



Tłı̨chǫ Government

Box 412, Behchokǫ̀, NT X0E 0Y0 • Tel: (867) 392-6381 Fax: (867) 392-6389 www.tlicho.ca

August 10, 2012

Chuck Hubert
Mackenzie Valley Review Board
200 Scotia Center
Box 938, 5102 – 50 Avenue
Yellowknife, NT, X1A 2N7

chubert@reviewboard.ca

Re: Tłı̨chǫ Government Traditional Knowledge Study

Dear Mr. Hubert:

We are placing the Traditional Knowledge study funded by De Beers Canada on the public record. We note that this study was completed in 2012, and was done with a range of Elders. We would like to note that current and recent traditional use of the region is ongoing. We are aware of families and Elders who have been involved in this region that were not engaged in this study. The study documents a range of trips that occurred through 1958-1970.

Of particular note are the recommendations made through the Regional Elders Committee in this study report.

Thank you for your consideration,

Celine Weyallon
Acting Tłı̨chǫ Executive Officer

TŁİCHQ KNOWLEDGE
FOR DE BEERS
CANADA
PROPOSED GAHCHO
KUÉ DIAMOND
PROJECT

*March 31, 2012
Report from Tłıchq
Knowledge Research and
Monitoring Program, Tłıchq
Government*

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Introduction

Since the early 1990s diamond exploration has been underway in Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nìttlèè. De Beers Canada has determined that three kimberlite deposits have potential to be mined at their proposed Gahcho Kué mine site at Kennady Lake, about 280 km northeast of Yellowknife and 80 km southeast of the Snap Lake Mine. The Gahcho Kué Project is a joint venture between De Beers Canada Inc. (51%) and Mountain Province Diamonds Inc. (49%).

In November 2005, De Beers applied for a Type “A” Land Use Permit and a Class “A” Water License to construct and operate an open pit mine at the Kennady Lake site. The project was referred to Environmental Impact Review in 2006. De Beers filed the Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) in December 2010. In July 2011, the Gahcho Kué Environmental Impact Review (EIR) Panel issued a conformity statement for the EIS and set the work plan for the EIR. In August 2011 De Beers provided the Tłıchq Government with funding to undertake a Tłıchq knowledge study of the area. The Panel’s decision is expected by July 2013.

In the Tłıchq language, Kennady Lake is known as Gahtsołı. Since the research project focused on the traditional land use and knowledge of the Tłıchq elders, this report uses the Tłıchq name except when referring to the Gahcho Kué Project itself.

As agreed by the Tłıchq Government and DeBeers Canada the research team directed the research to comply with the Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board’s *Guidelines for Incorporating Traditional Knowledge in the Environmental Impact Assessment Process – May 2005* and the Terms of Reference for the Environmental Review Impact Statement issued by the Gahcho Kue Environmental Impact Review Panel. These are:

- Tłıchq understanding of how the Project may affect their traditional land use or traditional resources,
- Identification of Tłıchq elders’ questions or concerns related to the Project; and,
- A summary of Tłıchq elders’ recommendations for measures to mitigate the potential effects of the Project on traditional land use or traditional resources.

Research Methodology

The research team included Camilla Nitsiza and Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak, two Tłıchǫ researchers, and Aalice Legat who oversaw the project. To achieve their research objectives, the team followed a community-based process to consider the Tłıchǫ perspective and knowledge of the Gahtsołı area and the Project:

- Identify elders who travelled to the Gahtsołı area and the routes they used.
- Identify which elders to interview, based on their experience and land use around Gahtsołı.
- Interview elders. Identify the landscape, place names and travel routes, and resources the elders were harvesting. Verify information.
- Ask how the Project might alter Tłıchǫ land use and resources.
- Identify concerns related to the Project.

A research guide was developed based on the type of information required (See Appendix I). Research tools included the guidelines, maps, and Tłıchǫ reference materials such as professional drawings of fish, and an extensive listing of Tłıchǫ place names and plant resource materials found in various Tłıchǫ reports. (DT11C 2001, 2002)

The research guidelines were developed in Gamètı on August 17th and 18th and in Behchokò on August 29th and the 30th, just before starting the research in that community. The team started the research in Behchokò for two reasons. First and foremost, most of the elders who travelled anywhere in the Akaitcho Territory live in Behchokò. Second, the team needed Mark Fenwick, GIS Technician, to participate in discussions associated with maps, and his newly added responsibilities as the Acting Director of the Lands Protection Department kept him in Behchokò.

Who to Interview

Camilla Nitsiza contacted and discussed the selection of individuals to be interviewed with the oldest elders in each of the four Tłıchǫ communities, and with the Regional Elders'

Committee during their meeting August 15th to 19th 2011. In discussing who to interview, she asked,

- i) who had travelled to the area,
- ii) if they were still alive,
- iii) if their health would allow them to be interviewed, and
- iv) whether or not one of their younger relatives had heard the oral narratives of their travels to the area.

Originally, the research team was going to work with each of the four Community Elders' Committees. However, based on Camilla's information most of the Tłıchq who had travelled in Akaitcho Territory were residing in Whatı and Behchokò.

This process took on a different configuration of person hours than anticipated. First, the identification of elders took longer because the process of selecting those with knowledge of the area was complex. Camilla determined that several trips to the area occurred prior to the mid-1970s, and it took a concerted and focused effort by Madelaine and Camilla along with Aalice to determine who travelled where and during which season. Rather than the five days allotted to identify who to interview, identification merged with the community research. Together this took several months.

The selection of elders to interview became part of the community research and the research team pursued all suggestions. Since there were no longer any elders who had actually travelled to Gahtsołı, the research team decided to track some of the main trips that were made towards the Gahcho Kue Project study area. Although the team developed and referred to the research guidelines, they did not pursue details of landscape or resources outside the study area. We did document, however, the places where they camped and the resources they used.

As part of the community research process, Camilla compiled the lists of people who travelled towards Gahtsołı. Madelaine and Aalice met with Charlie Apple, Phillip Dryneck, Louis Franki, Sam Lamouelle, Robert Mackenzie, Nellie Wedzin, Joe Wedzin, and Francis Williah – all of whom had travelled towards Gahtsołı - to verify the lists. These individuals travelled by boat and dog sled to Akaitcho Territory during the 1950's, 1960's, and early 1970's. For each trip, this report includes a list of the people who went on the trip and their relationships with each other, and indicates those who were interviewed. Associated maps show the route of each trip.

Interviews and Verification

Camilla and Madelaine conducted the interviews and discussed the elders' narratives with Aalice. As research progressed, Madelaine and Aalice went over the interviews and the direction the elders were taking. The elders talked mainly about travelling towards Lutselk'è and ʔedahtsoṭi (Artillary Lake) because they had easier access to the caribou with which to feed their families. The decision was made to have them explain the trails they travelled based on the assumption that someone would have turned north towards Gahtsoṭi. This research direction was successful. Louis Zoe told of such a hunting trip that ended just south of Gahtsoṭi. We also made the decision to document, based on direction from the elders, the names of those Yellowknives and Chipewyan who knew the area around the Gahcho Kuè.

Initially the research team hoped - as agreed by Tłıchq Government and DeBeers - to verify the information collected by the Tłıchq researchers and a professional translator with the Regional Elders' Committee (Detailed Study Plan: 7). However, no translator was available. For this reason, Camilla and Madelaine presented the information they each collected to the Regional Elders' Committee in Gamèṭi for verification during the week of December 5th 2011 to ensure we had examined every avenue to document relevant information about the Study Area. The elders on the Regional Elders' Committee discussed this amongst themselves. They confirmed the information and clarified, when there was confusion, who was on the boat and dog team trips. They left early due to a death in Whati.

