "It's mostly just moss and little willows." In the past when people traveled through the area, he thought they would have to bring their own tent poles.

When Sonny was guiding in the area, he said that the water in the area was excellent for drinking water, "It's glacier water. All these little creeks, rivers have clear water. The main river [Arctic Red River], when it's not high water it's clear but when it rains lots, it's all sand mix, mixed in there." There are ptarmigan in the mountains, especially in the willows in the „front range." He also indicated that there are, "Quite a few hawks. Never notice many eagles."

In the headwaters of the Arctic Red River

Sonny Blake indicated that a herd of woodland caribou live in the mountains in the headwaters of the Arctic Red River. "There's one herd that lives in the Mackenzie Mountains. I'd consider it Woodland Mountain Caribou. But during the winter, they winter in the Lichen Ridge area, from around Snake River, the Gayna River." He said they winter 20 or 30 miles from the mountains. They gather in the front range around August, and migrate towards the mountains after having their young in the front range in spring. Sonny said that bulls will leave the mountains before the cows do. Sonny said that there are salt licks in the mountains.

Gayna River

Sonny Blake worked as guide around the Gayna River. He said that there are many sheep in the area. The sheep migrate to the front ranges in the winter for food, and return to the mountains in the warmer months. The winter wind from the north cleans the snow off the front ranges and makes it easier for the sheep to feed. Sonny said that during the summer hunting season, the sheep are in small groups of rams, ewes, and lambs. Sonny has guided for caribou hunters around the Gayna River as well. "But that's where a lot a caribou come out too from Gayna River." Sonny indicated that there are lots of blueberries up the Gayna

River in the mountains. The patches of ice and snow near the Gayna River would attract caribou, according to Sonny. “That’s where you find that caribou coming, trying to get some of that cool air when it’s hot...”

Orthogonal River

Sonny Blake has also traveled up the Orthogonal River. He has also travelled up Grizzly Bear Creek, which empties into the Orthogonal. Kelly Hougen has a tent frame in the area. Sonny said the waters of these creeks are very cold. The area is largely treeless. In the mountains around the Orthogonal River, there are wolves as well as grizzly bears. The cooler weather of fall brings the grizzly bears down into the valleys, where they can hunt caribou, “[t]hey know the caribou are going to gather I guess.” Sonny said that grizzlies don’t bother people unless they are surprised, but that it is important to properly store your food. Sonny put his food under the moss to keep it cool – he said that grizzlies have an excellent sense of smell. “The mountains are pretty well grizzly bear country.” Grizzly bears tend to keep black bears out of the area, and Sonny mentioned that black bears are often found in the treed regions. Sonny saw a cave near Slide Lake on the Orthogonal River. This cave would be a good den for a grizzly bear. Sonny thinks that the 1970 flooding of the Arctic Red River may have been caused by the landslide or eruption that caused the formation of Slide Lake, “Because you can just see that rocks cover almost ten miles.”

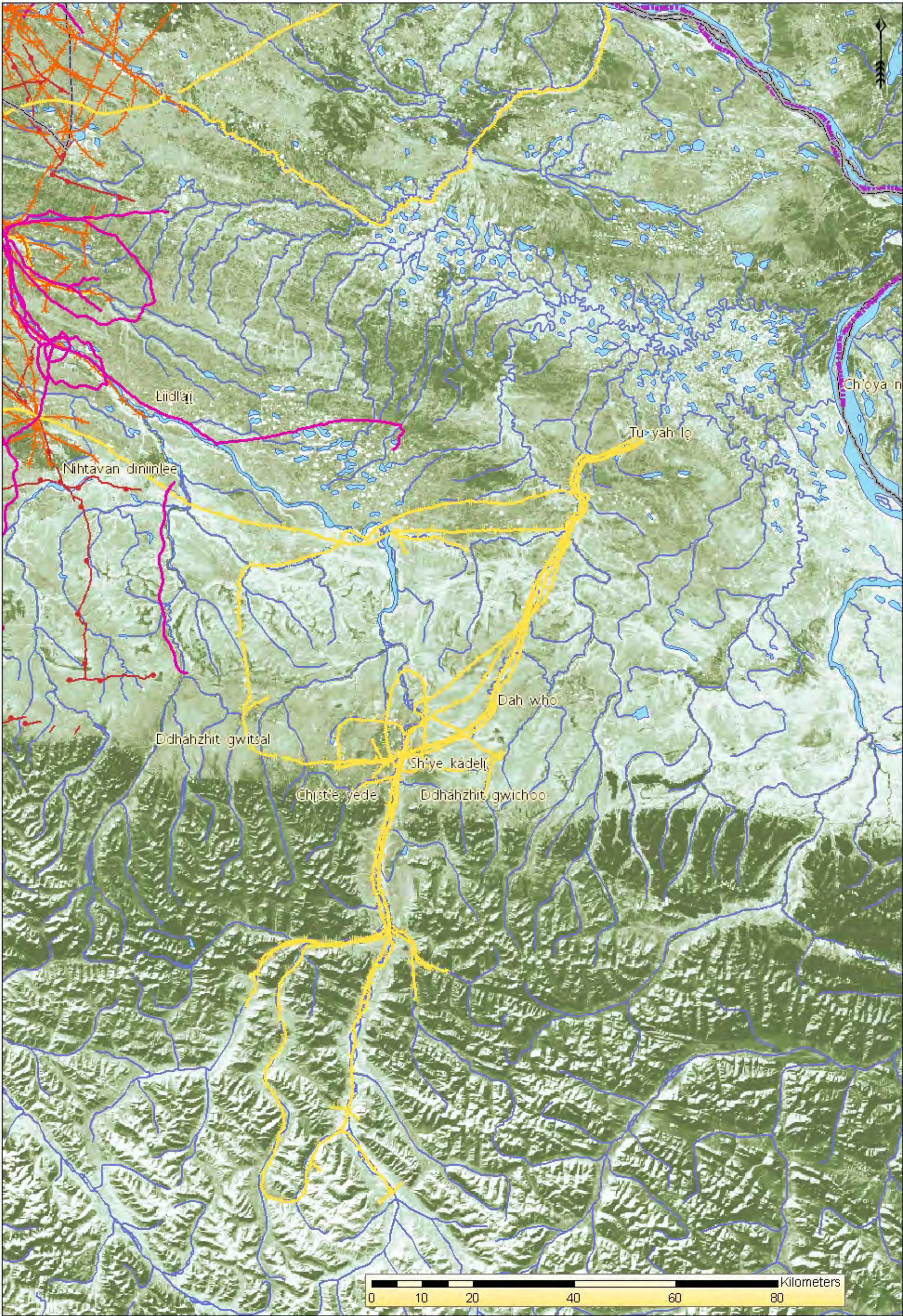
Sonny indicated that there is an active volcano or slide area along the Orthogonal River, which has created a lake known as “Slide Lake”. The rocks are very sharp in this area, and he feels that there must be an old-time trail in the area to get around the slide debris. He is confident that people would have used the valley when traveling through the area, though, “[b]ut I’m sure people came up this way because, because as I get further up, I start running out of trees.” About five miles before the Orthogonal River empties into the Arctic Red River, there is an area that Sonny indicated was a good area for a camp. About five kilometres further up, he saw „cuttings” on trees – where people used the area in the past.

Sonny said that caribou sometimes travel far up the mountains in the summer, possibly to escape the bugs with the wind. “Thought I seen a sheep way up on the mountain about ten miles away. Because you could see them on the skyline when they come up over a mountain, you see, notice it. When we got closer, put spotting scope on it and it was a caribou. Could see his horns. Didn’t think they’d go up that far. But in the spring they head up into the mountains.”

Sonny has seen some ice packs that last throughout the summer around the Orthogonal River. “But even down Spookum, like when from Slide Lake going down there’s some ice packs here and there, on the Orthogonal.”

3.1.2 Old time trail routes

Many trails were used by Gwich'in and Slavey family groups to reach the upper Arctic Red River area. The following map shows the Dene Nation Project trails that were marked by the Dene in the Mackenzie Valley between 1972 and 1989.



Headwaters of the Arctic Red River: Dene Mapping Project Trails

- | | |
|------------------|----------------|
| Aklavik | Fort Good Hope |
| Arctic Red River | Fort McPherson |
| Fort Franklin | Fort Norman |

Figure 18: Dene Nation Project trails map

In this section, the Fort Good Hope trails routes are presented first and they are followed by the Tsiigehtchic trail routes. The information provided are from their first hand accounts of their travels or stories they heard from relatives. The following map shows the trails that were marked by the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic Elders and harvesters during interviews carried out in early 2006.



Headwaters of the Arctic Red River: Trails, Camps, and Cabins

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Camp | Archaeological potential | Animal trail | Old time dog-team portage trail |
| Cabin site | Grave | Trail | Trapline |
| Cabin | Heritage | Old time trail | Trapline trail |
| Portage | | Old time dog-team trail | |

Figure 19: Gwich'in and Slavey trails map

3.1.2.1 Slavey trails to the Arctic Red River headwaters

In the fall Fort Good Hope family groups used to travel towards to the Arctic Red River Headwaters area along one main trail route that went westward from the Mackenzie River. The people traveled with dog packs along the Ramparts River and walked toward the mountains. Once the people were in the mountains, there is a possible trail that went over to Mayo and Lansing village (trails to the Yukon).

3.1.2.1.1 Trail route from the Ramparts River to the upper Arctic Red River

This trail route went along the Ramparts River through the Yellowhills Creek area to the entrance where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains.

Therese Pierrot said that the Fort Good Hope people used to travel along the Ramparts River to go up to the Arctic Red River. She said the trail started a little ways up the Ramparts River. They would start to travel in the summer by dog packs all the way to the mouth of the mountains. She said, "That's where they said they used to travel and meet Gwich'in people and from there further into the mountains." The people lived in the mountains to get caribou meat. Some people traveled beyond to the Yukon to trap and sell their furs in Dawson City. They traveled through the mountains because it was a shorter route.

Jerry Lennie marked the main winter dog team trail on the map from the Ramparts Rivers to the mountains via a valley he called „house child“ to the mouth of the mountains. He marked the gathering site located where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains. Slavey families would stop in this valley or at a well known fish lake to camp before they started climbing up towards the mountain area.

3.1.2.1.2 Trails to the Yukon from the upper Arctic Red River area

Old time trail routes also went beyond the Arctic Red River headwaters area. The routes that people might have taken to travel to Mayo or Lansing village in Yukon are somewhat vague as the interviewees could not mark their location on the maps. Here are a few examples:

Jerry Lennie said, "(the people) were nomads and they were traveling between the Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley, so there was a lot of...hunting and traveling back and forth over the mountains...there's quite a few people here from Mayo." He speculated that the people must have traditionally used most of the valleys inside the ARR headwaters areas. The people and possibly even prospectors would have used a main trail that went along the upper ARR to travel to Mayo.

Jean Baptiste Shae's brother and translator penciled the possible trail through the upper reach of the ARR headwaters and over the mountains. His father told them stories about Rose Mary Lennie's parents who used to travel to Mayo. They traveled in the winter time with dog teams. He said they "Go early in the fall with dog pack, spend fall in the flats for moose and caribou, then travel over to Mayo."

