University of Alberta

Canadian Heritage, Indigenous Heritage: Places, Meaning and Management

A Case Study with the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın of Fort McPherson, NWT

By

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Abstract

This applied anthropology study considers how the general perspective of Indigenous peoples towards heritage places in Canada is represented in two different contexts of management. The first is the traditional approach to the protection and commemoration of heritage places, as seen through the existing legislation and programs for their management. It is shown that the heritage preservation movement in Canada was developed by Euro-Canadians and reflects Western values. This had important consequences for Indigenous peoples, as many places of cultural significance to them were labelled as "heritage" and removed from their custody, while other places they value highly were not recognized or protected. Over the last decades, there has been a growing recognition of Indigenous values towards heritage places and management. Although significant efforts have been made to incorporate their perspectives, the existing tools to manage heritage places in Canada still largely fail to address their values and concerns.

The second framework of management that is considered is the post-land claim context. This is done through the examination of a case study, which focuses on the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın of Fort McPherson in the Northwest Territories. The views and values of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın about heritage places and management are first documented from an emic perspective, revealing their all-encompassing approach towards the land, the wide variety of places they consider of heritage value, and the ways they take care of them. Since the settlement of the Gwich'in Land Claim in 1992, new management mechanisms have been introduced on the lands of the Gwich'in groups in the Northwest Territories. They allow the Gwich'in to play an active role in resource management and

to protect heritage places in ways that better reflect their own standards. The establishment of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), which works under the Gwich'in Tribal Council, is also significantly empowering the Gwich'in towards heritage resources. Although not all issues related to the management of Indigenous heritage places have been resolved, it is argued that the comprehensive land claims improve the ability of Indigenous peoples to manage heritage places according to their perspectives.

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List of Abbreviations

ASC	Archaeological Survey of Canada
ASF	Assembly of First Nations
CAA	Canadian Archaeological Association
CCA	Canadian Council for Archaeology
CEAA	Canadian Environmental Assessment Act
CPAWS	Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society
CPEIA	Cultural Property Export and Import Act
FNCCEC	First Nations Confederacy of Cultural Education Centers
FHBRO	Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office
GIS	Geographic Information System
GLUPB	Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board
GRRB	Gwich'in Renewable Resource Board
GSCI	Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute
GTC	Gwich'in Tribal Council
HSMBC	The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
INAC	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada
NAFA	National Aboriginal Forestry Association
PWNHC	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre
RRC	Renewable Resource Council
RWED	Resource, Wildlife and Economic Development (NWT)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> *To some, heritage is historic structures. To others, it is the natural environment. To others, it's artefacts. Or ethnocultural roots. Or local traditions. Or a combination of all these things. In its broadest sense, heritage is the environment, both cultural and natural, that we inherit from past generations and that we pass on to future generations. In the final analysis, heritage is what we treasure"* [Heritage Canada circa 1993, cited in Thorne 1995:83].

The movement for heritage preservation has been steadily growing in Canada within the last few decades. This trend, which is not only unique to the country, is in fact so global and significant in scope that it has been labelled a 'Heritage Crusade' (Lowenthal 1998). Heritage is a direct consequence of the way people, at both the individual and collective levels, feel towards the past. Even though it only survives as "memory or residue of things that now exist in the present moment" (Stille 2002:311), as humans we all value the past because it is part of who we are. History, tradition, memory, myth, memoir and heritage are different paths that lead us to the past (Lowenthal 1998:3). Along with history, however, heritage as a specific entity is a relatively recent phenomenon. It is the result of a transformation that the Western perspective on the past has undergone within the last centuries. In fact, not so long ago the past was not a distant place as it is now:

> Until modern times most peoples trusted tradition, lived in accordance with what was constant and consistent, and customarily communed with ancestors. Handing down modes of life and thought to descendants was more a matter of ingrained habit than of deliberate effort; the inheritance of land and livestock, lineage, and repute was socially codified and largely closed to personal decision. Few clung to artifacts that had outlasted practical or spiritual use... Earlier folk largely fused past with present. Stability and cyclical recurrence muted marks of change and averted the breaches that now sunder old from new, useful from obsolete, the dead from the living. Spirits of the departed remained intimately involved with everyday life, bonding what could be seen and touched with what was veiled or imagined. For most peoples, the past was not a foreign country but their own [Lowenthal 1998:13].

Writing and print have been identified as two important elements that modified our relationship with the past. First, the writing of history has made the past something that is outside ourselves. Secondly, the introduction of portable-type printing in the mid-

fifteenth century not only changed our way of preserving the past and transmitting it from one generation to the next, but it also altered our perception of it. In fact, the existence of print has both contributed to develop a real sense of chronology and to introduce an evolutionist conception of history. In medieval times, the dominant belief was that the world was deteriorating as it moved away from the golden age of antiquity. Manuscripts seemed to prove this idea because errors in them increased in time, as they were re-copied. The introduction of print, however, helped convince people during the Renaissance that they were superior to the ancients (Lowenthal 1985; Stille 2002). The ability to keep records of past errors and achievements led them to believe that history was in fact progressing and that each generation could build upon the knowledge and realisations of the past. As Stille (2002:320) pointed out, the "permanence of print meant that scientists and technicians could build on past breakthroughs, while broadcasting their own innovations through journals and newspapers with increasing rapidity. It gave scientific work real traction, leading to the extraordinary boom of the Industrial Revolution."

Parallel to this developing sense of progress and modernity, however, also emerged a cult of antiquity and a growing interest in the past, which led to the collecting of ancient remains and the creation of the first museums (Stille 2002). Emblems (e.g., flags) and treasures that were formerly part of family property and inheritance were transferred to the public domain and placed under the custody of the state. The collective heritage thereby became a symbol of national identity (Lowenthal 1998). Countries such as Canada and the United States made no exception to this trend. Since their territories contained few monuments and objects of great antiquity compared to Europe, they incorporated natural areas of outstanding value as part of their heritage (Burnham 2000).

On both sides of the ocean, programs to protect heritage resources developed during the early twentieth century, but it is only recently that "saving the tangible past became a major global enterprise" (Lowenthal 1985:385). Reasons that have been cited to account for the blooming of heritage include things such as the search for stability in a world of changes, the desire to distinguish oneself from the masses, and a longing for the simplicity of the past in the face of technology and the dread of what it may bring. In sum, the growing importance of heritage "reflects traumas of loss and change and fears of

a menacing future" (Lowenthal 1998:11). No matter what the causes, however, it is clear that there has been a proliferation of international organizations, conferences and conventions related to the preservation of the world's cultural and natural heritage within the last decades. In Canada, many provincial and federal programs specifically designed to protect and manage heritage resources have been implemented or refined since the 1970s. Legislation and accompanying policies and procedures have also been endorsed to support these programs. The creation of the Department of Canadian Heritage in 1992 with its focus on culture, heritage and Canadian identity (Guarnieri 1997:203) is another indication of the high profile that heritage currently holds in the country.

Besides the national heritage (i.e., what is formally preserved and presented as the heritage of Canadians), there are also many local and regional heritages across Canada that attest to the great cultural diversity that characterizes the country. Ottawa has identified multiculturalism as an important component of Canadian heritage (Government of Canada 1988) and, over the last decade or so, efforts have been made to include some aspects of local and ethnic cultures within the national heritage (e.g., Parks Canada 2000a).

This is partly because many Indigenous groups across the nation are becoming increasingly vocal about their heritage and demanding greater recognition of their cultures and histories. This situation is of particular interest because Inuit and First Nations represent an important segment of the Canadian population, and they even constitute a majority in some parts of the country. Moreover, while there are hundreds of Indigenous groups in Canada and as many perspectives on heritage, these peoples generally share a more similar worldview between them than with mainstream Canadians. As a result, their positions on heritage present some parallels that can be contrasted to the Canadian approach.

Heritage as a concept is relatively new to Indigenous peoples. As societies with an oral tradition, the past to them is much the same as what Lowenthal describes above; it is simply a part of the present. Since the 1950s, however, such factors as the adoption of a more sedentary lifestyle, participation into the wage economy, the introduction of a Western system of education and the decline of Native languages have dramatically

altered the traditional processes of cultural transmission among Inuit and First Nations, thereby leading to an erosion of their cultures. Life on the land, where economic, cultural, social and spiritual values and practices were learned and integrated as part of everyday life and activities, is not as prominent as it was before. Elders – the main stewards of heritage – are passing away and taking with them much of their precious knowledge and experience. There is, therefore, a sense of urgency for many Indigenous groups to record as much information as they can about their history and traditions and to develop new ways to preserve and transmit this cultural inheritance to younger generations.

Heritage has also become a means for Indigenous peoples to reassert their identity. While the processes of colonization were largely meant to suppress Indigenous cultures, the rapid pace of changes that took place in their lives within the last decades made them feel at loss. The social problems that many communities are facing are symptomatic of this phenomenon. Now that they have regained some level of social and political autonomy, many Inuit and First Nations are working on redefining their identity. One of their objectives is to make their people proud of who they are and give them confidence to move forward. Another is to distinguish and affirm themselves in the face of other Canadians. In this context, heritage is a useful tool because it allows them to translate what matters to their people in a discourse that makes sense to government agencies and mainstream Canadians. It is a way to obtain public recognition of their cultures and histories and to access resources to document and preserve their heritages.

Heritage for Indigenous peoples usually involves more than tangible relics from the past that survive in the form of natural features and human artefacts. In fact, they largely consider all expressions of their culture as part of heritage, including their knowledge, oral traditions, arts, ceremonies, human remains and places, objects or documents of cultural, historical or spiritual significance (e.g., Daes 1995; Stó:lô Nation 2003:8). Their intention is not to treat these as museum pieces or remnants of the past, but rather to keep them socially and culturally relevant as part of contemporary life. Heritage preservation for Indigenous peoples therefore takes place within the broader context of cultural conservation and revitalization.

For many of them, the land takes on a special meaning because their cultures are intimately connected to it. The preservation of their homelands is essential to the pursuit of their own ways of life, as many places are the focus of subsistence, cultural, social and spiritual activities. Their knowledge of the environment and resources, their language, and their history are all connected to the land through the place names, myths, stories and events that are associated with places. The land also remains a place of cultural transmission where the youth can learn about values and traditions while traveling and performing customary activities. Protecting places and landscapes of cultural significance is therefore a priority for Indigenous peoples because they have a vital role to play for the maintenance of their identities and cultures.

As a marginalized segment of the population, Indigenous groups in Canada have long been excluded from the heritage preservation movement. In fact, the approach to heritage preservation in Canada was developed by Euro-Canadians and mainly reflects their perspective towards heritage places. Moreover, Indigenous peoples have been dispossessed of different places (e.g., spiritual sites, archaeological sites, traditional lands) of great importance to them because these were integrated as part of the national heritage and managed under different provincial/territorial or national programs. Fortunately, the national and international movements for Indigenous rights have somewhat improved the situation of Indigenous peoples and brought greater attention to the issues that matter to them. In Canada, as elsewhere, there is growing awareness about the significance of heritage places to Indigenous peoples and some efforts are being made to include their values and concerns in management practices.

This dissertation considers how the general perspective of Indigenous peoples towards heritage places fits within the Canadian approach to heritage preservation. More specifically, it examines how Indigenous values are integrated in two different contexts of management. The first is the approach to the protection and commemoration of heritage places in Canada, as seen through the legislation and programs in place for their management. The second is the new framework of management that has been introduced in Indigenous areas as a result of the comprehensive land claim process. It is argued that while the present approach to manage heritage places in Canada still largely fails to integrate Indigenous values and to recognize and protect places that are of significance to

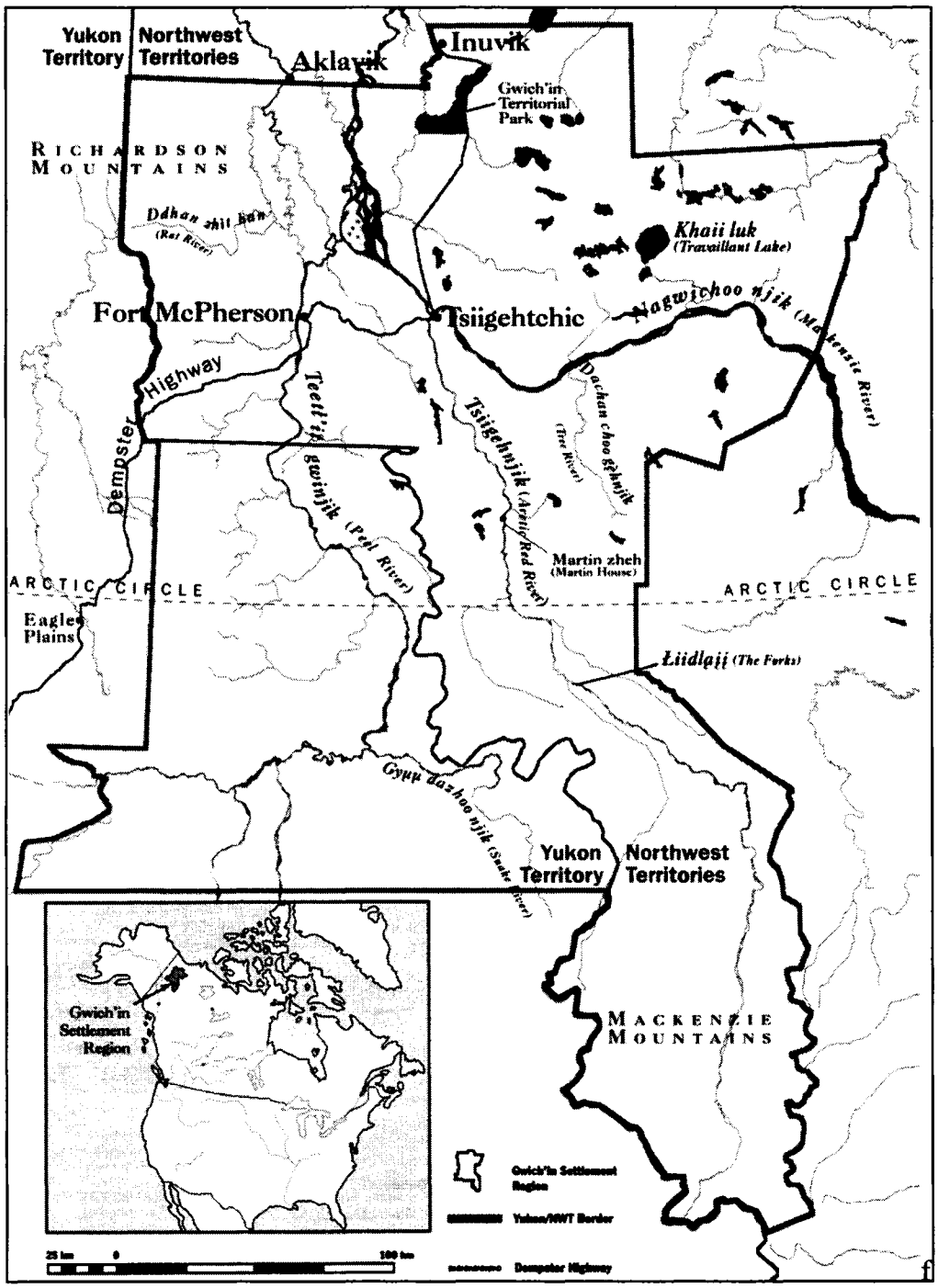
Inuit and First Nations, the greater level of socio-political control that some groups have acquired through their land claim has really improved their ability to protect places according to their own standards.

Objectives

The main objective of this study is to evaluate how the general perspective of Indigenous peoples is represented in the management of heritage places in Canada. This is done through a general discussion that describes the Canadian approach to the preservation of heritage places and contrasts it to Indigenous views. Secondly, the way Indigenous values are included in the post-land claim context of resource management is considered through a case study that focuses on the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın of the Northwest Territories.

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın are one of the four Gwich'in groups living in the Northwest Territories (Map 1). Together, these formed the third Canadian group to settle a comprehensive land claim agreement, but theirs is the first that includes a chapter on heritage resources.[1] Since the settlement of the Gwich'in Land Claim in 1992, there has been enough time for the implementation of many provisions related to the management of resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which was created as part of the land claim. This is especially true in the Gwich'in Settlement Area (i.e., the Northwest Territories portion of the Gwich'in Settlement Region) where public management boards were established and a land use plan implemented. The Gwich'in also set up their own administration. They created different processes to manage resources on their lands and also participate in the management of resources in other parts of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. Finally, they established the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), which plays an important role in documenting and managing Gwich'in heritage places. Although it is still fairly recent, the resource management system in the Gwich'in Settlement Region is largely in place.

[1] The two prior agreements are the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975) and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984).



Map 1. Fort McPherson and the Gwich'in Settlement Region
(Source: GSCI 1996)

The specific objectives of the dissertation are:

- To provide a historical perspective on the developments of the heritage preservation movement (both natural and cultural) in Canada and define Euro-Canadian values towards heritage places;
- To define the general perspective of Indigenous peoples about heritage places and management and contrast it to the Canadian approach;
- To evaluate the ability of the tools for the preservation of heritage places in Canada to recognize and protect the heritage places of Indigneous peoples;
- To define the general values and principles surrounding Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage from an emic perspective;
- To present Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın values and practices about heritage places, and;
- To examine the post-land claim context of management in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and assess how Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın values are integrated.

This dissertation is not a theoretical discussion about heritage. It is an applied study that makes a detailed analysis of heritage management policies and practices in the Canadian context. It assesses how these approaches contribute (or not) to the protection of Indigenous heritage places and values. While the first part of the dissertation presents a discussion on Canadian heritage and management and contrasts these to the general perspective of Indigenous peoples on heritage places, the second part focuses on a case study that is grounded in ethnographic work. The objective is to present an insider's point of view on heritage places and management and to examine how Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın values are integrated in resource management within the Gwich'in Settlement Region.

It is my hope that this work will supply the GSCI and other Gwich'in organizations with relevant information to help preserve Gwich'in heritage places and fully assume their rights and responsibilities when working with territorial and federal agencies in the areas of legislation, policies and programs related to the management of Gwich'in heritage places. This study will also provide insight to external bodies, such as governments and companies, that have to consider Gwich'in heritage places and values when planning and carrying out activities within the Gwich'in Settlement Region. More

generally, it will lead to a better understanding of how Indigenous peoples in Canada generally define and value heritage places, and contribute to the growing body of anthropological literature that already exists on the subject. Hopefully, these will help cultural resource management, which is an important component of applied anthropology in Canada (Van Willigen 2002), move towards a more inclusive (and post-colonial) approach to heritage management.

Methodology

This project was carried out in collaboration with the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI), which seeks to define the perspective of the Gwich'in on heritage and heritage resources. The GSCI provided a link between the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and myself and participated in the definition of the project's objectives. It also gave me several opportunities to engage in projects related to the management of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage places in order to learn and collect data about the Gwich'in perspective on heritage places. These projects therefore contributed indirect funds for the research. My own role mostly consisted of bringing financial resources for the realisation of the project, carrying out the investigation to document the perspective and values of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards heritage places and management, and presenting the results of the research as part of this dissertation. The project was reviewed and approved by the University of Alberta's Ethics Committee.

In order to document the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın perspective on heritage places and management and put it in context, it was necessary for me to learn about Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın culture, history and way of life, and to understand how these people approach the world. I used ethnography as the main method of investigation. I partook in the life of the community for several months, and carried out individual interviews with community members and individuals engaged in the management of Gwich'in heritage places. I was also involved in projects related to the preservation of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage places, and distributed a written questionnaire to Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın adults and students. Overall, these approaches brought complementary information to the study and ensured the reliability of the data. The following explains how each of these methods was used and contributed to the study.

Life in the Community

In the course of my Ph.D. program, I spent about a year in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and I lived for ten months in the town of Fort McPherson, between July of 2002 and June of 2003. In addition to participating in the life of the community, I tried to get involved in culture-related activities, such as "cultural days" out on the land, lunches with elders at the school, and sewing lessons with an elder. Living in Fort McPheron and interaction with people on a daily basis helped me to learn about the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın culture and way of life and to understand the issues that are of concern to them. It also gave me some opportunities to go out on the land with the locals[2] to discover the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın cultural landscape and visit places of significance. Throughout my fieldwork, I kept a journal and conducted more formal activities to gather information on my research topic. These are described below.

Individual Interviews

Individual interviews with elders and other community members provided a framework where I could address specific topics related to heritage places and management. These include heritage in general, and more specifically: a) the connection the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın maintain with the land; b) the sites and areas they consider of significance; c) the reasons why these places are special to them; d) how they behave around them and would like to see them protected and valued in the contemporary context; and e) what natural and/or cultural processes they consider a threat. Asking the same questions to different individuals enabled me to compare answers and make sure that the information presented is accurate. These interviews also allowed me to use the

[2] Going out on the land with community members proved to be more difficult than I expected. Most people do not live on the land for long periods of time, and the few days or weeks they spend at their camps are often for family reunions. When I first arrived in Fort McPherson, I was looking forward to go berry picking with women from the community, but the berry season proved to be exceptionally poor and, consequently, very few trips were made. Moose hunting in the fall, and winter/spring trapping and hunting are mostly male activities, so it was impossible for me to be part of such expeditions. Another factor that limited my ability to travel on the land is that I did not have access to a snowmobile. I did manage to go on the land with the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın several times, but these trips mostly took part in the context of formal activities. Examples include a community-based archaeological survey carried out with the GSCI by boat and helicopter, and field trips organized by community agencies (e.g., the Crime Prevention Committee) or outside organizations (e.g., the CPAWS). The Dempster Highway and the winter road between Fort McPherson and Aklavik also allowed me to reach areas that are of prime importance within the history and contemporary life of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın.

words of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın throughout the dissertation, both to support my statements and supply the reader with first-hand information.

Fifty-one interviews were carried out in the context of this project. Twenty-seven of them were done with 19 elders, of whom some were interviewed more than once. The interviewees were referred either by the GSCI or other elders, based on their knowledge of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape and heritage.

Thirteen of the interviews were carried out in the summer of 2001, during a project initiated by the GSCI and Parks Canada to revisit the national historic site designation of Fort McPherson. I was part of the team that interviewed the elders. These meetings had for objectives to document the history and significance of Fort McPherson from their perspective and to collect information about other places they consider worthy of recognition (Fafard 2001a).

I conducted all the other interviews with Ms. Bertha Francis – a Gwich'in elder and translator – while living in Fort McPherson. Except for a few, all of the interviews were carried out in English, although the elders could express themselves in their language if they preferred to. The interviews were tape-recorded. Checklists were used to ensure that the same questions were asked to everyone, but the interviews were open-ended. I made a literal transcription of the interviews with the assistance of Ms. Bertha Francis who translated the Gwich'in sections. All of the elders gave me permission to quote them and use their names in the dissertation.

Nine interviews were conducted with Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın adults who are not elders. These individuals were selected because they are either knowledgeable about the land, involved in the management of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın lands and resources, and/or contributing to the maintenance of the Gwich'in culture. In addition to their specific involvement in cultural matters, similar topics as those addressed with the elders were discussed during the interviews, which were open-ended and tape-recorded. Those individuals whom I quote in this dissertation gave me written permission to do so.

Finally, in an attempt to understand better the different forces at play within the Gwich'in Settlement Region, I interviewed 13 individuals who are involved in the management of heritage resources as part of their function. These include staff members

from the GSCI, the Gwich'in Land Administration, the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board and the Land Claim Implementation office. Some of the personnel from the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), the Northwest Territory Protected Areas Strategy, the Western Arctic Field Unit of Parks Canada, and Yukon Heritage Resources were also interviewed. The interviews helped me comprehend the role of each agency/organization and learn about the resource management system in place. All interviews except for two were tape-recorded. I obtained the written consent of the individuals I cite in this work.

Projects related to the Management of Specific Heritage Places

Between 2000 and 2005, I was involved as a consultant in five different projects related to the management of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage places. The GSCI initiated all of these projects in partnership with different agencies. Two of them were community-based archaeology projects. The first was an ethno-archaeological survey within the southwest portion of the Richardson Mountains and along the Peel River (Fafard 2001b). The project involved six community members, including one elder. The starting point of our investigation was the traditional land use history of the Peel River and its surroundings. We mostly visited locales that have been named by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and are known through the oral tradition. The second project took place in the summer of 2002, while I was living in Fort McPherson. It consisted of a two-week excavation of the place in the community where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın used to camp during their visits to the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) trading post between approximately 1850 and 1920 (Fafard 2003). Seven youth assisted with the excavation of the site. The high visibility of the project was quite useful, as several people commented on archaeology and related topics, both during and after the excavation of the site. Both archaeology projects also provided insight about how Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın feel about investigating the past in this way.

I was also part of three initiatives related to the commemoration of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın places as territorial or national historic sites. The first one, which I have briefly referred to, was aimed at revisiting the history and significance of Fort McPherson – designated a National Historic Site in 1969 – from the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın standpoint. The second project led to the selection of two portions of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın cultural landscape for designation as a national historic site, and the third involved the nomination of two

historic villages as territorial historic sites. As a consultant on these projects, I attended the meetings held with the community steering committees, which were tape-recorded. I also carried out research about the history of the places they selected for nomination, and co-authored the final reports. Like the interviews, these projects contributed information about how the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın view the land and value places, but in the context of group discussions that were not directly aimed at providing data for my research. What came out of these meetings both supplemented and corroborated the information collected during the interviews. The projects also gave me interesting case studies to present in the dissertation.

Written Questionnaire

After carrying out my work with Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın elders, I became interested in how younger people, who have had a distinct life experience, were thinking about heritage and heritage resources. In addition to interviewing a few adults, I thus distributed a written questionnaire to a number of adults and youth in Fort McPherson to understand what they think about the topics I addressed with the elders and compare perspectives across generations.

I designed two versions of an anonymous questionnaire: one for adults and another for students of Chief Julius School. To get feedback on the questionnaires, I circulated them to several people working in the field of heritage preservation, and staff at Chief Julius School and at the Band Office in Fort McPherson. The final version of each questionnaire is included in Appendix A. Forty-six adult questionnaires were distributed. I did not think I would achieve the best possible results by distributing these to community members without introduction. This is why I directly asked several individuals, without keeping a record of their names, if they would agree to answer the questionnaire and mail it back to me in a pre-addressed and stamped envelope.

This method created two major problems. One is that when I distributed the questionnaire I visited many offices (e.g., Band Office, Hamlet, Language Centre) within the community and consequently, many (but not all) of the respondents are people who are part of the wage economy. Another bias is one that probably reflects the closer association I had with women during my experience in Fort McPherson. Of the 34

questionnaires that were returned to me, 24 were filled out by women and only 12 by men. All of the respondents were born between 1947 and 1977.

For the student questionnaire, I asked the permission from the Director of the school to distribute it during classes, which I was allowed to do with the kind assistance of several teachers. Thirty-nine students from grades nine to 12 responded to the questionnaire on a voluntary basis. All of them were born between 1981 and 1988. There were more male (24) than female (15) students in the classrooms where I went, a factor that helped to better balance the total number of male and female respondents. Finally, it is important to mention that with a few exceptions, the information I collected with the questionnaires is used in this dissertation more in a qualitative than a quantitative manner.

Review of Literature

In order to put the study in context, learn more about Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın history and traditions, and understand the framework of heritage preservation in Canada, I reviewed the relevant literature on these topics. I read both the published and non-published material written on the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. These include journals of early explorers, traders, and missionaries who came to the area, and the work of ethnographers of whom the most two important are Cornelius Osgood and Richard Slobodin. The former was a student of Edward Sapir, who collected data on the Gwich'in in the summer of 1932, while travelling on the Yukon River. The main results of this investigation were published in a monograph titled "Contributions to the Ethnography of the Kutchin" (Osgood 1936, reprinted in 1970). Richard Slobodin carried out research with the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın in 1946 and 1947 and wrote a doctoral dissertation on their social organization, which was later condensed in a publication titled "Band Organization of the Peel River Kutchin" (Slobodin 1962). He also contributed several articles on different topics related to the Gwich'in (Slobodin 1960, 1963, 1964, 1969, 1970, 1975, 1981, 1994).

One of my anthropology collegues, Robert Wishart, recently completed his Ph.D. dissertation on the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. He provided a detailed description of the individuals who have written about the Gwich'in (Wishart 2004). I will therefore refer the reader to his work for more information on the topic. When necessary, I do provide a minimum of

information about the ethnographic sources I cite in the dissertation, to place the data in context.

Since the early 1990s, there is a significant amount of work that has been carried out by the GSCI to record Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın traditional knowledge and oral tradition. The most valuable source of information for me is a place names database created by the GSCI for the area along the Peel River comprised between Fort McPherson and the Ogilvie River (Kritsch et al. 2000). This material was collected during interviews in Fort McPherson and a river trip with elders. In addition to place names, the location of such features as trails, graves, cabins, camp sites, berry picking places, fishing locations and many other sites was mapped, and the stories of the places recorded. Data extracted from the published literature and earlier oral history interviews carried out in the 1970s and 1980s by the Dene Nation and the Committee for Original People Entitlement (COPE) were also included in the database. Much of the latter material is housed at the Gwich'in Language in Fort McPherson.

In fact, the Centre is the repository of an impressive quantity of material produced on the Gwich'in. In addition to the COPE files, there is also other oral history information from interviews carried out with elders within the last few decades that is stored there in the form of audiotapes, transcripts and audio-visual material. During my stay in Fort McPherson, I had the opportunity to spend time at the Language Centre and to go through some of this material.

Finally, in order to trace the history of the natural and cultural movements for the preservation of heritage places in Canada, I read a significant amount of material on the subject. This includes literature related to the Canadian park system and other protected areas, the movement for the preservation of historic buildings, and cultural resource management. I have gave much attention to the available literature related to Indigenous heritage places and their management, including books, dissertations, articles, reports, land claim agreements and other pieces of legislation. Many of those are referred to throughout this work.

Scope of Dissertation

Chapter 2 describes how the movements for the preservation of the natural and cultural heritage in Canada started and developed, and examines underlying ideas and values. The chapter is divided in three main sections, which focus on the natural, the built and the archaeological heritage. It explains how Euro-Canadians developed an interest for these resources and integrated them as part of the national heritage. The chapter also shows how Euro-Canadian views towards heritage resources have evolved through time and conditioned management strategies. The main objective of the chapter is to provide an understanding of how heritage is valued, defined and managed in Canada, and to place the rest of the study in context.

Chapter 3 contrasts the perspective of mainstream Canadians towards heritage places with that of Indigenous peoples. It shows how both groups have different conceptions of what heritage places are, what they mean and how they should be treated. The first part concentrates on so-called "natural areas" and archaeological sites. It explains that the inclusion of these places on the corpus of Canadian heritage places had many and sometimes dramatic consequences on the lives of Indigenous peoples. It also demonstrates how the greater level of control that Inuit and First Nations are regaining over their own affairs is changing the way protected areas and archaeological resources are being defined and managed. The second part discusses places that are of heritage value to Indigenous peoples, but that do not usually receive much recognition or protection as part of provincial/territorial and federal management programs. It also assesses current management tools in terms of their ability to protect Indigenous heritage places and examines different initiatives that have been put in place to better represent their perspectives.

Chapter 4 consists of an overview of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın in the contemporary context. It provides a description of what they consider as their traditional area, and presents elements of change and continuity in its occupation. A brief overview of the development of Fort McPherson as a settlement is presented, along with a short description of the land claim. The place that the traditional and wage economies occupy in the lives of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın is also commented, along with generational differences. The chapter concludes with a general discussion on Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın

heritage, that focuses on their traditions and knowledge, the Gwich'in language, the oral tradition, and the land.

Chapter 5 is the first of two chapters that concentrate on how the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın define and value heritage places. It presents the general perspective of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards the land, examines the values that stand behind this approach, and looks at how they relate to heritage preservation. Their holistic view of the landscape is revealed through the words of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın elders, and through a case study that involved the nomination of a cultural landscape for national recognition. The stance of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards development activities and other threats is also presented.

Chapter 6 explains how the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın feel and talk about significant places and describes how they behave around them. The specific types of places that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın consider of heritage significance are presented, along with the values attached to them and the traditional ways to care for them. The different factors that affect or may potentially impact on those places are also identified, along with the methods that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın use or are considering to protect them.

Chapter 7 describes how Gwich'in heritage places are managed in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. It assessed the protection afforded by legislation to Gwich'in heritage places and considers the role played in management by Northwest Territories, Yukon and federal agencies. The new management mechanisms introduced through the Gwich'in land claim are then described and evaluated in terms of their ability to address the values and concerns of the Gwich'in towards heritage places. The chapter also discusses the involvement of the Gwich'in in management activities and looks at the impacts that this active participation has on the way heritage sites are defined and managed in the Gwich'in Settlement Region.

Chapter 8 consists of a general summary and conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

The Canadian Perspective on Heritage Places and Management

> *Tangible relics survive in the form of natural features and human artefacts. Awareness of such relics enhances knowledge gained through memory and history. But no physical object or trace is an autonomous guide to bygone times; they light up the past only when we already know they belong to it. Memory and history pin-point only certain things as relics; the rest of what lies around us seems simply present, suggesting nothing past* [Lowenthal 1985:238].

In Canada, the idea of a national heritage started to develop at the end of the nineteenth century when Canada itself was a fairly young state, still in search of an identity. In the minds of those who had colonized this vast and diverse territory, the history of Canada really began with their own arrival in this part of the world. As a result, the first events to be celebrated were those that referred to the conquest and the settlement of the country by the Europeans. Military forts and fur trade locations, for instance, were among the first places to be turned into a part of the national heritage. Some of the country's natural wonders and what were considered as wilderness areas were also protected as the legacy of the whole nation. These areas were mostly set aside for the enjoyment of the people and they were also intended to generate profits.

Things have changed over the years, as a wider range of places and events came to be appreciated for their contribution to the history of the nation, and nature conservation turned into one of the top priorities for the creation of parks and other protected areas. Nevertheless, early initiatives for the preservation of heritage places have largely shaped the face of heritage in Canada, and this heritage tends to reflect mainly Euro-Canadian values and aspirations. This chapter traces the developments and evolution of the different movements for the protection and commemoration of heritage places in Canada, and examines underlying ideas and values. The objectives are to define what heritage places are and assess their significance from the perspective of Euro-Canadians, and to provide an understanding about how heritage places were incorporated as part of the national heritage and became collective resources that are cared for and managed for the public good. The chapter also shows how Euro-Canadian views towards heritage resources have evolved through time and conditioned management strategies. This will

place in context the rest of the study, which will examine the place of Indigenous peoples and their heritage in the Canadian context of heritage management.

In Canada, there are three main categories of places that have been generally labelled as heritage and have been commemorated and/or protected as such: they include 1) natural areas, 2) built places, and 3) archaeological sites. The general tendency has been to treat natural places as a distinct category from cultural ones and thus, the movements for environmental and cultural preservation have largely developed independently from one another. Lobby groups, scientists, professionals, and the public have often been the force behind the implementation of legislation and programs aimed at protecting, managing and commemorating heritage places. The development of heritage preservation has also taken place within the broader international context. As we will see, the approaches to environmental and historic preservation have both been inspired by projects that were first implemented in the United States. Much of the work carried out by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has also been a source of stimulation for the protection and/or commemoration of some of the country's natural and cultural places.

The conservation of wilderness areas across the country is implemented through both federal and provincial legislation and initiatives, thus resulting in an extensive network of parks and protected areas. The National Parks System was the first to be developed in Canada and it also has the most progressive legislation (Eagles 1993); this is why it is most often cited as an example in this chapter. As opposed to natural heritage places, the preservation of cultural sites rests mostly in the hands of provincial and territorial jurisdictions. Heritage buildings and archaeological sites are usually protected under the same pieces of legislation, except for a few exceptions. Nonetheless, the movements for architectural and archaeological protection have a history of their own and this is why they are treated here as two distinct categories. It is important to mention, however, that there is some overlap between them, as some historic buildings are also archaeological remains, and vice-versa.