During the verification meeting, Louis Zoe pointed out that there were problems with the Alex Charlo and Louis Mackenzie trip. Given the importance of this trip due to its proximity to Gahtsoṭi, we decided that Madelaine would interview Louis Zoe and we would include this information in the final report rather than the draft that was due on December 15th. Madelaine interviewed him on December 9th while continuing to summarize the interviews.

During the meeting with DeBeers on February 10th 2012 Henry Zoe and Marjorie Matheson-Maund contributed to the verification process. They questioned the findings and suggested that Edward Zoe, Monique Mackenzie, and Joe Mackenzie from Behchokò, and Charlie Football from Wekweeti had probably travelled in the area and knew additional information. Between February 10th and 20th, Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak sought them out and asked them if they had been to Gahtsoṭi. Edward Zoe, who travelled to the barren grounds in various capacities, such as a translator with the RCMP in 1944, and as a surveyor on numerous occasions, said he had travelled throughout the tundra, but never to the Gahtsoṭi

area. For example, he travelled the route from Wekweètì to ?ewaànit'ı̀tì (Courageous Lake) and to ?ek'atì (Lac de Gras), and further north. Charlie Football explained that he and his dad did not know or travel in the direction of Gahtsòtì. Monique Mackenzie did not wish to be interviewed, but did say she had travelled to the East Arm by dog team with her husband. She travelled about half way up the East Arm but never went as far as Gahtsòtì. Joe Mackenzie explained that as an adult he went to ?ek'atì, and as a youth he went with his late father and brother to the tundra, but does not recall ever going to Gahtsòtì.

On March 26th and 27th 2012 the final verification meeting took place with Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak and James Rabesca translating the report to those who had been interviewed or had been approached but were unable to be interviewed. Thirteen people attended the verification meeting. They approved the report with minor changes. They expressed delight that the information they had given was virtually identical to the information that had been documented during the Dene-Metis Mapping Project in the 1970s.

Knowing Gahtsoṭi (Gahcho Kué)

Several social scientists have discussed that recognizing those who know places and the resources attached to places is an integral part of the Dene knowledge system. (Andrews 2004; Legat 2007, 2012) As most elders say, people who are considered knowledgeable have information acquired through listening to oral narratives and have extensive experience at the place under discussion. These people are considered to be the most knowledgeable.

This perspective on ‘knowing a place’ was exemplified at the verification meeting by Jimmy Kodzin, whose father had travelled to Gahtsoṭi. When initially asked by Camilla Nitsiza - September 2011- Jimmy decided against being interviewed as he did not know the stories of the area nor had he experienced Gahtsoṭi. Camilla found that few Tłıchq had travelled to the Gahtsoṭi area in living memory, and therefore were uncomfortable talking about it. Among the Dene, people are respected if they speak on what they know; knowing and respecting those who know is a sign of intelligence (Phillip Dryneck, tape TK-DeBeers-11115). Most Dene will go to those who know the area, if they require the information to travel or work there. (see Andrews, Zoe and Herter 1998 on the importance of travel stories). The elders interviewed insisted that the people from Lutselk’e and Dettah are the most knowledgeable of the Gahtsoṭi area.

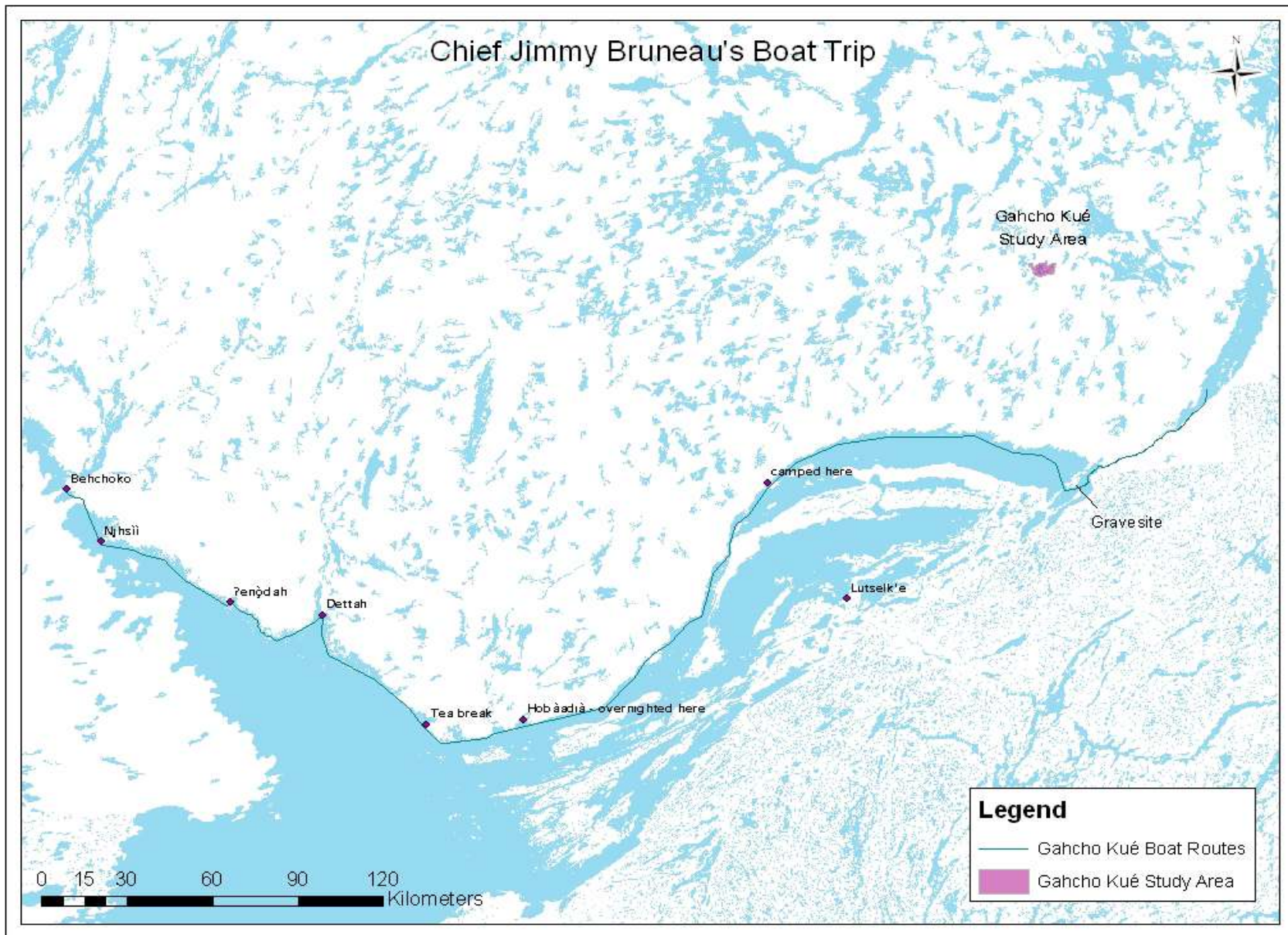
Intermarriage between the Tłıchq and Chipewyan is common and has been recorded in oral narratives since the time of Edzè and Akaitcho who negotiated peace in the early 1800s. Edzè and K’atewhi, who was Akaitcho’s right-hand man, were brothers-in-law. And since that time, there has been continual inter-marriage between several families, such as: Drybones, Drygeese, Football, Franki, Michel, Marlowe, and Rabesca to name a few. Because of these close connections information is shared between Tłıchq and Chipewyan. This is partly why the elders want to speak with the elders from Dettah and Lutselk’e who know the area around where the Gahcho Kué Project is proposed.