Joe Boniface said they used to go to Lawson (Dawson? Lansing?) too. The people sure traveled around with dog teams even it was hard. They really used the land in the old days, the mountains, because there was no food around here. Caribou, there was nothing, so they always go to the mountains for that. He could not say however which route was taken.

3.1.2.2 Gwich'in trails to the Arctic Red River headwaters

On the other hand, family groups from Tsiigehtchic traveled along one major trail route to reach the upper Arctic Red River area. The following map shown as Figure 20 shows the Gwichya Gwich'in trails that were recorded with Gwichya Gwich'in Elders in 1993.

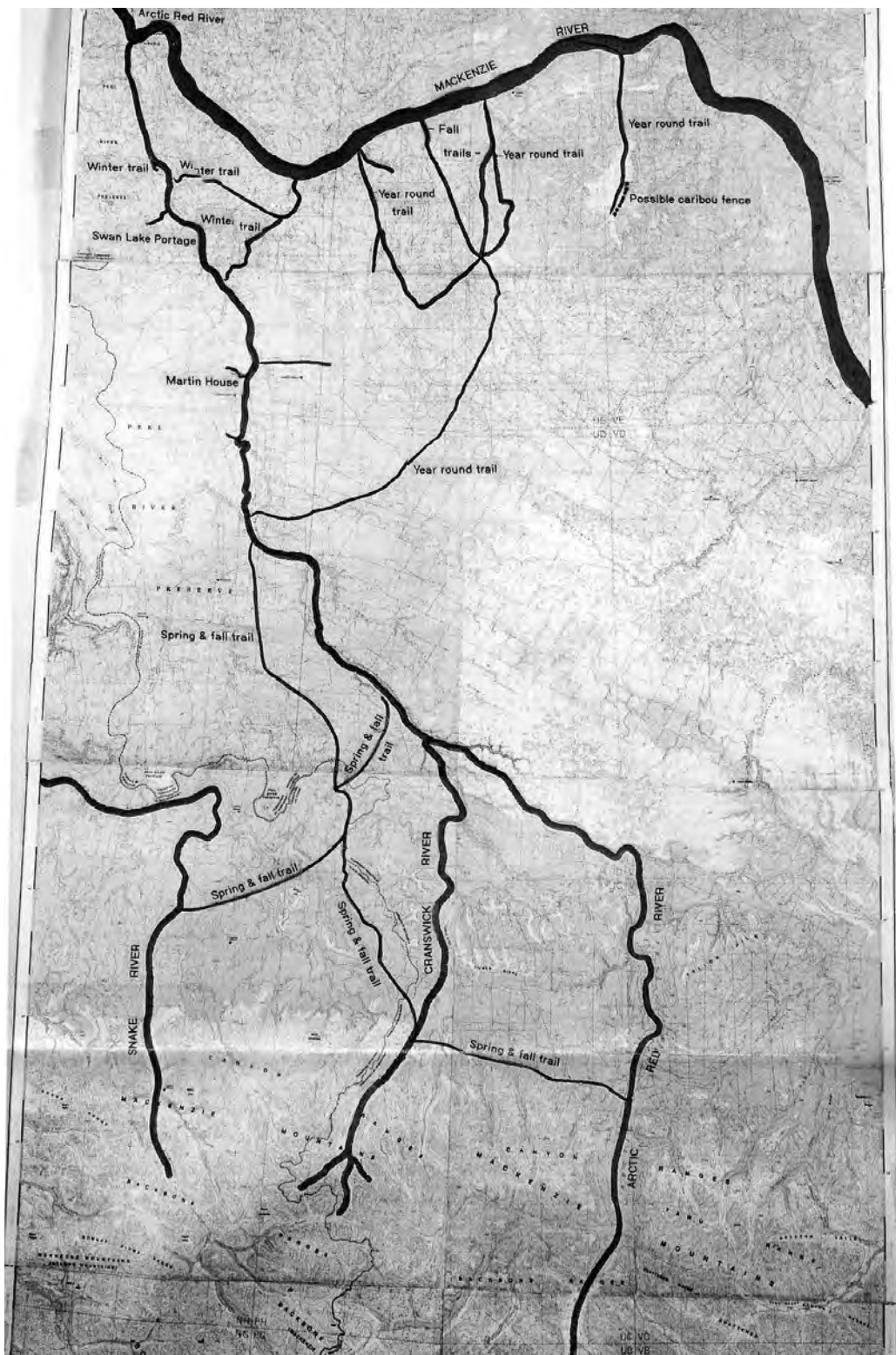


Figure 20: Gwichya Gwich'in map 1993.

According to stories, some family groups later journeyed into the Yukon, in the early 1900s, to Lansing village to trade dry meat and bone grease and to buy tents and stoves.

3.1.2.2.1 Trail route from Bernard Creek to the upper Arctic Red River area
In the fall Gwich'in family groups from Tsiigehtchic used to travel towards the upper Arctic Red River area along one main trail that started at **Hehnjuu deet'yah tshik** or Bernard Creek. Along the way families camped at **Nihtavan dinunlee** or Fish Lake to fish on the lake before traveling on. Caribou were found in the valleys and on the flat plains north of the mountains.

According to Kritsch and Andre (1993), “[Bernard Creek] was one of the most important places along the Arctic Red River. This place was described as a small town, in the early 1900s, with many cabins and tents on both sides of the creek.... A major trail into the mountains began at Bernard Creek and climbed up to **Gisheih jukau**. Once on top people continued overland to **Nihtavan dinunlee**, **Tsit divan**, **Naatsàk**, and up to **Ddhahzhit gwitsal** and then over to **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**.”

The following map, Figure 21, shows the area to the north of the Cranswick River. The old time trail to the upper Arctic Red River area went through this area.

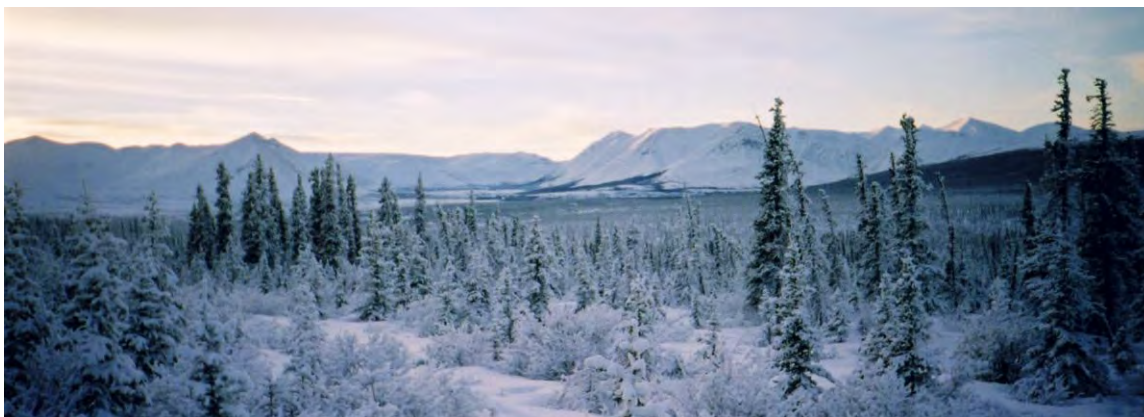


Figure 21: Area to the north of the Cranswick River, winter 2003. Photo credit: M. Winnie Blake.

3.1.2.2.2 Trails to the Yukon from the upper Arctic Red River area
Family groups from Tsiigehtchic also went to the Yukon along old time trail routes. However like the Fort Good Hope interviewees, the Tsiigehtchic interviewees heard stories about the journeys that people took. More often the trail routes were vague in people's memories and they could not be marked the routes on the map during the interviews. Several interviewees heard stories about a traditional trail route that went „over the mountains“ to Lansing and Mayo.

John Norbert remembers hearing stories from Small Remi about a gathering spot for people from Tsiigehtchic and Fort McPherson called Lansing. He said it was

on the route to the Yukon, where people would go and get supplies like tents, stoves, and axes. “[It] sound like there was a fairly, fairly big town that they go to.”

Julienne Andre, her husband and others traveled over the mountains through the Snake River to go to Lansing village (see Appendix 6).

3.1.3 Grave sites

Several grave sites were marked by the Fort Good Hope interviewees on the map. These are located at the entrance of the Arctic Red River where it flows out and inside the Arctic Red River headwaters area.

Therese Pierrot marked the location of a burial site that belonged to a girl named Cecile who was buried along the trail at the mouth where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains. Her mother told her about Cecile’s grave site and also about Cecile’s sister, Sarah, who was buried near Watson Lake.

Jean Baptiste Shae marked the location of a burial site inside the Arctic Red River headwaters area. “A young boy died and he was buried on the trail. An old man from Mayo found the family and helped (them) to bury him there along the trail,” he said.

Often the location of grave sites is unknown or people have said, like Annie Norbert below, that the grave sites were placed near the camps.

Annie Norbert talked about burial sites in her interview. “The sick person traveled with us. Eventually, that person never got better and they died out on the land. When a person dies we look for a good place somewhere around our campsite, a spot would be chosen then we prepared a place to bury our dead.”

Gabe Andre, “There was some people buried...around that **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**, them hills you know is high, uh? Maybe there’s some people buried around there. It’s pretty hard to find now I guess. If a guy looks for it he might find it. Because them days, they put [the body]...near on top the ground, uh?”

Joe Boniface said, “...Denise Manuel’s dad’s two sisters were buried in the mountains, way in the mountains, they said. They died there, those two girls. He said maybe lots of people died there...they’re buried up there but he said he don’t know, that was before him. People were buried with rocks piled on them. There are no markers.”

Dorothy Cotchilly said at place called Béwq nádéyí line „water run around the point”, she remembers there might be a grave of a very young boy there. In those days the people were buried at camps on the land.

3.1.4 Traditional campsites and gathering places

There were a number of traditional campsites near the Arctic Red River Headwaters area that were used by Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic family groups. These campsites are also known to be places where both groups gathered to stick gamble, tea and drum dance, and feast and travel inside the Arctic Red River mountain valleys.

In general, the traditional campsites were described as being large in size with many skin tents and were used mainly as winter caribou camps. While the men hunted for caribou in this area, the women remained at the camp to make dried meat, pemmican, bone grease and removed the marrow out of the bones. The women also worked with and tanned the caribou and moose hides. As the weather began to warm up in March and the water started flowing on the Arctic Red River, both groups started to travel back towards their home areas with their sleigh loads of dried meat and bone grease.

3.1.4.1 Campsite at **Nihtavan dinnunlee** or Fish Lake

The following photograph, shown as Figure 22, shows **Nihtavan dinnunlee** or Fish Lake, a string of lakes located near the Yukon/NWT border.