The Natural Heritage

Parks for Use: The First Protected Areas in Canada

National parks and forest reserves were the earliest initiatives to protect the natural heritage. The concept of national park first emerged in the United States during the late nineteenth century. Parks were "designed to compete with the grand monuments of Europe. They offered up a sample of 'God's country' as a rival to such man-made splendors as the Louvre and the Doge's palace" (Burnham 2000:19). Early American parks were also established for tourism and to protect natural and scenic wonders (Nelson 1993:45). Similar motives led to the creation of Rocky (now Banff) National Park in 1887, following the discovery of hot mineral springs in the Canadian Rockies (Lothian 1987:23). The springs were to be exploited by the government as a tourist attraction for the benefit of all Canadians, and plans were made to lay out the park adequately in order to receive visitors. They included the development of the springs, the construction of roads and bridges, and the erection of a townsite along with necessary tourist facilities (Craig Brown 1969:50). Grazing, lumbering and mining activities were allowed to take place within the park. At the time, natural resources were seen as a key element for the development of the country's economy, and government policy strongly encouraged their exploitation (Bella 1987; Craig Brown 1969:50). In 1904, St. Lawrence Islands was the first National Park to be founded in the east (Lothian 1987). In Ontario and Quebec, however, forest reserves and/or provincial parks had already been established during the 1880s and 1890s to protect the quickly depleting forest resources. In both cases, resource conservation was profit-oriented and logging was allowed in the parks along with the pursuit of recreational activities (Hébert 1998:142; Hodgins et al. 1998:82-83). The establishment of conservation areas in the North took place in a different context. The first area set aside for protection was Victoria Island. It was designated as a hunting reserve in 1918 to protect declining wildlife populations for the use of Indigenous peoples who depended on them. This was a necessary measure because of the influx of whalers, trappers and traders into the region. The creation of parks and reserves in the North was also used as a mean to assert Canadian sovereignty over some areas (Bregha 1989:212).

By 1930, the National Parks System had 17 areas (including some special animal reserves), 14 of which were in western Canada and three in Ontario (Nicol 1969:23). After the passing of the Dominion and Forest Parks Act in 1911, these parks were administered by the Dominion Parks Branch (now the Canadian Parks Service). Even though some conservation measures to protect forest and wildlife resources had been introduced since the creation of Rocky Mountain Park (e.g., park wardens, patrol cabins, fire equipment and communication technology), the idea behind the creation of national parks remained largely utilitarian and resource exploitation continued to take place within park limits (Craig Brown 1969:55; Taylor 1990:26). Moreover, the economic benefits that were derived from tourism and recreation within national parks were used as an argument to promote the expansion of the system, thus resulting in the development of an increasing number of services in parks, including roads and highways and recreational facilities (Lothian 1955:5, McNamee 1993:24). Several parks dedicated to recreation were also developed at different points of historic interest (Taylor 1990).

Conservation: A New Mandate for Protected Areas

With the adoption of the National Parks Act in 1930 a different philosophy was introduced for the management of park areas, with a greater emphasis on nature conservation. Although the Act still largely committed parks to the use of the people, it also stressed that these parks were to "be maintained and made use of so as to leave them unimpaired for the enjoyment of future generations" (Hotzel 1979:61). As a result, mineral and timber exploitation, cottage developments, vehicular access to parks and sport hunting (excluding fishing) were gradually phased out of national parks (Hotzel 1979:61-62). Areas of significant commercial value (e.g., hydrological, mineral), however, were sometimes withdrawn from national park boundaries to allow exploitation (Bella 1987:57).

The shift from utilitarian conservationism to ecological preservation further intensified in national parks following World War II. It also occurred in some of the provincial park systems (e.g., Hébert 1998; Killan 1998), even if these areas generally did and still remain "much more prone to commercial and related invasions and are not as reliably protected" (Edwards 1989:26). This change of focus paralleled the post-war emergence of ecological science and the rising voice of environmentalists in the 1960s

(Killan 1998:35, 45). Public support for natural preservation also grew after World War II, as "outdoor recreation space, undefiled natural areas, and clean air and water" came to be seen "as essential aspects of a better standard of life" that should be protected both for their biological and aesthetic merits (Killan 1998:43-44). The birth of conservation organizations such as the Nature Conservancy of Canada (1962), the National and Provincial parks Association of Canada (1963) and several others also gave impetus to the conservation movement (Aird Lewis 1969; Marsh 1998:xiv-xv; McNamee 1993:29).

While concerns for the protection of nature increased, however, so did the number of people visiting the parks every year including tourists, wilderness adventurers and also scientists in need of favourable research sites (Carter-Edwards 1998:100-101; Cragg 1969; Killan 1998:39-40; Priddle 1993:97). These multiple uses led to the realization, in the 1950s, that "all parks could not be all things to all people" (Attridge 1998:224). As a result, provinces such as Ontario and British Columbia adopted a three-part classification system embedded in legislation. Ontario, for instance, identified parks administered by the minister of Lands and Forest, by park commissions, or by another minister. In the late 1960s, the province set up a classification system with five types of parks including natural environment, nature reserve, primitive (now wilderness), recreational and wild river (now waterway); an historical category was later added to this list. Similar classification schemes have been gradually integrated to other provincial parks legislation. Such legislation was developed as early as 1913 in Ontario and as late as the 1970s within other jurisdictions. Parks classification is "often accompanied by specific purposes and permitted uses" now commonly detailed within the system or management plan developed for each of the parks (Attridge 1998:224-225). Zoning is also used to regulate activities within national parks. Special preservation, wilderness zones, natural environment zones, outdoor recreation areas and parks services are the five existing zones to classify and define the level of protection granted to different park areas (Parks Canada 1994:30-32).

In 1971, Parks Canada formulated a system plan to direct the establishment of new national parks. This strategy was intended to redress the fact that the existing 20 national parks had been created in an *ad hoc* manner, thus reflecting the lack of "vision or long-term goal" of the National Parks System. Rooted in the idea that national parks should

embody a representative sample of Canada's landscapes, the plan defined 39 'National Parks Natural Regions' based on their physiography and vegetation (Parks Canada 1997). About two-thirds of these regions are now represented by more than 40 Canadian national parks (Parks Canada 2003a), and other lands have been reserved for national park purpose in a number of regions (Parks Canada 1997). Several provinces have also adopted a representative landscape approach for developing their parks network (e.g., Mead 1989; Priddle 1993; Swinnerton 1993). In 1986, the Canadian Park Service integrated marinescapes as part of the national heritage and produced a system with 29 natural zones for the protection of Canada's coastal waters and the Great Lakes. Since the establishment of the National Marine Conservation Areas of Canada Program, two parks have been created, including Fathom Five and Saguenay St. Lawrence National Marine Parks in Ontario and Quebec respectively (Parks Canada 2003b). Supporting legislation for the program was adopted in 2002. The province of British Columbia also counts numerous marine parks, although most of them were created for recreational purposes. The incentive for the protection of such areas is shifting towards conservation, however, and a Marine Protected Areas Strategy is being developed for the province (see CPAWS-BC 2004).

A series of international and national events in the late 1980s and early 1990s encouraged the development of more protected areas across Canada. One is the Bruntland Commission (1987), which requested the protection of 12 percent of the world's landmass and introduced the concept of sustainable development. Another is the Convention on Biological Diversity, that Canada was the first to sign in 1992. On the Canadian front, significant happenings include: (1) the Canadian Green Plan, released by Ottawa in 1990 to describe federal initiatives in order to maintain a healthy environment; (2) the signing of the Tri-Council Agreement (1992), which secured provincial co-operation for the completion of the Canada's network of protected places; (3) the work of lobbying groups, such as the Canadian Parks and Wilderness Society (CPAWS) and the Canadian World Wildlife Fund (WWF); and (4) the growing support of Inuit and First Nations for landscape protection, an issue which will be examined more closely in the next chapter (Dearden and Rollins 1993; Kimmins 1994:1-2; WWF Canada 2000).

Nature Conservation in the Present Context

In Canada there is a wide variety of national, provincial and territorial protected areas including parks, wildlife areas, heritage rivers, ecological reserves and lands under private stewardship (Parks Canada 1997). These are generally protected by a range of federal and provincial legislation, which greatly vary in their degree of effectiveness (Boyd 2002).[3] National and provincial environmental impact assessment processes also play a significant role in the protection of natural resources within areas where development is allowed. Canada is the steward of a vast amount of resources of international significance; it holds 20 percent of the world's remaining natural areas, nine percent of its fresh water, 15 percent of its forests and the longest coastline in the world (Federal-Provincial-Territorial Task Force on the Importance of Nature to Canadians 1999:3; Parks Canada 2003b). Some areas have obtained international recognition through designation as World Heritage Sites or Biosphere Reserves, which are only two of the numerous intercontinental initiatives undertaken within the last decades to promote environmental conservation (see Eidsvik 1993).

Presently, the ultimate goal of nature conservation on the national and international fronts is to preserve biodiversity (e.g., Mead 1989; Hackman 1989; Swinnerton 1993:132; UNESCO 1992). In this context, protected areas are established to help maintain the ecological integrity of different ecosystems (Lee and MacIsaac 1994).[4] In Canadian national parks, this became the top priority when the National Parks Act was amended to reinforce the conservation mandate of national parks in 1988 (Attridge 1998:228; Dearden and Rollins 1993:3). Sustainable use is also a key concept for the maintenance of biodiversity. It implies that biological resources may be used but at a rate which does not provoke a decline in diversity (UNESCO 1992). This principle increasingly governs development activities, and it also prevails in some protected areas such as marine conservation areas, where the objective is not to protect nature in an

[3] According to a study carried out by Boyd (2002), Canadian laws are generally inadequate to protect natural areas. The only exceptions are the Canada National Parks Act and National Marine Conservation Areas Act, and the Wilderness Areas Protection Act and Wilderness and Ecological Reserves Act of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland respectively.

[4] The Canada National Parks Act defines 'ecological integrity' as "...a condition that is determined to be characteristic of its natural region and likely to persist, including abiotic components and the composition and abundance of native species and biological communities, rates of change and supporting processes" (Government of Canada 2000).

unaltered state (as in land-based parks), but rather to ensure that resources are used in such a way as to prevent the decline of biological species (Parks Canada 2003b).

In recent years, the growing awareness concerning the changing character of ecosystems has affected the way protected areas are managed. Not so long ago, these were still considered as living museums of nature that represented the landscape as it was in earlier times (e.g., Pimlott 1969). It was believed that drawing boundaries around these areas to prevent development would be sufficient to protect them. The necessity to adjust to the dynamics of natural processes, however, has led to the development of more active and adaptive management practices (Lee and MacIsaac 1994:21-22). Management now even extends beyond park boundaries, since external factors (e.g., pollution, incoming water quality) and activities (e.g., hunting, logging, agriculture) in areas adjacent to parks are recognized as potential threats to the fragile equilibrium of parks ecosystems (Dearden and Rollins 1993:6-7; McNamee 1993:39). Connections between protected areas have also been identified as a useful tool to prevent species decline within these areas (Nelson 1993:50). The Greenways in Canada is one example of corridor system that links natural habitats to one another (Priddle 1998).

Finally, the place of humans within protected areas is slowly being acknowledged. For example, the role Indigenous peoples have played in the shaping and maintenance of different types of ecosystems has been examined (e.g., Bonnicksen et al. 1999; Reeves 1969). The recent history of human occupation within national parks has also been explored (e.g., Osbourne 1998) along with the effects of industry and tourism on the landscape (e.g., Nelson 1969). Gradually, the perception of parks and other natural areas as "untouched wilderness" is fading away to cede place to the more encompassing concept of "cultural landscape", a topic that will be further examined within the next chapter.

The Built Heritage

First Initiatives to Commemorate and Protect Heritage Buildings

Early efforts to preserve the built heritage in Canada can be traced to the second part of the nineteenth century. These projects were initiated by local or regional groups, who largely focused their activities on the commemoration of military sites and this, often for

patriotic reasons (Taylor 1990). In the late 1890s, Fort Lennox in Quebec became the first commercially operated historic park in Canada, through the initiative of a private entrepreneur who restored the fort and transformed the men's barracks into a museum (Taylor 1990; Thorne 1995).

The first preservation project initiated by the federal government was the creation, in 1908, of the Quebec (later renamed the National) Battlefield Commission, whose mandate was to turn into a park the historic battlefields of the 1759 Conquest in Quebec City. In 1919, the federal government developed a program for the commemoration of places, persons and events of national historic significance. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) was created under the wing of the Parks Branch. It consisted of an appointed body of senior scholars and heritage experts who provided information and advice to the Branch about sites, individuals and events worthy of designation. National historic sites were commemorated through the erection of bronze plaques. In the first decades of the program, those were most often associated with military achievements and the fur trade (Taylor 1990; Wyss 1997).

In the 1950s the Massey Commission pointed to both a thematic and geographic imbalance in the National Historic Sites Program.[5] As a result, the HSMBC recommended that historic sites and buildings, including those of purely architectural value, be given more attention (Canada - Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences 1951). Until then, the HSMBC had not considered the commemoration of the nation's architectural heritage a part of its mandate and numerous demands to commemorate older buildings had been disregarded. The Historic Sites and Monuments Act, which was ratified in 1953, was amended two years later to include the designation of national historic sites on the basis of their age or architectural value (Taylor 1990; Thorne 1995:9). More attention was therefore granted to the built heritage, including streetscapes, districts, gardens, and urban and rural landscapes. The HSMBC also broadened its thematic interest to incorporate economy and social history (Wyss 1997:81). With little funding to support the program, however, the Board was never in a

[5] The Massey Commission is the name commonly used to refer to the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences. Created in 1951, the Commission was appointed the task of examining national institutions and to making recommendations regarding their organization and the policies that governed them. The historic site and monuments system was on of these institutions.

position to get really involved in preservation (Taylor 1990). Designation as a national historic site was (and is still) mostly commemorative in nature and offered no protection to significant places and buildings.

The Parks Branch was more active than the HSMBC in the preservation field. Starting in the 1920s the organization managed to acquire a few private properties,[6] albeit lack of funding greatly limited its ability to do so. For the most part, the Branch's efforts were dedicated to the conservation of military forts that were already under federal control. Several of these places were developed into recreational parks and tourist attractions (Taylor 1990). Following the recommendations of the Massey Commission, the organization was allocated more funding for historic preservation and attempted to develop at least one major heritage site in each part of the country (Ricketts 1992; Taylor 1990; Wyss 1997:81). In the 1970s, the responsibility for a number of canals that no longer served commercial purposes but had become appreciated for their historic and recreation values was transferred from the Minister of Transport to the Minister responsible for Parks Canada (Parks Canada 1994:81).

Urbanization and the Development of the Preservation Movement

In the 1940s, the economic boom of the postwar period resulted in a rapid urbanization and an intense construction phase of industrial, commercial and residential buildings. Older structures were often demolished to free land for new constructions. Government encouraged development without setting up protective legislation for the built heritage. Moreover, several federal bills created in the 1960s inadvertently favoured demolition of heritage buildings over preservation (Thorne 1995:6-7).[7] The first advocates for preservation were historical societies and heritage organizations, which were composed of an academic and cultural elite. As the urban landscape experienced a rapid transformation in the 1950s and 1960s, however, people started to realize that old structures were disappearing to be replaced by an unattractive and monotonous urban landscape. This concern for the aesthetics of the city became the first public motivation to

[6] In the 1920s, for instance, the Historic Site Division purchased Fort St Joseph in Ontario. It also acquired the Southwold Earthworks, which are the remains of a pre-contact Attiwandaronk fortified village located in Southwold, Ontario. The division also acquired other properties after Ottawa decided to spend 50 million dollars in relief projects in the 1930s, to counter the depression (Taylor 1990).

[7] These include, for instance, the National Building Code, the Income Tax Act, and the pro-development policies of the Central Mortgage and House Corporation (Thorne 1995).

preserve the architectural heritage. Preservationists, for their part, tried to promote the protection of old buildings by presenting them as heritage; that is, a link with the past and a symbol of identity. Other elements that helped their cause include the environmental movement that developed in 1960s and 1970s, their association with urban reformers who fought against the destruction of traditional neighbourhoods, and the growth of heritage tourism, which proved the economic potential of vintage architecture and history and thus legitimated its conservation (Thorne 1995:15-18).

The Heritage Canada Foundation: An Impetus for the Establishment of Legislation and Programs for Preservation

Despite growing public support for the preservation of the architectural heritage during this period and the development of an international movement through the creation of organizations such as the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM) and the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), Ottawa did not pass legislation to ensure the protection of significant buildings in Canada. This is no doubt partly because jurisdiction over property has always been a provincial affair (Langlois 1986:47). Nevertheless, the federal government did greatly assist the preservation movement in 1973 when it created the Canadian Heritage Foundation (also known as Heritage Canada), a heritage trust incorporated as a charitable foundation. At first the main priorities of the Foundation consisted in lobbying for better federal and provincial heritage legislation, protecting the built heritage, servicing the membership by providing advice and support to local groups, and informing and educating the public (Thorne 1995).

Early after its establishment, the Heritage Canada Foundation published the *Brown Paper on Heritage Legislation* (1974) to urge the government to take actions in three different areas for the protection of the built heritage. These included the creation of a Canadian Register of Heritage Properties, the protection of listed properties on the register, and a program of financial compensation for the owners of protected buildings (Thorne 1995:27-28). Ottawa did not move on these recommendations at the time, despite its ratification, in 1976, of the 1972 World Heritage Convention. In fact, it is not until the 1980s that federally owned heritage buildings received some level of protection

through the development of a policy and program (including a register) administered by Parks Canada. The Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office (FHBRO) administers the Federal Heritage Buildings Policy, which obliges all federal departments to advise the Review Office of their intention to acquire, modify or dispose of properties older than 40 years and to present FHBRO with a list of their potential heritage properties every year. FHBRO evaluates the buildings and designates them either as 'classified', if highly significant and worthy of protection, or as 'recognized' if their demolition requires approval. There are about 265 'classified' and 1 100 'recognized' federal heritage buildings (Canadian Heritage 2002). Until now, however, those have not been afforded any type of legal protection and Crown Corporations are under no obligation to comply with the policy (Langlois 1986; Thorne 1995:48-49).

In 1988, Heritage Canada, strongly supported by the public, convinced Ottawa to prevent the destruction of significant railway stations that had became obsolete after highway and air transportation quickly replaced railways in the 1980s. The Heritage Railway Stations Division was established within Parks Canada with the responsibility of inventorying and assessing the 400 railways stations across the country. Its reports assist the HSMBC in making recommendations to the Minister about those stations that deserve national historic designation (Thorne 1995:53-56).

The provinces and territories were more receptive to the recommendations made by Heritage Canada in the 1970s. Prior to this period, some provinces had taken initiatives on their own protect heritage sites, through the development of legislation (Quebec was the first to do so in 1922), the occasional acquisition of buildings operated as museums, the establishment of pioneer villages or ecomuseums, and the institutionalization of provincial agencies for the preservation of the cultural heritage (Taylor 1990:153-154; Ricketts 1992). Following the publication of the *Brown Paper*, several jurisdictions created systems to register buildings of regional significance and passed (or amended) legislation that enabled them to protect historic buildings, groups or districts from demolition and/or inappropriate modification (Thorne 1995:28-29; Ward 1986). Other tools sometimes used by provinces and territories for the protection of the built heritage include land use planning and environmental and/or historical resource impact assessment. Powers for the protection of heritage property are also commonly granted to

some or all municipalities, either through legislation or land use planning procedures (e.g., zoning, urban design) that can be adapted for heritage purposes (Ward 1986). Finally, provincial/territorial and municipal tax systems are usually better than their federal counterpart at favouring the conservation of buildings (Heritage Canada Foundation 2001:i). Unfortunately, provincial legislation does not apply to federally controlled lands and historic properties there remain unprotected (Ward 1986:5).

Programs Initiated by the Heritage Canada Foundation

As destruction of the architectural heritage continued steadily in the 1970s (Thorne 1995:22), the Canadian Heritage Foundation designed new strategies to encourage preservation. One of these was a conservation area program based on the concept of adaptive reuse. While the interior of a building was renovated to adapt to present needs, the exterior frontage was preserved, thus encouraging tourism and stimulating the economy of the area (Thorne 1995 23-24). The first of a series of conservation area projects focused on Old Strathcona in Edmonton, Alberta.

Another program established by Heritage Canada was the Main Street Program, which was inspired by an American model. It had for objectives the economic, social, and aesthetic revitalization of Canada's downtown cores, which had greatly deteriorated as a result of the big shopping malls constructed in suburban areas. Downtown businesses took advantage of the presence of vintage architecture in these areas through rejuvenation. Modern façades were removed and old ones refreshed to their original state, and natural spaces were preserved and enhanced. Small businesses collaborated to improve marketing and management techniques and as a result, tourism increased, downtown areas became dynamic centres with a healthy economy, and residents felt pride for their heritage (Thorne 1995).

In the late 1980s, the Foundation launched the Heritage Regions Program, a holistic and community-based approach to heritage management in rural areas. This project was largely based on the ecomuseum concept developed in Scandinavia and France, in which the natural, architectural and ethnological heritage of a region is used to attract heritage tourism. This in turn stimulates the economy of the area and strengthens the sense of identity of its inhabitants. The first Canadian ecomuseum was developed in the Haute-

Beauce region of Quebec in 1980, as an initiative independent from the Foundation. Heritage Canada's initiated two pilot projects in the Cowichan and Chemainus Valley in British Columbia, and the Manitoulin Island and Lanark County in Ontario (Thorne 1995). They were both developed in partnership with Native communities (Dalibard 1989:4).

Finally, in recent years, Heritage Canada and the preservation movement in general have attempted to promote architectural preservation over demolition from an environmental perspective, by showing how historic preservation is linked to natural conservation and may contribute to sustainable development (e.g., Heritage Canada Foundation 1997, 2001; Marsh and Fialkowski 1995).

Where Do 'Buildings' Stand Now?

Despite all the efforts deployed for the preservation vintage architecture, within the last 30 years between 21 and 23 percent of pre-1920 heritage buildings have been lost and apparently, another 14.3 percent are still at risk (Honourable Sheila Copps, cited in Heritage Canada Foundation 2001:i). This is largely due to a lack of federal leadership for the protection of the built heritage. The only protected places with built heritage are those that have been designated as national historic sites and are under the administration of Parks Canada. The agency is responsible for about 150 historic sites. Although most are associated with cultural remains of some sort (including archaeological ones), not all them contain architectural features.

The Department of Canadian Heritage is presently implementing an Historic Places Initiative in collaboration with provincial and territorial authorities. This project entails the creation of a National Register of Historic Places, the establishment of Conservation Standards and Guidelines for the Protection of Historic Places in Canada, the establishment of the Commercial Heritage Properties Incentive Fund and the enactment of a Canada Historic Places Act. The latter will grant protection to "classified" federal heritage buildings, including those of Crown Corporations and other federal agencies. National historic sites managed by other federal departments or agencies than Parks Canada will also receive legal protection, therefore raising the number of protected historic sites to 200 (Canadian Heritage 2002:5-6).

The Archaeological Heritage

Early Developments

Archaeology in Canada was generally slow to develop and it is not until well into the 1960s that it was really established as a discipline (Burley 1994:78). Prior to 1850, archaeology in both Upper and Lower Canada largely remained the affair of antiquarian relic hunters, whereas in the second part of the nineteenth century the interest for remains of the past arose primarily from local naturalist, and historical and scientific societies. Staff from the Geological Survey of Canada, which was created in 1842, also collected a significant amount of archaeological material during that period, and several museums were opened across the country as storage and exhibition facilities for archaeological and ethnographic collections. Trained archaeologists first started to work in Canada during the second decade of the nineteenth century (Noble 1972). In 1910, the federal government created an anthropological division within the Geological Survey of Canada to increase efforts to document the pre-contact history of the country (Burley 1994:78). Sixteen years later, the first Canadian anthropology department was established at the University of Toronto (Noble 1972:15). Nevertheless, the lack of funding for anthropology research during the first half of the twentieth century did little to encourage the development of archaeology as a profession (Trigger 1994:102).

Besides the National Historic Sites Program, early federal initiatives for the protection of archaeological resources include the 1927 *Indian Act*, which forbade the acquisition or destruction of Indigenous grave houses, totem and grave poles, carved house posts, pictographs and petroglyphs found on reserve lands (Burley 1994:79; Spurling 1986:85). Following the enactment of the *National Parks Act* in 1930, archaeological resources in Canadian natural and historic parks were placed under the responsibility of the National Historic Sites Branch. For several decades, however, the Branch focused its activities almost exclusively on Euro-Canadian resources and pre-contact sites were left largely unmanaged until the 1970s, when inventory and resource management became the priorities of the archaeology program (Burley 1994:83; Herst 1994:106).

Between 1930 and 1960, minor federal bills were enacted to protect archaeological sites and regulate research in the northern territories, including the Eskimo Ruins

Ordinance (1931) protected Inuit ruins and objects of archaeological or ethnological significance from excavation and/or exportation. The Yukon Archaeological Sites Regulations (1956) and the Regulations for the Protection and Care of Archaeological Sites in the Northwest Territories (1960) both controlled archaeological fieldwork through a licensing system (Spurling 1986:86). A number of provinces also passed legislation to protect archaeological resources, but for the most part, these initiatives were either ineffective or not well implemented (CAA 1970:49; Spurling 1986).

After World War II, the unparalleled economic growth experienced by the country led to the rapid development of Canadian archaeology (Burley 1994:80). During the 1960s and 1970s, several anthropology and/or archaeology departments were created within already existing or new universities across the country, and museums grew in number and size. Many archaeological positions were also established within both federal and provincial departments, and national archaeological associations including the Canadian Council for Archaeology (CCA), the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), and the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA), were born (Burley 1994:80; Latta 1994:125, Trigger 1994:102). It is also during this period that archaeology developed a positivist approach to the study of the past, largely attributed to Lewis Binford and known as processual or the New Archaeology. This approach favored a general understanding of human behaviour rather than documenting the history of specific groups. It also emphasized the study of subsistence patterns at the expense of value systems (Trigger 1989:289-328).

Cultural Resource Management: A New Approach to Archaeology

The intense development that took place across the country in the 1960s changed the general perception that archaeological resources were safe in the ground and "by the late 1960s, archaeological sites had become more than sites – in professional circles they were being recognized as non-renewable resources and anxiety over their fate was mounting" (Burley 1994:79-80). As a result, the CAA and the CCA started to lobby Ottawa for the creation of a national salvage program.

Salvage archaeology was first initiated in the United States during the late 1920s and the 1930s in the context of large-scale dam construction projects (Fowler 1989:9; Willey

and Sabloff 1993:148). After World War II, the U.S. government continued to support salvage archaeology with the creation of the Interagency Archaeological Salvage Program in 1947. The Federal Highway Act (1956) and the Reservoir Salvage Act (1960) were also enacted to salvage archaeological resources endangered by dams, highways and other public works (Spurling 1986:105). In the 1970s, a new trend emerged in the United States, as the focus of archaeology shifted from research and salvage work to cultural resource management, an approach to conservation archaeology with its own philosophy, objectives and methods (e.g., Lipe 1974; Lipe and Lindsay 1974; McGimsey and Davis 1977; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977).

Cultural resource management mostly developed as a result of growing concerns related to environmental quality and the negative impacts caused to natural and cultural resources by "urbanization, industrialization and other land-altering activities" (Fowler 1989:2). The objective of this new conservation movement was not only to salvage archaeological sites, but also to protect the archaeological record while using it in the most productive way (Schiffer and Gumerman 1977:xix). In this context, archaeological sites and objects were considered as resources or commodities, which were to be managed and used in much the same way as natural resources, for the benefit of the larger society (Lipe 1984:1-2). The main activities involved in cultural resource management include the identification and recording of archaeological resources, land use planning, the coordination of efforts for environmental protection, and public interpretation (Fowler 1989).

The assessment of significance, which is based on scientific or humanistic values, is a particularly important step of cultural resource management because decisions to protect a resource or not are often based on this process (Dunnell 1984; Lipe 1984; Moratto and Kelly 1978; Schiffer and Gumerman 1977). Moratto and Kelley (1978), for instance, identified general types of significance, including historical, scientific, ethnic, public, and monetary. They also noted that while legislation and policy "do not create legal significance, they do convey a real status to cultural resources" (Moratto and Kelley 1978:14). Since archaeological resources have traditionally been managed by archaeologists who have an interest in the information that sites can yield about the past,

scientific significance has taken precedence over other types of value in management decisions.

Archaeological Resource Management in Canada

Ottawa first committed to conservation archaeology in 1971, when it created the Archaeological Survey of Canada (ASC), an organization with a dual mandate of research and salvage archaeology. This initiative was not very successful, however, as in the end the ASC mostly committed itself to research (Burley 1994:81-82; Spurling 1986:149-150). Moreover, concerns expressed by provinces over the jurisdiction of resources[8] and the growth of provincial programs for archaeology incited the ASC to limit its activities to resources under federal control, starting in 1974 (Latta 1994:125; see also Dyck 1994:110).

Provincial divisions for archaeological resources were first established in the early 1970s, "often in conjunction with Ministries of Culture or Tourism" (Latta 1994:125). These units usually have both a conservation and research mandate (MacDonald 1977:74). Modern provincial/territorial legislation for the protection of archaeological resources also emerged in the 1970s although in most cases, these laws have been revised since their creation. While there are regional variations, provincial heritage legislation often protects both archaeological and palaeontological remains. Graves that are not found within legally designated and protected cemeteries are usually treated as archaeological sites. Ownership of archaeological and/or palaeontological resources is generally vested with the provincial/territorial Crown or its agents (with the exception of Ontario and Quebec) and these are protected even if found on private property (as opposed to the United States). These acts also provide guidelines for accidental discoveries, and establish permit systems for research, which grant access to the archaeological record to professional archaeologists only (a MA degree is most often required). Finally, although provincial, territorial and federal statutes and regulations use different definitions for archaeological resources, there is a general consensus that archaeological items are either found on or under the ground (or water), that they pertain

[8] Burley (1994:77-78) and Turnbull (1977:124) explain that the Canadian Constitution largely places the authority over cultural resources within the provincial realm.

to human occupation, and that they are old (the minimum age required is 50 years) (Parks Canada 2000b:9-10).

In addition to heritage legislation, provinces and territories have developed environmental assessment programs to assess and mitigate impacts of development projects on environmental resources, including archaeological sites (Ward 1986). In this context, developers are largely responsible for assuming the costs of impact assessments and mitigation measures, if necessary. The emergence of cultural resource management in Canada caused profound changes in the demography of the archaeological profession. Starting in the 1970s, different agencies, other than universities and museums began to offer employment opportunities to archaeologists. The number of positions within government offices, consulting firms and public institutions rapidly outnumbered those of universities and museums, and resource management took priority over research (Spurling 1986:305).

Endangered Resources

Despite the positive conservation measures developed for the care of the archaeological heritage in the 1970s, resources on federally owned or controlled lands were left largely unprotected. These lands represent a very significant portion of Canada's territory both on the continent and offshore.[9] Persistent lobbying from the CAA finally led to an attempt to pass federal legislation for archaeological resources in the late 1980s, but the bill was never enacted (see Burley 1994). Canada remains one of the few, if not the only country that signed the 1972 UNESCO World Heritage Convention and has not passed federal heritage legislation. Archaeological sites on Crown lands (except within national park boundaries) remain at risk even though they are granted some protection through indirect legislation, such as the Cultural Property Export and Import Act (CPEIA), the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act (CEAA), the Indian Act, the Shipping Act and the Museums Act.[10] Perhaps this situation will change soon, since the

[9] These lands include parts of the northern territories, Indian reserves, national parks, military bases, lands owned by Crown corporations and all ocean floors within Canadian frontiers (Burley 1994:78; Turnbull 1977:123).

[10] The CPEIA was developed in 1977, one year before Canada became a signatory to the UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Cultural Property. The CPEIA established a permit system for the exportation cultural properties (including archaeological specimens) from Canada (Government of Canada 1985a). The CEAA ensures that impacts

Department of Canadian Heritage is developing federal heritage legislation (see Canadian Heritage 2002).

Conclusion

Euro-Canadians generally consider heritage sites as such because these places contain certain features - natural wonders, old buildings or structures, archaeological remains – that they appreciate because of their social, cultural, aesthetic, scientific, historic, economic or recreational value. Natural areas are most often protected because they contain resources, such as river systems, forests, wildlife habitats, that are considered of importance, from an ecological, recreational, or economic point of view. Heritage buildings get to be commemorated (and sometimes protected) if they have historical or architectural value, or because of their old age. Finally, archaeological sites are places that contain evidence of past human occupation. The minimum age required in Canada for a site to be recognized as an archaeological resource is 50 years old. Historic buildings that meet the age criteria of the province or territory where they are found are also considered as archaeological resources; there is therefore some overlap between these two categories.

The concept of "use" is an underlying component of the general attitude towards heritage and heritage preservation in Canada. Terms such as "resource" or "conservation," which are commonly employed in the heritage realm, are symptomatic of this approach. For decades, natural places have been protected selectively according to their economic potential, and protected areas are still widely used for research, recreation and tourism. On the other hand, the aesthetic and historic qualities of vintage architecture have been largely exploited for urban and economic revitalization, while archaeological sites are excavated because they reveal information about the past.

Even if it is recognized that many places have an intrinsic heritage value that is worth protecting in itself, the fact that they can be somehow exploited helps to secure

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caused by development on the environment and heritage resources are carefully assessed prior to their undertaking, in order to prevent adverse effects (Government of Canada 1992b). The Indian Act still defends the removal or destruction of different types of cultural resources found on reserve lands (Government of Canada 1985b). Historic shipwrecks are protected under the Canada Shipping Act (Government of Canada 1985c). Finally, the Museums Act includes provisions for the care of archaeological collections within national museums (Government of Canada 1990).

their protection. For instance, the rehabilitation of old buildings as living space helped to protect them in greater numbers than if they had been solely preserved as museums. On the other hand, many heritage locations are used for tourism, recreation and education, therefore enhancing their value in the eyes of the public and legitimizing the spending of tax dollars for their protection. There are some cases, however, when the use of heritage places may also cause them prejudice. One example is the scale of tourism in some national parks, which conflicts with conservation objectives (Payne and Graham 1993:185).

Stewardship is another notion that is embedded in the concept of Canadian heritage. As symbols of collective identity, natural, architectural and archaeological places sites are considered as resources that belong to all Canadians. Governments came to assume custody over the natural and cultural heritage after an interest for these resources developed towards the end of the nineteenth century. Already with the creation of the first protected areas in the 1880s, the federal and provincial authorities recognized "that they had a responsibility to hold lands in trust for the public benefit, that there was a need to conserve natural resources, and that the creation and maintenance of parks was a government responsibility" (McNamee 1993:22).

Similar feelings for the built and archaeological heritage also developed and different agencies, which involved a range of specialists, were created to manage cultural sites and resources. In the nineteenth century, for instance, museums started to act as custodians of the past for the public. The creation of the HSMBC in 1919 also demonstrates the government's growing sense of responsibility towards the cultural heritage. Finally, archaeologists, as specialists of the past and advocates for the conservation of the material record, gradually became the stewards of archaeological resources (Smith 2004). The CAA, which is the national association for archaeologists in Canada, identifies stewardship as the first component of its Principles of Ethical Conduct (http://www.canadianarchaeology.com/conduct.lasso).[11]

[11] The CAA expects that its members "will exercise respect for archaeological remains and for those who share an interest in these irreplaceable and non-renewable resources now and in the future... Stewardship involves having care for and promoting the conservation of the archaeological record."

In Canada, both the federal and provincial/territorial governments have responsibilities towards the natural and cultural heritage. Different legislation, policies and programs have been implemented for heritage resource management, often after persistent lobbying from conservation groups, professionals and scientists, and the public. The international community also increased awareness about different heritage issues, thereby triggering a greater sense of commitment and response from governments. Despite all of those efforts, however, heritage remains low on the list of government priorities. This is especially true of cultural resources, which are not even protected at the federal level. This situation is supposed to change in the near future, but heritage bills are slow to develop and are highly vulnerable to changing government agendas.

The attitude towards the management of heritage places has evolved significantly over time. At first, it was oriented towards the sole protection of resources, and the approach was rather fragmentary. For instance, archaeological sites were salvaged on a case-by-case basis, heritage properties were protected in isolation from one another and national parks were created without method or real purpose, while the resources they contained were most often managed unconnectedly. When the intense development that followed World War II became a threat for heritage places, however, a new philosophy emerged in both the natural and cultural preservation fields and a more global approach was established for their protection and management. Archaeological sites, for example, are now part of a national database, and management practices aim at protecting a representative spectrum of these resources. Inventories of architectural properties have also been established and buildings are commonly preserved as part of entire historic areas or districts. On the other hand, natural resources within protected areas have come to be seen as part of a system of ecological niches that are linked to one another and whose diversity ought to be preserved.

Finally, over the last few years a more holistic vision of heritage has emerged, one that considers the interaction between humans and their environment. This concept, which has been termed "cultural landscape", was partly introduced by European countries, where the absence of large uninhabited or low populated areas such as those we have in Canada makes it practically unfeasible to separate natural and cultural preservation (Heritage Canada Foundation 2001:4). It is from Europe, for instance, that

we have borrowed the idea of ecomuseum. The cultural landscape approach is now also applied within cities where trees, parks and gardens are conceived as a part of the urban landscape. As will be seen in the next chapter, Indigenous peoples, with their distinctive worldviews, have also encouraged the development of the cultural landscape approach, in the context of what is often labelled as "wilderness."