Chief Jimmy Bruneau's Boat Trip, Fall 1958

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Chief Jimmy Bruneau, K'áowo	K'áowo translates as 'leader'.	Deceased
Annie Bruneau	Chief Bruneau's wife	Deceased
Dzili (Julie)	An elder who accompanied Wedzins	Deceased
Pierre Wedzin	Pierre and family joined in Yellowknife	Deceased
Ellie (Julie) Wedzin	Pierre's wife	Deceased
Joe Wedzin	Pierre's son-was 16 at the time	Yes
Nellie Wedzin	Pierre's daughter.	Yes
Bessie (Drygeese) Erasmus	Was a very young child at time of trip.	Too young to remember
Christine (Mantla) Smith	Was a child at time of trip.	Too young to remember
Johnny Eyakfwo	From Wekweètì	Deceased
Mary Adele Eyakfwo	Johnny Eyakfwo's wife	Deceased
Mary Adele's baby daughter	Got sick and died on trip.	Deceased
Johnny Simpson	From Wekweètì	Deceased
Marie Simpson	Johnny's wife	Deceased
Marie's Daughter	Johnny and Marie's daughter	Deceased
Philip Dryneck	This was his first trip to area.	Yes
Louie Franki	This was probably his third trip to area	Yes
Johnny Migwi	Descended from Dettah or Luts'elk'e	Deceased

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Jimmy Tatchia	From Wekweètì	Deceased
Setsoo Beaulieu	From Whatì	Deceased
Albina	Setsoo's daughter-from Whatì	Lives in Edmonton, AB
Alfred Baillergon	From Dettah	No, not Tłıchq
Alfred's Father	From Dettah	Deceased
Nigola	From Behchokò	Deceased

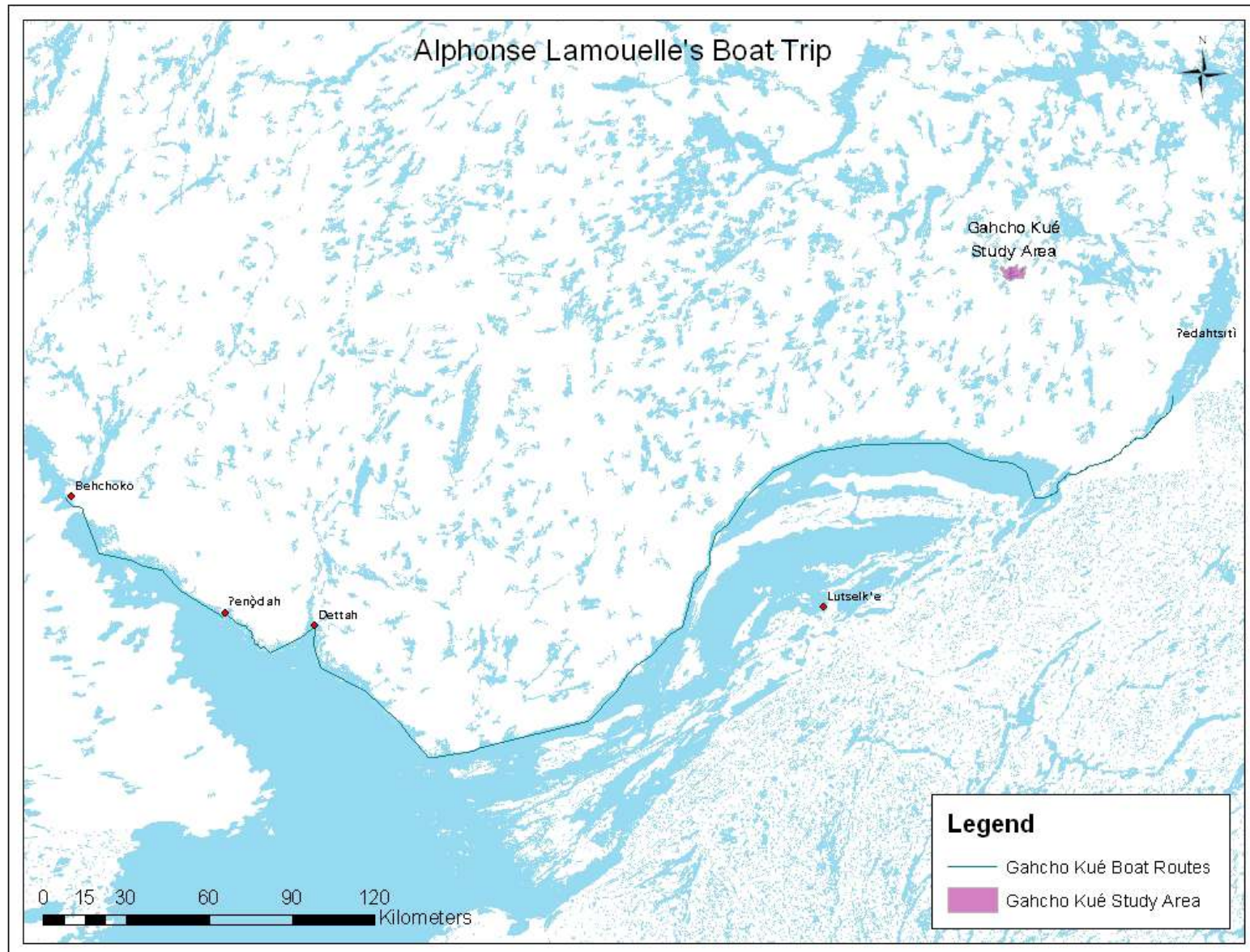
Chief Jimmy Bruneau led a group of five people from Behchokò. They were Annie Bruneau, Dzili, Nigola, and Phillip Dryneck. During their stop at Dettah the Wedzin, Simpson, and Eyakfwo families joined them. They travelled as far as ?edahtsofì (Artillery Lake). On the way the women stayed at a campsite and the men continued looking for caribou. While the men were gone, Eyakfwo's daughter became ill and died. She was buried next to the grave of a woman from Lutselk'e. Nellie Wedzin's daughter Bessie developed sores in her mouth. Nellie treated the sores with boiled spruce cones, and Bessie recovered. The men returned with caribou. They started home. In addition to hunting caribou they were interested in experiencing the stories they had heard. Phillip Dryneck said, "When we reached ?edachotì I was in awe when I beheld Tsak'e and Dzok'e with my own eyes and noted what the elders had said was true" (Phillip Dryneck, November 23 2011). Later Suzi Bruneau followed his father's footprints to experience the land for himself.