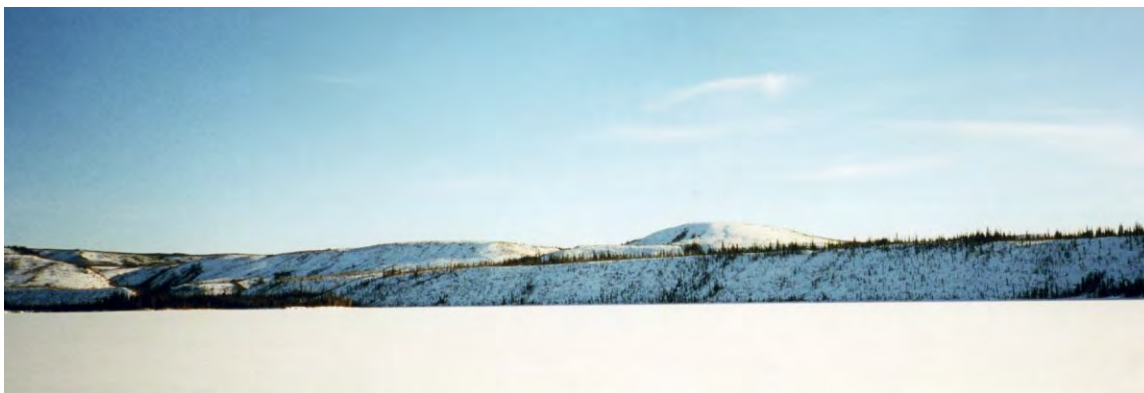


Figure 22: Fish Lake, winter 2003. Photo credit: M. Winnie Blake.

There was a main campsite at Fish Lake or **Nihtavan dinnunlee** used by Gwich'in families and where Slavey and Gwich'in groups would gather.

John Norbert said this was where they met people from Fort Good Hope. He said, "...we met all these Slaveys from Good Hope...the Kelly family, the Shae family...there's Grandjambes. I think (there) was Jacksons and some others." John said that after they left Fish Lake, they'd travel towards the mountains, "That's where we all met and then from there we all start traveling together...to **Ddhahzhit gwitsal**."

In the early 1990s, Sonny Blake traveled around Fish Lake while trapping near the mountains. He has seen old cuttings and blazes from when people traveled in the area long ago. He indicated that there are moose in the area, "[s]ee lot of moose around the Fish Lake area." He has seen moose fighting in the vicinity. Sonny also said that Fish Lake has a crookedback (whitefish) run in November,

“it”s supposed to be pretty good fishing on the Fish Lake there. Crooked back, ...my dad was saying.”

3.1.4.2 Campsite where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains

There was a main campsite located at the entrance of the mountains where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains, across from present-day Sven Lake that was used by both groups. The interviewees have said this was also a gathering site.

When Annie Norbert was 17 and 18 years old, she traveled with her parents and her older brothers Amos and John Niditchie up the Arctic Red River to **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**. They left Tsiigehtchic in September, passed fall and freeze-up in Bernard Creek, and after Christmas headed towards the mountains. They crossed **Nihtavan dinunlee** and went into the foothills, crossing **Ts’it divan**, another fish lake “As we traveled further into the foothills; once in a while my brothers would kill a caribou. This gave us food for our traveling. There were few people traveling with us as we travel to a place called **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**.” They entered the mountains at **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**. The mountains provided a lot of caribou and moose hunting opportunities, and Annie Norbert said that they were well-fed and their dogs were healthy and strong. The weather made them turn back, “we had traveled some distance into the mountains and because there was often wind in the mountains, my father said, “We should turn back.” So we did just that.” Annie remembers the trip very fondly, “The beauty of this land! The richness of this land! The mountains were on each side of us and we traveled between the valleys and the rivers.”

Joe Boniface said his favorite memories are the years he stayed at the Arctic Red River where it comes from the mountains, he said he always thinks about when they used to stay there at a place called Dalé nílíne (dusty above river). He said he thinks about that. It”s a good place, he said. From there they turned back to Good Hope. It was a flat place where they were staying. The trees are really short and fat. The branches are not like those around Fort Good Hope. He said that there are lots of creeks up there. He also said that up in the mountains, there”s no wood, only around the river, where there”s wood and trees. He said this place was really flat, just like a floor. He said that different groups of people would meet and stay together. There were dancing, drum dancing and hand games every night. Hard for wood too, I think. He said this place was on the flat place. Really flat, just like floor. He said when they meet together they stayed together. There was dancing, drum dance and hand games every night.

3.1.4.3 Campsite in the Arctic Red River headwaters

People referred to another campsite location inside the mountain, in the Arctic Red River headwaters area. Only an approximate location was given of this campsite that measured about 10 miles long by 3 miles wide.

An area was marked, after the Orthogonal River, by Jerry Lennie as a possible place where people could have camped. His uncle, Jim Pierrot, told him about this camp place. It was suggested that there was high potential for artifacts where this camp was located.

According to Gregory Shae, Jean Baptise Shae's dad, "(Both Gwich'in and Slavey groups) used to meet inside the mountain" but Jean Baptiste did not know the location where this meeting took place.

3.1.4.4 Meeting place in the Yukon

Interviewees heard stories about a meeting place in the Yukon.

Jim Pierrot said when he was very young he heard a story about his grandpa that said they used to meet in the Yukon somewhere with Han Gwich'in and the Gwich'in from Tsiigehtchic and Slavey people from Fort Good Hope. He said that they had a really nice time meeting, hunting together, trapping together and having drum dances and stick gambling.

3.1.5 Historic cabin sites

Wilfred Jackson said there was a cabin by Tabasco Lake. Jerry Lennie said the Slavey people used to hunt sheep in the fall time at this lake. He talked about a hill located near Tabasco Lake that is a "really nice sliding hill". This hill is marked „Slippery Hill" on the 1:50,000 map. Jerry added, "Yes, I said that's the best sliding hill I've seen." There is no Slavey name for this hill.

3.1.6 Legends

There were no legends that took place in the study area. One legend was told about two cultural heroes meeting in the mountains.

Jerry Lennie recalled one legend he knew. He said, "That's the one with Yámoga (go around the world) and one person from the Gwich'in. They had a falling out between the two of them. They were both really competitive, both were very good hunters, very good with their arrows and they were really smart. They challenged each other up this way in the mountain area a few times. Eventually it all ended up in the Loche Lake area [Nohfe k'ó hóde' (big loche lake)]. When you look towards the left side, going towards the Wells, there's that big ridge. On the end there's a sheer drop on the far end, the south end of it. That's where Yámoga (go around the world) jumped off the cliff instead of being killed. He got wounded so, instead of them taking his life he jumped off the cliff to save himself. I know they also talked about those two in the mountains where they were shooting arrows at each other and their arrows would hit each other, so they were saying, "I'm just as good as you" and they couldn't overcome each other. But in the end they wounded him and he jumped off the cliff. That's why they call that big rock over there Yamoga fee (Yamoga mountain). But the story behind that comes from a man from the Gwich'in area and one from this area. They had a falling out with

each other for many years. That's an old legend, from way before Columbus landed, way before then."

3.1.7 Sacred or spiritual sites

No sacred or spiritual sites were identified in the interviews however burial sites and the natural world are regarded with prayers and songs by the Fort Good Hope people.

Dorothy Cotchilly said through her translator, "...the only grave yard, she didn't see it but that was her grandfather's sister's grave. It was not far off the road where they used to travel by the shore. There was a little bank and that's where the grave yard was. Her grandfather and grandmother used to run up there and pray on the grave yard and come back down. Not far from there too her grandma used to tell her that long ago there were people that died of starvation and they didn't dig the ground for them, they just put trees over them. She said there was a place like that."

Jim and Therese told several stories about special reverence that was accorded to the natural world with songs.

Jim said, "...there's lots of songs...in the morning, I hear Morris singing, he sang „Don't take my sunshine away." (Laughter) He looked back in the hills and then he looked back here and...when the sun is coming up and then he looked back at where we were hunting in the high hills...beautiful! All down there was just lake, sand, creeks, all that. That's why he sang to the world. He told the world, „Don't take my sunshine away." The people were singing to the world, not only love songs to women...no, they were singing to the world."

Jim Pierrot added, "That time Michel Barnaby said he fell in the water in the Mackenzie River. When he stuck his head out of the water...he seen the mountains towards Norman Wells. He said he knew he was going to drown so he sang to that world...I don't know how he got to the shore...he's still alive. You could sing that song to that tall mountain....The people respected the big hills that time."

Therese Pierrot talked about the sacredness of the land in another way, "We look at [the land] for surviving, we go to the land where we think we might have better food to eat, that's what we look at the land for. But today (southerners) come looking for gold, diamonds, oil, gas and they're looking for money.... We do not look for that, we live on the land and we use it to survive. That's why I think about the world, the land in Good Hope, I think of it as my bank and my deep freeze, that's how I look at the land."

3.2 Traditional environmental knowledge

The following map, figure 23, shows the traditional environmental knowledge (terrestrial, aquatic and air) of the areas near the upper Arctic Red River and headwaters area were documented from the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic interviews.

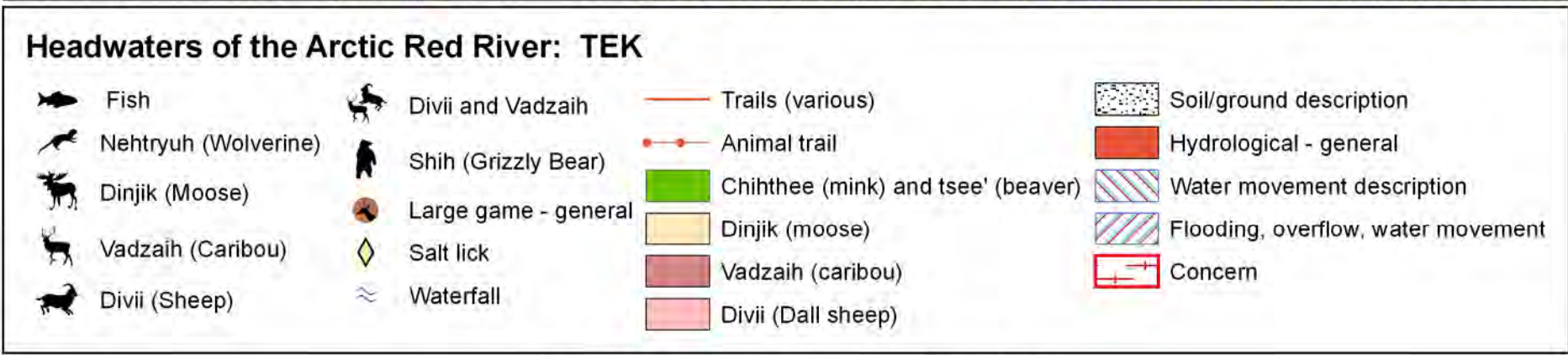
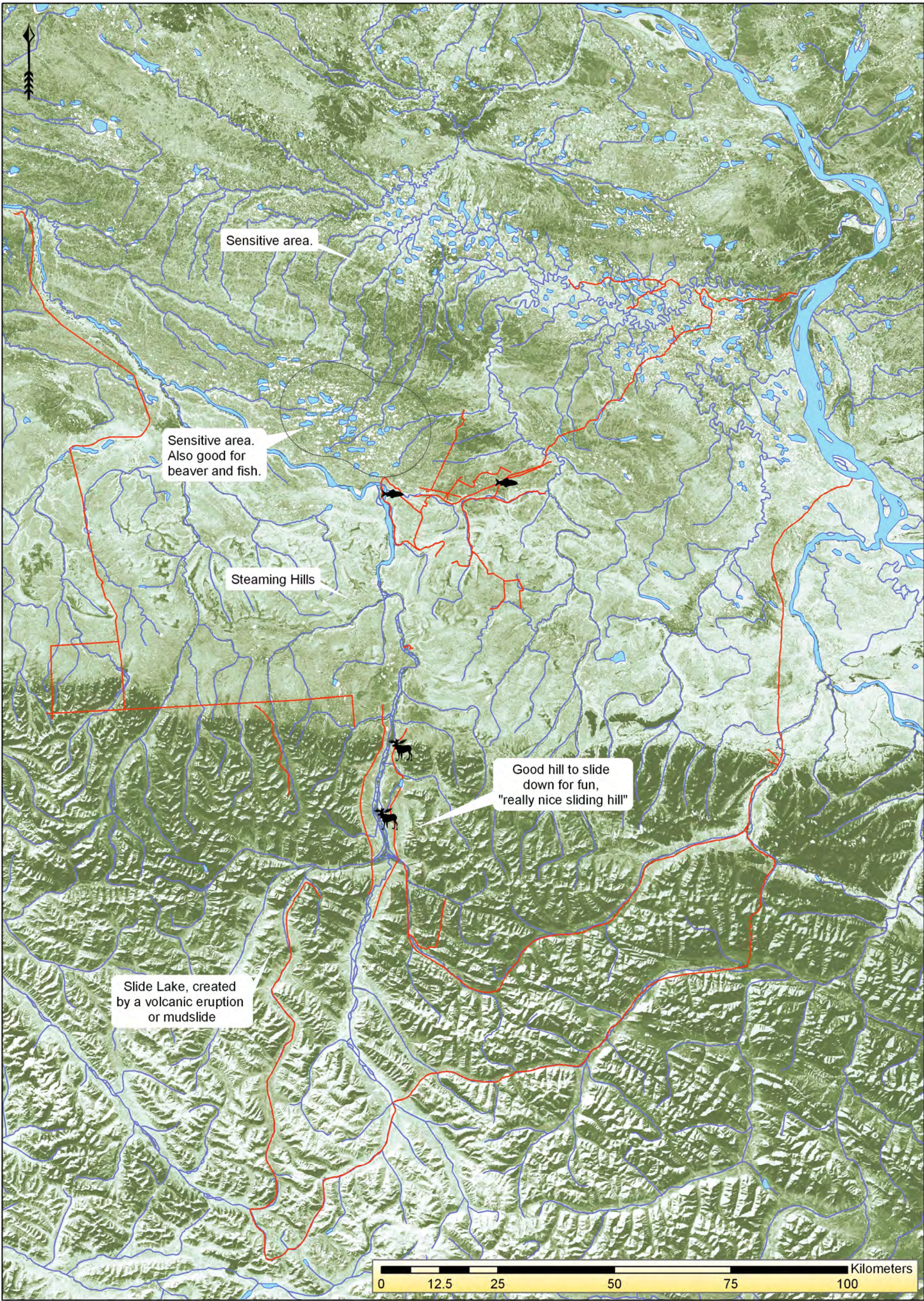