CHAPTER 3

The Commemoration and Management of Indigenous Heritage Places in the Canadian Context

> *...a Native American perspective of the term "heritage preservation" strongly counsels that time and space be seen, in every respect, as integral, mutually dependent, whole... time is not linear and is not segmented, but, instead, is an uninterrupted and almost circular continuum where the past, present, and future fuse seamlessly together... The concept of place for Native Americans is directly analogous to these comments regarding time. Place is also viewed, essentially, as a whole - built and non-built environments not apart or separate from each other, not the former in spite of or in conquest of the latter, but linked and meshed almost inextricably both physically and metaphysically... This Native wholeness in time and space has another dimension that bears directly on the subject of heritage preservation. Specifically, the places of importance to Native peoples from the standpoint of history and heritage be they built environment, aspects of intangible heritage, or cultural landscape, almost without exception maintain a current, a compelling present cultural and social relevance. They are not some kind of relic, a historical museum object to be put on display as evidence of a dead or distant past. Instead, they continue to be lived-in place and space, unconstrained and not vitiated by time or its passage. They thus continue to have cohering and integrative impact on the maintenance and sustainability of contemporary community and culture* [West 2002:9-10].[12]

In Chapter 2, the Canadian approach towards the commemoration and protection of heritage places was defined, by looking at the different provincial/territorial and national programs for heritage sites management. We saw the approach to heritage and heritage preservation was mostly developed by Euro-Canadians who sought to define an identity for themselves and for their new country. Significant landscapes, historic sites and properties, and archaeological locations have since been prized as heritage and placed under the stewardship of different professionals and agencies.

A significant number of places that were incorporated as part of the national heritage, however, were somehow related to Indigenous peoples. This is the case for places that were turned into parks or protected areas, since many of them were inhabited by Indigenous groups. Considering the long history of occupation of Inuit and First Nations in Canada, many archaeological sites are also inevitably related to them. The fact that natural areas and archaeological resources were originally defined, used, managed

[12] W. Richard West is Cheyenne and Director of the National Museum of the American Indian at the Smithsonian Institution.

and interpreted from a Western perspective had tremendous consequences for Indigenous peoples. This chapter examines the values of Indigenous peoples on heritage places in the context of heritage management in Canada. The first part compares Euro-Canadian and Indigenous values towards parks and protected areas and archaeological sites, and describes the impact that the approach to heritage preservation in Canada has had on both the lives and heritages of Indigenous peoples. It also considers how the greater level of socio-political control that Inuit and First Nations have regained over the last decades is changing the way natural areas and archaeological sites are dealt with.

Beside those places that are deemed of heritage significance to mainstream Canadians, there are many other locations that are of cultural value to Indigenous peoples. Those have not been generally considered for commemoration and/or protection. In fact, it is only within the last 30 years that the relationship Indigenous peoples maintain with the land has really been documented from their own perspectives. This work has also provided information about different places Indigenous peoples view as culturally relevant and led to the recognition that they have a particular stance on heritage places and management. The second part of this chapter describes this perspective and considers how it fits in the Canadian approach to heritage sites management.

Protected Areas: Home or Wilderness?

Some Implications of 'Wilderness' for Indigenous Peoples

"Wilderness" – a European concept generally used to design areas that show little evidence of human alteration or presence – is the underlying principle behind the idea of protected areas in Canada. When Europeans first came to North America, they did not consider that Indigenous peoples had transformed the natural world into a 'civilized' place. This was largely because they had not settled the land and were not using it in the same way as Europeans did. Therefore, in the newcomers' view, the landscape remained wild and so did the people who lived in it (Nash 2001). In fact, the Natives were seen as part of the web of nature and were not thought of as agents of ecological change (e.g., Burnham 2000:149).

The fact is, however, that at contact Indigenous groups had been living within specific areas for hundreds, if not thousands of years. For many of them, the landscape

was a familiar place dotted with trails, campsites, good hunting and fishing locations, plant gathering areas, and spiritual places, which were commonly named and had stories associated with them. These groups had accumulated a wealth of knowledge about their environment, most often transmitted and enriched from one generation to the other. Their understanding of animal behaviour and plant cycles gave them the ability to develop efficient technologies and strategies to live off the land. Through activities such as hunting, fishing, plant gathering, agriculture and burning, Indigenous peoples had been modifying the landscape and affecting ecosystems, both in positive and negative ways (e.g., Bonnicksen et al. 1999; Krech 1999). Contrary to what Euro-Canadians thought, then, Indigenous peoples were not passive occupants of the land but were indeed managing it in their own ways. The fact that this was not recognized when the first protected areas were created in Canada had long lasting implications on the philosophy and practices surrounding their establishment and management.

The creation of the first parks and reserves in the late nineteenth century was mainly intended as a means to protect natural resources for industrial exploitation recreation, and tourism. Even though many parks and reserves were established on lands traditionally used by Indigenous groups, these areas were usually set aside without input from the people who were living there (Berg et al. 1993:227). In most cases, the fact that Indigenous peoples maintained a strong cultural, social and spiritual relationship with their homelands and that they were economically dependent on them was altogether ignored. As McCormack (1998:29) pointed out: "Under the conditions of colonial control that developed in Canada and the United States, the European concept of "wilderness" became dominant and entrenched."

While industrial and recreational activities were encouraged within most of the earliest protected areas, Indigenous peoples were sometimes forcibly removed from these locations and/or prohibited from pursuing their traditional activities or accessing their sacred grounds (e.g., Hodgins and Cannon 1998; Kulchyski 1998:22-23; National Aboriginal Forestry Association [NAFA] and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:27, 40-42). In other instances, they were authorized to hunt, fish and/or trap within reserve or park areas, but they had to apply to governments for permits and were therefore granted

no role in the management of these places (e.g., Hodgins and Cannon 1998:58; NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:30).

As the purpose of protected areas shifted from resource exploitation to ecological protection following World War II, the idea that humans should not interfere with natural processes became stronger than ever. Measures were often implemented to limit human activities within protected areas, which were mostly considered as museums of nature. For example, the development of townsites was identified as inconsistent with the purpose of national parks and the expropriation of residents (Euro-Canadian and Indigenous alike) from newly created national parks became rooted in policy (Bella 1987). Moreover, when a National Park System Plan was adopted in the early 1970s, there was "little appreciation within government that parks could be used to support and maintain Aboriginal peoples and to protect their land-based cultures. Instead the Canadian Parks Service stressed the need for the parks system to 'represent' biophysically defined natural areas" (Berg et al. 1993:233). Several of these ecosystems were found in Northern Canada.

Northern National Parks

Until 1972, no national park had been created in the northern territories. That year, however, Jean Chrétien, then minister of Northern and Indian Affairs, announced the federal intention to set up two parks in the Kluane Range of the Yukon and the Nahanni River of the Northwest Territories. Plans were also made to establish Auyuittuq National Park on Baffin Island (McNamee 1993:32-33). The decision to set those parks aside was taken almost unilaterally by Ottawa, without consultation with territorial governments, the mining industry or Indigenous peoples whose lands were directly implicated. Although Chrétien had guaranteed that the new protected areas would not impinge on Native traditional rights (Bella 1987:147), several northern Indigenous organizations objected to their establishment. The Inuit Taparisat of Canada, for instance, argued that the government was expropriating and appropriating Inuit land in the Eastern Arctic and was therefore violating the Canadian Bill of Rights (Fenge 1978, cited in McNamee 1993:34). Such disagreements resulted in amendments to the National Parks Act in 1972, which designated the three proposed national parks as park reserves pending the resolution of land claims in those areas. The rights of Indigenous peoples to hunt, fish

and trap within the reserves were also secured (McNamee 1993:34). As Berg et al. (1993:236) pointed out, "the 'reserve' designation allowed the Canadian Parks Service to treat and manage the areas in question as national parkland but did not extinguish any Aboriginal rights or title to the areas... it does not impair the ability of Aboriginal peoples to select parkland in the course of land-claim negotiations." All new proposed Canadian national parks that are subject to land claim are now established as reserves, and final park boundaries are determined as part of the agreements (McNamee 1993:34).

Several authors point to the Berger inquiry into a proposed gas pipeline within the Mackenzie Valley as a decisive moment for the establishment of new northern national parks (e.g., Berg et al. 1993; McNamee 1993; Wadland 1998). In the report where he presented the results of the inquiry, Berger emphasized that there was a pressing need to preserve the northern wilderness and that withdrawing lands from any type of industrial use would be, in some cases, necessary to achieve this objective (Berger 1977). Noting that the National Parks Act did not provide sufficient protection from exploitation in southern national parks, Berger suggested that the legislation be modified to include a new designation for northern national parks as "wilderness parks." He also recommended the creation of a wilderness park on the north slope of the Yukon to protect the calving grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd and other animals species. Berger (1977:46) observed that such a park would "afford absolute protection to wilderness and the environment by excluding all industrial activity within it," while "permitting the native people to continue to live and to carry on their traditional activities within the park without interference."

After J. Hugh Faulkner became the minister responsible for national parks in 1978, a series of actions were taken based on Berger's recommendations. One was the withdrawal of the Yukon North Slope from industrial development for national park purposes. The "six North of 60" strategy was also introduced to initiate consultation on a proposal for the creation of five new national parks in the territories and the designation of the pingos (i.e., frost mounds) of Tuktoyaktuk as the first (and only to this day) Canadian Landmark. Faulkner's attempt to revise the national parks policy to allow for the establishment of wilderness parks failed, but the policy was modified in 1979. It prohibited the expropriation of private owners from areas selected for national parks and

required that local support be secured before the development of any plan for the creation of a new park (McNamee 1993:33). New provisions were also introduced concerning Indigenous peoples. For instance, the policy acknowledged that:

> Not all national parks are the same. In remote or northern areas, potential national parks may be identified which are the homeland of people who have traditionally depended on the land and its resources for their survival. Their culture reflects this fundamental relationship. In certain cases, lands which have been traditionally used by native people are the subject of unresolved native land claims. If such areas are to be protected within the national park system, they must be planned and managed in a way which reflects these special circumstances. An appropriate balance must be maintained between the rights of the public to understand and enjoy Canada's natural heritage, the rights of local people to continue certain traditional uses and the requirement to protect the wilderness of the area [Parks Canada Policy 1979, cited in Weeks 1986:115-116].

The policy stated that joint management agreements would be developed between the Canadian Parks Service and local Native communities for national parks established in conjunction with Indigenous land claims.[13] It also allowed for certain traditional uses to continue in newly created parks and asserted that Parks Canada would respect Native treaty rights (Berg et al. 1993:234; Weeks 1986:116). While it was not until 1988 that the rights of Indigenous peoples to carry out harvesting activities within national parks became legally entrenched in the National Parks Act, the policy did nevertheless represent a significant step towards the recognition of these rights and the fact that "areas that might be considered 'wilderness' by southern Canadians" were "homelands to northern Aboriginal Peoples" (NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:23).

The Establishment of Protected Areas as Part of Land Claim Agreements

The Northern Yukon National Park, renamed Ivvavik in 1992, was the first Canadian national park to be established through a land claim agreement in 1984. The creation of the park was a way to meet the interests of both Ottawa and the Inuvialuit of the Western Arctic because "it represents natural regions 9 and 10 of the national parks system; and it prohibits any industrial development within the calving grounds of the Porcupine caribou herd, which supports the traditional way of life of Aboriginal people" (McNamee 1993:35). The Inuvialuit Final Agreement also created the Wildlife Management Advisory Council, composed of an equal number of government and Indigenous

[13] As Berg (1990:107) pointed out, however, joint management only begins once Indigenous groups have settled their land claims and no provisions are included in the National Parks Act to guarantee their rights to participate in parks management.

representatives in charge of designing a management plan for the park (Government of Canada 1984:18). The rights of the Inuvialuit to harvest wildlife within the park for subsistence purposes are recognized as part of the agreement.

Since this first initiative, several First Nations have used the land claim process as a way to establish protected areas – both provincial/territorial and federal – where they can pursue their traditional activities and be directly involved in management. Examples include the Tombstone Territorial Park, created in 1999 through the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in Land Claim. The Vuntut Gwitchin also encouraged the creation of the Vuntut National Park, the Fishing Branch Ecological Reserve and the Old Crow Flats Management Area as part of their final agreement (NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003). Whereas land claims do not always deal with specific parks, they usually include different terms for the eventual creation of new parks or protected areas. The Gwich'in and the Sahtu land claims, for instance, contain provisions for consultation with Indigenous governments. There are also "requirements for agreements regarding continued traditional use, employment opportunities, mitigation of potential negative impacts on the local communities, and other matters of concern to the communities and Aboriginal governments" (NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:24).

Parks in the South: A New Role for Indigenous Peoples

Indigenous peoples in the southern part of the country have also started to exert some influence within old and newly created protected areas. Several court cases have contributed to the recognition of Indigenous and treaty rights. Decisions taken in the context of the *Calder, Delgamuukw, Sparrow, Sundown, Mikisew and Sioui* cases, for example, have all been cited in the literature as verdicts that had repercussions on the role played by Indigenous peoples in the management of protected areas and natural resources (e.g., Berg et al. 1993; Hodgins and Cannon 1998; NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003; Wolfe-Keddie 1995). Essentially, these cases have established that Aboriginal title existed at the time of colonization and that, in many instances, treaty rights were never extinguished and are now entrenched as part of the 1982 Constitution. This means that Indigenous land use and occupancy rights have to be respected or else, compensated. As a result, Indigenous rights within protected areas are slowly being restored. Amendments to the National Parks Act in 1988, for instance, allowed some

Indigenous groups to carry out harvesting activities within specific Ontario and Newfoundland parks (Berg et al. 1993:235). On the provincial scene, Hodgins and Cannon (1998) point to Algonquin and Quetico Provincial Parks as two examples where Native groups have requested and obtained more power over the use and management of parks and resources in Ontario.

Other First Nations in southern Canada have also prompted the establishment of new protected areas within their traditional territories. The Gwaii Haanas South Moresby National Park on the Queen Charlotte Islands archipelago of British Columbia is probably one of the most representative examples, which demonstrates how Indigenous peoples may spur the creation of such areas. In this particular case, the Haida were concerned about the impacts that the logging industry might have on their environment and culture. They led a long and difficult campaign in the 1970s and 1980s before the area was established as a National Park Reserve in 1988, pending the settlement of their land claim. The South Moresby Agreement is considered to be the most progressive in the country in terms of the rights the Haida retain within the park and the level of control they exercise over its management, which they share equally with Ottawa (NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:31-35). Although this agreement represents a considerable step towards shared management, however, the management system in Kakadu National Park, Australia, is still more progressive. Aboriginal people there count for 10 of the 14 Board of Management members, and they did not surrender ownership of lands in the park as the Haida had to do. Instead, they leased their lands for a period of five years, which is subject to renewal (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2004: 287).

Several other examples of Indigenous involvement into the protection, use and management of southern environments could be cited, although the provinces still "lag behind the federal in honouring Aboriginal rights within protected areas" (NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:5). In fact, the North remains a step ahead on these issues (Dearden and Rollins 1993:6). It is interesting to note, however, that Indigenous peoples have represented the "most dominant force influencing the establishment of national parks over the last decade" and that "more than 50 per cent of the land area in Canada's national park system has been protected as a result of Aboriginal Peoples'

support for conservation of their lands" (Peepre and Dearden, cited in NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:12).

The Benefits of Protected Areas for Indigenous Peoples

The attitude of Indigenous peoples towards parks and protected areas has changed significantly, and this is largely due to the greater control they have over the creation and management of these areas. Such jurisdiction is being achieved as a result of the growing political importance that Canadian Inuit and First Nations have acquired, and also because of the international recognition that Indigenous peoples and local communities are vital players in the maintenance of ecosystems. This was made clear, for instance, in several United Nations documents, including the Agenda 21 produced at the 1992 Conference on Environment and Development, the 1992 Convention on Biodiversity and the 1995 Seville Strategy. For many Indigenous groups, the creation of protected areas has become a way to protect their homelands and to ensure the continuity of their subsistence economies and cultures, while maintaining some control over the way their lands and resources are managed. Although such areas are still often perceived by Westerners as a way to protect ecosystems, for Indigenous peoples they represent a unique opportunity to preserve their cultural landscapes and to secure access to resources and to other sites of cultural significance. In sum, protected areas are a way for them to physically protect their territories, to help maintain their cultural heritage and ensure that it will be passed down to future generations.

Protected areas also offer other advantages to Indigenous peoples in Canada. For instance, the establishment of such areas within their homelands is a strategy that helps preserve a larger portion of their territories. Once lands are set aside and co-operatively managed by First Nations and federal or provincial/territorial governments, Indigenous groups may still select, own and control other lands as part of their land claims (e.g., NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:38). On the other hand, Indigenous peoples often consider that protected areas can and must help them to expand and sustain their economy, even though resource exploitation and development is usually limited. This is why agreements between Parks Canada and Indigenous groups in the North usually ensure that those who live in the park area will benefit from its creation through measures such as preferential hiring policies, the development of ecotourism, the integration of

traditional knowledge into park management, rights of access to resources, etc. (Parks Canada 2000, cited in NAFA and CPAWS-Wildlands League 2003:46).

Some of the Problems that Remain Unsettled

Not all issues related to Indigenous involvement and control within parks and protected areas have been resolved. Even though politicians and the public have realised that protected areas may positively help to maintain Indigenous economies and cultures, the 'wilderness' paradigm remains deeply anchored in Western consciousness. As a result, Indigenous uses of parks and resources (e.g., hunting, the use of motorized vehicles) are often seen as incompatible with protected area status (Dearden and Rollins 1993; Hodgins and Cannon 1998). The pursuit of subsistence activities such as fishing and hunting may also interfere with tourism and recreation, which almost invariably result from the creation of parks (Eagles 1993; Stix 1982). On the other hand, Inuit and First Nations sometimes see the control and regulation of their activities within protected areas as an impediment to subsistence and other forms of economic pursuits (NAFA and Wildlands League 2003: 48; Tungavik Federation of Nunavut 1987). Most importantly, however, Indigenous rights and interests are still not equally recognized throughout the system of protected areas across Canada. Co-operative management strategies do not always grant Inuit and First Nations equal influence into the management of protected areas and government agencies often have the final word in decisions (e.g., NAFA and Wildlands League 2003:39, 47). Moreover, although it has been recognized that Indigenous knowledge and management practices have real potential to help maintain healthy ecosystems (e.g., Berkes 1999; Freeman 1992; Freeman and Carbyn 1988; World National Parks Congress 1984), Western-based knowledge still largely takes precedence in management strategies. Despite these problems, however, it seems that the interests of non-Indigenous and Indigenous groups are slowly merging into a system of protected areas that not only seeks to establish a greater balance between environmental protection and exploitation, but that also attempts to preserve both natural and cultural diversity.

Indigenous Peoples and Archaeology

Different Perspectives

Archaeology, which is a product of Western science, long remained (and still does in some cases) a foreign concept to Indigenous peoples. This is largely because there are substantial differences in their cosmologies as compared to the Western perception of the world. More specifically, Indigenous peoples commonly understand time in a way that contrasts with the European linear conception. The latter relegates the past to a distant place only approachable through the study of written sources or ancient remains. In this context, time is better understood as a series of periods that each contain events with a beginning and an end (Lowenthal 1985; Momaday 1987:158). On the other hand, Indigenous peoples tend to conceptualize time as a cyclical movement that constantly repeats itself and thus maintains the past alive within the present. As a result, the past does not need to be discovered, it is already known (see, for example, Bielawski 1989; Whorf 1995; Zimmerman 1990).

Initially, Indigenous peoples have been given little opportunity to play a role within the management of their archaeological heritage. Early in the development of the discipline, governments and archaeologists appropriated these resources and transformed them into a part of the national heritage. Protective legislation was developed and facilities and programs established in order to protect, manage, study and interpret the archaeological record. The status of professional archaeologists as stewards of the past record was validated by legislation, which granted them exclusive access over archaeological sites. Although much of these locations were related to the history of Indigenous peoples, the latter were generally not involved or consulted. Furthermore, there was little effort to make the discipline relevant to Indigenous communities. Results of investigation were rarely made available to them and most research questions were of little interest from their perspective. Processual archaeology, for instance, prevailed for decades as an approach to studying remains of the past. Its focus on generalizations about human behaviour and adaptation rather than on history and culture not only conveyed the idea that Indigenous peoples were objects of study, but it was also interpreted by them "as a denial of the existence of their history, thereby rendering archaeology irrelevant, at the very least, to their concerns" (Hanna 1997:73; see also McGuire 1992; Trigger 1980).

Over time, two specific topics related to archaeology emerged as very sensitive to most Indigenous peoples because they are in direct conflict with their own sets of values.

One of these topics concerns the excavation and analysis of human remains. As part of their profession, some anthropologists and skeletal biologists excavate, examine, and store human remains as a means to learn about the past. For them, these remains represent a unique and invaluable source of information on topics such as health, diet, environmental adaptation, population movements, biological changes and cultural practices (Hubert 1989:131; Nicholas and Andrews 1997a:8). Indigenous peoples usually have a totally different stance on the subject. For many, the past is not only part of the present but there is also no barrier that separates the "real" and "supernatural" worlds and therefore, "ancestor spirits and other beings and powers are part of the contemporary landscape" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997a:5) and may have "a powerful and physical effect upon living people's daily lives" (Lawson 1997:36). For Indigenous peoples then, the excavation and analysis of burials mostly represents an act of desecration towards their ancestors and places that remain culturally and spiritually significant to them. This is why they are forcefully requesting that human remains pertaining to their ancestors be returned to their homelands. The issue is highly political, as repatriation is also a way for Indigenous peoples to reclaim control and assert their rights over their own affairs.

A second topic of concern to Indigenous peoples relates to the interpretation and presentation of their history. Archaeologists do not only consider themselves as the caretakers of the archaeological record, but they also largely perceive themselves as the stewards of the past (Goldstein 1992:61). As such, they have taken it as their duty to make their interpretations accessible to the public through publications, films, or museum exhibits. However, such presentations have often contributed to portray Native peoples as part of the prehistoric world, which the public most often associates with "dinosaurs, volcanoes and primitive people living in cages." Inuit and First Nations protest against such representations because they give the impression that they are peoples of the past with ways of life long gone (McGhee 1997:235).

On the other hand, some of the explanations presented by archaeologists about Indigenous history are incompatible with these peoples' own perspectives on their past.

The theory of the Bering Straits Land Bridge is probably the most cited example (e.g., Ames 1986:43; McGhee 1989; Yellowhorn 1996). The most widely accepted theory about the peopling of North America is that Indigenous peoples first arrived from Siberia no earlier than 30,000 years ago by crossing a bridge of land uncovered during glaciation. Inuit and First Nations have often construed this interpretation as a denial of their own religious conviction of *in situ* creation and see it as demeaning to their history and culture. Many feel that this theory portrays them as "just another group of immigrants," and some even see it as an attempt to challenge their title to the land (McGhee 1989:14-15). This is a difficult question to resolve since as scientists, archaeologists firmly believe that one of their responsibilities is to challenge myths (e.g., McGhee 2001; Mulvaney 1986).

More Control for Indigenous Peoples over Archaeology

Differences such as those described above have triggered numerous discussions related to the question of use, ownership and control of Inuit and First Nations' heritages (e.g., Asch 1997; Dunn 1991; Nicholas 2005; Yellowhorn 1996, 1997). In fact, Indigenous peoples in Canada and elsewhere have come to challenge the stewardship of archaeologists over the past and its record, and have reclaimed control over what they consider a colonialist enterprise (e.g., Deloria 1969; Langford 1983; see also Ferris 2003; Nicholas 2000:125; Smith 2004; Zimmerman 1997). The greater political importance that Indigenous peoples have regained over the last decades, and the more sympathetic stance of the public and politicians towards their views on heritage matters, have contributed to give them more authority over archaeology (Trigger 1997:viii).

There is, for example, a widespread movement for the repatriation of artefacts and human remains. Whereas in Canada there is no legal basis such as in the United States for repatriation, "the remains are being returned in response to pressure from both the Native community and the public at large" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997a:8). A Task Force on Museums and First Peoples also produced recommendations concerning human remains and objects of cultural patrimony, and different museum institutions have adopted policies on repatriation (Lee 1999). Furthermore, provisions concerning repatriation of ethnographic and archaeological material are now included in several land claims.

In fact, issues of control over archaeological and other heritage resources are addressed in all land claims except for the two earlier ones, which are the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (1975) and the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (1984). The other agreements recognize the significance of their heritage to Indigenous peoples and outline their rights and responsibilities about the management of archaeological sites and resources. Some of them include mechanisms that allow Inuit and First Nations to regulate archaeological activities within their areas. Ownership of archaeological material is also addressed in three of the final agreements. The Nunavut Final Agreement provides for the creation of the Inuit Heritage Trust. The Trust co-owns, along with the federal government, specimens that are in or from the Nunavut Settlement Area (Government of Canada 1993a). The Yukon Umbrella Agreement, for its part, identifies Yukon First Nations as the only owners and managers of heritage resources on settlement lands (Government of Canada 1993b). The Nisga'a and the Labrador Inuit also own archaeological resources on their lands (Government of Canada 1999, 2005).

Indigenous peoples now have some influence on legislation and regulations related to archaeological resources. For instance, some jurisdictions have established laws to protect unmarked burials (e.g., the 1990 Ontario Cemeteries Act), and consultation with Indigenous communities is now commonly required before excavation permits are granted. At the federal level, one attempt to pass legislation for archaeological resources in the late 1980s failed partly because Indigenous peoples, as one of the interest groups involved, disagreed with some aspects of the proposed bill[14] (Dunn 1991; Burley 1994). Moreover, concerns expressed by the Assembly of First Nations (2000) about the 1995 Canadian Environmental Assessment Act were at least partially addressed when the legislation was reviewed (Government of Canada 2003b).[15] Finally, Indigenous peoples

[14]The most unacceptable component of the act for most of them was that the legislation designed the Crown as owner of all archaeological resources. Other issues included the jurisdiction and definition of Aboriginal archaeological resources, the protection and treatment of human remains, the protection and management of sacred sites, the issuance of impact assessments permits by non-Aboriginal agencies and the exemption of the Canadian Parks Service from the bill (Dunn 1991:9-11).

[15] The environmental committee of the Assembly of First Nations (ASF) stated its concerns and recommendations about the CEAA to the Minister of Environment in a report titled *Assembly of First Nations: Position and Recommendations for Amendments to the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (ASF 2000). The ASF claimed that the Act fails because it does not protect Treaty and Aboriginal rights, ensure proper consultation and involvement of First Nations, provide them with sufficient technical and financial resources, or allow them to develop their own environmental assessment systems. When the Act

have been consulted about the legislation and programs that are developed in the context the Historic Places Initiative, which is being implemented by Ottawa in collaboration with the provinces and territories (Canadian Heritage 2002a).

Increased Interest and Participation of Indigenous Peoples into Archaeology

The introduction of a post-processual approach to the discipline in the 1980s has heightened the interest of Inuit and First Nations towards archaeology, because it allows them to address questions related to their history and culture. Many groups have also recognized that the discipline can be useful to them in different areas. These include social and cultural applications such as nation building and self-discovery, and the identification, protection and presentation of heritage sites to local communities. From a political stance, archaeology has been used to establish Native cultural continuity and precedence within the context of land claims and to validate the use of oral tradition in the Western legal system. Research projects may also represent a source of economic benefits by creating employment opportunities for community members through activities such as fieldwork, interpretation and/or tourism (Nicholas 1997:93).

In the North as in British Columbia, Inuit and First Nations are now involved in the management of archaeological resources through the review of archaeological or land use permit applications. The Wet'suwet'en of British Columbia have gone further by taking over responsibility for carrying out archaeological impact assessments for the major licensees that engage in forestry operations within their traditional territory. This allows them to hire an archaeological consultant of their choice to carry out the work, to take part in the fieldwork, and to integrate their management recommendations in the report (Bduhwa 2005). Other First Nations have developed their own archaeological permit system, policy or guidelines, thereby setting the terms for the conducting of archaeological research in their areas of jurisdiction (e.g., De Paoli 1999; Loring and

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was finally amended, three clauses related to Aboriginal peoples were added to the legislation. These include a new objective of the Act, which is to "promote communication and cooperation between responsible authorities and Aboriginal peoples with respect to environmental assessment" (Section 4 b.2); a clause stating that "community knowledge and aboriginal traditional knowledge *may* be considered in conducting an environmental assessment" (Section 16.1, emphasis added); and a new provision which stipulates that when the Minister believes that a project carried out on or outside reserve lands may have negative environmental impacts on those lands, he may submit the project to a mediator or a review panel for an assessment of the potential environmental effects.

Ashini 2000:180). Many of them also initiate archaeological projects as a way to collect information about their past and encourage youth to learn about their heritage. Most of these projects are undertaken in collaboration with archaeologists who have, in many cases, become allies.

Indigenous Peoples and Archaeologists: A Positive Association

Even though not all issues opposing Indigenous peoples and archaeologists have been resolved, relationships between the two groups have improved significantly. Archaeologists and anthropologists have been early and strong advocates of Native rights in Canada, and they play a significant role as cultural brokers, expert witnesses in court and in community development (Nicholas and Andrews 1997a:11). Archaeologists have also become increasingly aware of Indigenous rights and concerns related to archaeological resources. A more reflexive approach is being developed both as a result of the increased control Indigenous peoples have gained over their heritage and the post-modernist attitude that is infusing the discipline. For example, archaeologists have recognized that their work has direct implications in the present and that in addition to their professional responsibilities they are also accountable to the people whose past they study. This is why ethical principles have recently been developed to guide archaeological research related to Indigenous peoples (e.g., CAA 1997; Hanna 1997; Nicholson et al. 1996). It has also been acknowledged that there is not necessarily one true version of history and that voices other than those of archaeologists or historians have a legitimate right to be heard (e.g., Task Force on Museums and First Peoples 1992). As a result, museum exhibits that focus on Indigenous history now commonly present a version that integrates information from both archaeology and oral tradition (e.g., McGhee 1989, 1997; Winter and Henry 1997:214).

Other examples of collaboration include the development of programs aimed at providing training and/or employment opportunities for Indigenous peoples to increase their number in the fields of archaeological research, management and interpretation (e.g., Nicholas 1997; Syms 1997). In the North, partnerships between Indigenous groups and archaeologists often take the form of community-based projects that address the interests of both parties. Traditional knowledge is now commonly integrated with conventional archaeological methods as a way "to predict pre-contact site locations, to

understand the distribution of pre-contact sites across a landscape, to understand site depositional and taphonomic history, to interpret the distribution of artifacts within sites, to interpret artifact function(s), and to assign symbolic and hence cultural significance to different artifact types, and artifact distribution patterns" (Greer 1997:147).

In addition to improving cross-cultural communication, partnerships such as those described bring interesting benefits to both communities and archaeologists. In some cases, the integration of traditional knowledge and archaeology gives a more complete and accurate version of the past (Lawson 1997:38). Throughout their involvement with Indigenous peoples, archaeologists are usually able to identify a greater number of sites and they can also situate them more easily within cultural landscapes (e.g., Greer 1997; Henderson 1997). The knowledge that they gain about aspects of Indigenous cultures that are not necessarily revealed through the study of material remains also allows archaeologists to interpret data in a more comprehensive and meaningful way (Henderson 1997:212; Lawson 1997:65).

On the other hand, collaborating with archaeologists has helped Indigenous communities to record elders' knowledge and to make it available for educational purposes, while directly involving residents in the recording of their own history (Andrews et al. 1997:245). Such projects also give them the opportunity to indicate why archaeological sites and resources are important to them so that community values may be better integrated in management decisions. Finally, the insight that Indigenous peoples share with archaeologists about their heritage has increased awareness about the scope and significance of Indigenous heritage sites (Winter 1980). As we will see below, there is increasing recognition and respect for places that are not formally considered as 'heritage' in Canada, although much remains to be done to secure their full admission and protection as part of the family of Canadian heritage sites.

About Other Places of Heritage Significance to Indigenous Peoples

As we have seen above, there are certain types of places that have heritage significance for both Westerners and Indigenous peoples, although these are not necessarily always valued for the same reasons. Because of the Euro-Canadian interest in these places, archaeological sites and some environments related to Indigenous peoples

appear on the official repertoire of Canadian heritage places and are a source of national pride. These locations usually receive some level of protection and different programs are in place to manage them. For Indigenous peoples, however, those places labelled as "heritage" by mainstream Canadians are not the only ones that matter. In fact, many of the places they consider of heritage value do not fit in the traditional definition of cultural sites as places that contain tangible features of the past with historical, scientific, or aesthetic significance.

Several authors have contributed to our knowledge of how Indigenous peoples in Canada relate to the land (e.g., Andrews and Zoe 1997; Andrews et al. 1998; Brody 1981; Buggey 1999, 2004; Cruikshank 1990; Hanks 1996; Heine 1997; Mohs 1987, 1994). This relationship is usually defined in spiritual rather than material terms. Stories of origin are embedded in the landscape. They remind people of who they are and where they come from, and set the basis for their relationships with the rest of the world.[16] This world is populated by a variety of beings ranging from the plants and animals that people harvest, to the spirits that inhabit different features of the landscape. Humans are part of the land just as any living thing and they are interacting on an equal basis with the other inhabitants. Strict rules of behaviour usually structure these relations, which are most often based on the notion of respect. These values and the knowledge that people accumulated throughout their long association with the land are handed down from generation to generation. They are also conveyed through the numerous names and stories that are linked to specific locations. The landscape is therefore dotted with familiar places that are filled with meaning (both personal and collective) and provide people with a sense of belonging. In fact, much of Indigenous cultures and identities are tied to the land; this is why there are so many places therein they consider of heritage value.

[16] One example is the story of Yamoria in the land of the Dogrib, Northwest Territories. This cultural hero created many features of the landscape, he established rules of behaviour for the Dogrib and he also mediated the relationship between people and the animals. Several places within the Dogrib cultural landscape, which are considered sacred, bear testimony to the actions of Yamoria (Andrews et al. 1998). Another example can be found among the Stó:lô Nation of British Columbia. The transformer Xa:ls put the world in order, and taught the Stó:lô some of the skills they needed to survive along with moral and spiritual principles. Many places on Stó:lô land are considered sacred because of their association with Xa:ls (Mohs 1987; 1994).

Indigenous heritage places vary both geographically and culturally but they are generally diverse and may include traditional resource areas (e.g., fishing and hunting grounds, berry places, quarries), trails and water routes, gathering places, villages and structures, caches, tent rings, house pits, culturally modified trees, *inuksuit*, family camps and areas, rock art sites, powerful or spiritual places (e.g., burials, spirit or mythical places, ceremonial sites, medicine wheels), and named places or physical features associated with stories. Since Indigenous peoples do not usually recognize the distinction between culture and nature that is so characteristic of the Western worldview (see Ingold 2000), heritage places for them may, but do not have to contain human-made features in order to be culturally significant. In fact, most often the value attached to places rests in the relationships – economic, social, cultural, historical, spiritual and emotional – that people maintain with them.

In many cases, those connections are still very much alive. Places such as trails, campsites, gathering places, resource areas, and spiritual sites continue to play a vital role in the life of Indigenous groups; they are not things of the past. Moreover, new places of meaning may be constantly created, as life on the land goes on (e.g., Heyes 2002; see also Hanna 1997:79). Places in the landscape are often connected by trails and water routes, and the stories that unfold as people travel the land also link them to one another, thereby creating areas of significance (e.g., Andrews and Zoe 1997; Andrews et al. 1998; Heine 1997). These areas may be considerable in size but they are generally best understood as a whole and must ideally be preserved as such. In fact, for many Indigenous groups, all of their land is sacred and is therefore worthy of protection (Buggey 1999, 2004; Hanna 1997; Hubert 1994). In this context, the current practices of cultural resource management in Canada are often inappropriate to address their concerns, although things are slowly changing in some parts of the country.

Some Problems with Cultural Site Management Practices

Rooted into the Western conceptualization of the land, the cultural resource management approach tends to regard heritage sites and objects as property, resources or commodity that can be owned, used or disposed of. As Hanna (1997:77) pointed out:

> Commodification and objectification are implicit in both the name "resource management" strategy and in the strategies themselves. Sites are "resources,"

> commodities to be managed (we are assuming, or course, that they can be managed). They are ranked according to various criteria, but implicit in the ranking is the idea that some are expendable and some are less so. The resource classification confirms the division of sacred and secular. Material evidence is the basis for this classification and economic potential the basis for assessing the significance or expendability of the site.

Indigenous peoples in Canada have also come to see the land from an economic perspective, at least to a certain extent. Many are looking for ways to use renewable and non-renewable resources – including some heritage places and objects – to develop and sustain their economies. As we have already seen, some also use the archaeological record to learn about their past. In many cases, however, the cultural or spiritual significance of places exceeds any other worth. This is often the case with burial sites, for instance. Their spiritual value generally outweighs their scientific potential. Another example comes from the Haida in British Columbia. They chose to turn their traditional lands into a national park to ensure the preservation and continuation of their culture, even if they had to give up logging activities on those lands (see NAFA and CPAWS/Wildlands League 2003:32).