Alphonse Lamouelle Boat Trip, Fall 1959

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Alphonse Lamouelle	K'əowo (leader of hunting group)	Deceased --
Sam Lamouelle	Alphonse requested he come along.	Yes
Antoine Flunkie	Friend of Sam's Deceased	Deceased--
Harry Quitte	Hunting partner to Alphonse.	Deceased --
Edward Lafferty	Hunting partner to Alphonse	Deceased --
Alexis	From Dettah	Deceased --
Harry Martin (?ahtsotsoa)	From Dettah	Deceased

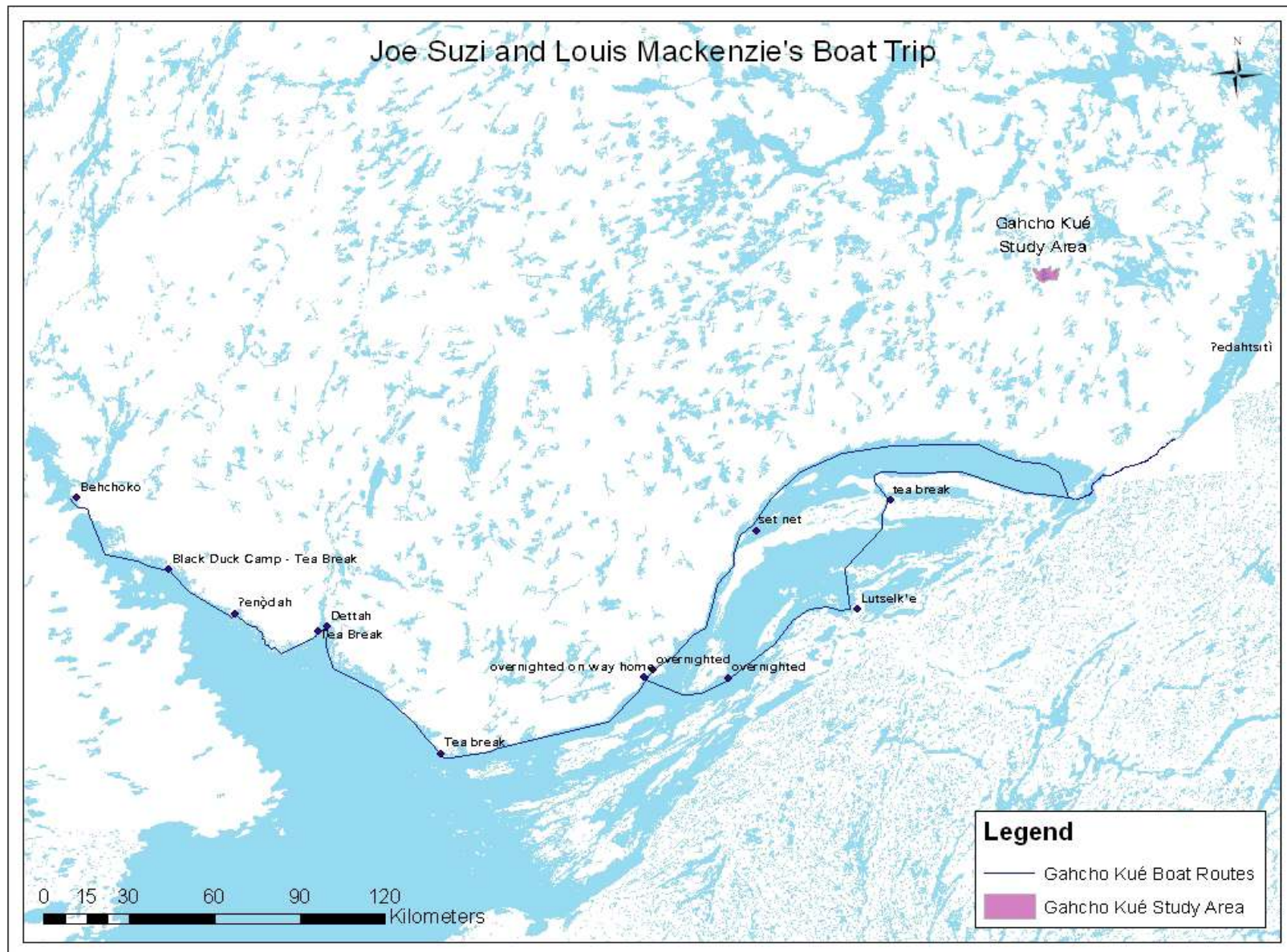
Sam Lamouelle was about 12 years old when he made this trip. He remembers following the same route as Chief Jimmy Bruneau. They started at Behchokò, overnighted at ?enqdah, and went on to Dettah. After several days they reached the portage to ?edahtsofi where they harvested caribou for their families. While at ?edahtsofi Sam Lamouelle and Antoine Flunkie climbed to the top of a hill where they could see a long way. While being interviewed Sam, like Phillip Dryneck, expressed awe in the beauty of the landscape. (Sam Lamouelle: 111124).



Joe Suzi and Louis Mackenzie Boat Trip, Fall 1966

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Joe Suzi Mackenzie	K'áowo, and owner of one boat	Deceased
George Mackenzie	Son of Joe Suzi, 14 when he made the trip	Nov 24, 2011
Robert Mackenzie	Nephew to Joe Suzi Mackenzie	Nov 16, 17 & 22, 2011
Louis Mackenzie	K'áowo, and owner of second boat	Deceased
Harry Kodzin	Hunting partner of Louis Mackenzie	Deceased
Tatsia	Fred Sangris's dad from Dettah	Deceased
Harry Martin (ʔahtsoṭsoa)	From Dettah	Deceased

These boats travelled from Behchoḵ to ʔedahtsoṭi. They camped at ʔenq̱dah, where they shot ducks, and the next day they reached Dettah where they got more supplies. They set a net once. They were afraid because they had heard that fishing with nets was against the law. They caught five different types of fish: grayling, trout, whitefish, pike, and inconnu. Caribou were harvested at ʔedahtsoṭi. This was Robert Mackenzie's first trip to this area. On the way back Joe Suzi cut his hand and blood poisoning set in. They stopped for the night at ʔahbe's camp (Chipewyan elder). He had shot a bear and therefore had medicine from the bear for blood poisoning. The elder took a special part of the bear and told Joe Suzi to apply it to his arm. The next morning the blood poisoning had disappeared, so Joe decided against flying to the hospital and continued with the others.