Figure 23: Traditional environmental knowledge.

3.2.1 Terrestrial

The traditional environmental knowledge related to „terrestrial“ include animals, birds, plants, and land. The animals reported in the study area include: caribou, moose, sheep, grizzly bear, wolves, wolverine, marten, mink, rabbits, fox, ground hogs, porcupine, and coyote. This area is the habitat for caribou, moose, sheep, grizzly bear. Very few black bears were seen in the mountains.

Sonny Blake was told about a black bear 15 miles up the Arctic Red River from **Ddhahzhit gwichoo**. Generally the mountains are inhabited only by grizzly bears, not black bears, so it was an unusual sighting. . He said, “[t]he mountains are pretty well grizzly bear country.” When asked why black bears and grizzlies do not have cross-over in their territories, Sonny said, “Because uh, grizzly bears are more dominant and they tend to keep the black bears out of the mountains because that their territory. Black bears usually roam all over the trees, along the rivers.”

Sonny indicated that grizzly bears can be dangerous when they are older – “If they’re older bears then they’re, got a bad attitude because uh they’re teeth are ...[ground] down.” He said that you can tell how old the bears are by measuring between their ears, “he was old grizzly, about ten years old. Because he a measure between the ears and how many inches that’s how, roughly how old they are. [The oldest they get is] I think eleven. With the sheep too it’s pretty little, hardly ever see a twelve year old ram. Just ten, eleven, then they die of natural causes or... hardly ever see a twelve year old ram.”

Joe Boniface reported seeing grizzly bear, porcupine, sheep, caribou, and moose in the mountains. Grizzly bears have dens in the mountains. There were a lot of groundhogs, foxes, wolves, mink, coyote. The caribou were really fat. The moose were in good shape, its fat is just thick, in the fall time, moose. He said the sheep was fat too.

Dorothy Cotchilly said the caribou and moose meat that the hunters brought in were fat and the meat was good. The caribou and moose on top the mountain were fatter than the ones in the area below the mountains. They were further away from the mountains so they didn’t see any sheep or mountain goat or anything like that. There was also a lot of whiskyjacks.

Alice Rabisca’s family traveled to the mountains with James Jackson’s family. After they arrived there, they got some fat caribou and were busy making dry meat. There was sheep but they did not care for that. They just wanted caribou. It was getting to March and it started to warm up. She said, “At that mountain, they say they see water already, running in the mountain.” They also trapped for martin, fox, mink, and were able to get a lot of fur. Alice said, “Good place, lots of rabbits around.”

Jim & Therese Pierrot said there is caribou, wolves, wolverine, martin, foxes in the mountain area. Sheep travel down and up in the mountains. They said that there are lots of ptarmigan and lots of moose in some mountain valleys.

Russell Andre said that when he traveled into the mountains in March of 1991 with Bucky Simon, there was a lot of overflow in the valley of the Shattered Range. Russell said that he shot sheep in this area. There are also caribou in the area, "Yeah, this herd of caribou they don't go nowhere they just stay right there year round." He said that sheep are well suited to the mountains, and are difficult to hunt. Sheep will scan the area as they descend the mountains, looking for predators. They will recognize it if anything changes from the last „snapshot“ in their minds, and become cautious.

Herbert Andre remembers seeing moose around Tabasco Lake in the summer. "There was about eight moose right clean around that lake. Just, just along that lake, because there's hardly any lakes around, uh?" He said that the area around Tabasco Lake is heavily populated by wildlife, including sheep. He said, "these are really high mountains here on this side? And it just white with ah sheep." There were also caribou in the nearby valleys and grizzlies around the lake. Herbert said that the moose leave the mountains for their rutting season, and travel down the Arctic Red River,

I think they, there's, they stay up in this area here and then, you could see them, like in the fall time. In the fall time you could see them, they travel down the river. They stay right in the river.

Sonny Blake mentioned that the caribou in the mountains are larger than other woodland caribou. He said they are known as *woodland mountain caribou*. He said,

But during the winter, they winter in the Lichen Ridge area. From around Snake River the Gayna River. In that area. ... About say twenty, thirty miles from the mountains. Maybe more. I'm not too sure but that's where we seen that one bunch a caribou there. It's right on **Naats'ak**, actually. ... But in the spring time they all move back into the mountain and spend their summer somewhere in the mountains there. I'm not sure actually where they go. And in the fall time they come out to the Front Range. Because when I was guiding there, I notice, the end of August they start moving to the Front Range and start gathering. Getting ready for the rut. Friend of mine was telling me they have their young in this Front Range in the springtime.

Sonny Blake fears that the woodland mountain caribou herd in the mountains might grow to a point where animals will be getting sick, because the herd is no longer being controlled by Gwich'in and Slavey hunters. He sees the caribou as a viable resource when barren-ground caribou herds such as the Porcupine herd are losing numbers.

Sonny traveled extensively in the study area and reported caribou throughout. He has also hunted moose, “Moose. See lot of moose around the Fish Lake area.” Sonny has seen Dall sheep in the study area around the Gayna River.

And they say in the winter time they come down to the Front Range because it’s, I guess the wind takes most of the snow off so they feed better. Because further back you go the less wind they get from the north, the more build up snow. Harder for them to eat.

Sonny indicated that sheep co-exist in mixed groups along the mountain slopes, “Yes. They’re all mixed together the sheep, most of them are but a lot of them are (unclear) ewes and lambs. Lot of smaller rams. ... They’re you get the odd big ram too.” Sonny marked some salt licks on a creek he called *Grizzly Bear Creek*.

Herbert Andre discussed the daily behaviour of sheep during the summer – he said the sheep migrate up and down the mountains for food, daily; “in the morning? They go down....And, and then in the day time they, they go back up.”

Russell Andre noted that moose and caribou occupy slightly different areas, “But the moose didn’t tend to stay up on top the hills they were more in the valleys and then the creeks huh?... Caribous were the ones that were on top of the hills.”

Gabe Andre said that there are lots of beavers along the Arctic Red River. “Pretty near every bend there’s beaver house camp.” He said they tend to feed on poplar. Beavers, according to Gabe’s dad, can be hard to catch and seem to know how to escape from people. Gabe tells this story about his dad:

I remember my dad tell me, around there is some beaver and uh, on the river, you know [in the] mountain? Say, you’ll never get that beaver. As long as you’re around, they know how to get around uh? He said there was one beaver house on an island. Them days, they chop beaver house, and kill them all. This one, they did that and when they opened it, there’s no beaver in there! And it’s all open water there, never see beaver went out. So they check it good and find out a hole behind the house. Island is long they had to hole all the way through that island and it been coming out the other side!

Russell Andre went trapping one season up the Arctic Red River. When they were on the Yellow Hills Ridge, there was a large marten population, “It was so much marten you could watch them get stuck in traps, I mean get caught. You could actually sit there you see a marten running along, you stop and watch it (noise) goes to the trap, gets caught.” Russell said that when the population is too large, sometimes the animals will kill each other to maintain balance. “If they get too many and that, they’ll start to killing one another off huh? And so I guess that’s Mother Nature’s way of sustaining stability - even balance.”

The birds sighted in the study area include: raven, whisky jacks, ptarmigan, owls, 'snow hawk', seagull, spruce grouse.

Joe Boniface said that there are lots of ptarmigan and whiskey jacks. He said that ravens are everywhere. He also indicated that there are seagulls in the winter in the creek from a hot springs.

The plants in the study area include: trees, berries, and moss. There was no mention of insects in any of the interviews.

Joe Boniface said berries of the mountains include blueberries, cranberries, blackberries, and cloud berries. There were lots and they were of a fair size.

Dorothy Cotchilly said Slavey and Gwich'in families decided to set up one big camp at Chíst'e yéde (gather in one camp). There was a lot of wood and they gathered many spruce branches. She said that in no time there was no more wood because there were too many people staying in the camp.

Russell Andre remembers the spruce being very thick along the Yellow Hills Ridge, "Really thick timber up there, you can't even drive skidoo through the bush... they're 10-15 feet high. (pause) Thick timber in here."

The land in the study area were described as being avalanche areas, steep hills, low rolling hills, rock slides, flat rocks, razor sharp volcanic rocks. Here are interview summary samples regarding this topic.

Joe Boniface said that the avalanche was scary and really dangerous. People are really careful for that. He also reported falling rocks which made a lot of noise.

Dorothy Cotchilly said there was rough terrain only at one place where it was really dangerous. It was when they went over the mountain and the terrain was so steep, they had to help one another to take their dog teams down. To go back over to this side she said it was really dangerous but they were mountain people and they traveled even though it was like that.