Indigenous cultural sites (e.g., named places, sacred sites, resources areas) sometimes lack physically definable boundaries or features (Winter 1980), thereby making it difficult for land managers to deal with them. There are also instances when Indigenous peoples are reluctant to disclose information about significant sites, either because this is a way for them to preserve these places (e.g., Andrews et al. 1998:316; Mohs 1994:200), or because cultural rules only allow specific people to know or discuss them (e.g., Hanna 1997:78; Lawson 1997:37-38). This poses another challenge to the conventional approach towards site management, since the identification of resources is a prerequisite for their protection.

Finally, the assessment of significance of discrete sites, often used to evaluate which places ought to be protected or salvaged, is often contrary to the perspective of Indigenous peoples who consider that all sites are important (e.g., Eldridge 1997:21; Lawson 1997:45-46). Moreover, the tendency to evaluate the significance of sites mostly on the basis of their scientific value has often obscured the meaning of those places to Indigenous peoples (e.g., Kulchyski 1998; Mohs 1987:30). It has also greatly limited the

type and number of sites recorded as significant and therefore protected (e.g., Mohs 1994:203).

Towards a Greater Recognition for Indigenous Heritage Sites and Values

Since the 1990s, there have been some changes to the management approach of heritage sites in the North (e.g., Andrews et al. 1997; Greer 1997). This is due to the fact that there is a better understanding of what heritage places are and mean to Indigenous peoples. Many such places have been identified during land use studies carried out in the context of land claims (e.g., Brice-Bennett 1977; Freeman 1976; Schwartz 1982.). Hogan (2002:5) commented that "First Nation land claim negotiations have influenced the recognition of the Yukon's heritage and culture," thus bringing "to light concerns of the Yukon First Nations regarding their traditional rights, knowledge, language, and culture." As a result, new language and heritage programs have been developed to address First Nations' interests and to increase recognition of traditional knowledge and practices.

Different government-sponsored initiatives aimed at documenting heritage places have been carried out in collaboration with Indigenous groups. Andrews (2004), for instance, presented several examples of projects carried out jointly by the PWNHC and different Indigenous groups in the Northwest Territories. These have made a significant contribution to the knowledge and understanding of cultural sites and landscapes. The PWNHC also has online exhibits (www.pwnhc.ca) that present information about Indigenous cultural landscapes. Examples include a virtual journey up a traditional route of the Dogrib, and an Inuvialuit place names exhibit.

The inclusion of traditional knowledge into environmental or development impact assessments is now mandatory in the northern territories, through land claims and environmental legislation. This is of particular importance for Indigenous peoples, since many sites and areas of significance to them can only be identified with the help of knowledgeable elders. In fact, the use of traditional knowledge in site recognition has modified the approach to site management in these areas. As Greer (1997:152) noted, "With the growing acceptance of the traditional view of the past in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, government offices charged with managing heritage sites are

broadening their definitions to include places whose heritage values rests solely in the stories or past events associated with them."

Perhaps the most important, however, is that several Indigenous groups in the North and in British Columbia have or are implementing heritage programs to document heritage places and values and establish their own definitions and protocols for the care of heritage resources (e.g., Kamloops Indian Band 1996; Stó:lô Nation 2003; Upper Similkameen Indian Band n.d). Their greater involvement in heritage matters will likely bring significant changes in the definition and recognition of heritage places in their areas.

A More Holistic Perspective

Until the last decade, most places of heritage significance in Canada have been commemorated or protected either as 'natural' or 'cultural' places. One exception is the Canadian Heritage Rivers System, which was created in 1984 though a joint initiative of the federal, provincial and territorial governments. The program's objective is to represent "the diversity of Canada's river environments and celebrate the role of rivers in Canada's history and society." It also seeks to secure the protection of these rivers for generations to come. A national board is responsible for administering the system. Designated rivers are managed according to a heritage strategy developed through public consultation and consensus and devised to maintain their natural, cultural and/or recreational values (Parks Canada 2003c).

There are close to 40 such designated rivers in Canada. Examples include the Athabasca River (AB), the Cowichan River (BC), the Arctic Red River (NT), the Grand River (ON) and the Churchill River (SA). An interesting fact is that even though the Canadian Heritage Rivers System was not specifically intended to protect Indigenous heritages, a significant number of rivers have been designated in collaboration with Indigenous groups. It seems that the program corresponds to their perspective on heritage, and that it contributes to the preservation of their cultural sites and landscapes. British Columbia was the first of the provinces to follow the federal example when it established a heritage rivers system in 1995.

In 1990, the HSMBC started to explore issues related to the commemoration of Indigenous history and recommended that sites of cultural or spiritual significance to Indigenous peoples be eligible for designation as national historic sites, even if they do not contain tangible cultural resources (HSMBC Minutes 1990, cited in Buggey 1999:18). The Board gradually modified its approach to the commemoration of Indigenous history and started to define the cultural values of sites to Indigenous peoples, rather than evaluating them from the perspective of art history and archaeology (Buggey 1999; 2004). Some designations originally made without input from Indigenous peoples have even been modified to represent their perspective on history (Cameron 1997).

The increased consultation and participation of Indigenous peoples in the selection of new national historic sites also turned the attention from physical resources to the holistic and deeply spiritual connection they maintain with the land. Following UNESCO's example,[17] Parks Canada added the category of cultural landscapes to its National Historic Site Program, leading to the designation of several Indigenous landscapes within the last decade (Buggey 1999, 2004). An Aboriginal cultural landscape is defined as:

> ...a place valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex relationship with that land. It expresses their unity with the natural and spiritual environment. It embodies their traditional knowledge of spirits, places, land uses, and ecology. Material remains of the association may be prominent, but will often be minimal or absent [Buggey 1999:35].

The emphasis is therefore placed on the historical and spiritual association between Indigenous peoples and their physical environment. Interpretation of the landscape is based on traditional knowledge rather than on tangible evidence. Cameron (1997:29) reported that "in a 1994 poll, historic sites rated among the top five symbols of Canadian identity, in company with the flag, the anthem, National Parks and the Charter of Rights." The inclusion of Indigenous cultural landscapes as national historic sites is therefore a

[17] In 1992 the UNESCO, which has been nominating cultural and natural places of international significance for more than 30 years, included three types of cultural landscapes on the list of possible designations – intentional, organically evolved and associative (Rössler 2000:27-28). Intentional landscapes are clearly defined landscapes designed and created by man (e.g., parks and gardens). Organically developed landscapes are those that result from a cultural (e.g., economic, social, religious) imperative and have developed their present form by association with and in response to their natural environment. Most Indigenous cultural landscapes fall within third categories, which are associative landscapes. These may be included on the World Heritage List "by virtue of the powerful religious, artistic or cultural associations of the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent" (UNESCO 1997:39iii).

significant step towards the recognition of their values about the land and heritage, and may certainly help to raise awareness about their perspective.

Another tool that will contribute towards this is the new Canadian Register of Historic Places. The register is an on-line database that presents information on historic sites (which may include cultural landscapes) designated by local, provincial/territorial and federal governments (Canadian Heritage 2002a:3). The Inuit and First Nations entitled to do so as part of self-government can designate places of local significance and include them on the register. This will enable them to present a wide range of places they consider of heritage significance. Unless they are covered by the existing legislation on cultural resources, however, places listed on the register receive no protection.

The National Historic Sites Program is also only commemorative in nature. Except for those that are administered by the Canadian Parks Service, national historic sites are not legally protected.[18] There are just a few sites related to Indigenous history that are under the agency's wing, and only one cultural landscape figures among them, namely Kejimkujik National Park in Nova Scotia, which was established in 1964. In the 1990s, some petroglyphs within the park were identified for commemoration, but consultation with the Mi'kmaq shed light on their deep and long-standing relationship with the land and led to the designation of the whole park area as a cultural landscape (Buggey 1999:20). The area, however, was first made a park based exclusively on natural criteria. The cultural landscape was subsequently superimposed on the park area, but cultural values were not considered for its delimitation. What is more, this area would not have received legal protection from Parks Canada if its natural attributes had not been considered of outstanding value. In fact, many of the places of heritage significance to Indigenous peoples – including cultural landscapes – are not protected under Canadian legislation.

Some Problems with the Law

Despite commendable efforts for the identification and recognition of Indigenous views on heritage, the legislation in place across Canada for the protection of heritage places does not reflect their values. Many locations that are of great cultural and

[18] In some cases, a cost-share agreement may be designed for a five-year period to protect the commemorative integrity of a national historic site, but this does not protect the place from development.

contemporary significance to Indigenous peoples are not protected because heritage laws usually define heritage sites as places that contain cultural remains of a certain age.

Andrews et al. (1998), for instance, reported that many of the sites recorded during an inventory project along a Dogrib trail either did not contain cultural remains or were post-contact burials, and thus did not correspond to the conventional definitions of "site", "archaeological site" or "heritage resource" within territorial and federal heritage legislation and policy. Heritage managers had to stretch these definitions in order to fit in Dogrib heritage places (Andrews et al. 1998:306-307). They concluded that "present heritage legislation in the Northwest Territories has proven inadequate in providing protection to special places" (Andrews et al. 1998:315).

Mohs (1994:203) also observed that "ethnic values are noticeably absent from the list of criteria of significance recognized under the British Columbia Heritage Conservation Act." He explained that in 1994, only seven of the 19,000 recorded archaeological sites in British Columbia could be regarded as sacred, even though no less than 200 sacred sites had already been identified for the Stó:lô Nation alone (Mohs 1994:192).

Another problem with heritage legislation in Canada is that it is fragmented into laws for cultural heritage and others for natural heritage, therefore reflecting a dichotomy that is not present in most Indigenous conceptions of heritage. This is a situation that greatly limits the ability to adopt a more holistic approach towards preservation (see Mitchell and Buggey 2000:41). It also represents a challenge that will not be easily overcome, since such compartmentalization between the environment and the cultural heritage is entrenched into many institutions, including federal, regional and local governments, as well as universities (Nelson 1995:39).

Most legislation on cultural resources deals with small areas and natural features, if considered at all, are usually only secondary or complementary to their significance. Conversely, protected areas have real potential to preserve Indigenous cultural sites and landscapes. They usually consist of large areas where development is restricted and other activities are controlled or regulated, thus limiting potential threats to heritage sites and areas. The protection of sub-surface resources within these areas may preserve sacred

sites that have a three-dimensional quality (Lee 2000). Moreover, the fact that Indigenous peoples are now entitled to continue using these areas may help to maintain them as part of contemporary life and thereby preserve Indigenous cultures.

The Canadian Parks Service has acknowledged the link that exists between humans and nature. The agency's guiding principles, for instance, state that "people and the environment are inseparable. Protection and presentation of natural and cultural heritage take account of the close relationship between peoples and the environment" (Parks Canada 1994:17). Even though the cultural values of parks and protected areas are being increasingly recognized, however, "it is still the case that the identification of areas for consideration of natural parks uses natural criteria identified by Euro-Canadian scientists for determining what areas should be protected" (Lee 2000:7). Cultural values are usually only identified once the area to be protected has already been delimited; they are therefore considered of secondary importance.

In 2001, the Sahtu successfully negotiated a five-year surface and subsurface land withdrawal of the Sahyoue and Edacho National Historic Site in the Northwest Territories, through the Protected Areas Strategy. The federal government, however, has still not found a way to afford permanent protection to these landscapes. A problem is that there are no legal mechanisms in place to protect cultural landscapes and other places whose values are primarily associative. The Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Working Group recognized this in their report and made the following observation:

> In choosing the commemoration and protection for each of the sites in the report, the Working Group often found it difficult to suggest protection for a site using existing legislative tools because the vast majority of these are designated to protect natural landscapes and features. Though all of the sites included in this document incorporate natural landscapes and features, their primary value lies in their *cultural* significance. Consequently, the Joint Working Group urges the governments of Canada and the Northwest Territories, in consultation with communities and Aboriginal groups to develop and pass legislation, which will commemorate and protect cultural landscapes [Sahtu Heritage Places and Sites Working Group 1999:24-25].

The federal government is currently developing a new piece of legislation to protect cultural sites located on federal lands (Canadian Heritage 2002a). Although it is long overdue, this bill is mostly intended to protect archaeological resources and historic buildings, and therefore perpetuates the traditional approach to the management of heritage sites in Canada.

Conclusion

As this chapter clearly showed, heritage places and resources are often valued differently by Western and Indigenous peoples. "Natural" areas, for instance, are considered as wilderness by Euro-Canadians, who wish to maintain them in their pristine state while using them for scientific, recreational and tourism purposes. For Indigenous peoples, however, places that are turned into parks and protected areas are not untouched wilderness, but homelands that bear both the physical and cognitive imprints of their long-lasting relationships with the land. Maintaining these connections is what matters most to them, since their ways of life, their cultures and their traditions are grounded in the landscape. Westerners and Indigenous peoples also view archaeological sites, and especially burial places, differently. While graves and human remains represent an important source of data for scientists, for Indigenous people they are spiritual locations that provide a link with the ancestors and ought to be highly respected. Significance is therefore a multilayered concept that must be considered from all angles. Unfortunately, this has not always been the case in heritage management, to the disadvantage of Indigenous peoples.

The problem is that control over heritage places rests principally in the hands of Euro-Canadians. The latter have long considered themselves as the rightful owners of the land and resources. As the concept of a national heritage emerged in Canada, different places of cultural or natural interest became symbols of pride and identity. These resources came to seen as the legacy of all Canadians and were placed in the custody of governments and/or specialized groups (i.e., trained experts) who designed legislation and programs for their management. Indigenous peoples, however, have largely been excluded from management decisions. In fact, those strategies were principally aimed at preserving the values Westerners attach to heritage resources without consideration for Indigenous concerns. As a result, there was some appropriation of places that had long been in the hands of Indigenous peoples and had great significance to them. Many groups have suffered much because they were deprived of places – camping locations, resources areas, spiritual places, burial sites – that were turned into a part of the national heritage. On the other hand, places and areas that Indigenous peoples considered of heritage significance but that were not recognized by Westerners did not receive any protection.

For over three decades now, Inuit and First Nations in Canada have reclaimed their rights over the land and resources. Control over heritage places and objects has become an important component of this political battle, leading to an increased participation of Indigenous peoples in heritage preservation. Now that they have more authority over management, some groups are using existing mechanisms – such as parks and protected areas – to protect and manage heritage places. Many of them are also interested to learn about their past through archaeology, as long as this is done in a way that respects their values.

Even if they have potential to help managing Indigenous heritage places, however, the current tools for heritage management in Canada still largely reflect the Western perspective on heritage. This greatly limits their ability to preserve all of the places that are of value to Indigenous peoples, and to do so according to their own standards. Commendable efforts – such as the inclusion of Indigenous cultural landscapes as historic sites, and the assessment of cultural sites based on their significance to Inuit and First Nations – have been made to integrate Indigenous perspectives in management. Nevertheless, Indigenous places must often satisfy criteria that do not necessarily correspond to the views of their traditional owners to be recognized as "heritage" and receive some level of protection.

As we have seen, cultural landscapes must be "naturally" significant to be granted park status and no other mechanisms exist to protect them. Moreover, Indigenous places that do not contain archaeological or historic features are not granted protection under the legislation for cultural resources. The false distinction that exists in Canadian legislation between the natural and cultural heritage, and the underlying requirement that tangible remains be present, prevent a more integrated approach to sites and landscapes management. Moreover, the idea that heritage places and affiliated objects are "resources" whose significance can be ranked according to their potential utility still prevails in certain areas, and it conflicts with the spiritual nature of some Indigenous places and the notion of respect that surrounds them. Although Indigenous values are being increasingly acknowledged, then, they are still not fully integrated in the current approach to heritage places management in Canada.

Since the 1990s, several comprehensive land claims agreements have been settled between federal and provincial/territorial governments and Inuit and First Nation groups in the territories, British Columbia and Labrador. These have given Indigenous peoples a more important role over the stewardship of heritage resources within settlement areas. This chapter, for example, showed how the land claims have granted different groups better control over parks and protected areas and archaeological resource management. Not one of the land claims is identical, but all contain provisions that address more or less the same issues in terms of resource management. These mainly relate to land ownership, land use planning, environmental impact assessment, parks and protected areas, the use of resources, public management boards or agencies (e.g., the Inuit Heritage Trust), ownership and/or custody of heritage resources, access to heritage sites, the treatment of burial sites and remains, archaeological research and place names.[19]

Some land claims also contain specific terms related to heritage resources. This is the case, for example, of the "catch-up and keep-up" procedure included in the Yukon Final Umbrella Agreement to redress the imbalance created by the unequal allocation of heritage funds in favour of non-Native (i.e., Gold Rush) history. Yukon First Nations can also include specific provisions in their individual agreements about heritage places of cultural or heritage significance (e.g., parks, sites, rivers, routes, buildings), or enter into partnership with the territorial government in order to manage specific designated sites. The land claim of the Sahtu Dene and Métis provided for the establishment of a working group responsible for making recommendations about places of heritage value to the Sahtu (Government of Canada 1993c:119). As part of their land claim, the Dogrib negotiated the withdrawal of Ezodziti, an area of 137 ha that is of great historical and cultural significance to their people (Government of Canada 2003a). Finally, the Labrador Inuit will receive $5.0 million from Canada to assist "in the preservation and development of Inuit heritage and Inuit heritage resources" (Government of Canada 2005:230). The Nunatsiavut Government is also entitled to make laws to protect archaeological sites, historic buildings and Inuit burial, religious or spiritual sites on

[19] The following information has been extracted from the Dogrib (Thcho), Gwich'in, Nisga'a, Nunavut, Sahtu Dene and Métis, and Labrador Inuit land claims, and from the Umbrella Final Agreement of the Yukon (Government of Canada 1992a, 1993a, 1993b, 1993c, 1999, 2003a, 2005).

Labrador Inuit lands, and can designate buildings of historical significance to the Inuit throughout the Labrador Inuit Settlement Area.

In fact, the land claims have introduced different mechanisms for resource management, which involve Indigenous peoples and help them protecting places they view as culturally significant. They also present a more integrated approach to resource management in Indigenous settlement areas. The inclusion of Indigenous values in the definition and management of heritage places is certainly changing the face of heritage in those areas. The reminder of this dissertation presents the approach of one specific group – the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın – towards heritage places and considers how their values are embodied within resource management practices in the Gwich'in Settlement Region.

CHAPTER 4

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and their Heritage

We have a lot of good history and events that we can share with our younger people so that they know where they come from and who they are. Their identity is all up and down this river [the Peel]. I always feel that the land, the plants, the environment, it's us. It's our identity. It's who we are. If our young people could know that... If they can know who they really are, then they respect themselves and they're able to respect other people around them [elder Mary Teya].

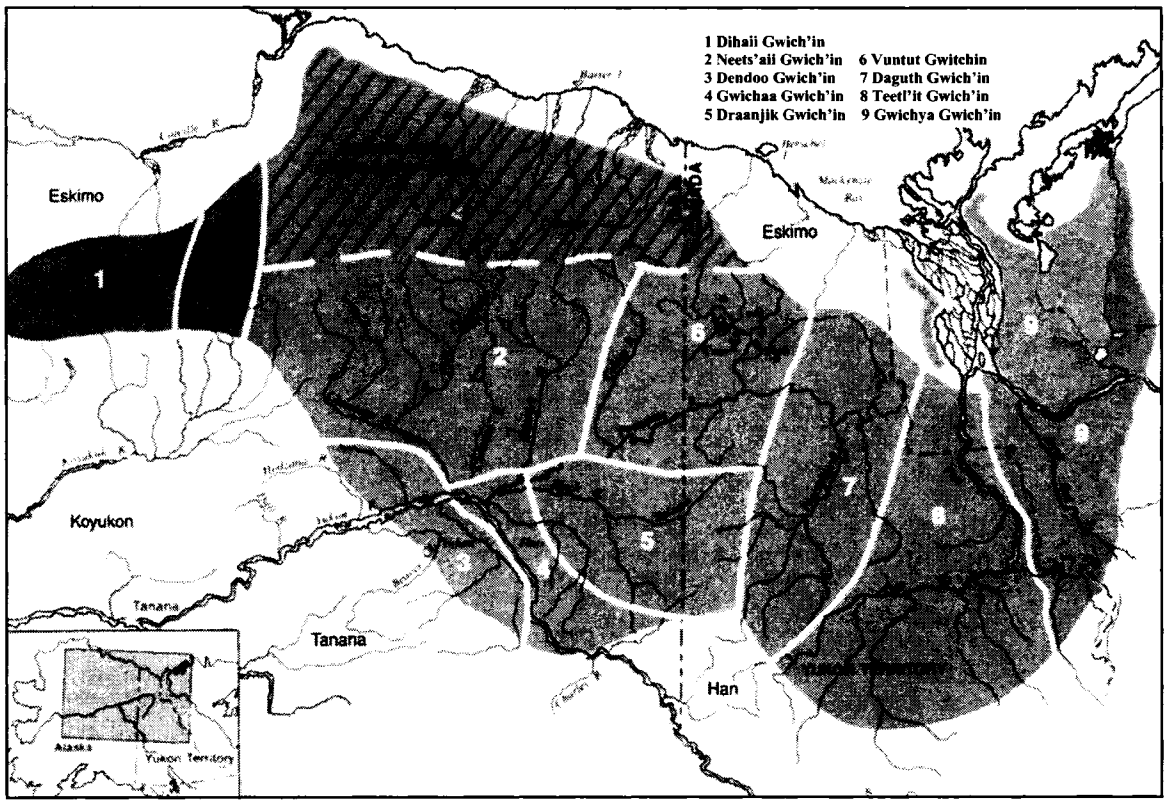
This chapter provides background information about the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and sets the context for the rest of the dissertation, which will examine Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage places and management. The objective here is not to present a complete ethnography of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, but to summarize specific information, past and present, that will help the reader understand the cultural, economic and political framework in which the preservation of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage places takes place.

Territory

Physical Setting

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın – an Athapaskan-speaking people – are one of the nine original groups of Gwich'in that were spread out across Alaska, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories at contact[20] (Map 2). Only six of these groups exist today. They are, from west to east, the Neets'aii Gwich'in, Gwichaa Gwich'in, Draanjik Gwich'in, Vuntut Gwitchin, Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and Gwichya Gwich'in. The homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın is located within the Peel River drainage and overlaps both the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Traditionally, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın hunted for caribou in the Richardson, Selwyn and Ogilvie mountains during the winter, and they fished along the Peel River and its tributaries in the summer (Kritsch et al. 2000; Slobodin 1962).

[20] The possible existence of a tenth group, the Nakotcho Gwich'in, has also been discussed (Krech 1979).



Map 2. Gwich'in Regional Groups at Contact Time
(Source: Heine et al. 2001[21])

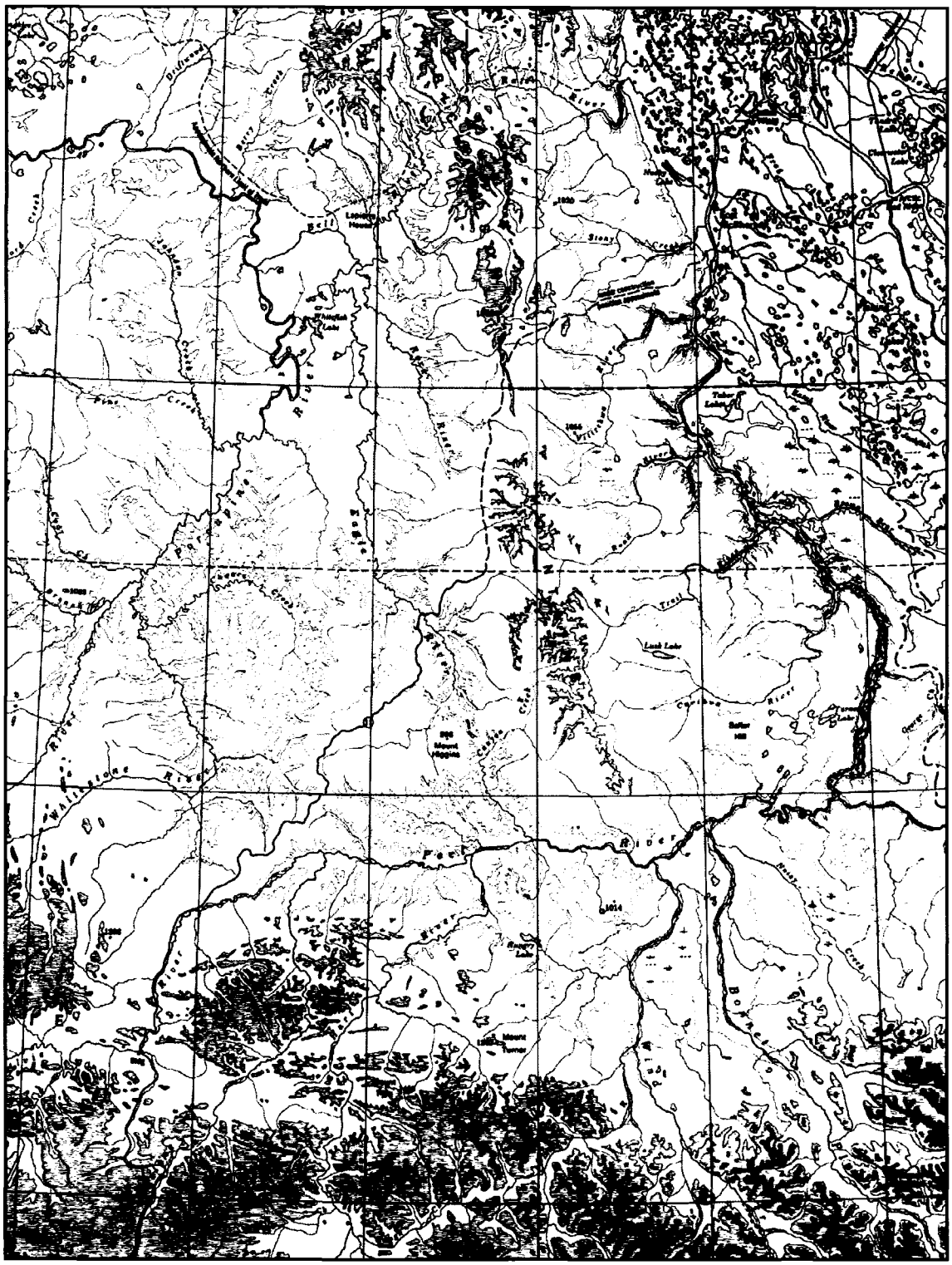
The Peel River is a western tributary of the Mackenzie River. Its headwaters are in the Ogilvie Mountains, where the Peel is formed by the convergence of the Ogilvie and Blackstone rivers (Map 3). From there, the river follows an eastern direction to the mouth of Snake River. Between these two points several streams, which take their source in the Ogilvie or Selwyn Mountains, converge with the Peel River. They include the Hart, Wind, and Bonnet Plume rivers. At the Snake River, the Peel River bends north and is flanked, to the west, by the Richardson Mountains. As for the mountains south of the river, the Richardson Mountains are part of the Taiga Cordillera Ecozone. The vegetation mostly consists of shrubs, low-growing plants, mosses, and lichens, although black and white spruces are also found at lower elevations. These mountain regions are home to the woodland and barren-land caribou and to other northern species such as the grizzly and black bears, moose, Dall sheep, wolf, fox, wolverine, snowshoe hare, and willow

[21] This map was adapted from a map used in a chapter on the "Kutchin" written by R. Slobodin and published in the *Handbook of North American Indians.* Vol. 6. Subarctic. June Helm (ed). Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1981.

ptarmigan. Arctic grayling is also abundant in mountain streams (Black and Fehr 2002:2). Several such streams are incised in the Richardson Mountains and flow through the foothills before joining with the Peel River. They include, from north to south, the Rat, Stony Creek, Vittrekwa, Road, Trail and Caribou rivers.

To the east, the Satah River is the most important tributary of the Peel River. There lies what is known as the Peel Plain, a flat and forested area covered with peat and hummocks (Black and Fehr 2002:2). Like the remainder of the Peel River valley, the region lies in the boreal forest, which is primarily composed of open coniferous forest with black and white spruce, larch, paper birch, aspen, balsam poplar, shrub birch, and willow (Oswalt and Senyk 1977). Other plants of ethnographic importance in the Peel area include alpine arnica, bear root, fireweed, fungus, muskeg tea, wild onions, wild rhubarb, rose hips, wormwood, and yarrow. Different varieties of berries are also used as food and/or medicine (Andre and Fehr 2002). Moose, black bear, porcupine, and a great variety of furbearer animals and birds are known to inhabit the region. The broad and lake whitefish, inconnu (coney), herring, loche, lake trout, and northern pike are the most common fish in the area. Dolly Varden (or Arctic) char is also present on the Rat River during the summer (Gwich'in Renewable Resource Board [GRRB] 1997; 2001).

A few kilometres north of Fort McPherson, the Peel River divides into various channels and begins to merge with the Mackenzie River Delta. The Delta, which is the largest in Canada, is 210 km long and 62 km wide in average, and extends over an area of about 13,000 km^2. This flat plain is covered with a network of 25,000 channels and lakes that are home to thousands of muskrats and many species of fish. Migratory birds also stop in the Delta on their way to and from their nesting grounds in the Western Arctic (Black and Fehr 2002). The most common species in the area are the Canada, Snow and White-Fronted geese, the tundra swan, the sandhill crane, the black duck, and the mallard (GRRB 1997; 2001).



Map 3. The Peel River Drainage
(Adapted from Natural Resources Canada 2003)

The Richardson Mountains, the Peel River valley and the Mackenzie Delta are the areas of their territory that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın now use most extensively. From the community of Fort McPherson, two major routes lead to these areas. One is the Peel River, which is used to move between the headwaters of the Peel and the Mackenzie Delta. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın travel the river by boat or snowmobile to get to their camps and to different areas where they hunt, trap and fish. The heads of several inland trails that lead towards the mountains are also located at different points along the river. Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın camps are found on the Peel River and in the Mackenzie Delta. Most of these are between Trail River and the point where the Peel River meets with the Mackenzie River, although a few of them are also located farther north, along the Rat River, and the Husky and Peel channels of the Mackenzie Delta.

The other important corridor that crosses Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın territory is the Dempster Highway. This is a 741-km gravel road that starts 40 km east of Dawson City in the Yukon and extends in a northeast direction, crosses the Ogilvie and Richardson Mountains and ends in Inuvik, Northwest Territories. The highway, which was completed in 1979, goes right by the town of Fort McPherson and is widely used by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın as a way to travel towards Inuvik or the Yukon. The elders mentioned that the Dempster Highway was constructed over one of the trails traditionally used by their people to get to the mountains and reach the wintering grounds of the Porcupine Caribou Herd. The road goes straight through the traditional hunting and camping grounds of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın around Rock River and has given them easy access to the area. In the fall and winter, most caribou hunting is now carried out along the highway, between the Yukon and Northwest Territories border and sometimes as far as the Blackstone and Tombstone areas, closer to Dawson City.

Change and Continuity in Occupation

The time depth of the Athapaskan occupation in the Peel River drainage has not yet been determined archaeologically. It is generally assumed, however, that the late prehistoric inhabitants (i.e., those living between A.D. 700 and the time of contact) in the northwest part of the Mackenzie Valley and on the western side of the Richardson Mountains are the direct ancestors of modern Gwich'in groups (e.g. Damkjar 1996; Fafard 2001c; Gordon and Savage 1974; Le Blanc 1984; Morlan 1973; Morrison 1984).

The historic bone and antler artefacts collected from a Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın camping location (MiTu-1) in Fort McPherson (see MacNeish 1953; Kritsch 2000a; Fafard 2001b; 2003) can be related to other specimens found in those areas, thus suggesting a similar pattern of cultural continuity between the late prehistoric and historic periods.

The utilization of the lower Peel River and the Mackenzie Delta by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın is fairly recent, as in the past they lived principally in the upper Peel River drainage. As linguist John Ritter (1976a:5) observed, the name "Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın" translates as "people who live at the head of the waters" and therefore directly refers to this pattern of land occupation.[22] At the time of contact, the lower 80 km of the Peel River drainage and the head of the Mackenzie Delta were considered a "No Man's Land" by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and the Inuvialuit, because of conflicts that often led them to raid against each other (Slobodin 1962:18). The summer range of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın was therefore located farther up along the Peel River.

Slobodin (1962:17) reported that when John Bell, Chief Trader for the HBC, first met them during his expedition on the Peel River in 1839, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın were camping at their principal summer gathering site. The place was known as Fish-Trap Head and was located 172.5 km above the mouth of the Peel, probably in the Trail River area (see Kritsch et al. 2000, Appendix A:82). When Bell told the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın of his intention to establish a trading post in the area (the first in the lower Mackenzie Valley), Chief "Painted-Face's Father," requested that the post be erected at Fish-Trap Head. This did not happen, however, as the HBC also wanted to develop trading relationships with other groups in the lower Mackenzie. As a result, the trading post, known as the Peel River House, was established 6.5 km upriver from where Fort McPherson stands. It was moved to its present location a few years later, and was renamed thereafter in honour of Chief Factor Murdock McPherson (Slobodin 1962:21).

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın did not visit the trading post frequently during the first years of its establishment. Fort McPherson was far away from their wintering grounds, making it difficult for them to travel downriver to the post in the summer and be back in the

[22] The word "Gwich'in" means "one who dwells" (Osgood 1970:13) and can be loosely translated as "people who live at a certain place". The word "Teetł'ıt" means "head of the waters" (Ritter 1976a:5).

mountains shortly after freeze-up for caribou hunting. At the time, caribou surrounds were the main method used to secure meat in great quantity. Fort McPherson was also within the dangerous buffer zone between the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and the Inuvialuit, who also frequented the establishment. For these reasons, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın limited their visits to the post to a few weeks in the early summer. In those years, they mostly brought moose and caribou meat in exchange for Euro-Canadian goods. The meat was used to sustain HBC staff at Fort McPherson and at other northern trading posts where fur was the primary commodity for trade (Slobodin 1962:21-22).

Both Catholic and Anglican missionaries arrived in Fort McPherson in the 1860s, but the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın finally adopted the Anglican faith (Stewart 1955). The missionaries apparently contributed to bringing the hostilities between the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit to an end (Slobodin 1962:25). The slow increase in the fur trade at this point resulted in a slight shift in the annual cycle of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. Several families started to leave the mountains earlier (before break-up) in order to meet at one of their hunting places above the mouth of the Bonnet Plume River on the Peel River. Marten was plentiful in this area and the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın took on hunting them for their fur. They also started to make large moose skin boats, each of which allowed six to ten families to travel downriver to Fort McPherson in the summer. The trading post gradually replaced Fish-Trap Head as their main summer gathering place and by the end of the nineteenth century, "most Peel River families remained at or near Fort McPherson from three to five weeks in the summer" (Slobodin 1962:27-28).

Throughout the last two decades of the nineteenth century, some Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın began to hunt beaver in the lakes of the lower Peel and Mackenzie Delta in the spring. In order to be in this area that early, these families did not go very far up the Peel in the winter for hunting, and they stayed in the mountains no longer than necessary to secure their subsistence. As Slobodin (1962:27) noted, however, between 1860 and 1898 "not many Peel River people wintered north of Caribou Lake, approximately lat. 66° 20' N., long 134° 15' W., in the Richardson Mountains." It is not until several years later that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın really began to make extensive use of the Delta area.

During the Klondike Gold Rush period, Fort McPherson became one of the secondary routes taken by the miners to reach the Klondike. As a result, contacts between the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and Euro-Canadians intensified significantly. In 1899, some Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın were hired by the Klondikers to guide them over the mountains, and they learned about the existence of Dawson City. A rapid shift towards Dawson took place afterwards and for several years (between 1905 and 1910), very few of the band members frequented Fort McPherson, except for the beaver hunters on the lower Peel. By 1914, however, most of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın began to revisit the trading post in the summer (Slobodin 1962).

With the advent of World War I, the value of fur began to rise drastically and the price of muskrat, which had always been about the lowest fur on the list, rose from $.40 to $1.50 between 1914 and 1920. The lower Peel and the Mackenzie Delta are the most productive places for muskrat in the Peel River area and spring, from early March until break-up, is the time when muskrat furs are at their best. In order to be in the Delta that early, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın had to reduce the length of their trip up the Peel River in the winter and they travelled to the Delta on the ice. Easter became an important gathering event in Fort McPherson and the most important time for selling furs. People also started to visit the trading post over the Christmas period and by the mid-1920s, many people built cabins in the settlement. As Slobodin (1962:82) observed, "the steady increase throughout the 1920's and '30's in the dependence of Peel River economy upon the muskrat, accentuated by a scarcity of caribou during those years, so restricted the interests and movement of the people to the lower Peel and the Delta that, for many, the Ogilvie and southern Richardson Mountains were no longer part of the home territory." Starting with the muskrat period, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın mostly established their meat camps in the northeast portion of the Richardson Mountains, "within one or two days' winter travel either from Fort McPherson or Aklavik" (Slobodin 1962:58).