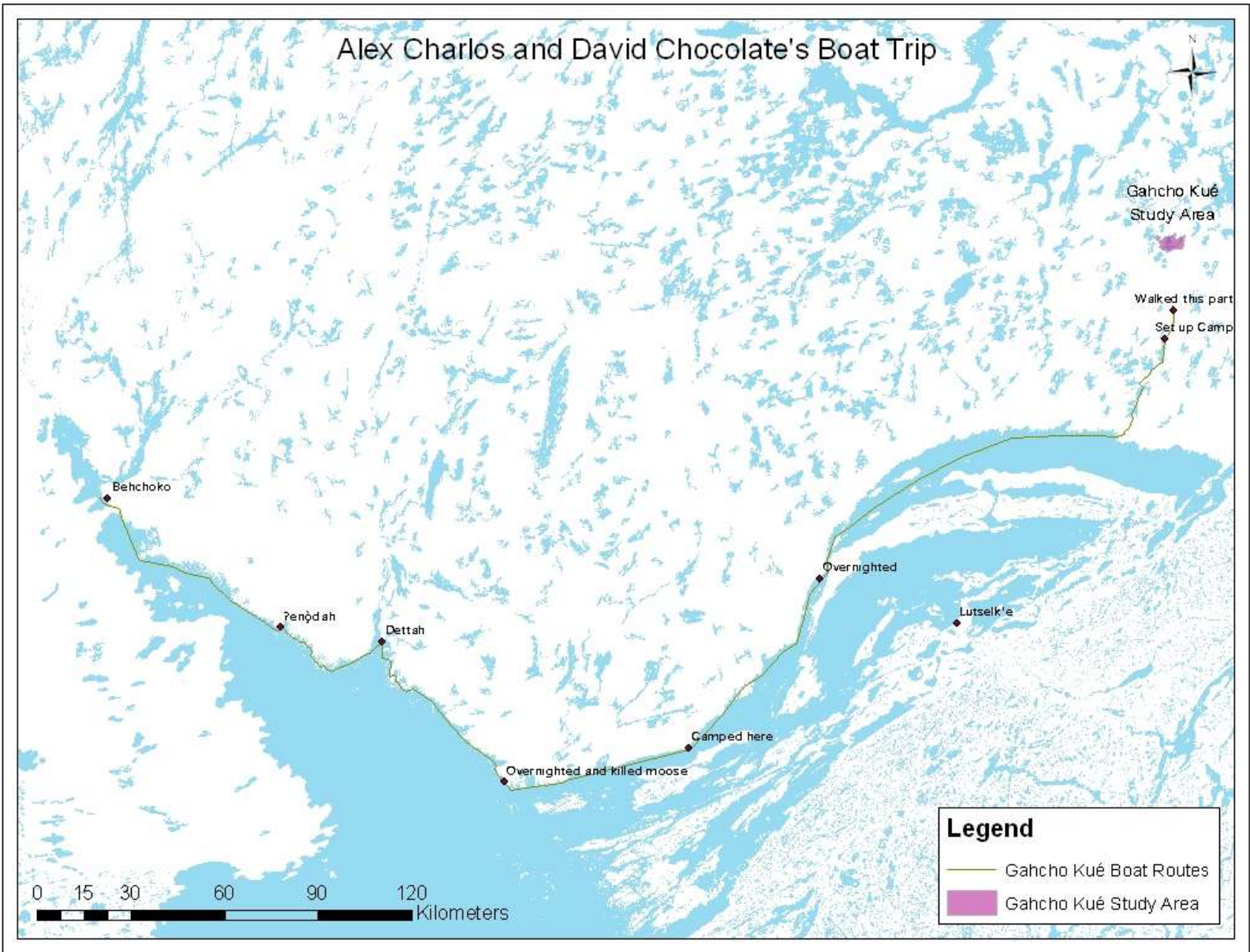


Alex Charlo and David Chocolate Boat Trip, Fall 1970

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Alex Charlo	K'òowo of trip and band counselor at time of trip. Father of the late Charlie Charlo, Chief of Behchokò.	Deceased
Tsja	Friend	Deceased
James Rabesca	Friend	Not available
Louis Mackenzie	Hunting partner of Alex Charlo	Deceased
Johnny Mackenzie	Louis's son	Deceased
Johnny Zoe Chocolate	David Chocolate's brother and bother-in-law to Louis Mackenzie	Deceased
Joey	From Dettah.	Not Tłıchq citizen
Narcisse Bishop	Lives in Whatı. Only mentioned during verification meeting.	No
Edward Weyallon	David Chocolate's brother-in-law.	Deceased
David Chocolate	K'òowo of second boat. Johnny Zoe Chocolate's brother and brother-in-law to Louis Mackenzie and Louis Zoe.	Deceased
Charlie Chocolate	David's son.	Deceased
Louis Zoe	David's brother-in-law. Louis made two other trips to the area; similar routes.	Dec 9 th 2011
Francis Williah	David Chocolate's brother-in-law	Nov 17 & 22 nd 2011
Louis Wedawin	Hunting partner.	Not available

This trip started in Behchokò. Alex Charlo owned one boat; David Chocolate the other. They followed the route others had followed, and like the others they camped at ʔenòdah and Dettah. But this trip did not go on to ʔedahtsoì. Rather they turned north following a small river toward Gahtsoì. It was here that Alex made the comment, “This is the way we go.” This indicated that he had been there before. The elders at the verification meeting stated that Alex was from that area and therefore knew the land. When they reached the end of the lake, they set up camp and the hunters spread out. Alex told Louis Zoe and Joey from Dettah to go back and get a small barrel of gas. Jimmy Rabesca asked to go with them. Once they returned, Louis and Francis Williah walked north to see if they could find caribou. They met Johnny Zoe Chocolate who had already made camp. Louis and Francis killed ten caribou.

As the map indicates, they camped fairly close to the Gahcho Kué study area. During the interview Louis spoke clearly about this trip, explaining the landscape, the resources, plants, and vegetation communities. He remembers being within the treeline until the end of the lake where the tundra started. He saw plenty of berries: blueberries, gooseberries, cranberries, and cloudberries. He also saw plenty of caribou food – lichen- found in both the marshy and sandy areas. (December 9th 2012).