Herbert Andre remembers that the landscape around Tabasco Lake was characterized by large boulders that were difficult to scramble around. Sonny Blake mentioned that another area that can be hard to travel on is around Slide Lake, where sharp blast rock can make walking slow and dangerous.

Russell Andre described the landscape on the west side of the Arctic Red River as being very rugged, especially near Lichen Hill.

And we're trying every which way to get around this mountain [Lichen Hill], get over it. ... Yeah (unclear) it's a really dangerous mountain, you know. It doesn't look like very much here but when you go there you see these big creeks. Those

are not kidding. These big ones here too, like these ones they're not (unclear) you're not kidding. ... Yeah it's steep hills. Take me long time to get up.

3.2.2 Aquatic

The TEK related to „aquatic“ in the study area includes waterfalls, overflow, mountain water, fast water, rapids, clear and clean water, and areas of open water in the spring and winter. For example, Jean Baptiste Shae said that in the spring time the water would appear too early. He said the people traveled mostly in the winter because it's too dangerous with water rising in the spring time. The fish species noted in this area include trout, blue fish or grayling, but no jack fish.

Dorothy Cotchilly remembers the water was clear - very fresh water. The water was good. There was a lot of overflow in the winter. The water just comes and freezes and the next time the water comes again and it freezes again. It must have been that way all the time.

Herbert Andre mentioned that the water in the mountains is clear, and good to drink. “Crystal clear. Mountain water, you could tell.”

Many interviewees mentioned the waterfalls along the Arctic Red River. Several interviewees said that the waterfalls along the river resemble giant steps. The Arctic Red River is known for being difficult to navigate due to the constantly shifting channels, the shallow clay river bottom, and the fast running water.

Sonny Blake said that it is possible to catch grayling with rod and reel in the Arctic Red River near Sven Lake, “Lots of grayling in there....Just find little pools and fish in there, lots of fun.”

3.2.3 Air

John Norbert remembers staying at **Ddhahzhit gwitsal** in the winter when he was young. He said that the water of the Arctic Red River was running fast under the ice – even in the middle of winter.

The TEK related to „air“ includes weather conditions such as warm temperatures in the mountains vs cold temperatures at lower elevations. Interviewees also reported fog and drizzle and how it used to be very dark in the valley. They also remembered deep snow, snow and wind storms, rain, thunder and lightening. Some interview summary samples include:

Dorothy Cotchilly said they traveled mostly in the mountains so it was always windy and the wind was sharp and cold. She said the thunder in the mountains used to be loud. They used to get scared but her grandfather used to get mad because he had a little bit of medicine for the thunder. He takes his gun out and shoots up in the air for nothing and then that the thunder just goes away and then there were clear skies. Her grandfather was using a shot gun not a muzzle loader.

Edward Kelly said he remembers when they were traveling in the mountains it was getting too warm so they had to head back and he said at a lower level they hit the cold weather again. He said it was really blowing. Edward was really small at that time. He said it was about fifty, sixty below, but he still had to walk. He said his legs were sore.

4. RECOMMENDATIONS

This section will provide recommendations regarding continued research to be carried out in Phase III and changing the designation of the Arctic Red River headwaters.

Recommendation #1

It is recommended that a third phase be carried out in the Arctic Red River headwaters to complete the following research.

1. Archaeology and TEK interviews

There is a high potential for unrecorded archaeological sites in the Arctic Red River headwaters area due to known traditional trails, several known campsites and gravesites and axe-cut trees marked on maps from the Phase II project. As there are currently few people using the area, and no large-scale developmental impacts, it is likely that most archaeological sites are intact.

It is therefore recommended that an extensive archaeological survey be carried out during the summer of 2007 in the Arctic Red River headwaters area as this area is totally unknown from an archaeological point of view. GSCI recommends that an archaeologist be involved with the project from the start to help with the planning, survey and interpretation. Before the archaeological survey takes place, an in-depth meeting or interview should take place with Sonny F. Blake and/or Kelly Hougen about animal, plant, geography and climate TEK or local knowledge of the area. TEK interviews could focus specifically on animals, plants, and other biophysical topics that were not intensively explored in the interviews for Phase II due to time constraints. It is further recommended that Sonny F. Blake of Tsiigehtchic who is knowledgeable about this area be hired as a guide and assistant on the archaeological survey.

2. Researching Lansing

According to stories, many months of walking with dog packs were undertaken by Gwich'in family groups along mountain trails to Lansing village. Lansing, located on the Lansing River in the Yukon, was once a major trading post where Gwich'in and Slavey groups traveled to purchase tents and stoves. The COPE tape collection and the Na-Cho Nyak Dun (Mayo First Nations) website have additional information and accounts of NWT family groups traveling to and meeting at Lansing.

GSCI recommend that selected COPE tapes from Gwichya and Teetl'it Gwich'in people be re-translated and that Na-Cho Nyak Dun (Mayo First Nations) be contacted to document cultural information and to mark the mountain trail routes between Lansing village and the Arctic Red River and Peel River watersheds.

3. Slavey place names

The spelling of Slavey place names provided in the Fort Good Hope interviews from the Arctic Red River headwaters project Phase II need to be standardized and verified with Slavey language speakers.

GSCI recommend that the Sahtu GIS Project be contacted and brought on-board and documented Slavey place names, if required, be provided to them to verify and spell check with Slavey language speakers.

Recommendation #2

It is recommended that the status of **Tsugehtshik Gwıł'ı́t** Headwaters of the Arctic Red River Special Management Zone in the Gwich'ın Land Use Plan (2003) be changed.

GSCI recommend that the name be changed to **Tsugehnjik gwıł'ı́t** as this Gwich'ın name means the Arctic Red River headwaters.

The Tsiigehtchic and Fort Good Hope interviews voiced concerns that the Arctic Red River Headwaters area must be protected for recreational, cultural and heritage reasons. The valley through the Arctic Red River Headwaters, the entrance where the Arctic Red River flows out and the front range of the Mackenzie Mountains where the caribou graze must be protected. There are burial sites, trail routes, and campsites throughout this area where the ancestors of the Fort Good Hope and Tsiigehtchic people have traditionally lived and traveled over many seasons. The interviewees also talked about the beauty of the landscape, the bountiful resources, and the clear mountain water that must be protected. They stated that development must not occur here. The area must be kept for their school children, their people and for visitors to learn about the Slavey and Gwich'ın culture and about a traditional way of life on the land and in the mountains.

GSCI recommends that the Special Management Zone designation be upgraded to a Heritage Conservation Zone due to the cultural importance of the area, both historical and modern, to the Gwichya Gwich'ın. The Arctic Red River headwaters area was used historically for its rich resources and was a major meeting place for the Gwichya Gwich'ın, Slavey, Teetl'ı́t Gwich'ın and Na-Cho Nyak Dun.

If it is not possible to upgrade the area to a Heritage Conservation Zone, GSCI recommend that more conditions be appended to the designated Special Management Zone relating to the following:

- (a) animal, fish, and bird habitat,
- (b) heritage sites, in particular gathering sites,
- (c) heritage resources,
- (d) burial sites,
- (e) traditional trails,
- (f) tourism value,
- (g) traditional and modern hunting, traveling and trapping value, and
- (h) traditional and modern educational camps value and availability to teach Gwich'ın youth and visitors about the land, values and the traditional way of life in the mountains.

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Dene Nation

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2005 The Sahtu Atlas. Sahtu GIS Project. Edited by James Auld, and Robert Kershaw; compiled by Robert Kershaw et al. Printed in Canada by Friesans.

Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group (John T'Seleie, Isadore Yukon, Bella T'Seleie, Ellen Lee, and Tom Andrews)

2000 Rakekée Gok'é Godi: Places We Take Care Of. Report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group. Published by Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknife, NWT.

APPENDIX 1: Individual interview questions

TRADITIONAL USE

These are only a guideline. Follow up with stories if people start to tell stories – get as many details as possible! If names of people are mentioned, get their full names.

Traditional Use

1. Where have you / people travelled in this area?
2. Why were you / people there? Where were you /people coming from?
3. Who were you /people travelling with? Can you remember any names?
4. What season(s)?
5. When did you first go? When was your last trip?
6. How long has this area been used?
7. What did you do with the resources collected in this area – i.e. furs, meat. Sell them to a trader? Shared them with others? Used them yourself?
8. Did you meet other people while using this area? Who?
9. What would you do when you met other people in this area – camp, just pass by?
10. Does this area have a reputation – hard to hunt, easy to hunt, hard to travel, etc.

Named places

11. Are there any Gwich'in named places in this area? Are there any English names?
[Draw on map and number.](#)
 - lakes
 - rivers or creeks
 - mountains
 - ridges
 - rapids
 - glaciers
 - points along trails
 - trails (old time, dogteam)
 - campsites
 - stories
 - places named after people
 - legendary hero or creatures
 - plants
 - area(s) of land
 - other things
12. What do these names mean/translate as? Why are they named these names? Is there a story that goes along with the name?
13. What is the exact extent of these names, to your knowledge? i.e., the whole creek? Just the mouth of the creek? [Mark extent on map.](#)
14. Why do these places each have a name? i.e. – good hunting, trail marker, something happened there in the past.

Old Time Trails

15. Where are the trails in this area? What route did / do people take to travel to this area from Tsiigehtchic? [Draw on map and number.](#)
16. What time of year were the trails used?
17. Why did you / people travel on these trails – i.e. hunting, trapping
18. How do you / people travel on these trails now (if relevant)? How did you / people travel on them in the past i.e. walking, dog sleds, dog packs, moose skin boats, skidoo, canoe, etc.
19. When was the last time the trails were used, if they are not used today?
20. Are the rivers navigable by boat or tracking? What time of the year?

Gravesites

21. Are there any graves in this area? [Mark on map.](#)
22. Who was buried there? When? Do you know what caused the death?

Gathering sites [Mark all on map, number.](#)

23. Where did you hunt? What were you hunting?
24. Where did you trap(?) ? What were you trapping? Did you use deadfalls?
25. Where can you gather berries in this area? Which berries?
26. Where can you gather plants? Which plants? Were the plants for food or medicine or other uses?
27. Can you hunt for birds such as ducks, geese, swans, spruce hens, or ptarmigan? Where?
28. Is there anything special or different about the plants and animals in this area?
29. Have you heard about gathering places in the area? If so, where ? [Mark on map, number.](#)
30. Where did people used to stop to make moose skin boats? [Mark on map, number.](#)

Traditional Campsites and Historic Cabin Sites

31. Did people from Tsiigehtchic, including your ancestors, ever live in the area? If so, who lived there? When and where would they have lived?
32. Have you seen any place where people used long ago? For example, stumps cut with an axe, old tent sites, falling in cabins? [Mark on map, number.](#)
33. Are there any camps in this area? What kind of camp? Who lived there? [Mark on map, number.](#)
34. Where did/do you stop when you travel? [Mark on map, number.](#)
35. What buildings were there? What were the buildings used for?
36. Were there areas outside of the buildings that were used for processing food or other uses? i.e. making drymeat, smoking hides, throwing away garbage.

Legends

37. Are there any legends about this land? The people who lived and travelled here?
38. Are there any giant animals, creatures, or people that used to live in this area?