Over the years then, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have changed their land use patterns in two ways. After the establishment of Fort McPherson, they gradually abandoned the upper Peel River drainage area and began to use the lower reaches of the Peel River area for fishing and trapping. On the other hand, they also became more oriented towards the river than they were in the past. At contact, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın spent most of the year in the

mountains, and river fishing was only carried out for a short period during the warm season. Throughout the twentieth century, however, different factors have kept the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın along the river for longer periods of time. One of them was beaver and muskrat trapping. Another was the need to fish in order to secure enough feed for dog teams, which became the main mode of transportation during the fur trade period. Finally, the location of Fort McPherson along the Peel River also gave the river a central place in the life of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, as it became an important centre of economic, religious and social activities and it is now the place where they are established as a community.

Despite these changes, however, both the mountains and the upper Peel River area remain of great importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. Caribou hunting in the Richardson Mountains is one of, if not the most, important of their land activities, both from an economic and cultural perspective. As for the upper Peel River drainage, it has not been totally unoccupied since the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın began to use the Mackenzie Delta. As Slobodin recounted, some people hunted and trapped there during the 1940s:

> In the favourable conditions during and just after World War II, when fur prices were high and fur relatively plentiful, a significant proportion of the band showed willingness and ability to travel and live in the mountainous upriver subregion of the Peel drainage. They thus, it might be said, "kept up the franchise" on this part of the habitat–into which, in any case, no one else had moved. It may therefore be maintained that the Peel River Kutchin have occupied virtually the same over-all habitat during their known history. There is every reason to suppose that the Peel River community is a continuation of one which had occupied the region for many generations [Slobodin 1962:83].

Ritter (1976a:19) also noted in the mid-1970s that "even within the last several years a few families and individuals have spent a part of the winter months trapping in the upper Peel drainage." Some of the elders in Fort McPherson have travelled and lived there with their families. They have an intimate knowledge of the area and most are aware that in the past, their people used to live mainly in this part of their territory.

Finally, an important element that has contributed to the continuing occupation and use of their homeland by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın is that the land and its resources have remained largely unaltered. Fort McPherson, Aklavik and Tsiigehtchic are the only existing communities within the area and there is only one permanent road that was built outside of these settlements. Euro-Canadian presence within the region has been fairly limited

over the years, and so have development activities. Some oil and gas exploration has taken place within the Peel River drainage in the 1950s and 1960s, and have left some marks – seismic lines, wells, camp remains, toxic waste – on the landscape. Like most other industrial development in the area, however, these activities remain localized and to this day, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have been able to harvest the resources they rely upon and to maintain their traditional way of life.

Fort McPherson and the Gwich'in Settlement Region

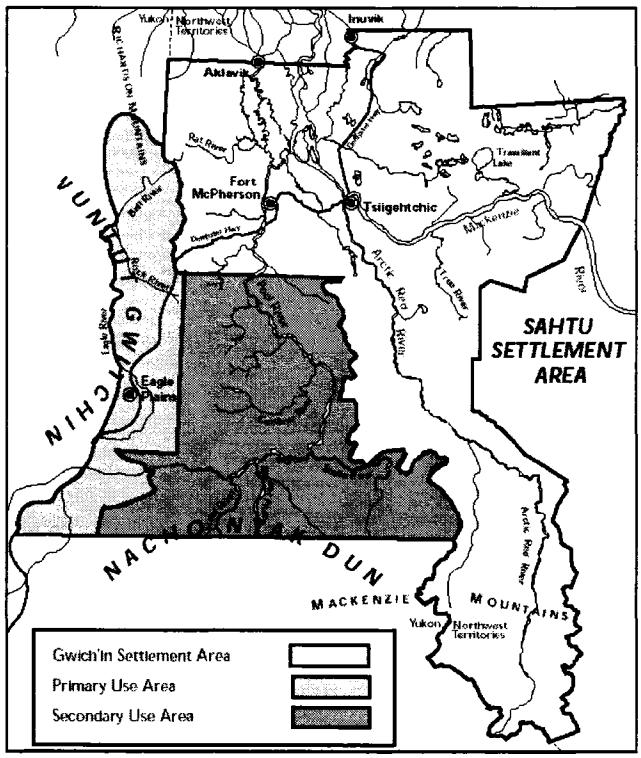
Fort McPherson (67°26' N, 134°53' W) is the oldest settlement in the Mackenzie Delta (Figure 1). It is located on a hill on the east bank on the Peel River, approximately 38 km upstream from its junction with the Mackenzie River (NWT Department of Culture and Communications 1986). First established as a trading post and only visited by different Indigenous groups at specific moments of the year, Fort McPherson has become the main community of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. Following World War II, the decline of the fur economy in the North incited the federal government to come to the aid of Indigenous peoples, through the introduction of social assistance, including family allowances and old age pension. Schools and nursing stations were also established and housing was provided (Coates 1985; Hamilton 1994). Such measures have largely contributed to the development of Fort McPherson as a settlement. Today, the town counts approximately 880 inhabitants the great majority of which are Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın (Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board [GLUPB] 2003a:15). The population also includes some individuals who are from other Gwich'in groups, and a small percentage of Inuvialuit, Métis, and Euro-Canadians (NWT Bureau of Statistics 1999). Besides its 240 dwellings (Statistics Canada 2003), Fort McPherson has a school, two churches, a nursing station, a RCMP compound, a Band and Hamlet offices, a Community Centre, an old folks home, two retail stores, a hotel with a gas station and several other local businesses.

In 1992 the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories, who were signatories of Treaty 11 in 1921, concluded negotiation of a comprehensive land claim agreement with the Government of the Northwest Territories and the Government of Canada (Government of Canada 1992a). This resulted in the creation of the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which includes the Gwich'in Settlement Area (56,935 km^2) in the Northwest Territories plus the

Primary Use Area (21,988 km^2) and the Secondary Use Area (11,456 km^2) in the Yukon (Map 4). There are about 2,400 claimants to the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim. Sixty percent of these live in one of the four Gwich'in communities of the Northwest Territories, which are Fort McPherson, Tsiigehtchic, Aklavik and Inuvik (GLUPB 2003a:15). The Gwich'in Tribal Council is the organization that represents the Gwich'in, with the assistance of the Designated Gwich'in Organizations based in each of the four Gwich'in communities.

The Gwich'in Tribal Council holds subsurface and surface rights for approximately 11 percent (6,158 km^2) of the Gwich'in Settlement Area. It also has surface rights only over another 28 percent (16,264 km^2) of the area. The Primary Use Area of the Yukon, which covers a large portion of the Peel River watershed, is an overlap region shared by the Nacho Nyak Dun of Mayo in the Yukon and the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın of Fort McPherson. The Gwich'in received title to 1,554 km^2 of surface land in this area. The Secondary Use Area corresponds to a traditional area in the Richardson Mountains that is used by three main Gwich'in groups, including those of Old Crow, Aklavik and Fort McPherson. The Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories do not own land in this part of the Settlement Region.

In addition to land ownership, the Gwich'in Land Claim contains provision for the development of a self-government framework agreement, a cash payment of $140 million over 15 years, a percentage share of resource royalties paid to the federal government from the Northwest Territories and the establishment of several co-management boards for lands, wildlife and natural resources. Different sections of the land claims relate to heritage places. There is also one chapter that focuses exclusively on cultural resources. The heritage-related contents of the land claim will be the topic of a later chapter.



Map 4. The Gwich'in Settlement Region
(Source: GLUPB 2003a)

The Economy of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın

The Traditional Economy

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın economy today is based on both traditional activities and the wage economy. Hunting, trapping, fishing, and palnt harvesting are the main subsistence activities they carry out. Caribou, moose, and a variety of fish constitute a very important source of subsistence food to them (Table 1). This is not only the diet that many Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın prefer but also a matter of survival, considering the high cost of imported food. Those who prefer bush life often hunt or cut wood for other people in Fort McPherson, in exchange for money, ammunition or other things. Some women in Fort McPherson make their living partially out of their craft, which mostly consists of making different items – moccasins, mukluks, mittens – out of moose skin and beaver or rabbit fur, with beaded floral designs on them. Table 2 shows the level of involvement in traditional activities for people from Fort McPherson in 1988, 1993, and 2004.

Table 1. Reported Harvest of Animals in Fort McPherson
(Adapted from GRRB 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2002)

Species	Reported Harvest Per Year			
	1997	1998	1999	2000
Fish				
Char	500	1,396	400	879
Coney	1,357	1,267	1,447	1,325
Crookedback	210	65	624	629
Jackfish	100	355	284	761
Herring				325
Loche	928	965	55	581
Whitefish	7,570	8,352	5,210	7,669
Others	2	101	2	38
Unidentified	6,916	1,134		3
Subtotals	***17,583***	***13,635***	***8,022***	***12,210***
Waterfowl				
Black Duck	548	488	219	812
Goose	57	35	91	173
Mallard	80	18	42	5
Tundra Swan	5	10	35	9
Others	2	17	10	8
Unidentified Duck	31	29	151	
Subtotals	***723***	***597***	***548***	***1,007***
Big Game				
Black Bear	1	6		2
Moose	13	25	16	23
Porcupine Caribou	1,300	1,412	541	857
Dall's Sheep		4		
Subtotals	***1,314***	***1,447***	***557***	***882***
Furbearers				
Beaver	78	50	46	52
Marten	454	52	17	74
Muskrat	1,925	4,356	2,128	1
Others	45	70	43	37
Subtotals	***2,502***	***4,528***	***2,234***	***164***
Small Game				
Snowshoe Hare	321	320	538	547
Others	3	43	1	38
Subtotals	***324***	***363***	***539***	***585***

Table 2. Fort McPherson Level of Involvement in Traditional Activities
(Source: NWT Bureau of Statistics 1999, 2006)

Fort McPherson	2004 (%)	1993 (%)	1988 (%)
Hunted or Fished	37.4	31.3	23.7
Trapped	12.9	12.8	19.2
Arts and Crafts	N/A	16.9	30.9

The rhythm of the seasons permeates life in Fort McPherson and regulates many activities. The fluctuations of the Peel River, weather conditions, the movements and state of the caribou and other animals are a regular part of most conversations. People who stay at their camps often use bush radios to communicate with friends and relatives in town. Much of the news they provide about the land are broadcast on CBQM, the local radio station to which many people in town are constantly tuned.

Summers in Fort McPherson are usually short but can be quite warm, with 24 hours of sunlight for about a month during June and July. Despite the hordes of mosquitoes and black flies, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın spend some time at their camps during this period, setting nets in the Peel River for whitefish, inconnu, and herring (Figure 2). Some people also take advantage of the presence of char on the Rat River in August, when weather conditions are at their best for drying fish (Figure 3). August is also a good period to pick berries along both the river and the Dempster Highway. Summer is a time for family reunions, large gatherings and assemblies, which sometimes bring different groups of Gwich'in together.

By the time the children are back to school in September, moose are moving down towards the rivers. They are very fat and this is the best period of the year to hunt them. Some people travel as far as the headwaters of the Peel, and sometimes up the Snake River, in order to get moose. Moose is usually shared with the whole community. Those who have a successful hunt use the local radio to invite people to come to their home and get some meat. Usually by mid-August, the Porcupine caribou is heading south and some animals can already be seen along the Dempster Highway, in the area between the

Yukon/Northwest Territory border and Eagle Plains. This is an eagerly awaited moment of the year for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, since many are looking forward to eating fresh meat. In September, when the caribou reaches the Dempster Highway and is about to cross it to the south, hunting is prohibited for a week to ensure it does not interfere with the migration patterns. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are usually able to hunt caribou during the whole of the cold season as in most years, some animals winter in the mountains along the Dempster Highway (Figure 4). People usually conserve caribou meat by freezing it in their porches or freezers. Some elders also dry strips of caribou meat in their homes or cabins.

Early in the fall, ice starts forming on the river and around mid-October the ferries that cross the Peel and Mackenzie rivers stop running. For about a month, Fort McPherson is largely isolated from the outside world as the Dempster Highway remains closed until the ice on the rivers is thick enough to make ice bridges. Daily flights between Inuvik and Fort McPherson are the only means of access to and from the community during this period. When the river and lakes are frozen solid and snow has covered the ground, people start using their snowmobiles and travel on different trails that go over streams and into the bush, in places only reachable during the winter.

In November, some people set nets under the ice on the Peel River to get whitefish and inconnu while they are traveling back towards the ocean. When small creeks begin to freeze in the fall, loche is found in great quantities at their entrances, where they feed on the herring that are coming down the streams (GRRB 1997:166). During the months of October and November, when the ice is thick enough, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın go jiggling for loche at the mouth of creeks. November is also the time when some of the men start trapping. Only a few of them are engaged in trapping activities nowadays. Marten is what they usually seek, although other animals such as fox, lynx, wolverine, weasel and mink may also be caught. Snowshoe hare are snared for their meat.

As fall moves on, days get shorter and colder. Starting in early December, the sun does not rise above the horizon for about three weeks. The Holidays are a festive time in Fort McPherson, as people celebrate with friends and family and take part in different activities organized for Christmas and New Year. During January and February, the

coldest months of the year, people tend to remain in town although some still go out hunting and trapping. If the ice on the Peel and Mackenzie rivers gets thick enough (some years it does not), winter roads are opened, making it possible for people to travel between Fort McPherson, Aklavik, Inuvik, and Tuktoyaktuk on the ice.

In March and April, days get longer and temperatures warmer. People still go hunting along the highway and some also keep busy on their trap lines. Early April is usually the time when some of them start hunting for muskrats, mostly in the Delta but also upriver from Fort McPherson. The Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın are not engaged in large-scale trapping but many elders enjoy the taste of muskrat meat. In the spring, each community of the Gwich'in Settlement Area holds a carnival and people often visit the other settlements for the event. Some years, the caribou start moving north in April, and people use their snowmobiles to go hunting in the Rat River area. This is one of the last chances for them to get caribou meat until the next fall.

Finally, in late April or early May before the ice is too thin on the Peel River, many people move to their camps on the land and stay there until break-up. The ice bridge usually closes around that time and Fort McPherson is isolated again for over a month, until the ice has gone on the Peel River and the ferry starts operating. May is the time when different species of waterfowl, including geese and ducks, are migrating north and flying over the region. Gunshots can be heard from the town during this period, as people shoot birds from their boats on the river.

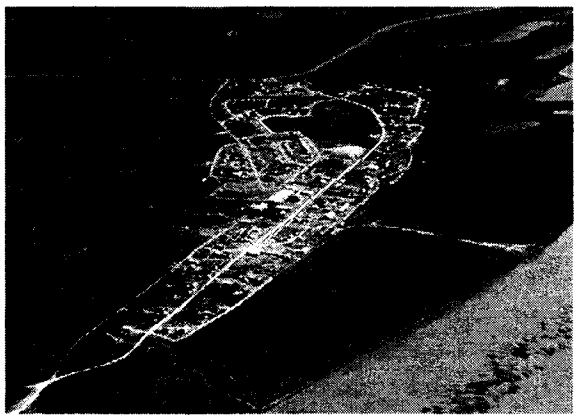


Figure 1. Aerial view of Fort McPherson (Photo Credit: Northwest Territories Municipal and Community Affairs)

Figure 2. Camp along the Peel River at the village of Eight Miles

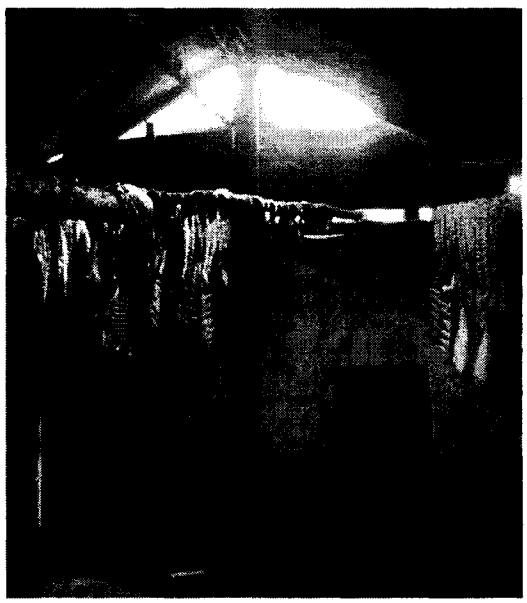


Figure 3. Drying fish in the fall

Figure 4. Caribou hunting in the Richardson Mountains (Photo Credit: Claudio Aporta)

The Wage Economy

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have been regularly involved in the wage economy for about 50 years. The depression in the price of fur after World War II led to the collapse of the fur market in the 1950s, therefore encouraging people to join the labour force. Starting in the mid-1950s, the construction of the Distant Early Warning (DEW) line and the building of Inuvik provided the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın with some work opportunities (Krech 1973:17). Oil exploration in the Mackenzie River Valley began to take place in the mid-1950s. During these years, the first oil well was drilled around Eagle Plain and Fort McPherson was also identified as a good potential area for petroleum (Zuehlke 1998:54). Some helicopters were flown to Fort McPherson and tents with working crews were scattered all over the town (Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry 1975c:1243). In 1958, the construction of the Dempster Highway granted access to the Eagle Plain and Mackenzie Delta areas. The project was put on hold in 1961, however, after only 115 km of road had been constructed. This was because resource petroleum and mineral exploration in the region failed to produce the expected results (Zuehlke 1998:54).

The oil and gas rush in the North really started in the 1960s (Hamilton 1994:78). Early in the decade, exploration mostly concentrated on the Arctic coast and islands, but after large oil reserves were discovered in 1968 at Prudhoe Bay in northern Alaska, the interest shifted towards the Mackenzie Delta and the Beaufort Sea (Coates 1985:206). This led to the completion of the Dempster Highway in 1979, a task that made work available to some Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. Over the 1970s and 1980s, a significant number of them also worked on the oil rigs, both inland and offshore. The collapse of the oil industry in the mid-1980s was a hard blow for many.

At the present, the government and Gwich'in Land Claim related employment represent the largest source of labour within the Gwich'in communities of the Northwest Territories (Figure 5). Other important sectors of activity include transportation and communication, retail and wholesale, and construction. The oil and gas industry has become practically non-existent as a source of revenue in the region and trapping only makes a small contribution to the local economy. Although tourism is considered as a potential activity for profits, it does not play a substantial role in the economy of the area (GLUPB 2003a:17).

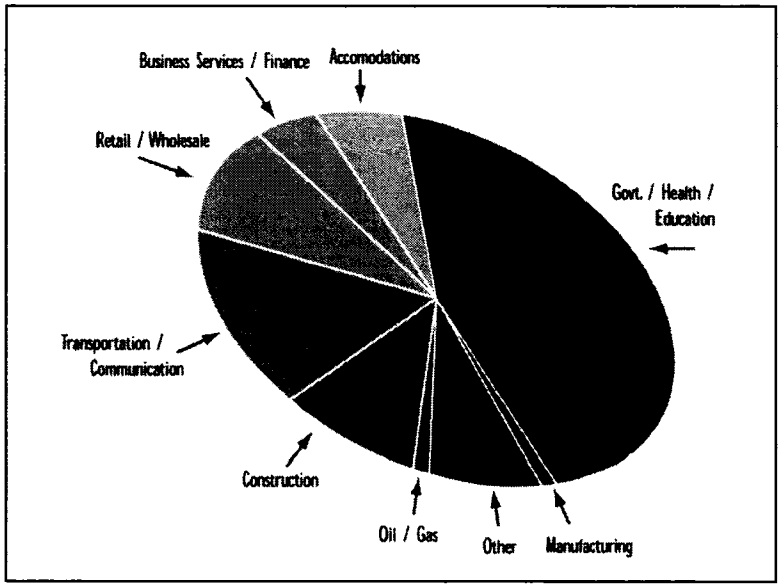


Figure 5. Sectoral employment in the Gwich'in Settlement Area
(Adapted from GLUPB 2003a).

In 2001 in Fort McPherson, 530 individuals, out of 760 listed, were over the age of 15. Of these, 355 received some wages during the year, including 125 workers with fulltime positions. Government, education, and health-related work represent the most important sources of employment in the community. Local businesses include a tent and canvas factory, a trucking company, two retail stores (one of which is a cooperative), a hotel with a restaurant and a gas station, and an outfitters business. The unemployment rate in Fort McPherson is above 20 percent, and government transfers account for over 18 percent of the total income in the community (Statistics Canada 2003).

In Fort McPherson, as in many other northern communities, the traditional economy has become highly dependent upon the cash economy. In order to go out on the land and carry out their activities, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın need different types of equipment, such as trucks, boats, snowmobiles, guns, ammunition and camping gear. Ironically, there is a significant amount of people who cannot be on the land as much as they would like because they cannot afford to purchase such items or even gasoline. Others have jobs that supply them with the financial resources necessary to pursue on-the-land activities. This is a vicious cycle, however, since those who are part of the work force have less time to

spend out on the land. For many, going out on the land has become more of a recreational activity. It is not really a way of life anymore, except perhaps for the few individuals who find a balance between employment and on-the-land subsistence.

Generational Differences

Within the last 50 years, the life of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın has been disrupted in many ways. The crash of the fur trade industry, the introduction of welfare programs, the education of children, the adoption of the wage economy, and the land claim process have altered the traditional (i.e., on the land) way of life. Current Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın elders have lived through many of these changes and have experienced both life on the land and in Fort McPherson. Their children and grandchildren have been increasingly accustomed to settlement life, however, and this situation has created important generational differences in terms of life experience, knowledge, and perspective.

The Elders

Elders (i.e., individuals who are over 60 in age) are the last generation of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to be born and raised on the land, with their parents and relatives. They travelled extensively over the land on foot, by dog teams, or by boat. They lived by hunting and trapping in the mountains during the winter, hunting for muskrats in the Delta in the spring, and fishing along the Peel River and its tributaries in the summer and fall. Fort McPherson was only visited for short periods at different times of the year, including Christmas, Easter, and Dominion (later Canada) Day. Most of the elders frequented residential schools for a few years. Before 1937, children were sent to Hay River by steamboat, and sometimes they did not come back to Fort McPherson for several years. When the Hay River school was closed, another residential school was opened in Aklavik. The children who studied there generally came back home for the summer. Both the Hay River and Aklavik schools were administered by the Anglican Church (Fumoleau 1973:327). Education represented an important disruption in the life of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın children, as they were taken away from their families and traditions and were forbidden to speak their own language. When they came home, however, the children returned to their former way of life and kept living on the land with their relatives. Throughout their lives then, the elders, as their parents and grandparents before

them, became knowledgeable about the land and its resources and acquired the necessary skills to subsist on them. They learned about specific places of economic, cultural or spiritual significance to their people and became acquainted with many of the names and stories behind those places.

A significant number of elders reported that they first moved to the community in the 1960s and 1970s, when their children started going to the federal day school, which was opened in Fort McPherson in 1946. Some also decided to enter the wage economy in order to improve their living conditions. Nevertheless, the land retained a central place in their lives and the elders continued to go out as much as they could. In fact, many elders feel that their real home is on the land and they prefer to be there than remain in the settlement. They often feel idle in Fort McPherson and find that being out on the land is a healthier way of life.

> In those days we really depended on the land. We were taught by our parents and our elders to respect everything. The land, the animals, the environment. We had to look after everything. It means a lot to me. When I'm back out on the land, I'm right in my own place, my home. To me it's my identity and it's really important. I know what to do when I'm out there. I know the animals, the weather and even the water, the way it changes from one week to the next. It really means a lot to me [elder Mary Teya].

> When I go out on the land I feel as if I'm back home, to how I used to live in my younger days. I like going out and cutting wood, bringing in wood, going for snow, bringing in snow, making fire, cooking food on the stove. It tastes better for me. Everything is good for me. And to wash my clothes, I get snow and melt it, wash my clothes in nice snow water which is very soft. Wash my hair in it, wash myself, wash my feet. Soft water. That's what I like about staying on the land. I wish I could do more like I used to [elder Doris Itsi].

> I really like it when I go out on the land. When I'm in McPherson I hardly do anything. If it's cold, we have the oil furnace. We have running water and all, so really I'm not doing nothing. But when I'm out on the land there's so much to do. If one of the boys hunts for caribou and brings meat, I got to work with it. Get it into cooking portions and then we make dry meat. The whole caribou we work with. So it's really good, I don't keep still. I find I'm much happier out there and I sleep good, I eat good and I feel better [elder Elizabeth Colin].

Most elders still have camps on the Peel River or in the Delta where they spend some time every year. For different reasons, however, it is now difficult for many of them to travel and stay out on the land on their own. This is why many have built cabins at Eight Miles (*Nataiinlaii* in Gwich'in), a small fishing village located about 13 km upriver from Fort McPherson, at the Peel River ferry crossing on the Dempster Highway. Wooden cabins and fish houses that do not have electricity or running water are found on both

sides of the river. Eight Miles is a place where the elders can carry out many activities associated with the bush lifestyle while being at a short distance from town.

The Middle-Aged Generation

The elders' children represent another generation of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. They have lived on the land with their families in their early years, before going to school. Although they were exposed to the Gwich'in language during this time, English has become their first language. As the questionnaire revealed, not many of them can speak Gwich'in fluently.[23] Most of this generation attended school in Fort McPherson. Between 1958 and 1975, many students were put in a hostel to allow their parents to keep going on the land during the school year (Clements 1994:7). The children usually spent the summers on the land with their families and some were also present for the spring ratting season. A few of them also travelled to the mountains in the winter, but the areas they best know are the Peel River up and down from Fort McPherson, the Delta, and the area of the Richardson Mountains along the Dempster Highway. Much of the elders' knowledge about the land, its places and history has not been handed down to their children because they were in school and did not live on the land for most of the year. The fact that their children were not acquainted with the Gwich'in language was no doubt an important obstacle as well.

Many individuals from this generation went to Inuvik after studying in Fort McPherson to get their high school education. Some also studied in Yellowknife for a year or two. It was common for those who had obtained their diploma to pursue their studies in order to get a specialization and find a job in Fort McPherson or elsewhere. Others preferred to return to the land with their parents to live by hunting and trapping. With the decline of the fur industry, however, they found that it was difficult to live that way and eventually joined the wage economy. A significant number of individuals worked for oil and gas companies at one point or another. This generation is also the one that conducted land claim negotiations and is now involved in the administration of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. Many factors have therefore dissociated these people from

[23] Out of 31 individuals from this generation who answered the questionnaire, one estimate that he/she speaks Gwich'in very well and six that they speak it well. The other respondents speak Gwich'in only a little (15) or not at all (8). People from this generation understand better Gwch'in than they speak it. Eight respondents understand it very well or perfectly, three understand it very well, 16 understand it a little, and four do not understand it at all.

the land, although they still highly value it and enjoy spending time at their camps on weekends and holidays. For this middle-aged generation, being on the land means freedom and respite:

> When you live on the land you're your own boss. You can do the things you want, you can wake up anytime you want. If you're hungry you can shoot whatever you want. Ducks in the spring and in the fall. You can go and trap rats. You can do things out there that you can't do in town. You can snare rabbits, everything that's out there is available. You have the freedom to do whatever you want. And your lifestyle is different from in town. You don't have to listen to phones, see computers and listen to gossips. And all the alcoholism in the community and all the drugs. You're away from all that stuff. You're away from people that bring problems to you or want to discuss issues. You have freedom out there and you're more or less your own self. You're healing spiritually, culturally, traditionally, and you're coming to your roots, where you started from. That's the way I feel when I get out there [William Koe].

> I think it's [being on the land] one of the most relaxing time. You're not distracted by things in the community. It's quiet and you just move at a pace you're comfortable with. You don't have to live by time. You're just so grounded out there. And you know you're not affected by the influences of the community. You're more connected as a family. When you're out on the land you know everybody's roles and you know what is expected of you [Sharon Snowshoe].

The Youth

Finally, the third and youngest generation of Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın was largely raised in Fort McPherson and is most familiar with town life. The youth are used to the comfort of their homes. They watch television, play hockey and soccer, and often prefer pizza and hamburgers to wild meat and fish. They understand and speak mostly English, although most have learned a few words of Gwich'in either through their grandparents or the Gwich'in language classes they get at school.[24] The youth do not spend much time on the land. Their parents have regular jobs and cannot take them out very often. Some of them have the opportunity to hunt and engage in other on-the-land activities with relatives or as part of fieldtrips arranged by different organizations, but many simply prefer to remain in town. In the questionnaire I distributed to the students at Chief Julius School, 87 percent reported that they spend less than two weeks on the land in a year, and none of them remain on the land for over a month.[25] The youth' knowledge about the land and its resources is therefore fairly limited and many could not manage 'out there' on their own.

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[24] Of 37 students who answered the language-related questions, none indicated that they understand or speak it very well or perfectly. Five say that they understand well, and two that they speak it well. The great majority wrote that they understand (28) or speak (25) Gwich'in a little only, while the others answered that they do understand (4) or speak (10) the language at all.

[25] Thirty-eight students answered this question.

They know some place names and stories of importance, but this knowledge is mostly restricted to the river area around Fort McPherson, the Delta and the Dempster Highway, the parts of their territory they are most familiar with.

The Heritage of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have a rich cultural legacy, which includes traditions and knowledge, the Gwich'in language, a vibrant oral tradition and a homeland that is invaluable to them. All these elements are closely interconnected; together, they form the fabric of Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın culture and identity. Although there are aspects of Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın heritage that are endangered, an important part of this heritage is still very much alive and many efforts are being made to document, maintain and transmit Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın values and traditions.

In Fort McPherson, people have come to look to different institutions to teach the youth about Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın skills, knowledge, values and history. When I did my fieldwork in Fort McPherson, several organizations such as the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın Band Council, the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın Renewable Resources Council, the Gwich'in Language Centre, Chief Julius School, the Tetlit Zheh Child Centre and the Crime Prevention Committee were involved in the maintenance and transmission of Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın culture and traditions. Moreover, shortly after the signing of the land claim, the GSCI was established as a non-profit society under the Gwich'in Tribal Council. The Institute was created "to carry out many of the heritage responsibilities that flow out of the claim, as well as to document, preserve, and promote the practice of Gwich'in culture, language, traditional knowledge, and values" (Kritsch and Andre 1997:130). Elders, of course, have a vital role to play in the protection and transmission of Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın heritage. They are the strongest advocates for heritage conservation and are heavily solicited to take part in all kinds of initiatives related to culture and heritage, including education, documentation and promotion.

Traditions and Knowledge

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have a vast array of traditions that form an important part of who they are. As part of the questionnaire on culture and heritage that was distributed to Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın students and adults in Fort McPherson, the participants were requested

to assess different activities or customs according to their degree of cultural significance. Table 3 presents the number of students and adults who rated these traditions as important or very important to their culture. Some of these, such as hunting, fishing, feasting and storytelling were handed down through many generations of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and are very old, even though they are not necessarily carried out in the same way as they were in the past. Such activities as jigging and fiddling are more recent additions to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın culture. They were adopted from the Scottish traders who came to live among the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın during the fur trade period. Yet other practices have only been incorporated within the last few years but have already become an important part of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın traditions. A good example is the Midway Festival, a big on-the-land gathering and music festival that has been held for the last 15 years in August at Midway Lake on the Dempster Highway, about an hour south of Fort McPherson. During this event, Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın families move to Midway Lake for a few days and set up their tents. The festival is a time for feasting, dancing and visiting in an alcohol and drug-free environment. Even though the students generally tend to find most (although not all) of the activities listed slightly less important than the adults do, overall the answers of both groups are fairly comparable and suggest that they share similar views.

Many of the activities that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın carry out on the land require a deep understanding of the environment. Throughout their long history of inhabiting the area, they have acquired a very specialized knowledge of the land and its resources. Best expressed through the Gwich'in language, this knowledge has accumulated and evolved through many generations. It includes "a system of classification, a set of empirical observations about the local environment and a system of self-management that governs the use of resource and defines the relationship of living beings with one another and with their environment" (Gwich'in Tribal Council [GTC] 2004a).

Table 3. Numbers and Percentages of Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın who Consider Different Activities and Traditions as "Important" or "Very Important"*

	Students		Adults	
Activities/Traditions	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Travelling on the land	36	92	32	97
Living off the land	33	85	29	91
Hunting caribou and moose	39	100	32	97
Fishing with net	35	88	31	94
Jiggling	29	74	28	85
Picking berries	34	87	32	97
Eating traditional food	37	97	32	97
Gwich'in sewing	33	85	32	97
Jigging/Fiddling	29	74	25	78
Square dances	27	69	26	79
Country Music	16	41	19	59
The Midway Festival	36	92	30	91
Gwich'in feasts	36	92	33	100
Religion	34	92	29	94
Family life/relatives	34	94	33	100
Storytelling/oral tradition	35	92	30	91
Traditional medicine	36	92	31	94
CBQM local radio	25	64	27	82
Traditional sports	36	92	29	88
Western sports	29	74	28	85

* Percentages are based on the total number of individuals who answered each of the questions. These numbers vary between 36 and 39 for the students, and 31 and 33 for the adults.

The Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın are very concerned about maintaining their traditions and knowledge. This is why different initiatives have been put in place to encourage people to go out on the land and engage in traditional and cultural activities. The Harvest Assistance Program administered by the Renewable Resources Council, for instance, provides people who are in need of funding to purchase necessary items (e.g., food, oil, gas) to spend time on the land. Moreover, several projects are designed to take youth out on the land with elders so that these can pass on their expertise. Elders are also regularly invited to the school or the Tetlit Zheh Child Centre to demonstrate different skills related to activities such as preparing caribou hides, cutting fish, or setting up a tent.

The GSCI plays an important role in the preservation and maintenance of Gwich'in culture and traditions and much of its work consists of documenting the elders' knowledge (Figure 6). The Institute also drafted a policy for the Gwich'in Tribal Council that promotes the appropriate use of Gwich'in traditional knowledge (GTC 2004a). The GSCI holds Gwich'in Science Camps out on the land, where high school students have the opportunity to learn about both traditional and Western types of knowledge, through the teachings of elders and professionals from different fields (e.g., Kritsch 1996; GSCI and PWNHC 1998). Other projects aimed at documenting Gwich'in heritage places also involve youth, who get a chance to learn about their history and culture while traveling on the land and carrying out research with GSCI staff and elders (e.g., Fafard 2001b; Kritsch et al. 2000). The Gwich'in Traditional Caribou Skin Clothing Project was another initiative carried out by the GSCI to uphold Gwich'in traditions. It was aimed at repatriating skills and knowledge no longer applied in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. The project involved forty-one seamstresses who created five replicas of an outfit, which is now housed at the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull, Quebec (Figure 7) (see Kritsch 2001; Kritsch and Wright-Fraser 2002).

Finally, the Gwich'in Renewable Resource Board has documented the elders' traditional knowledge about wildlife and produced two books on species that are of cultural significance to the Gwich'in (GRRB 1997, 2001). These books contain significant information about Gwich'in values and practices about different animals species, and many stories from elders are also included. As elder Mary Kendi (cited in GRRB 2003) from Aklavik noted, "This book helps us pass on the knowledge of many elders and their stories... It helps us to pass on our 'words', pass on a part of what is our culture, our future." Hence, even though not all of the Gwich'in skills and knowledge are handed down as part of daily life such as in the past, creative ways to ensure the preservation and continuity of Gwich'in culture, traditions and knowledge are constantly being developed.

The Language

The Gwich'in language is considered to be the most endangered of the Athapaskan languages spoken in the Northwest Territories. According to a 1996 Canada census, only 13 percent of the 2,397 Gwich'in in the Mackenzie Delta region are capable of speaking

Gwich'in. While 10 percent of the Gwich'in population in this area considers Gwich'in as their mother tongue, less than two percent use it as their primary home language. Finally, over 80 percent of those who speak the language are above 45 years of age and 30 percent are 65 years old or more (NWT Department of Education, Culture and Employment 2002:11).

Despite this rather pessimistic portrait, the Gwich'in language remains of great importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın who strongly identify with it, even though many of them cannot understand and/or speak it. In the questionnaire distributed to Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın students and adults in Fort McPherson, 97 percent of the youth and 94 percent of the adults reported that they consider the Gwich'in language a very important component of their culture.[26] Moreover, during the consultation process that was carried out in 2002 for the development of the GSCI five-year plan, the preservation and revitalization of the Gwich'in language emerged as a high priority for many Gwich'in of the Settlement Area (GSCI 2002).