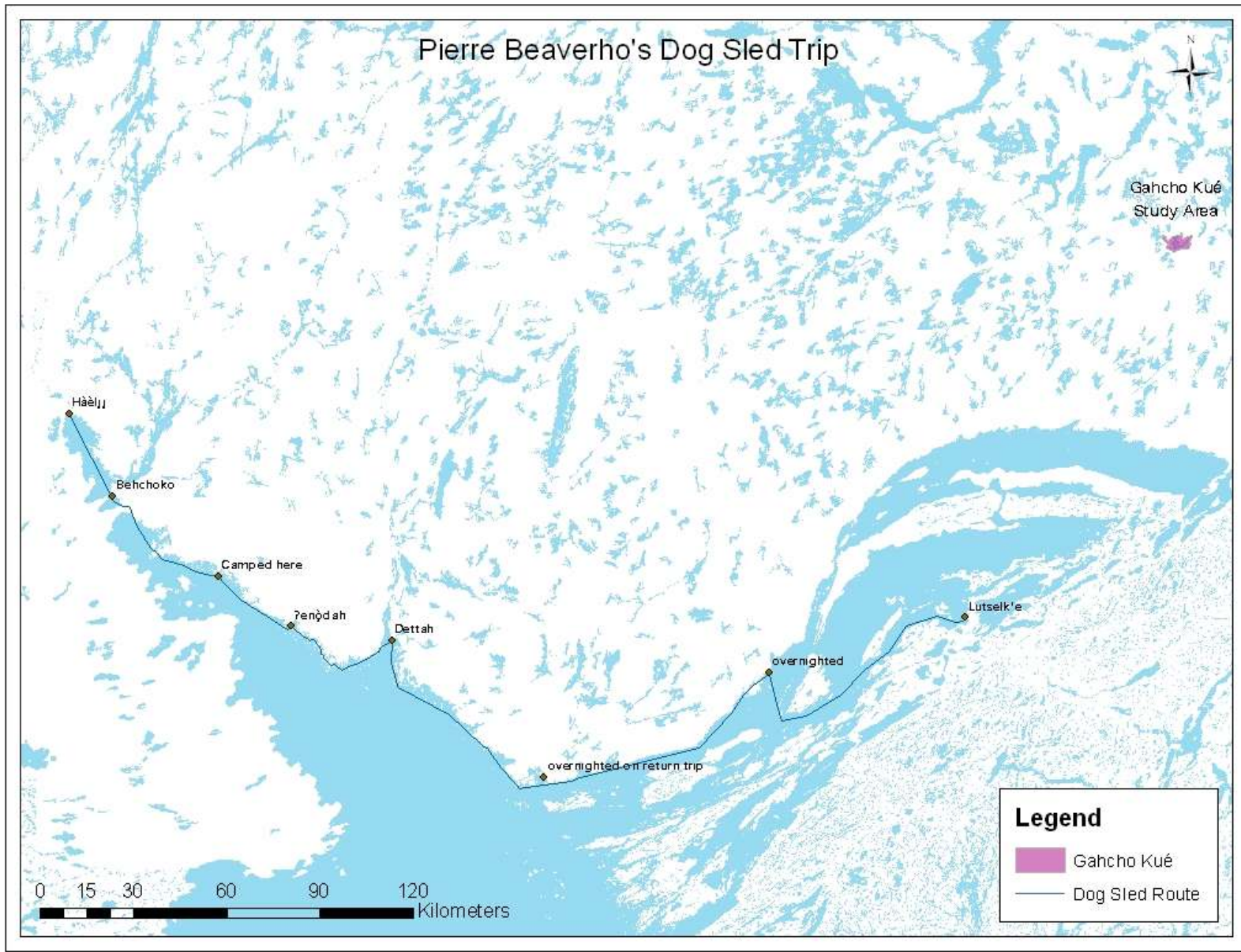


Pierre Beaverho's Dog Sled Trip,¹ early 1960s

Name	Relationship & Relevant Information	Interviewed
Jimmy Nitsiza	K'òowo (trip leader) and band counselor.	Deceased
Phillip Nitsiza	Relative to Jimmy Nitsiza.	Deceased
MentonMantla	Son of ?aneko Yja from Semiti.	Deceased
Joe Fish	Father of Isadore, Francis, and Sonny Zoc-Fish	Deceased
Dzidzia Romie	Hunting partner	Deceased
Zoòze Simpson	Hunting partner	Deceased
Pierre Beaverho	Pierre had a dog-team with six dogs.	Nov 28 - 29 2011

In the early 1960s, Jimmy Nitsiza made the decision to make a trip to the east arm of Great Slave Lake by dog-team because there was no caribou around Whatì. He had heard there was caribou in the Lutselk'e area. They travelled from Whatì and stopped and had tea at Kweghalì and overnighted at Behchokò. They continued on to ?enòdah where they overnight. At that time there were a lot of people living there. The next day they continued to Dettah, arriving at night, and stayed with Chief Kw'ahtì K'ea. The next day the Chief gave them fish for their dogs and they continued on their hunting trip until they saw caribou tracks. They decided to stop for tea and saw caribou come onto the lake. They went after the caribou and each shot enough to fill their toboggans. At the time of the trip Pierre Beaverho had three children, and made the trip because he, like other men, was concerned for the well-being of his family.

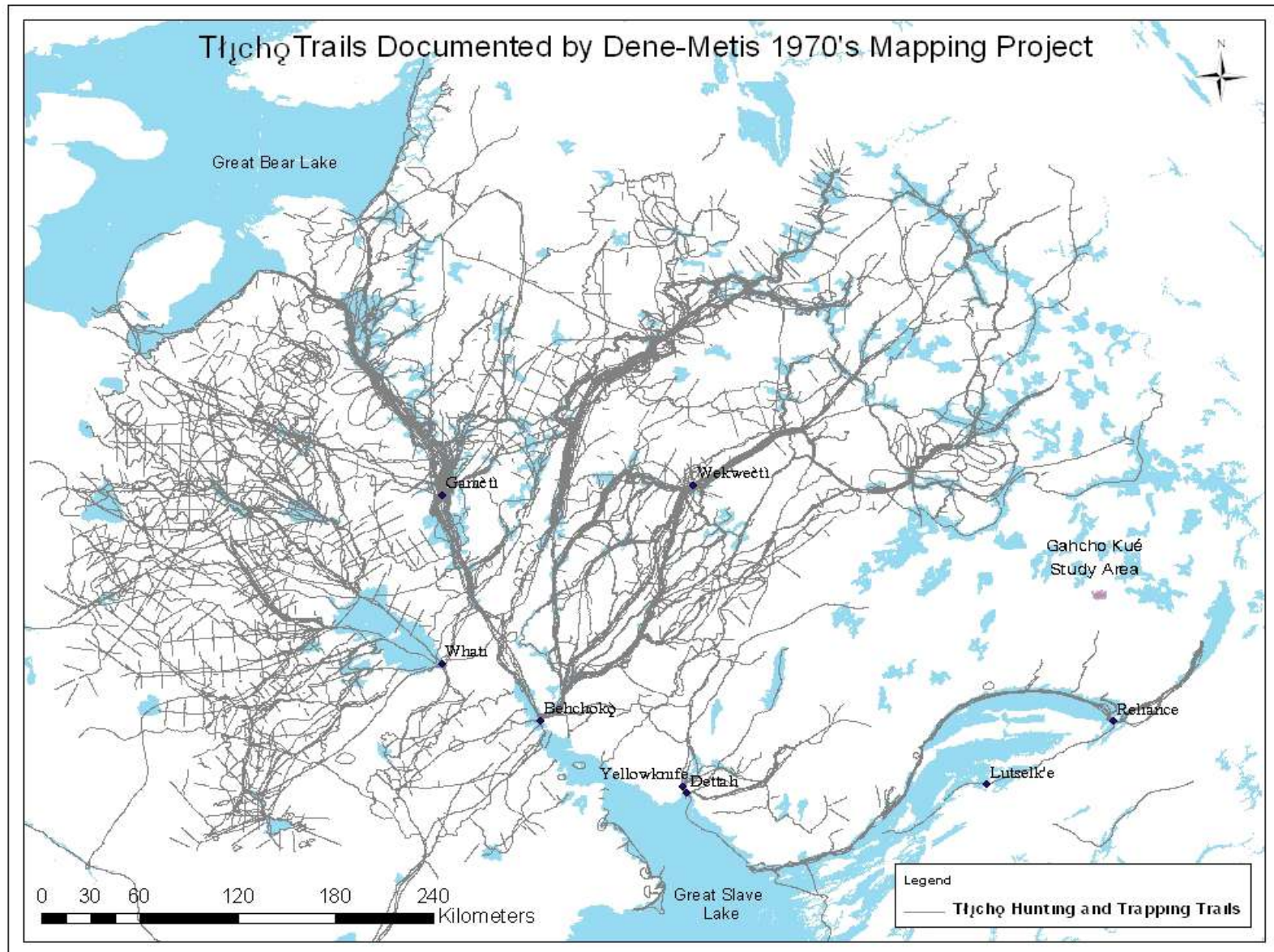
¹ The information pertaining to this trip changed considerably during the verification meeting, March 26th and 27th.



Tłıchq Trails Documented during the Dene-Metis 1970's Mapping Project

In 1974, the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (now the Dene Nation) decided to document land use and occupancy to demonstrate the extent of their land base. The map below shows trails used by the Tłıchq hunters and trappers from Fort Rae (Behchokq), Lac La Martre (Whatı), Rae Lakes (Gametı) and Snare Lake (Wek'weetı) up until the mid-1970s.

The Mapping Project map clearly shows Tłıchq trails to ʔedatsoı and from the Tıdeè (Great Slave Lake) to Gahtsoı. These trails, which are within Mqwhı Gogha Dè Nııtlèè, are the same as those described by the present-day elders during interviews with Camilla and Madelaine. Together these narratives and maps confirm Tłıchq land use of the area under discussion.



Talking to Elders who Used and Know the Area

The elders who have now passed on told members of the research team that during pre-contact times there were Tłıchq living throughout the tundra. Joe Suzi Rabesca, who passed on October 28th 2002, told of Tłıchq who lived all around Kòk'èetì (Contoyto Lake), down through ?ek'atì and toward Tideè (Great Slave Lake). This covers the Gahtsofì area. He also explained that when winter set in, there was a mass exodus following the caribou within the treeline.