Sacred or Spiritual Sites

39. Are there sacred or spiritual sites in the area? If so, what is the story that goes with them?

Traditional Environmental Knowledge

- 40. What animals have you seen in this area? What have you hunted? What seasons?
- 41. What birds have you seen in this area? Song birds, ducks, geese, ptarmigans, crows, eagles, etc.
- 42. Do any birds migrate into this area? Do any birds migrate through this area?
- 43. If/when you hunt or trap in this area, are the animals in good shape? Are they different than in other places such as down river or near the Mackenzie River?
- 44. Is the water drinkable? In the lakes or creeks?
- 45. How is this area for overflow, high water, glaciers?
- 46. What kinds of fish are there in this area? Where have you seen or harvested these fish? What seasons?
- 47. Do fish spawn in this area? What fish, and where?
- 48. Are there a lot of fish? Birds? Animals?
- 49. How do the bugs (mosquitoes, black flies, bulldogs, horse flies) compare with down river or near the Mackenzie River?
- 50. Is there ever brush fires or forest fires in this area? What happens after the fire?
- 51. Is there anywhere where animals have their young ones? Such as dens?
- 52. Is there anywhere where birds have nests?
- 53. What is the weather like in this area in summer/fall/spring/winter? (snow, snow/wind storms, rain, thunder and lightening, drizzle, fog, hot temperatures, cold temperatures, etc.)

Long-term Land Management

- 54. What are the special features or things on the land here that should be treated with great respect when making land management decisions? For example, what Landscapes? Wildlife? Water? Trees? Traditional trails? Where? Mark on map.
- 55. Why is this area so important to your community? What makes it special?
- 56. Are there areas that you would like to see protected from industrial development (i.e. mining)? Where? Mark on map.
- 57. What kinds of activities should be allowed up here? What activities should not be allowed here?
- 58. If you could go up to the headwaters with some youth, where would you want to go most? What would you want to do with them?
- 59. Are there any special rules for being in this area of the mountains compared with the area near Tsiigehtchic?
- 60. Do you have any other comments or wish to add anything else?

APPENDIX 2: Group interview questions

Traditional Use

1. Traditional Use

Where did people used to travel in this area? What season(s)? To your knowledge, how long has this area been used?

2. Named places

Are there any Slavey place or other names in this area? Is there a story that goes with some of the place names?

3. Old time trails

What trail routes did people take to travel to the ARR Headwaters area from FGH?

4. Gravesites

Are there graves or burial sites in this area? Where? Who is buried there?

5. Gathering sites

Where did people used to gather to hunt, to stay in the spring, to make moose skin boats, or to celebrate (tea dance, drum dance, stick gamble)?

6. Traditional campsites and historic cabin sites

Are there campsites and cabin sites in the area? Where? Who lived there?

7. Legends

If so, what and who are the stories about? Where on the land did the stories take place?

8. Sacred or spiritual sites

If so, where are they located?

Traditional Environmental Knowledge

The questions in this section relate to animals, birds, water, fish, bugs, forest fires, and weather conditions. And also to calving, denning, and nesting areas. What can you tell us about these things?

Long-term Land Management

The questions in this section relate to protection and management of land and resources. For example, (#54) what makes this area special? (#56) What kinds of activities should not be allowed up here?

APPENDIX 3: Consent form

**Arctic Red River Headwaters project
Phase II: Cultural Research: Interviewing Elders/Harvesters**

Informed Consent Statement

To be signed or agreed to verbally on tape.

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute or „GSCI“ is conducting a traditional knowledge and oral history study of the headwaters of the Arctic Red River area. The project is being conducted with funding from the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board.

The Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board will use the information gathered from these interviews to determine if the status of this area should change from that of a Special Management Zone, in the Gwich'in Land Use Plan, to a legislative protected area or a Gwich'in Heritage Conservation Zone.

We will be asking about Traditional Knowledge about where and how people live and lived in the past and other information related to animals, plants, the land, and water. This information will be added to a computer database and used for other studies that the GSCI may do in the future. The Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board will have access to this data but will not own it.

A report will be prepared for the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board. Depending on the results of the work, further studies may be conducted on the area, including more oral histories or an archaeological survey.

This interview may be taped. Tapes will be transcribed and will be stored at the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute's head office in Tsiigehtchic. Tapes and transcripts will also be put on deposit at the NWT Archives at the end of the project.

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute also requests permission to take photos of people being interviewed. The photos could be used in report, posters, and books.

You do not have to answer any questions you do not want to, and you can stop the interview at any time.

Arctic Red River Headwaters Project Phase II: Cultural Assessment - Interviewing Elders

Interviewee name: _____

Community: _____

Date: _____

Interviewers: ☐ Alestine Andre, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
☐ Kristi Benson, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
☐ Sharon Snowshoe, Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute

Translator: _____

Interview Location: _____
(ex. Office, home, RRC office)

Do you (*Interviewee*) wish to be given credit for the information you provide? That is, have your name in the report? If not, confidentiality of your name is ensured.

☐ YES ☐ NO

May the GSCI take your photo for use in the report or in other reports?

☐ YES ☐ NO

Would you like a copy of this taped interview?

☐ YES ☐ NO

By signing below, you give informed consent for this interview to happen:

X _____ Date _____

APPENDIX 4: Arctic Red River Headwaters Project 2005/06 - Master tape list

Tape #1	Joe Boniface	Jan. 31, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #2	Joe Boniface	Jan. 31, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #3	Jim Pierrot	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #4	Alice Rabisca	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #5	Edward Kelly	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #6	Dorothy Cotchilly (Slavey)	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #7	Dorothy Cotchilly (Slavey)	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #8	Jerry Lennie	Feb. 2, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #9	Jim and Therese Pierrot	Feb. 3, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #10	Jim and Therese Pierrot	Feb. 3, 2006	Fort Good Hope
Tape #11	John Norbert	Feb. 9, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #12	Gabe Andre	Feb. 10, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #13	Gabe Andre	Feb. 10, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #14	Herbert M. Andre	Feb. 10, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #15	Russell Andre	Feb. 11, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #16	Russell Andre	Feb. 11, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #17	Sonny Blake	Feb. 22, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #18	Sonny Blake	Feb. 22, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #19	Annie Norbert (Gwich'in)	Feb. 22, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Tape #20	Sonny Blake	Mar. 16, 2006	Tsiigehtchic
Interview Notes			
	Wilfred Jackson	Jan. 31, 2006	Fort Good Hope
	Jean Baptiste Shae	Jan. 31, 2006	Fort Good Hope
COPE Tapes	Julienne Andre	1970s	Tsiigehtchic

Appendix 5: Gwich'in, Slavey, and English place names

<u>Gwich'in</u> (Meaning)	<u>Slavey</u> (Meaning)	<u>English</u>
Hehñjuu deetł'yah tshik		Bernard Creek
Nihtavan dııııılee		Fish Lake
Ddhahzhıt gwıtsal		Cranswick River
Naatsàk		
Tsugehñjik		Arctic Red River
Łııdlııı		The Forks
Teetshik gwıchoo		Weldon Creek
Martin Zheh		Martin House
Tsugehtchic	Shı k'áshe	Tsugehtchic
	Dalé nı́líne (dusty above river)	
	Sq zeh da (shit point)	
	Fe dı́q nı́líne (rock mouse creek)	
	K'o lá stı́ tuweh (caribou that scratch his neck)	
	St'udéh nı́líne (big tree / timber river)	Ramparts River
	Or Ts'ude'hı́líne	
	Or Tsodehñı́líne *	
	Radı́hlı́ kó (waterfall)	Ft. Good Hope
	Or Radelı́'ko *	
	Duláh ʔı́dne „going through the island“	Gossage River
	Or Dugaı́dını́ „going between two islands“	
	ʔóda hó ra tuweh (big jackfish lake)	Marion Lake
	Faka ké (flat rock)	
	Tu yah ló (end of a lake)	
	ʔóhda túweh (jackfish lake)	
	Behst'ımı́ tuweh (male caribou lake)	
	Sá gé hı́ ló (lots of beaver growth or egg lake)	
	Dah who (top hill)	
	Shı́ shı́ne (below the mountain)	
	Chı́st'e yéde (gather in one camp)	
	Béwq nádeyı́ líne (water run around the point)	
	Or (water flow around the point)	
	Rı́st'é dı́h lé (giant pee“ (refers to waterfall)	
Ddhahzhıt gwıchoo	Sh'ye kádelı́ (running water out of the mountain)	Arctic Red River
	Or Shı́ yeh ká deh lı́nı́ (running water from the mountain)	
	Nógha fı́ tuweh nı́líne (wolverine head water)	
	Faʔfa nı́líne*	Mountain River
	Bele ʔehda ká délı́nı́ (wolf point river)	Hume River
	Kóyía (little house)	
	Ch'óya nı́líne (porcupine quill creek)	
	Shı́ déh leré	

Shi'tá (into the mountain)	Mackenzie Mountains
Or „forest mountain“	
Radí líne go sele (small waterfall)	Sans Sault Rapids
Táshíní tuweh (dead loge lake?)	
Nohfe k'ó hóde' (big loche lake)	Loche Lake
Or Nqfee k'ó hóde'	
Yámoga (go around the world)	
Or Yamoga *	
Yamoga fee (Yamoga mountain)	
Shígágó *	Little Chicago
Legóhlíne (where oil comes from)	Norman Wells
Gah wé nílíne	Rabbitskin River
Ghat'a Luwe Shee *	Travaillant Lake
Feetie Lushe *	Thunder River
Káhpamí tuweh (ptarmigan net lake)	Colville Lake
Sího nílíne (big coney river)	Anderson River
Or Sihonílíne *	
MaDé hogá (big river)	Mackenzie River
Or Deh Cho *	
Tuleyít'a (where the rivers join)	Fort Norman

* Spelling from *Rakekée Gok'é Godt: Places We Take Care Of*. Report of the Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Joint Working Group (2000).

APPENDIX 6: Stories by Julienne Andre

Three stories told by Julienne Andre, specific to her travels in the mountains around the Arctic Red River headwaters in the early 1900s, are presented in this appendix. Six CDs from the COPE tapes collection, recording Julienne Andre's life story, were re-translated.

MOVING TO THE MOUNTAINS According to Julienne Andre the people would travel up the Arctic Red River to the mountains in the winter time to hunt caribou. To get to the caribou in the mountains they would travel across the open country, where there was no trail. The men walked ahead and the women followed after them with their sleighs. The children are inside the sleighs and also their belongings, tents, and tent poles too. They would haul the poles around with them everywhere they traveled all winter.

Julienne Andre said, "They are moving way up the Arctic Red River and from **Teetshik gwichoo** (Weldon Creek) they take the trail up to the mountains. They would all travel the trail up to **Nihtavan dinunlee** (Fish Lake). Sometimes they would set a net or sometimes fish hooks. By this they would eat good fish. Since the people left Tsiigehtchic, they have not seen any animals or any animal tracks. Their supply of food did not run out even how far they traveled. They did not have any flour or any „white man“ food. They only lived on their traditional food all the way up to the mountains." From this fish lake, sometimes they would get a few fish from their nets or in their hooks. Despite the cold temperatures, the people are on the move again towards the mountains before their food supply ran out. Sometimes there were strong winds. The men always went ahead and sometimes they would leave in the morning when it was still dark. The women would follow behind when there was little daylight. Julienne Andre added, "We would leave when the day was getting light and we would stop after dark. It took us a long time to move a short distance. The going would be difficult and especially going uphill. The dogs would stop often and again we would help them pull the sleigh ahead. Sometimes we would push the sleigh from behind with a pole. That's how we traveled. The children are breast fed along the way. That's how the people would move to the mountains."