The Gwich'in Language Centre, based in Fort McPherson, has been financed for many years by the Beaufort-Delta Education Council to produce Gwich'in-related language material in order to support language instruction in the school system. Within the last few years, the Centre has been placed under the administration of the GSCI, who is also responsible for programming and implementing Gwich'in language activities (GSCI 2002). Booklets have been produced as educational tools for teachers, and four editions of the Gwich'in Language Dictionary have been printed to date (GSCI/Gwich'in Language Centre 2003). The language is also being adapted to the contemporary context of life.[27] Finally, the Gwich'in Language Centre has held on-the-land language immersion camps for students on two different occasions. While a Gwich'in language curriculum with different degrees of difficulty has yet to be implemented in the schools, efforts to build one are underway (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. comm., 2005).

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[26] In total, 72 individuals including 39 students and 33 adults answered this question.

[27] The word *"tr'il"*, for instance, originally designed a fish wheel. It is now used to refer to a "bicycle". New words also have to be invented for items that did not exist in the past. An example is the computer, which has been named *"iitsii adantl'oo gnadhandaii"* in Gwich'in that is, "a machine that writes and remembers" (William George Firth, Language Manager, Gwich'in Language Centre).

The revitalization of the Gwich'in language represents a real challenge. It not only requires the development of adequate educational tools to help people learn the language, but it also calls for a serious commitment from individuals and communities to spend time and efforts studying the language and integrating it into everyday life. Some of the individuals interviewed in Fort McPherson are quite optimistic about the possibility of revitalizing the use of the Gwich'in language, while others believe that it will eventually disappear. The next two decades will be decisive, for if the Gwich'in cannot recover their language within this time, there will remain very few people who can master it.

The Oral Tradition

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have a rich oral tradition. Throughout the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın homeland, there are hundreds of places that have been named in Gwich'in. These names often point to geographic or morphological features of the landscape such as rivers, creeks, lakes, hills and caves, while others refer to plant and animal resources that are found in different areas. There are also names which relate to different aspects of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın material culture, names that commemorate historical events and names that are connected with legendary places or with particular individuals who have lived in different locations. Some names are so old that their meaning has been lost (Kritsch et al. 2000; Ritter 1976a).

Stories are a very important aspect of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın oral tradition. Many of them were recorded in the 1970s through the work of the Committee for Original People's Entitlement (COPE). Some explain how the world was created and evolved into what it is now. Others speak of the giant animals that occupied the land in earlier times or describe the special relationship that the Gwich'in have always maintained with caribou. There are also tales that narrate how some individuals could acquire powers through different animals that helped them perform their medicine, and legends that teach lessons about proper behaviour. Many historical accounts relate the significant episodes that have occurred throughout the history of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. These include narratives of warfare or encounters with other groups, stories of travel and of how life was in the old days, tales of great Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın leaders, and events related to the arrival or Euro-Canadians in the area, the fur trade, the making of moose skin boats, flu epidemics, ans such stories as "the Lost Patrol," "the Mad Trapper," and many others.

While there are numerous names and stories that remain a part of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın life, others are not as widely used as they were in the past, and some have simply been forgotten. The fact that most people live in the settlement and speak English as a first language does not facilitate the transmission of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın names and stories. Many place names, for instance, are being forgotten because people do not travel and live as much on the land as they used to. Moreover, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın now commonly use English names (e.g., Rat River, Bell River, Hungry Lake) introduced from the outside to refer to places that also have Gwich'in names. They have also translated many of the Gwich'in original names into English and now use this version of the names (e.g, Paddle Creek, Bear Creek) (Ritter 1976a). On the other hand, storytelling is not as popular as it was in the past. The elders themselves often express regret, saying they have not listened well enough to the stories of their parents and grandparents to remember them as they were told.

The Land

Every aspect of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın culture is linked to the land in some way. The land is a place of traditions and history; it has economic, social and spiritual value; and it continues to play a vital role in maintaining Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın identity. The land not only allows the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to pursue many of their cultural activities, but it is also widely used as a 'classroom' to teach traditions and values to the youth. The land therefore remains a central place for the transmission of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın culture. It has also become a place to heal for them, and there are several organizations in Fort McPherson that take people out on the land to help resolving social problems.

The Peel River Alcohol Society, for instance, used to own a cabin in the Trail River area where it held workshops for people with addiction problems. After the settlement of the land claim in 1992, the Gwich'in Tribal Council built the Tl'oondih Healing Camp on the Peel River, about 30 km from Fort McPherson This place was designed to provide family counselling and help people deal with the trauma of residential school, using a mixture of traditional and modern treatment methods (Figure 8). The administration of the Camp was turned over to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Council in 2002 and it is still used to run different social programs. The Fort McPherson Justice Committee also uses on-the-land stays and activities as an alternative to jail sentences for people who have committed

a crime,[28] while the land is the setting for much of the activities of the Crime Prevention Committee (Figure 9). As Johnny Kay – former Project Manager for the Committee – explained, on-the-land programs do help to prevent crime among the youth by showing them what respect is, building their self-esteem and developing their skills:

> ...if we talk to the students about how we're going to set nets, well we also have to bring them into this room and we need to talk to them first about what we're gonna do and also [tell them] that we have to respect the land out there. We're gonna be working in an area on the ice, we need to respect that area and also we need to respect the food that we're gonna get from the water. If they can learn with this program about what respect means, it really plays an impact on them. Also, when you do on- the-land programs, it builds their self-esteem. If you go out and you get them to help you with setting nets, they start feeling good about themselves. When we start looking at the nets and we catch the fish and they're taking the fish out with me they're laughing and they're just excited and they say "I took one fish out of the net with Johnny!" After that we bring the fish back here, we cut it up with them and we give them pieces to take home. Then we get them to cook the fish that's left over for the elders on a Friday. By then we've done two things with them. We showed them how to work with a net on the land, in return you get the food, they get to know how to cut if off and then they get to serve it to the elders. While doing all that they build their self-esteem, and then on top of that they also learn to become independent, they learn to do a lot of hands-on [things]. Hands-on experience for some of them, probably never got to do that. You know they didn't have a role model to do that with them. Maybe their mom and dad were busy at the computer or in the office. So who's to show them? We kind of fill in that role.

Needless to say, protecting the land and its resources is a high priority for the Teetl'it Gwich'in.

Conclusion

The Teetl'it Gwich'in have a long history of occupation in the Peel River drainage area. Traditionally, they hunted for caribou in the mountain areas of the upper Peel River drainage during the winter, and spent the summer fishing along the Peel River and its tributaries. With the arrival of the HBC in the area and the establishment of a trading post, the Teetl'it Gwich'in gradually integrated the fur trade economy into their lives. This led them to modify their patterns of land occupation and to spend more time along the river. They also started to use the lower Peel River and the Mackenzie Delta areas more intensely than they had in the past, even though the upper drainage area remained an important part of their homeland. In the present context, both the upper Peel River and the delta areas are of great heritage significance to the Teetl'it Gwich'in.

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[28] The Fort McPherson Justice Committee makes regular reports of its activities in the monthly Tetlit Gwich'in Newsletter.

Today, many Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın still rely on caribou and fish for their subsistence. Since the 1950s, however, significant changes have disrupted their traditional way of life and most of them now reside in Fort McPherson and are engaged in the wage economy. The Gwich'in language is threatened with extinction and the transmission of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın cultural traditions, knowledge and values is not conducted as part of customary life as much as it was in the past. In fact, this responsibility has been placed, for a large part, into the hands of educational, cultural and political institutions that plan all sorts of activities and projects involving elders and youth and designed to ensure the preservation and continuation of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage.

The land is of particular significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın because much of their culture is directly tied to it. With the signing of the land claim in 1992, the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories were recognized a right to their land and resources. This led to the creation of the Gwich'in Settlement Region, an area over which the Gwich'in have obtained some control through both land ownership and management rights. The remaining chapters examine the values of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın about heritage places, and consider how these fit into the current framework of resource management in the Gwich'in Settlement Region.

Figure 6. Walter Alexie standing in front of a collapsed cabin at Tr'ineedlaii, during a project carried out by the GSCI to record heritage sites in the Peel River Watershed and document the names and oral history related to these places (Photo Credit: Ingrid

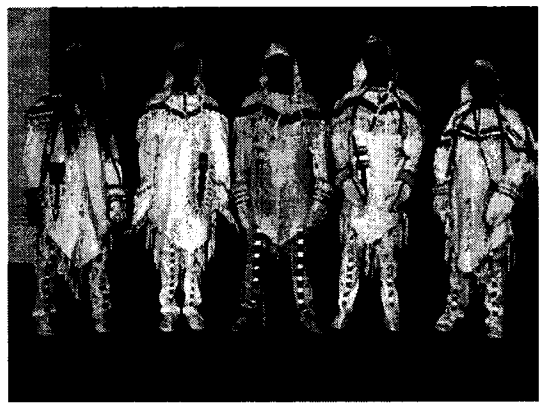

Figure 7. The five replicas of an original Gwich'in outfit that was reproduced during the Gwich'in Clothing Project (Photo Credit: Tom Andrews)

Figure 8. Tl'oondih Healing Camp

Figure 9. Elder William Teya instructing children how to butcher a moose during a trip organized by the Crime Prevention Committee

CHAPTER 5

From Past to Present and Place to Place: The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Landscape as Heritage

> *...people... do not think of these important places as isolated locations. A place is usually important because it is part of a larger landscape constituted by a story, customary activities, or both. Clearly understanding that we saw our purpose as developing an "inventory" of "significant places," more than one interviewee tried to correct the "piecemeal" perception of the landscape they saw in this purpose by saying, like Mamie Salt, "the whole land is sacred." Since the same people told stories that refer to specific locations, they clearly implied that there are qualitative differences among places. But they were also trying to tell us that one cannot isolate a particular place as being more significant ("sacred") than another – places each draw their particular distinct significant qualities from their interrelations, from how each functions in the overall system ("the whole land") that sustains the Navajo people and way of life* [Kelley and Francis 1994:41-42].

Heritage preservation is about protecting what people consider important in the present and for the future. In order to understand what the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın view as significant in terms of heritage places, it is essential to become familiar with their current interpretation of the landscape. With all the changes that have taken place in their lives since the contact period, the perspective of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards the land and its inhabitants has inevitably undergone some modifications. Regardless of these changes, however, these people still have a distinctive way of considering the landscape. This chapter looks at some of the values that stand behind this approach and explains how they relate to heritage preservation. A short discussion on how the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın view development and other potential threats to the landscape is also included.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Landscape: From Past to Present

Although the available literature on this topic is relatively scarce, the traditional worldview of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın resembles that of other Gwich'in and Athapaskan groups from Northern Canada and Alaska. It shaped the relationship they used to – and still do to a certain extent – maintain with the world around them. According to Gwich'in oral tradition, this world was created during a previous age, when the earth was covered with water and Raven – weary of living on a raft with all of the other animals – used a bit of earth from the bottom of the sea and made it grow large enough for all of them to live

on. It is during this time that many landscape features were created and that the animals took on their current appearance. Animals and humans were equal; they could change forms and communicate with one another.[29] This close association structured the relationship that the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın traditionally maintained with different animals. As Slobodin (1994:145) explained:

> First, in Kutchin belief, non-human animals have souls, of much the same kind as human souls – although in some cases, more powerful. In addition, there is a special relationship between all Kutchin and all caribou; in mythical time they were of one kind, and ever since, in real time, the Kutchin share something of the caribou's soul or nature, and vice versa.

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın never made fun of caribou and showed their respect in different ways. Bears were also highly regarded. People would not talk badly about bears because these could hear what they said (GRRB 1997). George M. Mitchell lived with the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın over the winter of 1898-1899, after he badly injured his knee at Wind City on his way to the Klondike.[30] Mitchell (in Graham 1935:249) reported that "the killing of a bear is a great event for the tribe and they treat him almost with reverence when he's dead.... they sing and chant in his honour, and hold a ceremonial feast which the squaws are not allowed to attend." A bear could also become the spirit-protector of an individual and communicate through his/her sleep (GRRB 1997). In those days, the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın had powerful medicine men and some of them could acquire powers through different animals to perform their medicine.

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın also considered that their whole surroundings were imbued with life and power:

> The Peel River Kutchin appear to be definitely animatistic. They regard the world in which they live as made up of forms which have a much more living aspect to them than a comparable environment has to more sophisticated people. It is as though one were to walk through a field of tall grass and suddenly discover that his eyes had deceived him, that each blade waving in the wind was a snake. The analogy is not exact for there is no element of shock. This "liveliness" of the surroundings demands a respectful attitude but is not always fearful [Osgood 1970:154].

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[29] See GRRB (1997, 2001) and Heine et al. (2001) for examples of published stories related to this period. Osgood (1970) also printed a few Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın legends as told by Richard Marten. Many other stories were collected in the 1970s and 1980s and are part of the Committee for the Original Peoples Entitlement (COPE) and Dene National Land Use Research files, which are kept at the Gwich'in Language Centre in Fort McPherson.

[30] Wind City was a small settlement up the Wind River that was built and inhabited by the miners during the winter of 1898-1899.

The land was inhabited by both tangible and intangible entities that were either good or evil, some of whom the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın interacted with on a regular basis:

> But he [George M. Mitchell] knows that they believed in something in the way of good and bad spirits, the function of the good spirit being to help them if they did right and that of the bad spirit to punish them if they did wrong. At the same time they regarded the plagues and epidemics which sometimes attacked them as penances inflicted by the good spirit, and not as vindictive attacks made by the bad one. They thought of the bad spirit as the extreme cold of the north wind, which would sometimes freeze a lodge full of Indians stiff, dogs and all; and they also regarded the great heat of summer as an evil spirit coming out of a mountain to melt them into grease. Another thing that they dreaded very much was a certain huge wolf which nobody could kill, an incarnation of their devil. Although no ceremonies were carried out anywhere near the camp Mitchell did observe that Indians would sometimes go away for a few days professedly to hunt, but without seeming to be equipped for hunting, and he thinks that their real object may have been to worship the spirits in some retired place [Graham 1935:241].

> The Peel River Kutchin believe in numerous kinds of spirits, ranging from those of the returned dead to the monsters which live in the lakes and woods [Osgood 1970:154].

> The Kutchin believe that certain of the stars (the evening star) and the moon are occupied by supernatural beings. The star-person is evil. In the moon lives tsuk (literally "marten"), generally described as a young man [Osgood 1970:155].

Several places within the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın homeland were avoided because they were feared:

> The Valley of Noises was somewhere near the Peel Ramparts, a short distance ahead of them; Bonnet Plume knew the way to it, though neither he nor any other Indian had ever been there or would ever go as they all held it in the liveliest possible dread. The valley, as he described it, was full of the most terrible noises of roaring and rushing and crashes, which could be heard miles off; but the worst thing of all, from the Indians' point of view, was that the bottom of the valley was strewn with the bones of strange gigantic beasts, such as had never been seen or heard of by the oldest and most experienced hunters [Graham 1935:123-124].

> ...the Mahoni inhabit a specified locality, the mountainous region round the headwaters of the Porcupine and Peel Rivers, sometimes wandering as far west as Kandik Creek. Therefore most of that country is avoided by the Indians. The Mahoni are terrible wild men, with red eyes and of enormous height, completely covered with long hair. They live without any fires and, whenever possible, eat human flesh. A Mahoni leaves man-like footprints three feet long, and will eat a whole birch-tree torn up by the roots, only throwing away the twigs [Mason 1924:59].[31]

> Another 'taboo' country is the upper valley of the Snake River, a big tributary of the Peel. Little is known of the cause of this beyond the story that, one summer, a party of Indians came stampeding down the river to escape a frightful breed of creatures that walked on two legs carrying their heads under their arms. There is a mountain of magnetite in an adjoining district supposed to be possessed of devils, owing to its

[31] Michael H. Mason travelled through Gwich'in territory for two years in the early 1920s and took ethnographic notes.

> magnetic properties. These fears of the natives have the good effect of creating game sanctuaries in the best caribou and mountain sheep districts of the Yukon Territory [Mason 1924:59-60].

Other locations were generally sought for their particular powers. Jones[32] (1872:25), for instance, noted that there were several rocks where the Gwich'in "used to make offerings of beads to, in order that they might be able to kill some animals soon." Robert MacDonald (cited in Peake 1975:71), an Anglican missionary who spent many years among the Gwich'in and lived in Fort McPherson between 1871 and 1905, also mentioned that the Gwich'in "had no particular or stated religious ceremonies, but they were wont to make offering on certain occasions and to certain objects." He gave the example of a rock pillar on the Porcupine River, where people used to offer beads or tobacco and ask for success in their hunt.

With the coming of Europeans to their homeland, and especially the missionaries whose task was to transform the belief system of Indigenous peoples according to their own, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın way of approaching the world changed considerably. As the missionary William W. Kirkby[33] observed rather emphatically in 1864, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın seem to have rapidly converted to the Christian faith after the missionaries arrived in 1860:

> Alters, or rites of religion, they had none, and before the traders went there [was] not even an idea of a God to be worshipped. Medicine men they had, in whose powers they placed implicit faith; and whose aid they dearly purchased in seasons of sickness or distress. They were, emphatically, a people "without a God in the world." Knowing their prejudices, I commenced my labours among them with much fear and trembling, but earnestly looking to God for help and strength, and cannot doubt that both were granted. For, before I left, the medicine men openly renounced their craft, polygamists freely offered to give up their wives, murderers confessed their crimes, and mothers told of deeds of infanticide that sickened one to hear. Then all earnestly sought for pardon and grace. Oh, it was a goodly sight to see that vast number, on bended knees, worshipping the God of their salvation, and learning daily to syllable the name of Jesus [Kirkby, cited in Osgood 1970:153].

The change might not have been as quick as reported by Kirkby, however. Although he and later Robert MacDonald appointed several Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın catechists to lead prayer activities while people were out on the land (Slobodin 1962:26; Wootten

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[32] Strachan Jones was a trader who spent several years in the central Yukon and lower Mackenzie in the mid-1800s.

[33] Kirkby encountered the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın while traveling on the Mackenzie and Peel rivers and over the Richardson Mountains to Lapierre House in 1861.

1967:30), in the winter of 1898/99 Mitchell observed that some of the traditional beliefs and practices of the Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın still lived alongside their new faith (Graham 1935).[34] By the time Osgood carried out ethnographic work with the Gwich'in in the early 1930s, though, it seems that most of the old ways were lost:

> The state of the religious culture of the Kutchin has undergone considerable change since the days of the earliest missionaries. Aboriginally, there seems to have been little of religion in the formal sense but there was a considerable development of beliefs concerning animatism and shamanism. Today informants plead ignorance and repeat the denials to which the customs of the Christian Church have habituated them [Osgood 1970:153].

Most present-day elders in Fort McPherson were raised in the Anglican religion and are strong believers. They generally maintain that traditional Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın beliefs and practices were replaced when Christianity was introduced to their people. When I inquired about whether there are some places they avoid within their homeland, the elders did not make any reference to locations such as those mentioned by Mitchell and Mason. To their knowledge, the only places that people used to keep away from were those where the Siglit (Inuvialuit)[35] could be encountered and locations where natural features or phenomena (e.g., canyons, big winds, avalanches) might pose a threat to their safety.

Frightening creatures appear to be largely a thing of the past for the Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın. For instance, the elders compared the once dreaded *nanh'aii*[36] [bushman] to the Boogyman and remembered that their parents used to tell them a bushman might take them away if they wandered too far from camp or behaved badly. Some believe that *nanh'aii* were escaped convicts or deserters who travelled to the North, or else Blackfoot Indians who came to abduct people. On the other hand, although the elders knew of different places that were inhabited by *chijudee*, giant animals that live in lakes,[37] most of

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[34] Mitchell (cited in Graham 1935:202) noted, for instance, that during a funeral ceremony the Teetl'ıt Gwich'ın performed for his supposedly coming death, "the service was quite an extraordinary mix-up between Christian and pagan." Mitchell (cited in Graham 1935:238) also pointed that the men he cured from some nervous frenzy "used to come back and thank him for having saved them from bad spirits."

[35] In the early 1900s, the Siglit living in the Mackenzie Delta were joined by Alaskan Inuit and today are known collectively as the Inuvialuit.

[36] Ms. Francis translated the word *nanh'aii* as "somebody who sneaks around."

[37] During the interviews conducted with elders, those reported the existence of several *chijudee*. One of them was apparently living right in Fort McPherson, but it eventually crawled out of the lake through a creek it made and then disappeared. Snake River got its name *Gyuu dazhoonjik*. ('hairy worm creek') because of a big hairy worm that lived in a lake at the head of the river. Another *chijudee* is known to have lived in Husky Lake; it was a big jackfish with a large space in between the eyes. A giant grayling also

them actually smiled when I inquired about these creatures and maintained they did not know too much about them. According to them, the giant beasts never bothered people, although there is one known instance in the homeland of Gwichya Gwich'in where a *chijudee* is thought to be dangerous (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. comm., 2005). Most of the time, however, the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have learned about the existence of a *chijudee* only after the animal broke through a creek when dying.

Even though the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın do not interpret the landscape as their ancestors did, they still have a particular way to approach it. For instance, they may not believe as before that the land is inhabited by all sorts of spirits or beings, but there are still some places within their homeland that are infused with power and are deeply respected (see Chapter 6). In fact, those who have lived on the land generally consider that it has a spiritual quality. The well-being that people experience when out on the land and the fact that the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın use the land as a way to heal many of their social problems certainly reflect this. Perhaps the most relevant aspect of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın perspective in the context of this particular study, however, is the comprehensive view they have of the landscape.

An All-Encompassing Perspective

While I was gathering information about different kinds of places that are of heritage significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın, there are two themes that emerged very clearly. These are important because they reflect the general attitude of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın towards the land and clearly indicate what are their main concerns about heritage preservation. One idea that surfaced repeatedly and forcefully is that what is most important to protect is the land and its resources. The other is simply that all places on the land are significant and connected and should therefore be protected as a whole. Most of the information presented below is extracted from interviews with Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın elders and other members of their community. Two case studies related to the designation of

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inhabited Deep Water Lake. Walter Alexie's mother told him that a *chijudee* used to live in a lake around the Blackstone River. When the animal came out of the lake, it created a creek that led to the west side of the river, close by Chapman Lake. Giant bones can apparently be found in the river, where the animal died. Another *chijudee* is thought to have occupied a small lake located on a hill along the Bell River. Some members of the community found sheep bones scattered all around the lake.

national historic sites within the homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın are also used as examples.

"We Must Protect the Land and Resources"

There is often a distinction made in the resource management field between natural and cultural resources. This is partly the result of practical considerations regarding their management. Since the protection of resources usually requires measures that take into account their specific nature and involve expertise from different fields, resource management is commonly partitioned into different departments. My personal background and knowledge is mostly related to historic and cultural resources. All of my university studies were carried out within the realm of social sciences (anthropology and archaeology). Moreover, once I started my Ph.D. degree, I became affiliated with the GSCI, the organization in charge of preserving culture within the Gwich'in Settlement Region. When I interviewed elders, my emphasis was therefore oriented more towards cultural resources than renewable ones. What I realized very quickly, however, is that the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın do not generally differentiate between "natural" and "cultural" when considering places of heritage significance. Most often when people spoke of places they believe should be protected, they primarily focused on "natural" elements, such as the water, the animals and the plants, or on locations of importance for the survival of culturally relevant animal species (e.g., eddies, spawning sites, caribou trails or calving grounds):

> We live off the land and we depend on our land. We don't want anybody to spoil it... We eat off the land ourselves and there's caribou, moose, rabbits and ptarmigan. All these we live on and we really think about it. When we move around we have to gather all the nice stuff that we eat and we know what to do with caribou. You know we throw nothing away. Moose too when we get it. We have to watch our food really good. Then when we hear about these people [companies] going to work and we worry about our land, food, fish and everything. Not only me, everybody is like that... There's lots of good places. These animals they travel all over and we know where the caribou travel. The trails are just in the ground in the fall. And then the moose they stay in different places, good places where they could have good food, willows. The caribou feed on these white moss, they know where they are. In the spring when they're going back down [towards the coast], I heard that the gas or oil [companies are there] and our caribou eat the food, they are going to get sick. All that I heard and I really worry about it... we can't be without our food you know, that's where we think of our land more [elder Caroline Kaye].
>
> Number one thing that I think should be really protected is the water. You know, water is so valuable. We take it for granted I think. We have so much of it up here but at the same time if you let the oil industry in, the pipeline groups, the mining, in a few short

> years we could be sitting at the table and saying "What have we done? We've put the dollars before us and we didn't look at the impact later." So that's one thing that we really have to protect for our future generation, for our children, the land and our water [Johnny Kaye].
>
> There's a danger if there's development of the Peel River watershed. Every aspect of this land would be endangered in terms of spawning water and for food, wildlife. We have to stay in control [William Koe].

The land and resources are a priority of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın in terms of heritage preservation. These are the basis of way of life and are essential to the maintenance of their culture and traditions. As elder Mary Teya emphasized, "the land, the plants, the environment, it's us. It's our identity. It's who we are." This feeling was very pervasive throughout all of my work with the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın.

"Everything is Important!"

Another point that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın emphasized when I asked about significant places is that everything is important and should be protected. Even though the individuals who were interviewed could eventually point to specific sites and areas of significance, they were often reluctant to do so because they really did consider that all of their land is greatly important:

> We should continue to protect the land, the whole area. And protect the water [elder Mary Teya].
>
> Well, just about the whole thing [should be protected], and the river, the creeks and all that [elder Walter Alexie].
>
> Everything should be protected you know? You have to protect everything [elder William Teya].
>
> For me, it's not really protecting one area. I feel the whole area should be protected. Because whether or not you develop in one area it affects the other areas around. They all fit together [Gladys Alexie].

A similar reaction was obtained from the elders during the Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project that was carried out during 2000. During the interviews, the elders provided information about the history and significance of the old trading post, and they were also invited to suggest other places for heritage recognition. This request puzzled them because choosing one or a few particular places was very difficult, if not impossible:

> I don't know. All over our country is important to us... lots of very important places. They're all important! [elder Robert Alexie Sr., cited in Fafard 2001a:21]

> We have lots of good place[s], lots of memory place[s] all over [elder Rachel Stewart, cited in Fafard 2001a:21].

For the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın, all the places where their people have lived, generation after generation, are important. Every trail, camp, named place, eddy, hunting location, or berry patch has a history of its own and is somehow connected to all the other places and all the other stories. Camps along the Peel River, for instance, are found in good fishing and trapping locations. While living at these places, people developed a detailed knowledge of their surroundings. They established trap lines, they know good places to fish, snare rabbits or pick berries, and they often use specific paths to get to these locations. Close to camp might be the remnants of a collapsed cabin that belonged to a long deceased family member, or a fenced burial. The beginning of a trail that leads to the mountains is sometimes found nearby. Personal recollections, well-known stories, or legends are commonly linked to such features, of which some have been named. Therefore, when people think of their camps (or other places for that matter) they do not see their camp in isolation. On the contrary, they see an area dotted with familiar places that are rich with personal and collective memories and where the past cohabits with the present.

The Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project illustrates the above very well. The old fort location was designated a National Historic Site in 1969 to commemorate the fur trade history of the region. Four different reasons for this designation are listed on the commemorative plaque that was unveiled during a ceremony held in Fort McPherson in 1977. They include the erection of the first HBC trading post in the region, the presence of missionary activities, the establishment of the first Royal Northwest Mounted Police post in the Western Arctic, and the use of Fort McPherson as a base to reach the Klondike Gold Rush. When the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın perspective about the history and value of the fort was documented in 2001, the main reasons given by the elders for the significance of the site were fourfold: (1) it became a major gathering place; (2) it was an important trading location; (3) it was a centre for religious activities; and (4) it was and is still a scenic lookout (Fafard 2001a). Most importantly, however, the elders also pointed to many features around the trading post that contribute to the historic fabric of the place and should be considered in the management of the site:

> Many features of the old Fort McPherson have historical significance for the Teetl'it Gwich'in. These include the trails that so many people have used while traveling to and from Fort McPherson. One of these is the Peel River itself, which still takes people up and downriver, to their camps and to other trails that lead to the mountains. In front of Fort McPherson, right across from the second hill on the left, there is also an old time summer trail going to the Yukon, to Lapierre House. The landing place, which was located down the hill below the Hudson's Bay Store, is one of the most important features of Fort McPherson. Over the years, many different kinds of boats have landed there, from the mooseskin boats and birchbark canoes of the old days to the steamboats and schooners of more recent times. Gwich'in, Inuvialuit, Euro-Canadians and many other people have entered Fort McPherson through this particular place. The hauling trail that people had to climb with their belongings in order to get up the hill after landing is another important part of the fort. So is the area where the Teetl'it Gwich'in used to set up their tents on top of the hill and the sandbar down the hill, on which the Inuvialuit used to camp and which was also used as a camping place by the Teetl'it Gwich'in in more recent times. Finally, some buildings or the location of buildings no longer standing are also of importance to the Teetl'it Gwich'in. These include: (1) the place where the Hudson's Bay store was located on top of the hill not too far from the riverbank; (2) the old church which was erected about 50 feet south of the present church; (3) the dance hall, which was located in front of the present Northern Store, across from the street; and (4) the HBC manager's residence which is now located on the property of Mike Krutko [Fafard 2001a:11-12].

For the elders then, the old Fort McPherson is much more than just the location of the fort itself. It consists of a relatively large area of significance, which encompasses many places, features, events and narratives that are all part of the fort's history.

Another significant element that contributes to the all-embracing view of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın towards their heritage places is trails. It has been shown that waterways and land trails link together Indigenous places along with their names and stories (e.g., Andrews and Zoe 1997; Andrews et al. 1998; Heine 1997; Kritsch et al. 1994; Kritsch and Andre 1997). The heritage sites inventory carried out in the Peel River watershed certainly demonstrated that this is the case within the homeland of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın. As the authors pointed out:

> Traditionally, the Gwich'in moved through their lands by way of an extensive network of trails between the mountains and the Peel River, with the Peel River being an important part of this trail system. These trails provided access to a wide variety of resources that were harvested during different seasons. Along these trails, people named hundreds of places that were important to them. These named places have information, knowledge and stories attached to them, which reveal an important body of knowledge about the traditional use and knowledge of the land and resources, the location of sacred places and legendary locales, and insight into Gwich'in culture, rules and values. The stories related to these places range in age from the earliest days of Gwich'in history, when animals and human were equal and could speak to each other and change their form, to stories dealing with the present day. The major premise behind the stories is that the people and the land are intimately connected, and that everything and everyone is related [Kritsch et al. 2000:6].

Trails, therefore, create both a physical and symbolic connection between places that may seem unrelated. For the elders who took part in the Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project, features such as the river, the land trail on the other side of the river and the landing place at the fort are important because they are connected with people's movements to and from the fort. Travel routes connect Fort McPherson to many other places along the river, in the Delta and in the mountains, which are closely related to the fort's history. These include, for example, places where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın hunted and trapped to get the meat and furs they would take to Fort McPherson for trading with the HBC. The different locations where people met along the Wind and the Peel rivers at the end of the winter in order to make moose skin boats and travel all the way to the fort are also a very important part of this history, as are the places and events that marked the journey down the Peel River. The early history of Fort McPherson is therefore far from being limited to the fort itself; it practically embraces the whole territory of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. For the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, and especially for those who have lived or heard the stories as they unfolded through the landscape, it is consequently very difficult to consider individual places for protection or commemoration. It is only as a whole that places and stories take on their full meaning. This is why, when they were given the opportunity to put forward a new site for national historic site designation, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın chose to nominate two portions of their cultural landscape. Since the whole process that led to the selection of the proposed areas is of interest to this discussion, it is described here in some detail.

***Teetł'ıt Njık/Tshuu Tr'adaojìich'uu:* A Cultural Landscape of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın**

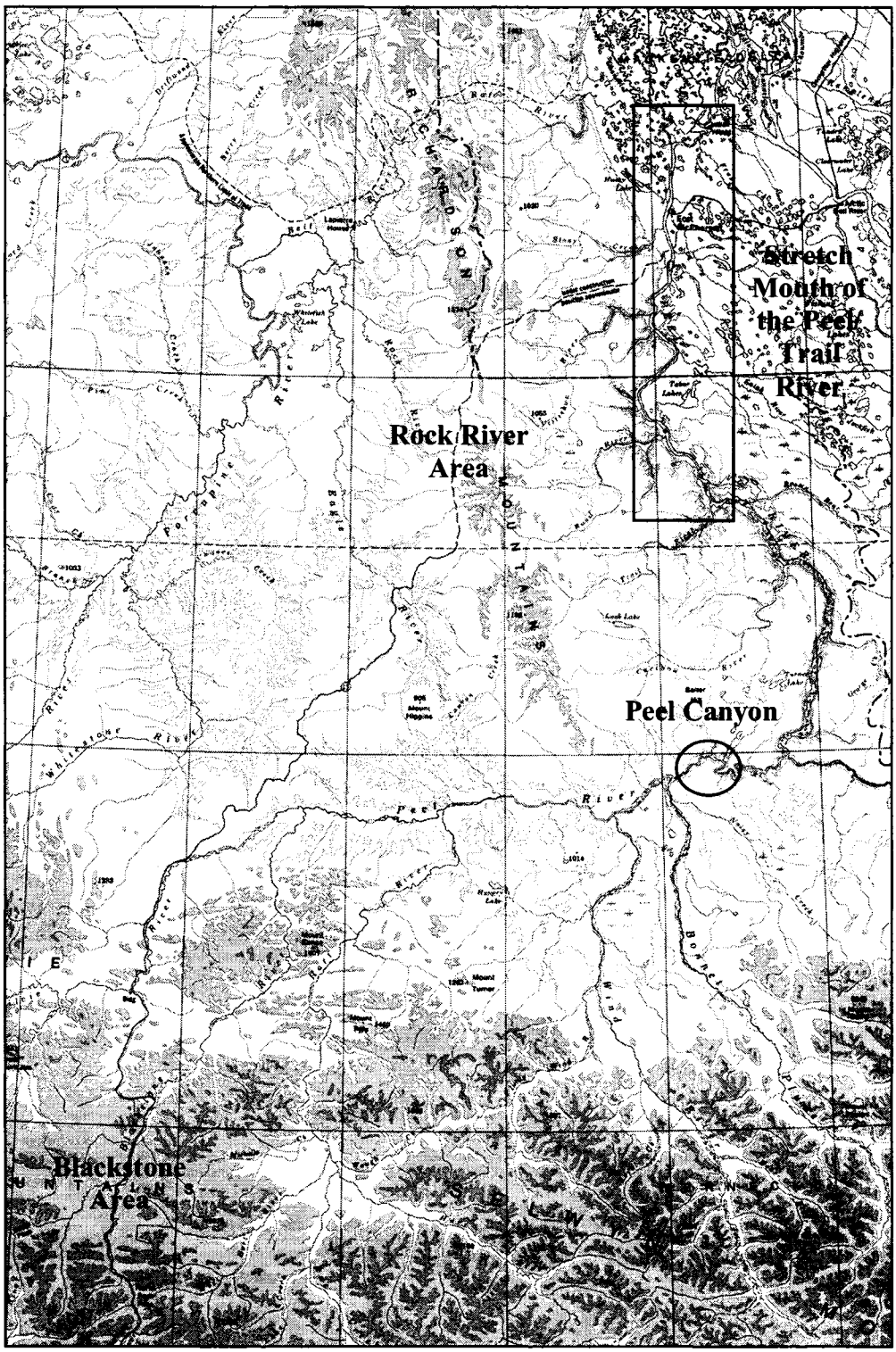
In 2002. the GSCI, in collaboration with the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and Parks Canada, undertook a new heritage project. This initiative was aimed at selecting and proposing an important place, person or event in the history of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın for national historic site designation. A community steering committee composed of six elders and five other community members was created to discuss the topic and make a pre-selection for the designation. Parks Canada and GSCI staff also participated in the meetings, and I was present as a consultant to the project.