Madeline Drybone, who passed on August 21st 2002, told Madelaine that there were as many Tłıchq as there were needles on a spruce tree, and she added that more than half of the Tłıchq moved south. The 1928 flu that killed hundreds of Dene significantly reduced the Tłıchq population whose ancestors now reside in Behchokò and Dettah. Those who survived moved away from places where other Tłıchq had suffered and died. When discussing the 1928 flu, Vital Thomas explained to June Helm in 1969, "If one person died they wouldn't spend a day at the place of the death. As soon as they buried him, they moved on to the next island. ... Moving is the Indians' own way. In the olden days, when there is a death they were not supposed to camp there. They had to move to the next island or point." (Helm 2000:141-42). They did not forget where their ancestors had died; they remembered by sharing oral narratives of those events and places.

Both Joe Suzi Rabesca and Madeline Drybone walked the land and learned the knowledge of their elders. They in turn share these stories and set an example of walking and harvesting the land to experience the story. Jimmy Martin, who passed away in 2010, was known for his travel stories. People visited him before going to a place or following a trail they had never been to before. During the interviews and during the verification meeting, the oldest elders followed the Tłıchq way of sharing knowledge. They provided us with names of who had knowledge of the Gahcho Kué Study Area. They stated that if they were going to travel in the area, hunt, trap, collect food, or think about developing a mine they should discuss the place and its resources with the elders from Lutselk'e and Dettah. As Dora Nitsiza said:

Those of us who have never been to that area; we cannot describe the land. If people from Lutselk'e were to come and sit with us then we would know more information. I think that would be a good idea. We do not know the area so we cannot talk about it. ... My husband went by dog team to hunt

caribou in that area. We wanted our children to eat well so he went that far. (Verification Meeting: December 8, 2011)

This was also expressed by Jimmy Kodzin who said:

It's not a small matter. It's a big issue [the mine]. It's a big issue, what we are talking about. I was yet in Wekweètì, Camilla phoned me, and asked me, "Do any of the men that used to work out there [Gahtsoì] have stories about it. Do you have any stories about it?" That is what she asked me. I thought I couldn't say anything. "I can't talk about it." I said. I am right. Only when we see something with our eyes can we talk about it....(Verification Meeting: December 8, 2011)

Jimmy, who had heard the stories, but had not experienced the truth of it, went on to say,

Alfred told me this story. It was Johnny Eyakfwo's daughter or son, I don't know but it was a child. The child died while out there he said. The body is buried there. The men travelled that far despite the events that might occur because they had to feed their families. In regards to a story, this is what I wanted to share. I did not go there myself so it's impossible for me to say this is what happened. Some of the people who worked there are still alive. (Verification Meeting: December 8, 2011)

All the elders felt that the most knowledgeable people of the Gahcho Kué Study Area are from Dettah and Lutselk'e. They consistently suggested that the research team talk to the men from Lutselk'e; men such as Albert Boucher, Ernie Boucher and Pierre Marlowe, and Alfred Baillergon from Dettah.

Summary of Community Research Results

In participating in this Project, the elders clearly showed the importance of listening to those who have heard their ancestors' narratives and who have experienced places. According to the elders, an individual is more knowledgeable if they know both, not just one or the other. The elders expressed knowledge of the resources in the area, as well as their concerns relating to having yet another mining development within Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nìtlèè.

Tł̥chq travelled in Akaitcho Territory by themselves and with the Yellowknives and Chipewyan. The elders requested those residing within the Akaitcho Territory with whom they have relation, and have had since the time of Edzè, be invited to tell them about the Study Area as it is they who have experienced the area. The elders wanted to demonstrate that Dene know the places their ancestors used and have stories that were passed down to them. If they do not have the oral narratives, they depend on those Dene who do.

This does not detract from the fact that Tł̥chq hunters have gone to Gahtsoṭi. The area has a Tł̥chq name and was important for caribou hunting. All those interviewed spoke of this and the how lush the caribou habitat is. No one, however, spoke of having trap-lines in the area, and although fish and ducks were mentioned, they were caught in other locations. Louis Zoe did not notice any graves, but did explain the richness of the vegetation.

The trails into and out of the area were noted with a small river leading from the north side of the East Arm of Great Slave Lake. Louis Zoe mentioned that this was the river that leads towards Gahtsoṭi.

All five trips documented, whether in fall or winter, were undertaken to hunt caribou. Once they had secured the caribou they returned home without travelling further into the barren grounds. All those interviewed remarked on the richness of caribou habitat around ʔedaàtsoṭi with Louis Zoe commenting that the land just south of Gahtsoṭi had lots of lichen on which caribou could graze. All elders commented that the caribou needed access to that land, as they required a lot of food to keep them going throughout the winter.

Concerns and Recommendations

During the verification meetings, it became clear that the elders had two types of concerns and from these came recommendations. They were concerned about what another mine would do to Mqwhì Gogha Dè Nìtlèè, and they were concerned that the research team did not have access to the Dene who knew the Gahcho Kué Study Area. Although all the elders had similar concerns each expressed them differently.

Concerns

The Regional Elders Committee expressed the following concerns about yet another mine being built.

Dora Nitsiza (Whatì):

- We depend on the land - animals and water- for life, therefore we do not want anything to be destroyed.
- Since we do not want to destroy what is important, we need to think about the future of our children.
Currently no caribou comes into our area (Whatì); if they open another mine it might stop them altogether, we are concerned for this.
- We do not want any harm to caribou.
- We may not see this destruction in our lifetime and we don't want our children to witness any destruction to the land. This is my concern.
- We should all be of one mind.

Elizabeth Michel (Behchokò)

- It is our land. We were raised on it. Our ancestors were raised on it too!
- ?ek'atì (Lac de Gras) is where the caribou migratory route is and we don't see the caribou come through there anymore.
- Wekweètì is in the path of migratory route and caribou doesn't migrate through there anymore.
- Caribou eats grass but especially lichen. It wanders looking for good food.
- Everything that grows on the land like trees, berries is what we eat and also used for medicine.

- Too much sickness today that causes death. One sickness causes too many deaths, how come?
- In the past, the very same things that we ate in the past never caused us any sickness. Lately, there has been too much sickness that is a real concern. The blasting that they do on the mine sites is a real concern to us.
- We love the land that is why we speak the way we do.

Francis Simpson (Whati):

- Both humans and animals depend on what we see on the land; it is all for survival. Even the waterfowl that fly in the air depend on what is on the ground.
- There are still people who make a living off the land. It is their livelihood, what will they do if the land is destroyed?
- Both my points need to be taken into consideration.
- I think it should be up to the elders to make major decisions on development. It is the elders who know [because of their experience] what will have a negative effect on our lives.

Jimmy Kodzin (Wekweèti)

- When there is mine development, destruction is expected on the land.
- Humans and animals depend on the land for their survival.

Louis Zoe (Gameti)

- Mine operations use chemicals at mine – careful consideration should be given to its use and how.
- Much is destroyed; the land will not be restored to how it looked originally.
- The fish that are close to the mine, therefore the smoke and dust that blow in air gets into the water and impacts the fish, and impacts animal and bird food. When dust falls on ground and it rains, can you imagine what the plant food looks like when it dries up? It would make it difficult for animals and birds to get at their food.
- We only see and behold the size of destruction done to our land and we see no benefits from it.