The people would pull their nets out at **Nihtavan dinunlee** (Fish Lake), put whatever fish they caught into their sleighs, and then leave for the mountains. They would camp two times and they would set up their tents. Then there were a lot of animals. Two moose were shot first and then one moose. Meanwhile, the people said that caribou was spotted. The next day, the men went there and shot them. In those days, the people took good care of their shells. Only some people had muzzle-loader guns. Sometimes, someone might have a low supply of matches so they would use an old time fire-maker implement and **edinùchii** or fungus (Andre and Fehr 2002) to make their fire. Or else they might get fire from someone else's fire place to make their fire. There were many people moving up that way. They were coming close to the caribou herd area. Caribou was killed and all the people are happy. They are near the mountains and there is plenty of meat with them. They would only move every second or third day or sometimes one whole week as they stayed in one place. They would prepare the meat good and would continue moving to the mountains. They moved inside the mountains and sometimes they have warm

weather so it was nice and warm. There was a lot of caribou. The caribou that are brought into the camp are dried. They stayed there a long time that winter. The men who set their traps on their travel up would go back to check their traps. The traps that they set were deadfall traps so they only brought trap baits with them when they checked their traps. Reports were coming back to the camp about the number of marten trapped by certain trappers. In between checking their traps, the men continued to hunt and travel around for caribou and again they would shoot caribou. Everyone had moved here after Christmas so now the days are getting longer. They don't travel back yet but they would go to the many rivers that flow out of mountain for moose. They would scatter to the good moose areas that they knew. Now that it was getting warmer, some people would go their separate ways. Only when the weather was cold would many people travel together in one big group. They worked with their deadfall traps. At no time was anyone hurt, no one got sick and no one caught the cold. Julianne Andre said, "Oh, they had a good time and they played games. They made one big swing that was even used by adults. Whenever they saw Slavey people too they would stick gamble. They stayed together for a long time and then they would go their separate ways." All the people who had scattered to the good moose places would start to move towards the Arctic Red River. Later they would all meet up again at the river where they wanted to pass the spring. Everything went well for them that winter so they are all happy.

Many people passed the spring together at this place. Julianne Andre concludes her story, "My father made a skin boat and then they began their trip back to Tsiigehtchic. Oh, the water was not good. Sometimes the current was so strong along the cut bank shore that submerged poplar trees were bent and bobbing in the water. These were swirling around big rocks that were sticking out and were causing big waves. The people were traveling in the middle of all this. Further ahead, the people just about swamped into the waves. Had they landed on a sandbar that would be the end of all of them. They had started early in the morning and they only landed at **Ludlajj** (the Forks) late that night. They landed and started yelling with joy. They were even yelling from the big skin boat. They had come through such a horrific ordeal alive, traveling through extremely rough rapids, that they were relieved. The river is wide here so after that they made a fire right on the gravel. Below **Ludlajj** (the Forks) is a place called **Jùuk'an** where even near the shore there is smoke drifting upwards and all the way down, along the long hillside. There is smoke drifting from amongst the trees that are growing here and there where there is ground. The gravel flowing down the hills are a red color.

OLD TIME TRAIL TO FORT GOOD HOPE

From Siveezhoo, the people moved to the mountains. It took them many days to travel to and move to Ludlajj (the Forks). Julianne Andre recalled the steep up and down terrain they had to travel through, "Oh, it was very steep, very steep...and in those days I was a young girl so I was very capable." She would help all the women to bring their sleds down the hills. She described one steep ridge they were traveling along, "Down that way looked like a sharp knife blade and the people were moving over this." One moose was killed near the camp and the meat was distributed around to all the people. Everyone settled down here for a while. When their meat supply was almost gone, the people began to travel again up towards the mountains.

The people arrived at Ddhah dachan with only a small supply of meat. In those days, it was a difficult task to move and to set up a camp. As a young girl [in the late 1800s], Julianne Andre remembered chopping up the ground with an axe and piling up the earth for a fire place in the middle of the tent. Everyone else was working to set up a caribou skin tent. She said, "Sometimes the tanned caribou skins would be frozen." She recalled that when there was a fire inside the tent it was nice and warm.

From here they traveled across the open country towards the mountains. The people would help their dogs and pull their sleighs forward with them again and again. The tent had ten poles and one ridge pole and these were tied to the sleigh. Those who did not have strings would thaw out willows to the fire and used these to tie their poles. She said, "Oh, you would tie the strings down even how cold your hands were." Once the tent was set up, it was warm inside but there was a lot of smoke. After one or two days of camping the ground on the fire place would burn down and this would create a lot of smoke. More ground was chopped up at this time and placed on top of the fire place. A fire was lit again on top and this would get rid of the smoke problem.

No matter how cold it was, the men would walk ahead across the open country to make a trail. Up ahead, they would place an axe or a snow shovel where the women were to make a camp. When the women arrived they would set up their tent; they would shovel away the snow and then lay down spruce branches. Meanwhile other people would haul wood. There were many people in the camp. There were always many people in the group when the people had to travel a long distance. All this took place around Ddhah dachan. Then the people moved to the mountains and then a lot of moose and caribou were killed. By this time it was going to Easter.

Julianne Andre recalled one time when she and her younger brother were told to go to Fort Good Hope from where the Arctic Red River flows out of the mountains. That is quite the distance and so they went with their dogs. Her younger brother, John Jerome, was next to her in age. They traveled down an old-time trail and just ahead of them Slavey people had moved up. They traveled over their fresh trail. They had a wonderful trip. It was around Easter and they had a lot of meat and a lot of fur. They eventually met up with some Slavey people and some of their young men traveled back to Fort Good Hope with them. There is a place above Fort Good Hope called Chii choo tri (Spruce Island) and they crossed right there. Near Fort Good Hope they stopped again to make a

camp fire and have tea. A man named Na'du ghal came to their fire place and started to bother them for their fur but they did not give him any. A priest who was later to become their priest in Tsiigehtchic also passed them. Soon after that encounter, they arrived in Fort Good Hope and they gave the priest there their furs and their meat. In return, he gave them a big bale of herring dry fish for their dogs. They had come for Easter however the priest told them to return to their camp because a lot of people were expected to arrive in Fort Good Hope for Easter. Even though they were disheartened and not happy about this they left. They left and on their travel back, they met up with and passed many Slavey people who were traveling to town for Easter. The people laughed at them and said, "We thought you were going to town for Easter, what are you doing going back?" In those days the priest took good care of the people and spoke strongly against anyone doing wrong. After that they arrived back at their camp in the mountains.

Soon after they arrived at Ddhah dachan, the people called Ah'dee Gwich'in (people from Lansing) came out through the mountains and arrived at their camp. By this time, Easter had passed. The people who came over the mountains moved and settled in. Then they began to stick gamble. They stick gambled and stick gambled. Soon the migrating birds were beginning to fly north. It was quite far to move back to the river to the place where skin boats were made. They had no skins for the boats. Even that, they did not think about that. Eventually, they finished up all their dry meat supply while they were stick gambling. The birds were flying north. All the snow melted at Ddhah dachan so there was no snow. They finally left because the Ah'dee Gwich'in had won the stick gamble game and left. They, themselves, had a difficult time to get to where they were going to pass the spring. Julianne Andre said, "Only now, they were concerned that they had no skin boat. They went hunting for moose with their dogs on the bare ground. They killed six moose." Besides that they had two caribou skins and they made a boat with that and left. Some of them had made birch bark canoes. They had gone out to collect birch bark, made the frame and then the women sewed the bark together.

Julianne Andre concluded, "That spring, I moved away from my parents, and got married. Even I was married, we still lived at home with my parents to work for them. Oh, that spring there was drum dances and everyone had a good time. Everyone was happy and celebrating with games. After that everyone moved back to the mountains. We went too."

TRIP TO LANSING VILLAGE

The following map, shown as Figure 24, shows the route that was taken by Julienne Andre in her story.

On their return they stopped below Tsiigehtchic, at a place called **Chu tsal**, and then made it to town just before Christmas. After Christmas, they started to move up the Arctic Red River.

Julienne Andre and her husband had a stove at that time that they bought from someone in Fort McPherson who bought it from Dawson. They brought this along with them. Niditchie's parents, who stayed across from them, had an open fire in their tent. Julienne Andre said, "That winter we moved and it would take the other people a long time to set up their camp place. It did not take us long to set up our camp and stove while they were still chopping the ground away to make their fire place. That was the way we moved up the Arctic Red River. It took us a long time to move up. The many people who stayed at **Jah vehlej' tshik** (Martin House Creek) had all moved over to Juuk'an choo, a place towards the mountains, so we alone moved up the Arctic Red River. We moved further south towards the mountains. When a moose was killed, we stayed for only one day to clean the moose hide then we moved onwards. Amos Niditchie's younger sister was born here. We moved on."

They moved along a river that flows out of the mountains. Up this far, they were in caribou country now. They arrived at the Arctic Red River where it flows out of the mountains where a moose was killed. They moved to an area above this place. Julienne Andre said, "Soon afterwards the people from Lansing, A'dee Gwich'in, arrived at our camp. They were on their way to Fort Good Hope for Easter. They were so happy. They had twelve dog teams and five boys on snowshoes were breaking trail ahead of the dog teams. Two dog teams from our group also joined them." After the teams left, their women who were moving with their own dog teams quite a distance behind them, arrived. The women moved below their camp and then helped them to move their belongings and meat to the new camp. The people who had gone to Fort Good Hope were taking their time in returning. Julienne commented, "Their camp was set on a gravel island and their skin tents were brilliant white compared to our pitiful looking tents. We had our stove in our skin tent and the others had an open fire in theirs." The people finally arrived back from Fort Good Hope. Meanwhile there was water on the river and it was flowing. All the meat in the camp was almost gone. Then they started to stick gamble. There were a lot of Slavey and A'dee Gwich'in, and very few Daguth Gwich'in playing the game. It turned out the four men from the Degath group were hard to beat. They always played this game for shells. The winners took everybody's shells.