It is important to mention that there was a precedent to this project in the region. In 1997, the Gwichya Gwich'in of Tsiigehtchic nominated, through the GSCI, a new place

within their homeland for national historic designation (Heine 1997). The members of the Community Steering Committee had identified many places of heritage significance but had a difficult time selecting one of them over the others. They finally decided to choose an area that would encompass most of these places and to nominate it as a cultural landscape. The area selected was the stretch along the Mackenzie River (Nagwichoonjik, the 'big-country river'), which extends from Thunder River on the southeastern boundary of the Gwichya Gwich'in territory to Point Separation in the Mackenzie Delta. The Mackenzie River plays a central role in Gwichya Gwich'in history. Many places, including camps, resources areas, legendary sites, battle sites, burials and gathering places are located along the river, where the starting point of several inland trails is also found. The Gwichya Gwich'in selected a boundary of five kilometres on each side of the river in order to include all those places in area nominated. It was particularly important for them that trails be incorporated to link important inland locations to the history of the Mackenzie River and include it as part of the designation.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın were largely inspired by the Gwichya Gwich'in's experience when they were presented with the opportunity of nominating a national historic site within their territory. Even though the committee members could point to a number of events and individuals who played a significant role in their history, very early in the selection process they decided unanimously that it was a place they wished to submit for commemoration. The committee made an inventory of different places of historical significance that are found throughout their homeland, both on the Northwest Territories and Yukon sides of the border. These consisted of villages, trading posts, trails, powerful and/or legendary places and resource areas, such as mountains, lakes, and creeks, where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have travelled, hunted and lived repeatedly over the years. The Peel Canyon, where they have navigated many times with moose skin boats during the post-contact period (up to the 1920s), was also included on the list.

After much deliberation and discussion, the committee selected four different places from their inventory (Map 5). All of these are relatively large areas that encompass much of the history of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın as well as many of the heritage places that figured on the initial list of significant places:



Map 5. The Four Potential Areas Selected for National Historic Site Designation by the Teetl'it Gwich'in Community Steering Committee
(Adapted from Natural Resources Canada 2003)

1. **The stretch between the Mouth of the Peel and Trail River**. This area is approximately 165 km long and overlaps both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. Most contemporary Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın camps are located along the stretch, and many heritage sites are also found in the area. These include, for instance, the head of several trails, trading post locations, villages, campsites and fireplaces, burials, resources areas (e.g., berry patches, trapping areas, good fishing locations, places to collect raw material for stone tools), battle sites, the monuments erected at the two locations where officers of the Lost Patrol passed away, and Shìłdıı – a legendary site (see Kritsch et al. 2000). Several persons and events of historical significance are also associated with the history of this area.

2. **The Peel Canyon**. In the headwaters of the Peel River below the mouth of the Bonnet Plume River, some meanders of the river are incised in the Peel Plateau and form this particular feature (Figure 10). When the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın started trading furs with the HBC, they made large moose skin boats that allowed several families to travel from the headwaters of the Peel to Fort McPherson in the summer (Figure 11). The stories surrounding the building of the boats and the treacherous passage through the canyon are some of the most celebrated among the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. The Peel Canyon is also considered as an entrance to the Peel River watershed, which consists of the Snake, Bonnet Plume, Wind, Hart, Blackstone and Ogilvie rivers. This area is of outmost importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın from an ecological perspective, because environmental conditions in the watershed affect all of the Peel River area. Most Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın today, however, including many elders, have never seen the Peel Canyon. Even still, it has retained its significance.

3. **The Rock River Area**. This scenic area is found on the Yukon side of the Richardson Mountains, around the crossing of the Rock River with the Dempster Highway. It is located within the wintering grounds of the Porcupine Caribou Herd, and moose can also be found in the area. This place has been used by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın as a traditional hunting area for a long time and it still holds a central place in their lives. Trails, campsites, stages and stumps are all features

that testify to their intense utilization of the area. In the past, a caribou fence was built on a hill on the western side of the highway. Sulphur and ochre locations are also present in the area.

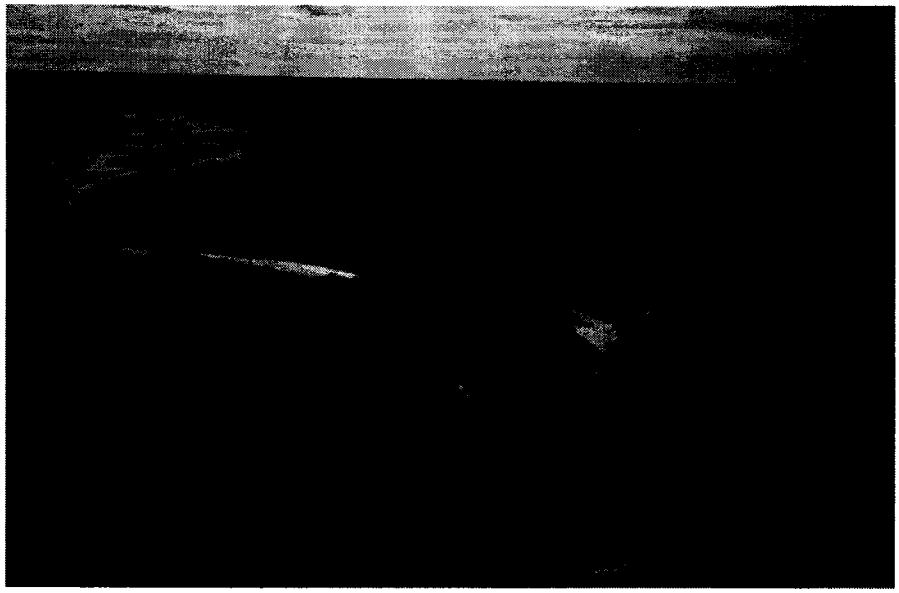


Figure 10. *Tshuu tr'adaojìich'uu* (the Peel Canyon)

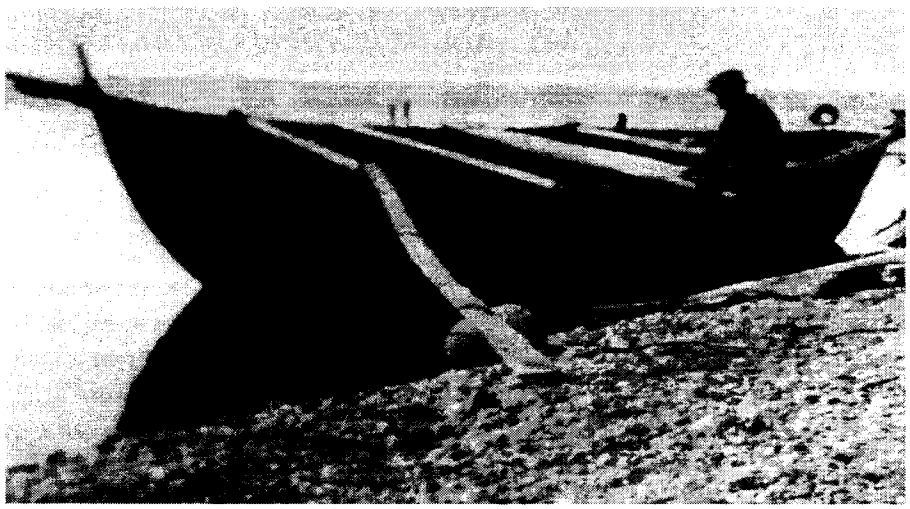


Figure 11. Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın moose skin boat at Fort McPherson
(Photo Credit: General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada: P7507-3032-36c)

4. **The Blackstone Area**. Situated around the Blackstone River in the Yukon Territory, this was another important caribou hunting area for the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın. Black City at the confluence of the Blackstone and East Blackstone rivers, was a main traditional settlement for both the Teetl'ıt and the Tukudh Gwich'in. Used until the 1920s, Black City was occupied in the spring and fall during the caribou migration in the area (Greer 1989, 1990; Kritsch 2000b). Other examples of heritage sites around the Blackstone River include trails, graves, named places and archaeological sites. Some elders lived in the Blackstone area during their youth. The Dempster Highway now gives easy access to the region.

Since the Blackstone area is part of the Tombstone Territorial Park and the GSCI is working with the Yukon Heritage Branch and the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in to raise awareness about the history of this place, the community steering committee decided to remove it from the list and choose only from the three remaining areas. After consultation with the community,[38] the committee held a second meeting to make a final selection. Most of the members were in favour of choosing the stretch between the mouth of the Peel and Trail River. They were really impressed with the Nagwichoonjik (Mackenzie River) National Historic Site and thought that it would be a good idea to have a similar designation along the Peel River, because it would allow them to include much of their people's history into it. As elder Robert Alexie Sr. put it:

> Stretch mouth of the Peel/Trail River. That's what I'm looking at. There's a lot of camping spots in that area. Everywhere you put your eyes there's a story [Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002, Fort McPherson].

It was also very important for the committee to select an area that would represent and include the whole of their community. As elder Mary Teya remarked:

> Look at Tsiigehtchic right now. They're a small community. They came together keeping in mind their people, their places, their land, their river. They're keeping in mind their community as a whole... this stretch that we're talking about, we're here to represent our people so I feel that it's really important we involve everybody. There's

[38] The community steering committee aired a program on the local radio to explain the project to the other members of the community and present them with the three areas they selected as potential national historic sites. People had the opportunity to call the radio station and voice their opinion. A box was also put at the Band Office to allow more people to communicate their preference. Twenty-two individuals indicated their choice during the consultation process. Seven selected the stretch between Mouth of the Peel and Trail River, nine opted for the Peel River Canyon, and six chose the Rock River area.

> some people that know a lot of history from way back and if this case [stretch mouth of Peel/Trail River] is chosen, if it's approved by Parks Canada, it can be something that people can share. The events, a lot has happened in these areas and like I said yesterday, we'd like to take the [whole] Peel River [laughing] but we can't so what we do is take a certain area where everybody will be involved, where nobody is left out. And if we can get as much information [as possible], history, events, people, that would be something that we can pass on and people can do something with it in the future... A lot of interesting stuff has come out, history, stories, legends, sacred places... That's the kind of thing that I feel is really important in this stretch of the river that we've selected on behalf of the people [Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002, Fort McPherson].

The Committee also felt that the stretch along the Peel River would be a good choice because it includes both the up- and downriver areas from Fort McPherson, therefore encompassing the old (upriver) and more recent (the Delta) history of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın and many heritage sites, as well as most of the contemporary camps that are along the river.

Despite their inclination for this area, however, the committee members found it very difficult to make a choice because they also consider the Peel Canyon and the Rock River area highly important. The possibility of proposing three separate areas as part of the same cultural landscape – such as the Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills National Historic Site in the homeland of the Sahtu Dene – was discussed. The Rock River area was eliminated from this scheme, however, because it is partly on Vuntut Gwitchin lands. The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın strongly feel that this area belongs to them and they did not want to have to ask the other group for its permission in order to commemorate the place as a national historic site.[39] It was decided that both the stretch between the mouth of the Peel and Trail River and the area of the Peel Canyon would be submitted to the HSMBC for designation. As Mary Teya mentioned, however, if they could have done so, the committee would have preferred to propose the whole of the Peel River between the mouth of the Peel River and the Peel Canyon. During the first meeting of the project, however, we had estimated that the site would cover an area almost twice the size of the Nagwichoonjik National Historic Site. The latter is 175-km long and is so far the biggest designated area across the country. The committee members recognized that a such a

[39] The national historic site designation process requires that all parties who own lands or have an interest in the place selected for commemoration formally support the initiative.

designation might not be the best way to commemorate the entire river. This is why two areas of greatest significance along the river were finally selected.

It was decided that the stretch of the Peel Canyon would start above the mouth of the Wind River and end at a small creek (Aghoo Creek) below the canyon. These boundaries were set as a way to include the stories about when people gathered and made moose skin boats along the Wind River and also on the Peel River, at the mouth of both the Wind and Bonnet Plume rivers. The name selected for the stretch, which is approximately 40 km long, is *Tshuu tr'adaojiich'uu* ("rough hateful waters"), the Gwich'in name for the canyon. The longer stretch between the mouth of the Peel and Trail River was given the name of the whole Peel River that is, *Teetł'it njik* ("along the head of the waters"). A five-km buffer on each side of the river was chosen by the committee to ensure that all the important features along the river would be integrated in the proposed national historic site. As for the Gwichya Gwich'in, it was especially important for the Teetł'it Gwich'in to include the head of different trails that start along the Peel River so that these could be used to connect important inland locations (e.g., Rock River) to the story of the designation. The submission paper for the designation has not yet been reviewed by the HSMBC.

Development and other Threats: the Teetł'it Gwich'in Viewpoint

There are currently two main factors the Teetł'it Gwich'in consider a menace for the preservation of their cultural landscape. The loss of knowledge related to the land and resources, including diverse aspects of Teetł'it Gwich'in culture and history, is one them. Much has already been said in Chapter 4 about this problem and some of the initiatives that have been developed to counter it. Chapter 6 will also provide some information about how the Teetł'it Gwich'in are attempting to preserve the memory of specific places of cultural or historic significance. Consequently, the present discussion will mainly focus on the second element that puts heritage places at risk – physical threats. Those include natural processes, such as erosion, decay or vegetation growth (especially over trails). There also exists a range of cultural activities (traditional and industrial) that may lead to the disturbance or destruction of heritage places and resources. Table 4 gives some indication about the extent to which the Teetł'it Gwich'in consider that different

processes or activities pose a threat to heritage places. This information was collected as part of the questionnaire distributed to students and other community members. Only a few of the factors that could endanger heritage resources are listed, but they are either the most common or the most likely to occur within the area.

Table 4. Numbers and Percentages of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın who Consider Different Factors as "Threatening" or "Very Threatening" to their Heritage Places*

	Students		Adults	
Factors	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
Oil and Gas Activity	26	67	27	82
Mining	24	62	28	85
Gravel Pits	13	33	18	55
Road Construction	12	31	15	45
The Dempster Highway	7	18	13	39
The Construction of Cabins	10	26	7	22
Pollution	29	74	30	91
Tourism	8	22	10	31
Erosion of the riverbank	20	53	28	85
Decay	22	58	23	70
Vegetation growth	12	32	15	45

* Percentages are based on the total number of individuals who have answered each of the questions. These numbers vary between 37 and 39 for the students, and 32 and 33 for the adults.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın tend to regard environmental causes of disruption as "natural" and most often, they do not intervene to prevent them from having an impact on heritage resources. In any case, little can be done to stop the erosion of the riverbank, or avoid trails which are no longer used to be overgrown with vegetation. Interestingly, people do not generally consider that their own land uses (except for garbage disposal) may threaten heritage places or resources. Most are not really aware, for instance, that building a cabin, making a fire, or digging a refuse pit or privy may disturb archaeological or human remains. This points to the need to inform people better about what heritage resources are, the activities that may impinge on them or lead to their discovery and the importance of reporting any findings to either local authorities and/or the GSCI. Increasing

awareness about heritage places and their value is probably the best way to secure community support and interest for their protection.

For the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, heritage preservation is usually equated with maintaining places as they are so that they may continue to perform their role(s) in the culture. Pollution for them represents the greatest danger because it puts in peril those resources that are the basis of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın traditional way of life. Resource extraction activities, such as mining and oil and gas exploitation, are regarded as a major source of pollution and are generally not considered favourably. There are, of course, people (especially those who work as part of the local or regional governments) who realize that this form of development is probably the only way for the Gwich'in Tribal Council to become viable as an organization and fulfil its obligations as established under the land claim. Nevertheless, a majority of Teetł'ıt Gwich'in (including some who work within government) seem to believe that the exploitation of mineral resources is the wrong way to go to sustain the land for future generations. I think this is largely because the experience of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın with such development in the past has not been very positive.

The oil and gas activities that took place in the area throughout the 1960s and 1970s have damaged several places within their homeland. There were many complaints to this effect when the Berger Inquiry travelled to Fort McPherson in 1975. Dammed creeks, drums floating around on lakes or rivers, oil spills and game depletion were all reported as incidents resulting from this work (Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry 1975a, 1975b, 1975c). Moreover, throughout the last decade the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın fought hard to get the federal government and Shell Canada to spend the millions of dollars needed to clean an area were the company had established a big camp in the 1960s. This place is about 125 km up the Peel River, in the Caribou River area of the Yukon Territory. When Shell abandoned the area, it buried all of its garbage – including toxic waste – right on the spot. Over the years, the Peel River eroded the bank and it eventually started to carry some of this material away, thereby contaminating the water. As one can imagine, this episode did not raise much support for oil and gas exploration among the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın.

On the other hand, the short duration of the last oil and gas boom also raises some scepticism in the community about the promises of such development. Those few decades of oil and gas activity in the area brought more harm than good to people. Alcohol problems, higher crime rates and the weakening of the traditional way of life are disruptions that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın had to face as a result of the influx of southerners and cash to their homeland (Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry 1975a, 1975b, 1975c). What is more, when the oil companies withdrew from the area, those who had worked for them and got accustomed to a certain standard of life were left without employment. Many Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın therefore consider that the impacts of oil and gas activity on both people and the land are not worth the short-term economic benefits it may bring, even if they know they could now be partners in such development. Most of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın I interviewed do not support the project of building a pipeline in the Mackenzie Valley even though it would not directly affect their traditional area. The pipeline would go through the territory of the Gwichya Gwich'in.

Mining is not ranked higher than oil and gas activity in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın opinion, but some people have expressed more tolerance towards forestry exploitation. Nevertheless, people do not want to see development take place anywhere close to their camps and interfere with their activities. Many also mentioned that they would not like to be bothered with noise. Fortunately, there is no development underway along the Peel River in the area where Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın camps are located. A great source of anxiety for many, though, is that the Yukon Government has opened the Peel River watershed to oil and gas and mining exploration without first completing land use planning in the area (CPAWS 2005; CPAWS Yukon 2005). This could compromise the fragile ecological equilibrium of their homeland, whose well-being is dependent upon the state of the watershed.

Finally, of all development activities, tourism is the most favoured by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. As many other Indigenous groups, they see in cultural and eco-tourism a potential source of revenue, which presents several other advantages. One is that it is environmentally sound and does not impinge on the landscape. Another is that it represents an opportunity for people to make a living while being out on the land. Tourism is also a good way to raise public awareness about the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın way of life and heritage. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, however, would have to be in control of such

venture, both to collect the profits and control the activities that are taking place within their homeland. Although their experience with tourism has been fairly limited up to this day, there is an increasing number of visitors (mostly Europeans) who come to experience wilderness and travel down the Snake, Bonnet Plume, Wind and Peel rivers in the summer. Some people travel on their own, but most usually hire guides from Yukon outfitting companies. Those companies have to obtain a licence to take tourists on trips, but the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın are never consulted and have no influence over their activities. This is a cause of worry for some:

> How many are they going to be in the next hundred years? How can we protect our land and animals? That's the most important thing. And the water of the Peel. You don't want these peoples coming in and... You know from McClusky Lake [on the Wind River], from there they come down to the mouth of the Snake [on the Peel River]. From the head of the Snake they do that too and they come down the Snake River. Around the corner they get picked up and they go back to Mayo. And you don't know how many people do that. We don't know. The thing is how can we find out? [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002]

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın are fortunate in that so far, the number of outsiders coming to their country has been relatively small. There are more populated areas, such as the southern Yukon for instance, where non-Natives have used, or taken over the use of, some places of significance and therefore changed the character of these places for the local Tlingit and Southern Tutchone (Sheila Greer, pers. comm., 2003). In the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın country, a few sites (e.g., stage burials, a traditional trail) were disturbed during the construction of the Dempster Highway. There are also some areas that were contaminated by oil and gas companies and where the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın do not want to live anymore. To my knowledge, however, no other places have been intruded upon. This does not mean that it could not happen, as the area does present some potential for hydrocarbon and mining development. Moreover, as we will see in the next chapter, there are a few instances where tourists have been identified as a potential threat for the integrity of heritage places.

Conclusion

Their homeland is of outmost importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın, who have a great interest in maintaining it as it is. Contamination of the land and water is a major concern for them. Protecting the areas and resources that are necessary to the subsistence of

animal species – and to their way of life – is equally important. There is also a vast array of places that are of great significance because they are related to past and contemporary aspects of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın history and culture. These places are linked through trails and stories and are not viewed in isolation from one another. Together with the land, the water, the plants and the animals, they form the fabric of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'in landscape and culture.

CHAPTER 6

Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Deek'it Gwiinlit yiinjitr'igwichił'ee: Places the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Respect

> *The concept of management according to Chapter 25 of the [Gwich'in] Comprehensive Land Claim is westernized. Management in the Gwich'in perspective is totally different. It's something that's laid down in an unwritten rule about how we treat places and how we manage resources. It's more like a living-based management than having a rule or a law about some things... Handling with care, respecting. I think respect is the basis of the traditional Gwich'in way of life. In English or in the Western way you might call it management, but the way we treat everything that is part of our life is with great care and respect, traditionally. But we don't live that way anywhere. We live in town and we're forgetting. We're forgetting about our traditional values and traditional way of being on the land* [Alestine Andre, interviewed by the author, November 26, 2001].

During the Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project, I interviewed several elders with Ms. Bertha Francis, the Gwich'in interpreter who worked with me throughout my fieldwork in Fort McPherson. On one particular day, Ms. Francis was carrying out an interview exclusively in Gwich'in with an elder from the community. One of the topics discussed concerned the importance of the old Fort McPherson to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. As Ms. Francis was formulating her question in Gwich'in she used the English word "important" as part of her sentence, explaining afterwards that she did so because there is not really an equivalent term in Gwich'in for this adjective. Seeing that the elder had a problem understanding what she was asking, Ms. Francis then used the expression *yiinjitr'igwichił'ee*, which she later translated as "we are proud of," to rephrase her question. This brief episode made me want to learn more about how Gwich'in speakers think and talk about places. As I do not speak the Gwich'in language, this proved to be somewhat challenging, but with the kind patience of Ms. Bertha and the elders interviewed, I did improve my understanding.

One of the points that emerged from the interviews is that all the expressions the elders use in Gwich'in to refer to an important place are related and include the word *gwichiłee*. The literal translation for this word is "held in high regard" and the common translation is "respect" (GSCI/Gwich'in Language Centre 2003). When asked to translate "respect" in Gwich'in, the elders repeated the same terms they used for "important."

Most significantly, they employed again the same expressions to translate "sacred." For the Gwich'in speaker, then, terms such as "important," "respect," and "sacred" have a similar meaning and there are no distinct categories in the language to refer to sites of special significance based on whether they are of a secular or spiritual nature. All are simply "respected" places, even though they may be so for different reasons. It is worth mentioning, however, that nowadays many people – including elders – use the word "sacred" when speaking in English of certain sites, which are deeply respected for their powerful nature.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın show consideration for places in different ways. Keeping places clean, being quiet around some sites and leaving offerings at others are common ones. Hiding the location of specific places that are of great significance is not a way through which they usually protect such places, as is the case for other Indigenous groups (e.g., Andrews et al. 1998; Mohs 1994; Kelley and Francis 1994). In fact, the elders generally feel quite comfortable speaking about powerful or legendary places and telling their story. They always emphasize, however, that their elders taught them to respect these sites, which must be protected and treated properly. To pass on these values to the youth is, of course, a priority for them.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın did not have specific individuals in charge of preserving knowledge about specific places or related names and stories. There are people (mostly elders) among the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın who are recognized as having a better knowledge of different areas within the territory than others, but this is only because they have lived there for a good part of their life and are therefore more familiar with the places, names and history of a particular region. In the past, some individuals acquired a reputation as storytellers. This was not because they were specifically appointed to recall and transmit stories, however, but rather because they had a personal ability to narrate them. As Osgood (1970:95) pointed out, "Both old men and women tell stories when there is time and an audience. Younger people play the lesser part in this pastime... There is no ownership of stories."

There is a vast array of places that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın hold in great respect. These include resource areas, trails, camps, burial sites and story/legendary places. In recent

years, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have also developed awareness about the potential of archaeological sites to reveal significant information about their past and to help educate the youth about their history. This is why they are included in the following discussion.

While Chapter 5 presented the general perspective of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards the land and heritage, and explained how these relate to heritage preservation, this chapter focuses on specific categories of places that are of heritage value. The objective is not to provide a complete inventory of places that are of significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, but to define their cultural significance and describe Gwich'in ways to care for them. I have also included information about different alternatives that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have implemented or are considering to ensure the preservation of heritage sites in the contemporary context. For organizational purposes, I have divided *places* into categories – resource harvesting locations, trails, camps and cabins, burials, sotry/legendary places, archaeological sites – that do not necessarily correspond to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın nomenclature. When there are Gwich'in equivalent terms that match these categories, however, I have included them. Except for those quotations where I have specified the source, all of the citations in this chapter were extracted from my own interviews with Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın individuals.

Resource Harvesting Locations

There are innumerable locations within their homeland where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın harvest resources. Many places have been given names that contain information concerning the animals, plants, or minerals that can be found nearby. Some resources, such as chert to make fire or cooking rocks, have not been collected for over a century. Some of the locations where they can be found are still known, however. The fact that they have been named help the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın remember their existence and give them a better understanding of their history. The remains of old corrals the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın used in the past (up to the early 1900s) to hunt caribou also testify to the economic and cultural value of the places where they are located. The areas where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın harvest resources today are places they generally respect and care for.

Hunting and Fishing Places

The importance of animal resources the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın rely upon cannot be overemphasized. As I have already mentioned, places that are essential to the survival of animal species, such as caribou calving grounds *(edıgıı),* spawning sites *(łuk nedeelee),* or good eddies along the river for fishing *(ok),* are among those the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are most concerned about. As in many other Indigenous cultures, respect for the animals they live on is a very important part of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın tradition (GRRB 1997, 2001). The elders were taught not to kill more animals than needed and to make use of all their parts. The remains that could not be utilized were always disposed of properly. In addition, hunting places *(natr'aazree deek'it)* and fishing sites *(łuk katr'idi'in deek'it)* had to be kept clean:

> Everything is special in our country. For us anyway, bush people. And we watch you know... [pause]. We watch every place, our trail where the caribou travel and where we hunt we keep it clean. So the next time we go there it's gotta be [clean]. We don't leave anything messy [elder William Teya].

> When they go hunting they watch everything they kill. I remember I went hunting with her [Ms Francis'] father. We shot a moose. After we cleaned up everything. He took his snowshoe and he covered all the blood... That way they keep the place clean. They don't throw nothing away, save up everything. Save all the bones, pound them all up, make grease out of it. Boil it and make grease out of it... They keep the place clean. Protect everything. They don't go out and start [shooting] everything in sight. They get just what they need, and they make sure they get everything out. If they wound something, they go after it until it [the animal] dies and they bring it back for their dog food. People look after the land. They have leaders just like chiefs who watch everything. Tell them what to do. Everyday the chief comes out and talks to them and tell what they're gonna do today and how to do it. Which way to move, stuff like that. That's the way they watch the land long ago [elder Walter Alexie].

Berry Places and Medicinal Plants

Different species of berries can be found within the homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın (Figure 12) (see Andre and Fehr 2002). Berries represent an important resource for them, both as food and medicine:

> I like berries. Our knowledge of berries and plants was passed on to us by our grandmothers. It was our main source of food; our medicine too. We used cranberries for a lot of things. You would make a tea and it was good for bladder infections. The cranberries from the store are not the same. We made a tea from the store berries for someone with a bladder infection but it did not help. Only our berries from land will work for this. You can use cranberries for all different kinds of medicines. You keep berries in the ground. They store better that way than in the freezer. In the freezer,

> they seem to go sour [elder Emma Kay, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın Renewable Resource Council [RRC] 2003a:5[40]].

People who have lived in specific areas for some time have usually identified good berry places *(jàk deek'it)* in their camp's area and use them year after year. Since berry picking is largely (although not exclusively) an activity carried out by women, they are the experts about berries. They usually acquire their knowledge about the location of berries from their mothers or grandmothers:

> My grandmother used to pick berries way up the Peel. She always used this place because of her grandmother. The trail to that place is worn into the ground. These places, you really have to walk a long ways to get there but it is worth it [elder Alice Vittrekwa, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:2].

> I know all of the berry patches my mother used to go to because she took us to these places [elder Dorothy Alexie, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:2].

Some of the berry patches are actually quite far away:

> We would start picking in the mountains. You can't just land anywhere. You have to walk a long ways. We would walk for hours. One day walking – then we would camp overnight; then we you walk back the next day. This would be about 10-15 miles of walking in the hills [elder Dorothy Alexie, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:3].

Such berry picking expeditions are happy occasions for those who take part in them, as berry places bring back many good memories:

> I would be sick if I could not go for berries. There are good memories in these places. We have good laughs and are happy when we go back to these places and remember; we relive it... We go to these places, even if there are no berries. We go there and make a fire and share some food. We take water from the streams, catch some fish. It is so clean and quiet. It is so nice [elder Bertha Francis, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:6].

> It's good to go for berries because it is so healthy. You are walking all days in the fresh air. If you don't feel good in the morning and then you decide to go for berries, by the end of the day, you feel good again. Walking around out there, it smells so good. You feel good. You remember a lot of things; we go back to the same places. For example, you can see where people used to make a fire. They would always make the fire in the same place. You can see it in the ground... [elder Dorothy Alexie, cited in Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:6].

There is no ownership of berry patches among the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın and their location is usually not kept secret. Naturally, those living in a specific area are the most knowledgeable about the location of berry patches there. The Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın respect

[40] This was a special meeting organized by Brenda Parlee, a Ph.D. student at the Natural Resources Institute of the University of Manitoba, in the context of her research.

other people's "spots" and will not pick berries there unless they are invited to come along. Berries that are found along the Dempster Highway are not associated with anyone in particular and people just pick them anywhere they like:

> We respect people's areas. But along the road, anyone can pick there. We all have secret spots but they are not really secret. We know where everyone goes. But we respect it. You only go to these areas if you are invited by the person who always goes there [elder Dorothy Alexie, cited in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:7].

> Yes, the places that we go are not really secret. Even if I told you I picked at Rat River, you don't know the trails that I take in that area [elder Bertha Francis, cited in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:8].

Women have a good knowledge of the different conditions that affect the growth of berries. Every year, they monitor them by visiting the locations where they are found:

> Well around Rat River, there are about nine different spots I go to check. But in other places it is different [elder Bertha Francis, cited in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:7].

> Every fall we would go to Three-Cabin Creek. Even if there were no berries around we would go there and check for it. We feel we have to check these places every year. Things would not be the same if we did not check them. It feels good to do that. It feels like we are connected to the land [elder Elizabeth Colin, cited in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:5].

People also take care of berry places by always leaving them clean. Even though some berries are used as medicine, offerings are never left at berry patches as is done with other plants:

> We don't do those kinds of things when you pick berries. You only make an offering if you are taking medicine from the land, like tamarack [elder Bertha Francis, cited in Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003a:7].

Other examples of plants that are used for medicinal purposes and where offerings are left are spruce gum and Labrador tea. Apparently, offerings were also left at the locations where sulphur *(gwinahkhóo)* was collected along different rivers. The mineral was used to relieve toothache and other pains. Offerings, in the form of a match, a candle, or a little bit of tobacco are usually left when medicinal substances are gathered to ensure that they will work effectively. Some elders maintain that this practice has been borrowed from other groups to the south and has only been introduced recently to their area.

Ochre and Other Minerals

In the past *tsaih* or ochre was an important material for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. It was used to dye a variety of items such as snowshoes, drums, clothes, and moose skin boats (Osgood 1970; Slobodin 1962). As Osgood noted:

> Of all paint, red takes extreme precedence with the Kutchin. Ordinarily, they make if [sic] from red ocher mixed in water, but a darker red is also manufactured from ashes of rotten drift wood. The paint is applied to all manner of things from human faces to snowshoes [1970:93].

Ochre was apparently also important to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın for its economic value. Osgood compared it to beads:

> The pigment itself, probably next to beads, comes nearest to having a monetary standard of value and like beads is fairly restricted to the wealthy class of individuals, although poor people who wish to use some can acquire it from those who have a supply [Osgood 1970:93].

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın also used to trade ochre with the Han Indians (now known as the Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in):

> Some trade goes on with the Han people of the Upper Yukon, chiefly for salmon which the Peel River Kutchin do not have. Red paint is classed as a trade good article with a ranging valuation based on quality. Small bags of it make up the quantitative unit [Osgood 1970:61].

> In summer, we take our wolverine skins down river to trade with the Eskimos for baby seal skin and carved whale bone ornaments. In fall time we trade red paint for big red salmon from the Han. When we meet our Takudh, Vuntut, or Netsi brothers in the mountains we get dentalium shells for what ever they want from us. This is the way it has always been. This is the way of our fathers and our grandfathers... [Extract from a story titled "The Camp at Fish Trap Head", cited in Sax and Linklater 1990:5]

The importance of red ochre to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın was also revealed, in the past, through the association of one of the three Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın clans with this substance:

> The Peel River Kutchin are divided into three clans with the following names: (1), tcitc ya nut; (2), na'ts saı'; (3) tye njı ya tsıa... The clan name tcıc yı, referring to red paint among the Tanaina, and one of the three important clans of the eastern group of that people, sounds very similar to one part of the clan name tcitc ya nut (1) but there is no apparent connection. Yet strangely enough the saı' of na'ts saı' (2) literally means "red paint," which also accounts for the idea of "rich man" in connection with this clan since red paint has nearly a monetary character among the Kutchin [Osgood 1970:107].

Although *tsaih* is not used as much as it was before and is no longer associated with the idea of wealth, it has kept its significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. The tradition of respecting places where red ochre is found is still very much alive and the Teetł'ıt

Gwich'in continue to leave offerings when collecting the pigment from a deposit. Sinew was an item that was left at such places in the past (Osgood 1970:93). Beads have also been mentioned (Wootten 1967:14). The elders today, however, most often refer to matches, candles, tea or tobacco as potential offerings. The purpose behind such gifts is to "pay" for the *tsaih* that is taken from a place[41]:

> When they made an offering for ochre they just said "Make sure you put something in place of it"... *ejuch'ii videek'it ninohlii*... Just like buying it [elder Mary Teya].
>
> It's like you buy it. It's *Gwit'ih* [trade] [elder Walter Alexie].

All elders interviewed know of one particular place where their parents and grandparents used to collect ochre, generally to colour snowshoes. It is an outcrop located around *Chii deetak* ("Between-the-rocks"), a camping spot in the Rock River area near the point where the Dempster Highway crosses the river (Figures 13-14) (Greer 1989:106; Kritsch et al. 2000, Appendix A:11). The Teetł'it Gwich'in refer to the ochre deposit as a "sacred" place and the younger generations are aware of its significance. The Gwichya Gwich'in – their neighbours to the east – have a legend associated with this outcrop. According to the story, Diniizhok – a great Gwich'in leader and medicine man who used his ability to "travel on the land much faster than humanly possible" to help other people – was wounded and died at this place and his blood turned into ochre (Heine et al. 2001:30). Teetł'it Gwich'in elders, however, never mentioned such a legend when talking about this place throughout the interviews I conducted with them. I once openly asked several of them about whether there is a particular story associated with the ochre at Rock River, during a meeting held for the Teetł'it Gwich'in National Historic Site Project. Their response was negative. To them, the ochre deposit simply appears to be – at least in the present time – a natural feature with special powers that call for proper behaviour:

> We were told from way back we have to respect the place... You just can't go there and just dip something and then walk away. It blows strong wind they say. If you don't pay for it and if you're fooling around with it, it brings storm [elder Elizabeth Colin].

[41] A similar intent was reported for offerings the Dogrib leave at places on the land where different entities or powers reside (Andrews and Zoe 1997:162).

> Olden days people protect it. They have to. They buy it, they wouldn't take it for nothing. If you take it for nothing you're gonna be in the wind forever. You know, blow until you buy it [elder William Teya].
>
> Our people, our elderly people tell us "Respect that place. If you get any dye you got to pay for it. You got to put something, an offering before you can take some of that dye. And don't fool around with it." Some people have fooled around [there] somewhere along the years and there was a big wind through that river [Rock River]. Wind that you couldn't stand up against [elder Mary Teya, Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002, Fort McPherson].

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın are aware that there are ochre deposits in different areas of their territory. There are several place names within their homeland that point to the presence of *tsaih* at the location of features such as lakes, creeks or mountains.[42] Generally, the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın usually simply refer to a ochre place as *tsaih,* although another name – *Tsaih natroondak* ("Ochre-cache") – was also recorded for the deposit at Rock River (Kritsch et al. 2000, Appendix A:355).

The outcrop at Rock River is the only one the elders remember being used. Nevertheless, they feel the same kind of respect for other places where there is red ochre, as one of my own experiences in Fort McPherson demonstrated. Shortly after I arrived in the community, I had the opportunity to take part, on behalf of GSCI, in a rafting trip that was organized by the Yukon chapter of CPAWS on the Wind River and part of the Peel River, along with residents from Fort McPherson and other communities of the Yukon. All along the trip, which lasted about a week, I had been recording the location of red ochre deposits. Near the end of the journey, before we got to our final destination near the mouth of Snake River, the raft I was on made a quick stop so that I could collect some ochre from a bank along the Peel River, below the Peel Canyon. After we were back on the river, a woman from Fort McPherson who was traveling on another raft asked me if I had left an offering for the ochre; I answered negatively. Two months later, I visited this person's mother in her cabin at Eight Miles village. The elder knew that I had collected red ochre without leaving an offering at the deposit. She believed that this was the reason why we had been experiencing so much bad weather throughout the summer. Hence, even though the Rock River location is unique because the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have

[42] *Tsaih tl'ak njik* ("Ochre-bright-creek"), the Gwich'in name for the Bonnet Plume River is one. Another is *Tsaih tl'ak ddhàa* ("Ochre-spinkled-mountain"), which refers to the Knorr Range. A last example is *Tsaih vàn* ("Red ochre lake"), officially known as Two Beaver Lake (Kritsch et al. 2000).

collected ochre there for a long time and were specifically taught to respect the place, to them all ochre locations are powerful and ought to be shown proper consideration:

> That [Rock River ochre] is the only we knew from way back... But I think if we got to Wind River and we saw it then we would feel the same than we feel about this one [elder Bertha Francis].