Mary Adele Wetrade (Gameti)

- What is the reason for opening the mine? Just for diamonds.
- Mining activity destroys land and air; dust particles in air destroy land.

- We can live without diamonds. Why deck ourselves with diamonds? They buy it just so they can put it around their necks and ears.
- They might as well put diamond-studded collars on their neck.
- We do not wear diamonds.
- Holding onto our traditions and values is more important to us than having a mine.
- I prefer we did not open a mine!

Noella Kodzin (Wekweètì)

- When a mine is open, the land around it is destroyed, and with it the animals' food is destroyed; the water is destroyed and the trees are destroyed.
- When mines are build and producing, they destroy our dreams and reliance on the land
- Protecting the land is all about sustenance for our children

Pierre Beaverho (Whatì)

- We, who are elders, and elders like Pierre Marlowe from Lutselk'e should work together to discuss mine development at Gahcho Kué.
- Elders from Whatì, Gametì, Wekweètì and Behchokò have travelled by boat, dog team and snow machine to Akaitcho Territory. We went there to hunt for caribou. We are concerned that the caribou's food [lichen] will be destroyed.

Robert Mackenzie (Behchokò)

- Depending on the size of the claim area, that is how big the destruction to the land will be.
- Where there is mineral wealth, they will open to development despite what we say; they [mining companies] only look for their own well-being and do not care for the welfare of the Dene people. Their minds are strong on monetary gains.
- There are some non-Dene who oppose development that are also concerned for the land, the fish, ducks, muskrat, beaver and whatever else they rely upon for their survival.
- What do we have to live with? Nothing! There was money under our feet as we worked the land but who gave any thought to monetary wealth?
- There is much wealth throughout Dene land and we rely and look to our children to get an education and learn as much as can. Education is expensive but we need to support them. We need to be resourceful and work at being a success for ourselves as others have.

Sophia Williah (Whati)

- Much will be destroyed from opening another mine. We know that the land will be destroyed: the fish and animals too, and animal food will be impacted.
- In the past, our elders looked on water as a type of medicine. Even plants that we use as medicine will also be destroyed.
- Even the smoke that goes in the air is harmful and has a negative effect. All that goes in the air will have a negative impact on the land and water.
- We were raised on the land and survived from it that is why we talk about it with such convictions.

Laiza Mantla (Gameti)

- They develop mines all around our communities just for money! Every time they talk [people from Yellowknife], that is all we hear!
- We say fish and animals can be harmed like this, but what about humans? We drink water and eat meat too.
- Many people lived in Ray Rock.² Where are they now? They are gone!
- Chemicals are powerful – destroying animals and they cause damage to human life?
- People used to fish where he [Fortune Minerals] wants to mine! There used to be good fish. This is a concern too!
- If we wanted water – what will we be drinking? We need to think about this.

² Rayrock is 169 km NW of Yellowknife, and 74 km NW of Behchokò. For information on Rayrock Mine, please see report Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development, Federal government webpage <http://www.aadnc-aandc.gc.ca/eng/1100100026975> and Dogrib Renewable Resources Committee and Dogrib Treaty 11 Council (1997).

Recommendations

The elders interviewed and at the first verification meeting in December 2011, recommended the following:

1. The documentation of traditional knowledge about the area around Gahcho Kué should include people from Lutselk'e and Dettah; they are the ones who really know that area. Although we hunt in the area, we hardly ever go to the study area known as Gahcho Kué; but, there are people in Lutselk'e who work out on that land-they would know their land.
2. The elders from Lutselk'e and Dettah and Ndilo should be invited to meet with the Tłıchq elders-especially the Tłıchq Knowledge Regional Elders' Committee. Therefore, the elders hear the information from those who know the oral narratives from the past and have current experience in the area. They are the ones who can explain more about the place where De Beers has proposed its mine. This should be done as soon as possible. If we consult the people of Lutselk'e, we can hear their opinion and listen to what they say.
3. Elders should be heeded when there is development on the land.
4. Elders should report their observations on the effects of chemicals on the land.
5. Elders should accompany scientists when they are monitoring the impacts of chemicals on the land, and be told what [chemicals] are used and how they are being used.
6. The elders should monitor the land: caribou, land, and water around the mine.
7. The elders should make occasional site visits.
8. The decision makers should consider very carefully the water and animals that will be needed in the future; the water from creeks and rivers need to be considered

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Appendix I: Research Guidelines

This research guideline is not an interview questionnaire. It is a simple document the researchers used to note whether or not the elders' oral narratives have drawn out the detailed information known by the people being interviewed. The guideline also gives researchers the basis for asking follow-up questions, after the individual/s have finished talking.

The researcher always starts by explaining the purpose of the research and how it will be used. S/he then asks a general question. In this case the general question was,

- Why would you or your ancestors travel to Gahtsoṭi?

As the researcher listen to the oral narratives of the elders present, they mentally tick off the information given. They also note what information has not been provided, and ask follow-up questions that may relate to any of the following.

1. What resources did you use and during which season?
 - a) Fish – names and locations
 - b) Large game –barren ground caribou, muskox
 - c) Fur bearing animals–was trapping done in the area
 - i) Any important denning areas?
(1) Names and locations.
 - d) Waterfowl – names and locations.
 - i) Rare animals
 - e) Plants – berries and culturally important medicine.
2. Are there significant sites in the area?
 - a) Burials
 - i) Locations.
 - b) Graves with fences
 - i) Locations.
 - c) Places where oral narratives dwell or the origin of occurrences.
 - d) Places that are not visited due to events that occurred in the past.
 - e) What trails are significant in and out of area and tied to what places?
3. Are there any place names that are indicators of bio-geographical knowledge
4. Water
 - a) Flow

Appendix II

Consent Form for TK Research associated with De Beers Gahcho Kué Diamond Project

We agree with the information in the document entitled *Tłıchǫ Knowledge for De Beers Canada Proposed Gahcho Kué Diamond Project* that was interpreted into Tłıchǫ March 26 and 27, 2012 by Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak and James Rabesca.

We understand that Alice Legat and Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak made the following changes:

1. The group asked that the family name Migwi be removed from the inter-marriage list of names.
2. Phillip Dryneck asked that a name be included in Chief Jimmy Bruneau boat trip.
3. Sam Lamouelle asked that a couple of elders from Dettah be included in Alphonse Lamouelle boat trip.
4. Louis Zoe asked that clarification be made on who travelled with Alex Charlo and David Chocolate.
5. Louise Zoe added two addition hunters to the Alex Charlo and David Chocolate trip.
6. Pierre Beaverho noted that there were problems with the information on his skidoo trip. The groups suggested that he talk about one of his earlier trips made by dog team. The skidoo trip has been deleted and the dog team trip has been included. The routes were similar.
7. Joe Mackenzie recommended that scientists be joined by elders to monitor the effects of chemicals on the land and water.
8. Other trips were mentioned; however they followed the same routes as those already explained in the report so were not included.

We, the elders, delighted in the fact that Alice Legat found the Dene-Metis Trails that were documented in the 1970s as they confirmed the information we gave Madelaine Chocolate-Pasquayak.

Charlie Apple Joe Wedzin Louis Frankie Pierre Beaverho Melanie Lafferty

Sam Lamouelle Monique Mckenzie Nellie Wedzin Joe Mckenzie LOUIS ZOE

Robert McKenzie Francis Williah Phillip Dryneck

Witnessed:
Alice Legat
Chantal
Pasquayak