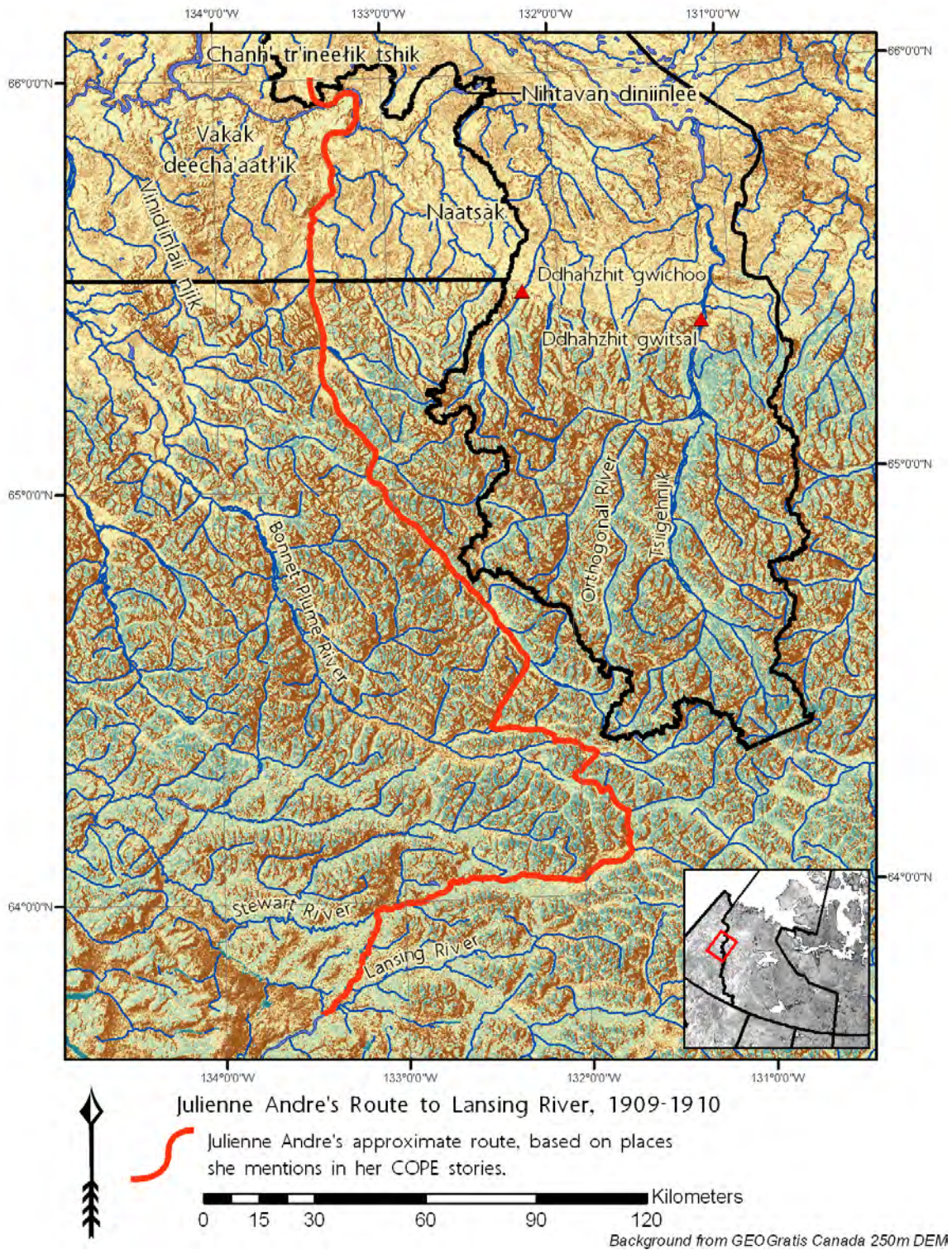


Figure 24: Trail route to Lansing Village taken by Julienne Andre in her story. GSCI GIS.

Paul Niditchie began to plea with them to go along with him to Mayo. Julianne Andre and her husband finally agreed. She said, “Neither Emily, Niditchie’s wife, or I wanted to go on this trip.” Sometimes the water flowing over the glaciers was also flowing on their sleighs as they traveled. They would travel from sunrise to past sunset when they would make their camp. Time passed. It was a long ways up this river. There was no wood where they camped, only short willows. Also traveling with them were Ajee, a A’dee Gwich’in, and an old man named Amoo and both of these men spoke the Gwich’in language. The women were not happy about making this trip, only the men were happy as they traveled. They were now traveling for one month when they came to another river that was flowing out of the mountains and they went up along that. Even though Snake River is part of the Peel River headwaters, they still considered it part of their country. Everybody arrived at Antl’in. The only wood there were small little trees. They traveled through here and then went through an area below Tsaih tl’ak njik (Bonnetplume River).

They continued onwards and along the river that flows to Lansing village. Julianne Andre said, “We are doing this to get tents and stoves. Dzaa van, a big lake located in a mountain valley flows towards where Lansing is located. We passed the spring at this lake. Ajee who went away to fish came back with two bundles of graying. Later they crossed the lake and killed six moose on the hillside. Emily and I began to dry the meat and the men hung them up on a stage. We were given three moose hides each. We were traveling with dog packs. We went back across the lake and they started to make a big skin boat. Two Lansing men who were beaver hunting were coming along the trail we came through. They were traveling with Slavey people and they were shouting while we were sleeping in the morning. Ajee knew them and welcomed them to our camp. They were thankful to see Deguth people. They passed the spring with us here and then made their skin boat and then we pushed out.” Old man, Amoo, stayed behind to look after the camp.

Julianne said, “As we are traveling on the river in the big skin boat, it is beautiful. Only the tops of the mountains are bare and rocky otherwise there are a lot of trees on it. Further along the river we came around a point to a camp of people yelling and shooting their guns as a welcome. The men in our boat were also shooting their guns in return. Red Head and his wife Madeline, standing amongst the group, are especially happy to see us, their people. They had moved over to this group such a long time ago that Red Head was now an old man. They are happy but seeing us made them homesick.” They finished their skin boat so now there are two boats going to Lansing. They left behind whatever meat they had hanging on their stage. The water current in the mountains is swift and strong. They killed one moose on the way and are happy to eat fresh meat as they had been eating dried meat all this time.

They are not far from the Lansing village. As they are nearing the town, the men are shooting their guns with great gusto. One gun shot was returned to signal a death. The current was swift so in no time they are in front of the town. The store manager lived in a house on a hill. The rest of the people lived further back along the side of the hill. There were many nice lumber houses and everyone had gardens. Julianne said, “We lived in a

big tent set up for us by my aunt Emma. One of her twin sons had died and she was deep in her grieving. We all passed the spring here...Sometimes our tent was full of visitors.”

The people talked about a place called Mayo where a steam boat lands with supplies. A scow then went to a place down the river above some rapids. They used paddles. They have to portage over the rapids and then go on to Mayo in another boat. They had arrived in Mayo in time to see the steam boat bring supplies. There are many lumber houses at Mayo. Julianne said, “That’s what my husband said because he traveled there with other men. They took only Daguth people with them in the boat and Johnny who always piloted the boats. The men wore out many moccasins on this trip and would throw them away as new pairs were made for them.” They stayed behind and walked around to look at everything in the town. They noticed the ground was solid and the road wide and smooth. When the big scow returned with supplies, these are unloaded into separate piles for the store manager and for other peoples.

They began to haul their belongings over to the trailhead from where they would begin their journey home. Then Red Head brought Madeline and Julianne to a nearby fish lake to fish for a while. Slavey families also arrived here and camped to dry meat that would be sold later to the store manager. Jackfish and grayling were the only fish caught in Redhead’s net. Their camp is set by the lake. There are no wood around this lake, it is only bare - no trees. There is a small island in the middle of the lake. Redhead returned to Lansing with them where they lived through the summer on fish they caught and the moose meat that was given to them earlier. Julianne said, “I met up with the store manager’s wife on an evening walk with my daughter. She beckoned me over to her to give me a box of bread for my baby. In those days, our women did not make bread. I went home and gave the old women one each to eat.”

Although the people begged their group to stay longer, they finally left to start their journey home. It was a long ways over along the creeks and over the mountains. There are trees only at Ddhah dachan. At a certain place, the two men who traveled with them turned back to Lansing. They traveled on flat grassy lands and sometimes over glaciers with their dog teams. Along the way is a well-known moose habitat area. Four moose were killed and the meat dried at this place. The Snake River [Gyuu Dazhoo Njik] and the Bonnetplume River [Tsaih tl’ak njik] are on the lands of the Teetl’it Gwich’in people. Even that they felt like they were at home. The journey was long. Julianne Andre was pregnant with Hyacinthe [around 1909-10] at this time. They had traveled across the Bonnetplume River one day, easy traveling over glaciers and across the Snake River the next day. They traveled down Han tsal and the land to the north of them was spread out in front of them. They could see far to the north. Two sheep were killed as they traveled along a glacier. They had left Lansing right after Christmas and by now the nights were short near Easter. The men were walking ahead of their dog teams.

On their return travel, they made a fire before Gwitshik, a place located near the entrance where the Snake River flows out of the mountains. Julianne Andre, her husband John, Paul Niditchie and his wife Emily, their daughter (next after Amos) were traveling together. On their return they came out of the mountains through the Snake River.

Shortly after they traveled north, Julianne Andre's husband John found evidence, a burned piece of fire wood, at a Slavey camp site on a hill from the previous winter. They recognized the cut in the wood as that made by Slavey people. Julianne said she knew the mossy area of the front-range very well as she traveled there both in the winter and summer time. They came upon old Slavey trails and snowshoe tracks made by their parents the previous winter. There were caribou in the mossy area of the front-range and her husband had shot two caribou from this herd. They continued to travel north through an area that was treeless and bare. There were only trees on top of the hills and it was bare ground near the river. They were following the trails previously made by Slavey people. They were traveling with two dog teams on little bit of snow on glazier and looking for trails made by their people. They finally saw well-packed trails in the headwaters of Bernard Creek. They had not seen their people for almost two winters now. Paul Niditchie was so happy that he came forward towards them and started to dance near them by the trail. They continued to travel northward and the dogs would travel very fast along the packed trail. They traveled to a well known campsite, Nininjik, farther along. Sometimes they would see many trails and signs of people where traveling groups had met up with each other. They would leave behind one big wide trail. They speculated that the trails were made by their people. They came upon the place where two men had sat on small standing trees that had bent over. The men did not make a fire but they sat on the trees and ate a lunch of young caribou. The bones were scattered around the trees. They thought this might be their fathers looking for them. They did not want to stop until they caught up with their people. They were not at Nininjik. They went further on to Łııdłıı gwıtsal and Chııgwızah tshık which flows into the Snake River, to a flat gravel area where the people often camped. They came around the bend of this river. In the distance, there were skins and meat caches tied to long poles. It was their people and their parents whom they had left the previous winter.

After a joyful reunion with their parents and people, the group continued to travel southward along an old time trail that ran along the base of the mountains. The people and their dogs traveled with packs. In the early fall, they stayed at a moose country that was called A'dug. A tsıı deıı man and his wife were also in the traveling group. They went to town with the moose meat that they dried and the grease they made with the fat and purchased supplies from the store in town (Tsiigehtchic). Paul Niditchie and his family moved northward for the fall season. We followed behind and traveled with the Slavey group called A'dee Gwich'in that were traveling southward. Their trails were wide. The land in the mountains is beautiful. There is hardly any bush so the traveling was good. They moved quite a distance to the south. They set up their camp from where they could see many moose feeding in an old burn area. They shoot two moose from here. At this camp, they received word that one of two whiteman that were, perhaps trapping in this area, who was badly mauled by a grizzly bear. This was the first bear attack they ever heard about. The white trapper had apparently returned to his cache of moose meat he had killed earlier and found a grizzly bear sleeping nearby. The people brought the injured man for medical treatment in town. They heard later he recovered from his injuries and returned south. After that incident, they continued south to the end of an area called Nanh an. They moved to a place called Jackfish Lake where they heard some people were staying. On the way they left a cache of meat and moose hides. Nanh

an is across from Fort Norman (Dell zheh). At Jackfish Lake, they stayed with many Slavey people. Julianne Andre's husband killed the two sheep that were spotted. Everyone was happy – it was like a caribou was shot.



Figure 25: Camp at **Nihtavan dinnlee** or Fish Lake, winter 2003. Photo credit: M. Winnie Blake.