Apart from sulphur – where offerings were made to secure medicinal benefits – and ochre, the elders did not report a tradition of leaving offerings for other minerals. Whether this is because stones did not need to be "paid for" or because they have not been collected for so long that customary ways to behave towards them have been forgotten is difficult to evaluate at this time, since no information on this topic could be found in early accounts or the ethnographic literature. The latter hypothesis is plausible, however. There is one quarry known as *Vihtr'ii tshik* ("flint at the mouth") at the mouth of Thunder River where the Gwichya Gwich'in have reported a tradition of leaving offerings as a mark of respect and gratitude when removing lithic material from the site (GSCI 2003). Some authors also pointed to the Ekwi River quarry, which is in the foothills of the Mackenzie Mountains in the homeland of the Mountain Dene, as another place where people had to "pay" when they took material to make stone tools (Andrews and Zoe 1997:167; Pokotylo and Hanks 1989:54).

Several places where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın used to gather stones for different purposes have been identified thus far. These include *Vıhtł'òo tshık* ("Flint creek") and *Vıhtr'ıh tshık* ("Flint creek"), where flint used to ignite fire was collected. *Dèeddhoo gòonlii* ('Scrapers-many') is a hill where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın found flat stones they used to scrape hides and scale fish (Figure 15). Finally, at *Vakak chii natr'oodak* ("on-rock-pickup-lake"), they could get suitable rocks to cook food, by heating them in the fire and placing them in a container with meat and water (Kritsch et al. 2000). These places and their names remain important components of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape and history.

Finally, concerning the red ochre deposit at Rock River, it is very important to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın that it be protected. This place is of great spiritual value to them and should therefore not be encroached upon. The outcrop is not endangered, but its proximity to the Dempster Highway could eventually make it an easy target for tourists who travel through the area.

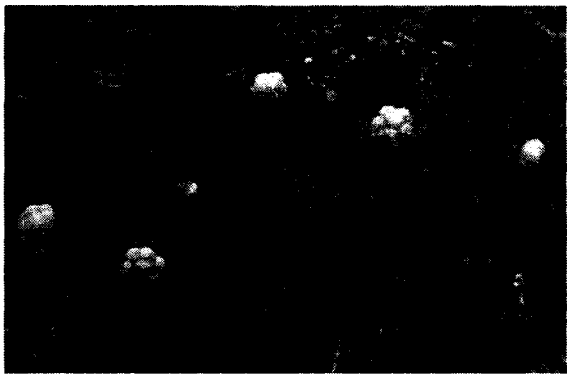


Figure 12. *Nakal* (Yellowberries), one of the many varieties of berries that can be found on Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın land (Photo Credit: Dave Jones. Source: Andre and Fehr 2002)

Figure 13. The location of *tsaih* (ochre) at Rock River

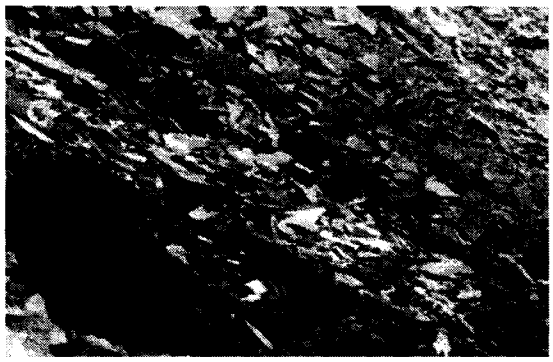


Figure 14. *Tsaih* (ochre) at Rock River (Photo Credit: Alan Fehr. Source: Andre and Fehr 2002)

Figure 15. *Dèeddhoo gòonlıı* (There-are stone-scrapers hill), a source of flat stones used to scrape hides and scale fish (Photo Credit: Ingrid Kritsch, GSCI)

Trails

Trails (*taii)* are of great importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. For many years they used them to travel from the Peel River to different areas in the Richardson, Ogilvie and Selwyn Mountains, where they hunted and trapped during the winter. Some trails were also used to travel to places where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın met with neighbouring groups, or to get to trading posts, such as Dawson and Lapierre House in the Yukon. Travel was originally carried out on foot or snowshoes, with pack dogs and sleds. In the last decades, snowmobiles have largely replaced the dog teams that were widely adopted after the Europeans arrived in the area. Along the trails there are many places where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın harvested resources, and camps where they rested overnight or lived for extended periods of time. When people passed away during a journey, they were sometimes buried along the trail. These routes, of course, are also dotted with place names and stories. Some of the trails have been used so many times over the years that they have left an imprint into the ground and become permanent features of the landscape.

The Peel River is also a central route for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, as it allows them to get to camps and resource areas along the river, and to the mouth of several inland trails. Different kinds of boats have been used throughout the years to navigate on the river, including birch bark canoes, moose skin boats, schooners, steamboats and motor boats. In the winter, snowshoes and dog teams were used to travel on the ice. Snowmobiles and cars are now the main winter vehicles on the Peel River. Portages and shortcuts along the river are also part of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın trail system, and so are the trap lines scattered across the country.

Settlement life and the construction of the Dempster Highway have greatly affected the traveling patterns of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. On the one hand, people do not travel as much as they did in the past because they do not rely primarily on caribou and trapping revenues for their subsistence. On the other hand, the Dempster Highway, which was constructed over a traditional trail of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, gives them easy access to one of the areas widely used for hunting caribou. Most hunting expeditions are now carried out along the road, although it is prohibited to hunt within 500 meters of the highway. People travel to the areas where there is caribou by truck, sometimes with a four-wheeler

or a snowmobile in the back. It is often possible for them to leave Fort McPherson in the morning and return with caribou on the same day. There still remains one traditional trail that is frequently used for caribou hunting. People travel it by snowmobile in the spring to reach the Rat River area, once the animals have started to move north towards the coast. The fact remains, nevertheless, that many traditional inland routes are not much travelled anymore, and the number of people who know these trails from experience is decreasing. This is rather disturbing, considering the amount of history associated with those routes.

Vegetation growth is another important factor that has a significant impact on the preservation of trails and trap lines in the area. The elders have noticed that there are now considerably more trees – and especially willows – across the landscape than there were before (Figure 17). Since many trails are not used and maintained as they were in the past, they have been overgrown with vegetation and have practically vanished:

> There used to be no willows. You know down the hill in McPherson down straight out. Across the creek a little ways out that's where they played baseball on the bar. You see all these big willows now? There used to be nothing. We just sat on the bank and watched the boys play. Nowadays willows are just taking the country over. It's just like in the jungle now. It's not good. Too many plants growing... I remember standing on the bank and on that first hill way up [across the river], a guy could walk and you could see him walking. That's how clear it used to be. Just like on the coast, just like a desert. Now there's so much willows. And people think they're gonna go out trapping now. They couldn't trap. No trail, too much willows. Me I'm so lucky I trapped around that area for so long and I cut my trail... Nowadays they [people] wouldn't know where their trail is [elder William Teya].

I have heard several times that people commonly set their traps along seismic lines that are already clear of trees. The fact that many traveling routes are overgrown, however, limits access to several areas, as this extract from an interview carried out by the GSCI during the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın place names project demonstrates:

> After that, above there is that R.C.M.P. monument. That just came out not too long ago, and straight across there's a portage trail to *Vihtl'oo tshik*, Road River. This portage trail is well marked, you could see it. I hope some day they'll cut it out so I can go through there with skidoo again, one more time. I never did go through there with skidoo, I wouldn't mind trying it. Went through there with dog team lots of times [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Place Names Project 1996/97, Tape 11].

Efforts are being made locally to maintain and preserve trails. Some are individual initiatives from people who travel trails in memory of those who were there before and wish to preserve them by handling down their knowledge to the next generations. This is

certainly the case for elder Robert Alexie Sr., who told the following story while he was being interviewed about place names:

> One time I went down the Peel towards Hungry Lake, I was making a trail. I was tired coming back and I was making a trail. I had to go over a ridge. "As long as I make it over that ridge" [I thought]. I had tea and I filled up my thermos. I forgot it. I had to get on top of that hill, never mind my thermos. I got on top of that hill, made my trail for tomorrow. That's an old trail I was breaking. I came back to my thermos. Oh I was tired and I had a long way to go to Hungry Lake, another four hours with skidoo. It was getting dark. I left my skidoo running, there was just me. Thermos, hot tea and I had biscuits, Hard Tacks. I was eating that, tired. "Goodness sake" I thought to myself, "what am I doing this for? I don't have to do this to myself." I was tired but after I finished that tea and that biscuit I thought "Well, this is why I came here for and I got to do it. Let's go!" I just got back on my skidoo and just kept going. That's when I felt a little better... Somebody's got to do it. Cause my father showed me and I showed my son all that, the whole country. Right up to Wind River. He [my son] found that Wind River trail himself. Up to Deception, *Vinidiinlaii* and then, he knows the trail all the way back to McPherson. And then right to Trail River too. So I passed it onto him. And next thing, my little grandson Troy, he's got to learn that. I'd like him to take over. So next fall, school or no school, I want to take him out. September and bring him back in November. He'll get part of the country and by the time he gets old enough to get on his own well, he'll know what's out there. If he doesn't go to school or nothing what is he going to do? He's got a place out there to go to. I'd like him to do that. Anyway, there's lots of stories. Blackstone especially. Name the places up Blackstone too. Hyssop Creek... that's where my father was brought up. And Black City, that little place where people used to stay. *Ts'ok ìtl'ın* and *T'oo shyah njik.* That's a big country. I'm glad you're working on it and like I said before, somebody's got to go in there and do something, make sure we still care about our land. And I hope this will continue. We've got to work on it for younger people to get out there and make use of it. What did we settle the land claim for? [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın Place Names Project 1996/97, Tape 13].

Another initiative that was originally undertaken by three community members has become an important community affair in Fort McPherson. Starting on the first hill across the river from Fort McPherson is the beginning of an old time winter trail that leads across the Richardson Mountains to different places in the Yukon, including Lapierre House and Old Crow. This trail is known as *Dagoo taii* ("Over the mountain people trail") because it used to link the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın to the Dagoo (also referred to as Tukudh or Dagudh) Gwich'in, who traditionally occupied the upper Porcupine River area (Slobodin 1962).[43] In 1991, after the trail had not been used for many years, the late Chief Johnny D. Charlie – who was of Dagoo Gwich'in heritage himself – along with William

[43] Apparently, the Dagudh Gwich'in also inhabited part of the upper Peel River drainage, in the headwaters of the Ogilvie and Blackstone rivers, and possibly the Hart as well. When the Dagudh dispersed as a group in the 1920s, several families established themselves in Fort McPherson, while others moved to Old Crow or Dawson (Balikci 1963; Greer 1989).

Teya and James Itsi, started an annual snowmobile trip to Old Crow, in order to keep the trail open and family tradition alive (Figure 18).

> He [Johnny D. Charlie] used to talk about them trips because he wanted people to remember the trail and he wanted people to continue going to Old Crow to meet with family and relatives [Liz Wright].

The travellers usually camp twice in the mountains on their way over to Old Crow, setting tents at different locations where people used to camp in the past, and immersing themselves in the scenery and the memories of those who are familiar with the area:

> All the way over to Old Crow, we set our tents and there's already tent places there. There's tent poles from years and years back that we've used and that my father used and whoever else used. We always have our camps at the same place every year. We make two stops going over... There's lots of people when we stop at different places who say "You know I remember 20 years ago when I was here" and they tell us stories about places and then they say "Well I never thought I'd be here again." Every time we stop, there's always someone telling a story [Liz Wright].

Chief Charlie died of cancer in 1998, but the community has continued these trips to Old Crow in his memory. This event, which involves as much as 30 snowmobiles every year, is now known as the "Johnny D. Charlie Memorial Skidoo Trip."

Finally, in recent years, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Renewable Resource Council has carried out at least two different projects to clear portage trails up and down the Peel River from Fort McPherson. One of these initiatives took place in 2003 and was funded through the Northwest Territories Department of Education, Culture and Employment, who contributed $20,000 to the project:

> All the trails were cut out by axe and chainsaw. Local men and young men were hired to do the work [and] this also gave the young men an opportunity to know where all these portage trails are, to pass [this knowledge] on to other young people. Some of the trails are used for short cuts and safety because the River is unsafe to travel when it is Spring Break-up and early Fall Freeze-up [Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın RRC 2003b:1].

The eight trails that were cut are paths that are still commonly used by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. Clearing trails is a very demanding task that has to be repeated regularly and is costly in both time and money. It is therefore impossible for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to maintain all travel routes open, regardless of the fact that they are used or not. Some of them are hundreds of kilometres long. An option that was contemplated as an alternative by the elders during the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Site Project is to mark the beginning of trails along the river so that at least, they are remembered. Most trails were

originally marked with blazed trees, but the vegetation has grown considerably since then and the trees are now difficult to identify. Clearing the beginning of trails and putting signs at their mouth were possibilities that were suggested to mark old trail locations. Mapping these routes is, of course, also a means of preserving knowledge about them. The GSCI has recorded several of them.

Camps and Cabins

When the elders were asked to suggest places for special recognition during the Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project campsites *(nìihah k'it)* were, along with trails, places they most often recommended. To them, these locations are especially important because over time, they have been reoccupied by many generations of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın:

> Something that occurred repeatedly... is that the elders started to list all the places they could think of as important, along with the list of all the people they could remember have lived there over time. In fact, it seems that the main reason why these places are considered historically significant by the Teetl'it Gwich'in is that their ancestors and themselves have lived there time after time. Jim Vittrekwa said: *"You got to look at your old people. In the past. Now, I'm staying where the two old people used to stay. Not only me, lots of elders."* Caroline Kay conveyed the same idea; Bertha Francis translated her words as such: *"She's talking about the Rat River area, to where this old couple used to be there and then, they died and then another bunch comes there and they stay there and then another bunch and... well, it's us now."* Since there are many such places known to the elders, it makes it very difficult for them to limit their selection to one place for commemoration [Fafard 2001a:21-22].

Camps are therefore valued because of the connection they provide with the past and the ancestors. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın hold such places in high regard:

> *Tł'oondıh*, they say it's a well respected place from years back. People used to go up Vittrekwa Creek [from there], people used to move around. Many many people camped at *Tł'oondıh*, tents, sometimes a house. I know old Brian Francis lived there. From there too [is] that Old Vittrekwa [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Place Names Project 1996/97, Tape 11].

Many of the campsite locations scattered across the landscape are now invisible because traditional Gwich'in camp structures and activities did not leave long-lasting traces. There are places, however, where old stumps indicate the presence of human activity. In some cases, tent poles may still be leaning against a tree, or the remains of an elevated cache lying on the ground, amongst the bushes. A large circular depression in the ground usually points to the location of a *ninkahn* or moss house, a semi-subterranean structure where people used to live during the winter.

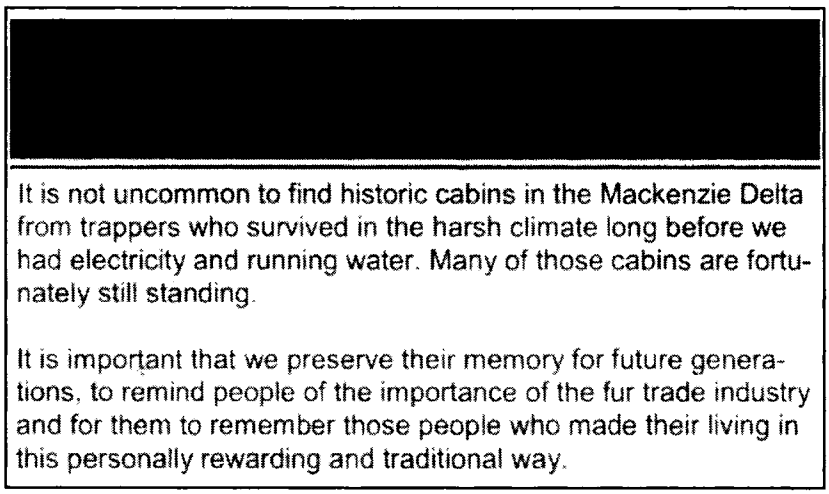
Within the last century, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın started to build wooden (log or plywood) cabins *(zheh)* along the Peel River and in the Mackenzie Delta. During the 1996 place names project, the GSCI recorded over 63 cabins along the river in the area upriver from Fort McPherson alone (Kritsch et al. 2000:14), and there are probably as many downriver. A number of these are contemporary cabins that belong to different Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın families who spend time on the land every year. Some camps are used as a base to carry out different activities, including fishing, hunting, trapping and/or berry picking but it is not uncommon for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to have several camps in the river area, which they use for different purposes. People tend to establish their camps in places that were previously occupied when no unfavourable conditions, such as changes in river channels, variations in animal populations, or contamination by oil and gas activities, prevent it. Such locations are often family areas that have been handed down from one generation to the other. Although these places are not formally owned, they are usually not encroached by other members of the community. Traditionally, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın cared for their camps by keeping them clean and disposing of their garbage properly:

> You've got to keep your camp really clean... You just don't throw meat any place. Some of them make stages where they put their meat... And around tents it had to be clean of garbage... nobody left garbage behind or anything. It was always burnt [elder Elizabeth Colin].

The community is working hard to maintain these values and encourages people to bring their garbage back to town and be careful not to leave toxic waste, such as oil and gas cans, out on the land.

Besides contemporary camps, many of the cabins along the Peel River and in the Delta are old structures, which are either unoccupied or no longer standing. They were mostly used as dwellings, although a few churches and small trading establishments were also erected at different places (see Kritsch et al. 2000). It was common for several families to build cabins in the same location, thereby creating small villages where people gathered for part of the year (Slobodin 1962:58-59). Gathering sites are especially important to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, regardless of the fact that cabins were built or not. Nevertheless, in the present context old cabins and villages have an important mnemonic function for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. They are tangible icons, historical posts, which

constantly remind people of the individuals and events that have so far marked the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape and history (Figure 16).



It is not uncommon to find historic cabins in the Mackenzie Delta from trappers who survived in the harsh climate long before we had electricity and running water. Many of those cabins are fortunately still standing.

It is important that we preserve their memory for future generations, to remind people of the importance of the fur trade industry and for them to remember those people who made their living in this personally rewarding and traditional way.

Figure 16. Note from the Mackenzie Delta MLA David Krutko (who is from Fort McPherson), which appeared in a newsletter he published in the summer of 2002.

Over the years, however, erosion along the riverbank has washed many cabins away and it is threatening several others:

> A lot of the fish camps already fell in [the river] and there's nothing there to show that these places were used [elder Mary Teya, Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 26 February 2003, Fort McPherson].

Decay, of course, is also a process that affects cabins and other wooden structures (Figure 19). In many places, only the foundations of old cabins remain on the ground and most are being overgrown with vegetation. Preserving old cabins is therefore practically impossible, and the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have never attempted to keep them standing. There are even a few known instances when log cabins that were unoccupied but still in good shape were dismantled and their wood used to rebuild other cabins somewhere else. What is very important to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, however, is to keep campsites and their history alive. The best way to achieve this is for them to keep visiting and using these places. There seems, however, to be less and less people who spend time at their camps:

> There's lots of empty places down that way [in the Delta] you know [elder Caroline Kaye].

> Look, when I went to Dawson, I left here and there were lots of skidoos. I left about the second... from Eight Mile, I took off. I went to Twenty Mile, people used to live there, no smoke. I went to Three Cabin, nothing. I went to Road River, nothing. From there I went to Trail Creek. When I came around the corner at Trail Creek Robert Alexie, big smoke there it looked nice. All these other places I passed, nothing. There used to be people living there and you see they all got these houses and this bush life, finished! Down the river, once I went to my place and I made fire there for a while. Had tea. From there I went to a house just down below where an old man used to stay. He passed away a few years ago and nobody goes there since. Down at Mouth of the Peel, nobody. Boat Landing, nobody. Thomas Koe's camp, nobody. Charles Koe boy's camp, nobody. Andrew Kunnizzi, Abe Koe [laughing], Knutlang, noboby! Look at all nine places I passed... I used to go there with dogs, people used to come out of their house and meet us. Now it's just like everybody's dead! Nothing. There's only one person down that Peel now [elder Abe Stewart, Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project 2000/01, Tape 12].

Memory of old campsites and those who have inhabited them is therefore not transmitted like it was in the past, as people travelled the landscape and lived at these places, walking in the steps of those who were there before them. This is why the elders consider it very important to record properly the location of cabins and campsites and to document their history. Several years ago, Chief Johnny D. Charlie took it upon himself to carry out a small project in order to film and record the history of campsites up and down the Peel River. As one of his daughters reported:

> My dad had a project in 1995 or 1994. He had a project to videotape and to take pictures of all the camps up and down the Peel. So my sister Annie and I went with him. I was taking the video and she was taking the pictures. At every stop whether it was being lived in or whether it was an old camp or else just a marker of some sort, we'd stop and we'd videotape and my dad would tell the story about who lived there and which families over the years had stayed there. So we went up maybe as far as Three Cabin Creek. And that was the only time I went up that far [upriver]... He said "There's so many old camps that are not used." He just wanted to go and take pictures of them to put them in a photo album, and take a video camera and just tell stories about who used to stay up there. There were some old camps where we had to walk way back into the bushes to even find them. And we were really surprised that he'd stop [there]. There was no sign of life anywhere and then we'd go into the bushes and there was a camp. You'd never be able to tell from the river there was a camp there. And he remembered way back to the 1940s and 1950s and who used to stay there [Liz Wright].

The possibility that the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın might eventually wish to restore some cabins on the land cannot be ruled out. Even though not all cabins could be preserved, there may be some locations of special significance to the community where this could be done. One example of such a place is Mouth of the Peel, a well-known village in the Mackenzie Delta near the confluence of the Peel and Mackenzie rivers (Figure 20). The village came into being during the early twentieth century, when muskrat trapping

became a lucrative activity and the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın started to move to the Delta in the spring to hunt the animals. At one point in time more than 40 families inhabited Mouth of the Peel. Many cabins are still standing in the village, but only one elder still spends time there every year. This place is one of its kind and it is highly valued:

> There's a lot of history down there at Mouth of the Peel. We should take pictures and document the information about who was there and what they did, that kind of thing [elder Mary Teya, Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Project Meeting, 26 February 2003, Fort McPherson].

> You know old cabins there should be renovated. It should be fixed so it could just stay there forever [Fred Koe, Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Project Meeting, 26 February 2003, Fort McPherson].

Finally, cabin sites and villages might have potential as tourist attractions. Developing tourism is usually something that people view favourably in Fort McPherson, if done properly. A place like Mouth of the Peel Village could certainly be a point of interest for tourists who embark on an outfitters tour with the locals.

Burials

Although few of them have actually been identified, there are probably hundreds of burials *(tth'an k'it*[44]*)* spread out across the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape. In pre-contact times, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın often moved throughout their territory and generally disposed of the dead wherever people passed away. Different methods, including abandonment, interment in a ground cache, interment in an elevated cache and cremation, have been referred to as ways the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın used to take care of the departed. Osgood (1970:145) noted, however, that "the Peel River Kutchin consider interment on an elevated cache or stage as the normal method of disposing of the dead." As George M. Mitchell reported from his own experience during the Gold Rush period, this was the most convenient way:

[44]*Tth'an k'it* was the name generally provided by the elders to refer to burial sites. It means "bone place." *Nan zhìt tr'ahchii* was also mentioned and it is actually the expression found in the Gwich'in Language Dictionary for a burial. It literally means "to put him/her in the ground" (GSCI/Gwich'in Language Centre 2003:31).

Figure 17. Willows, which are far more abundant now than they were in the past, have overgrown many trails of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın

Figure 18. *Dagoo taii.* An old time trail leading over the Richardson Mountains to Lapierre House and Old Crow. This is the trail that is travelled during the annual Johnny D. Charlie Memorial Skidoo Trip (photo credit: Liz Wright)

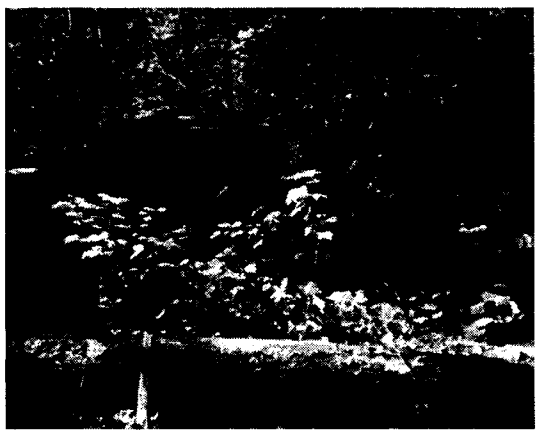


Figure 19. The remains of an old log cabin in the Caribou River area

Figure 20. Mouth of the Peel Village

> Deaths being so frequent the difficult problem of burial had to be faced. It was quite impossible to thaw out enough ground with fires to bury the dead in graves in the ordinary way, and ordinary burial is of doubtful value in the North because of the vile persistency of the wolverines, which will dig up a corpse from under a cairn or a massive slab of stone... the miners eventually found that much the best plan was to wrap the corpse up carefully in a blanket and put it in a tree, or on a platform between two trees, as the Indian did regularly with their own dead. The lower branches were cut off to prevent the wolverines from climbing, and sometimes a band of large fish-hooks was arrange round the trunk, point downwards, for the same purpose [in Graham 1935:172].

Osgood (1970:145) also mentioned that in some cases, the corpse, which was wrapped in a moose skin, was placed in a log coffin made out of a big spruce log that was hollowed, stripped from its bark and sometimes painted red. The elders interviewed, however, mostly remember that a deceased person was simply wrapped and put on a stage. Some of his or her belongings were also placed on the platform with the body. In post-contact times, the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın adopted the European way of burying people in the ground.

Whenever possible, a dead person was brought back to the closer settlement to be interred in the cemetery. Often, however, this was not possible and people were buried out on the land:

> We went to Blackstone one summer and that archaeologist asked me "Where would they bury their people?" I told him "Don't just look any place, look for a point or some place that is high for look out. Watch around there and you'll find one... That's where they bury their people. But other than that, in winter time when it's cold weather I guess when somebody dies they put them any place. Any place where it is easy to bury them" [elder Walter Alexie].

Ground burials were usually fenced and/or marked with a head cross (Figure 21). The elders know of many places on the land where such burials can be found, and several of them were recorded during the heritage site inventory carried out by the GSCI in 1996 in the upper Peel River area (Kritsch et al. 2000). It is not always possible for the elders to identify who is resting in those places.

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın hold burial sites in great respect. When trying to learn about whether there are specific rules of behaviour related to them, however, I was surprised to find that people have different views. This suggests that there might never have been very clear rules as to how to deal with such places or that they have been forgotten. Several

decades ago, Osgood (1970:154) received the following information regarding the general attitude of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın regarding the departed:

> ...dead souls which travel to the land of the hereafters are turned back for misdeeds by giants and wander around the vicinity of their former residence until they can be reborn. Such spirits are called djın kuọ. They are sometimes heard whistling around graves. The attitude of the living toward them is decidedly that of laissez-faire.

Some of the elders I interviewed declared that burials were sometimes visited, but others maintained that until not too long ago, their people generally used to keep away such places:

> People a long time ago when they travelled around, sometimes somebody was sick or somebody got sick all of a sudden and they passed away. They would find a place where it would be safe for burials. People respected those places. For example, there's one right at Road River where we stay. There's a fish camp we have there and there's a grave right on the side of the hill. We hardly ever went there. Nobody bothered around there. We believe that people that have been buried, they're at peace and leave them in peace [elder Mary Teya].

> I think they used to believe that they were ghosts. A person would be standing there [in the grave] or talking to them or something and they would never go back to it, visit their grave or anything. Even here it used to be like that. Even this cemetery up here, I remember when we were kids we were told not to go around the graves. Because if you go around the graves you're going to see them standing in the graves and we used to be so scared. They still believed that in my young days... They wouldn't go around. It was so respected [elder Doris Itsi].

> You never hear people going back there once they buried them. They just left them [elder Bertha Francis].

Now, when people travel along the river or the Dempster Highway, they sometimes visit and care for burials that are accessible:

> A lot of them have not been seen for years. The markings and everything they probably worn away. But it's nature doing that. There's a lot of places I know people can never ever go back to them. But there's places where they can and I guess sometimes the relatives of those people they maybe continue to keep markings so that they don't wear away [elder Mary Teya].

Not all burials are repaired, however, and there are several known locations, including some old burials in the Fort McPherson cemetery, where fences and markings have not been maintained (Figure 22). I was told on several occasions that repairing burial fences or markers may bring bad luck to those who do it. According to other people, however, burial fences used to be cared for in the past:

> Nowadays nobody cares and looks at them... but elders years back they used to rebuild them and keep them up. Now the younger generations, they don't do that

[elder Walter Alexie, Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project 2002/2001, Tape 10].

Some elders also believe that it would be important to mark burial sites in order to keep alive the memory of those who are gone and protect their remains:

> There are some burials sites on the Dempster Highway which are very close to the highway. Lots of burial sites, I think they should be marked properly, with new fence, painted and marked properly so people can see them going by. And down around mouth of Hart River, and the Peel and Blackstone, where my grandfather has drowned, I really don't know where the burial site is. And all around there is people. It is the Peel River, I travel lots and have lived there all my life, and I see burial sites here and there, which are not marked on a map. And on the Peel River, in 1930, 1900's there are five brothers-in-law and brothers who drowned in a lake while it was freezing on top. Nobody has found the bodies. I think at places like that [there] should be a monument for our people, because these younger generations travel back and forth on that river and [they] don't know where the graveyards are. I would like to see all these marked so that the younger generation would see these landmarks. That way they'll know their ancestors [have] been around there, around Snake River, Bonnet Plume, Wind River – all over there are burial sites and a lot of places are not marked. I am very sorry to see that back when I was growing up, I never did ask any questions about where the burial sites or where the graveyards are [elder Walter Alexie, First Nations Burial Sites Workshop, March 31 1998, Whitehorse].

> The only thing we could do now is to mark them [burial sites] and make sure there's no development and then if somebody wants to put a cabin or a tent there, or if a bulldozer comes around, it's marked so people will know it's not to be touched [elder Neil Colin, Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project 2000/01, Tape 5].

One point on which all people interviewed agreed is that burial sites should not be interfered with when development activities take place on the land:

> Down the Blackstone... there is a couple of sites there... it's just right beside the road [Dempster Highway]. I guess back in the sixties or early seventies the highway went on through there. In those days they just go and that's it – no protection or nothing. There's a site there, a couple of graves, you can see it just off the road – about that far off the road, two paces. One is sitting right in the middle of the [gravel] pit. They knew it was there but the pit is right around it... the grave was there first, that's what I'm getting at [elder Robert Alexie Sr., First Nations Burial Sites Workshop, October 30 1998, Whitehorse].

> I know that on the other side of the fish camp further up the river on the left hand side there was a camp there. My late dad and mom were there and I guess there was a grave there, somebody has been buried there. The company [Shell Oil] went and just cleared that area and they found out that there was a grave there and he [my dad] made them put everything back the way it was. He just made them put it back and mark it. That's what he did. So they [burials] really are sacred and treated with a lot of respect [elder Mary Teya].

In most instances, people felt that when burials are being eroded away, nature should be left to follow its course. They usually do not intervene, as reflected in the following exchange:

B. Francis: The one [burial] at Road River you think it's going to slide. It might eh?
W. Teya: Yah'.
M. Fafard: Would you just let it go?
B. Francis: Well what can you do? You don't touch them.
M. Fafard: You just let them go.
W. Teya: Yah' mostly.

My mom [grandmother] said she had a boy before uncle George. He's buried way up the river. Last time my brother came he said his grave was just close to the bank. Maybe it already fell in [elder Caroline Kaye].

There is one known instance, however, when people from the community have relocated a burial that had been eroded from the riverbank:

My father brought me up south of Fort McPherson on the Peel River and told me lots of stories. He said him and his brother-in-law, John Martin, they were trapping up the Peel. They stopped on the bar and he saw John Martin walking up on the bar. Pretty soon he [John] called him, he told him to come. He [my father] walked to him. He [John] said he saw a little child's coffin fall into the river. They put it in the canoe and on the next big island, they took it way back in the middle of the island and they buried it... in them days, the people protected the remains of the people who passed on [elder Walter Alexie, First Nations Burial Sites Workshop, March 31 1998, Whitehorse].[45]

Considering the range of opinions that people have about burials, then, it would be important to bring Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın elders together so that a consensus can be reached as to how to handle them. The younger people I interviewed during the project rely mainly on their elders for providing guidelines on this topic. All of them agree that burial sites should not be disturbed, however, and most consider that burials which are being eroded should be left alone.

Story/Legendary Places

I heard a lot of stories about all this country. You know my father, ever since I was raised up at Trail River, stories after stories. We couldn't get radio so I listened to him all the time. They talked about Blackstone, Hart River, *Gwıtsal njık*, Wind River, *Tsaıh tł'ak njık*, Snake River, you name it on a map they talked about it, they've been there. And then after the maps came out, I could see the whole picture. I flew to Hungry Lake a few times. And it was like I had been there before. Cause of the stories. That's why I like going up there... all the stories that I heard, it's like I've been there before [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Place Names Project 1996/97, Tape 13].

[45] More details about this story were provided by Mr. Alexie at a later time. He specified that the child's coffin had been discovered in the area around Paddle Creek (the official name for this place is George Creek), located between Caribou River and Snake River in the Yukon. Mr. Alexie's father did not specify on which island the burial was relocated. The two men did not mark the new burial site.

Most of the places that have been mentioned so far in this chapter have stories *(gwandak)* associated with them. Throughout my work with the elders, I had the occasion to hear several narratives, since places often take their significance from the events that have unfolded there. Many places do not contain tangible features that are connected with the stories. Nevertheless, they are of great importance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın and should therefore be considered as heritage sites. Such places are particularly vulnerable because once their associated narratives are forgotten they lose their cultural relevance. Sometimes, there are natural landmarks that are connected to the history of a location and that constantly remind people of it. The Peel River Canyon is a good example of such features. Another one is *Chıı akàn* ("Beaver house mountain") or Churchward Hill, which was home to a giant beaver that inhabited the area a long time ago (Greer 1989, 1990; Kritsch et al. 2000). Finally, *Shìłdıı* is a rocky pillar directly connected with a Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın legend *(yeeno daì googwandak)*. This place is discussed here in some details, because of its particular significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın.

Shìłdıı

Shìłdıı (Shiltee Rock) is probably the most important legendary site within the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape. The place is known by people of all ages and is referred to as "sacred." The significance of the site and the story that stands behind it are well known in the literature (Fafard 2001a; Kritsch et al. 2000; Ritter 1976a, 1976b). *Shìłdıı*, which can be translated as 'Sitting in fear', refers to a rock formation that is on a hill upriver from Fort McPherson (Figures 23-24) (Kritsch et al. 2000, Appendix A:29). It represents "the fossilized remains of two brothers who were turned into stone when their younger sister inadvertently violated a taboo imposed on her at puberty" (Ritter 1976a:12).[46] Several variations of this legend have been recorded. The version that is presented below is the most commonly heard in Fort McPherson. It was told by William Nerysoo Sr., and was recorded and translated by linguist John Ritter in the 1970s.

> I don't know how far back in time this story originated. Maybe 1000 years ago. It's impossible to know. There was once an old man who lived with his wife and children. There were four children in all – three sons and a daughter. The girl, whose name was Ts'ehch'in, possessed magic powers. In summer they fished and camped at Scraper

[46] Similar stories have been recorded for other groups. Examples include the Netsi (Chandalar) Gwich'in of northern Alaska (McKennan 1965:148), and the inland Tlingit in the southern Yukon (McClellan 2001:85, 390).

Hill (Deeddhoo Goonlii). The old man spoke to his boys: "My children, I am hungry for meat. I want food. You go to the mountains." The three boys were smart men. "We will go to the mountains," they said. Only the girl remained behind with her mother and the old man. The boys soon took off for the mountains. They travelled to the mountains which you can see over there to the West of Ft. McPherson. They were gone for some time. The old woman knew about her daughter's power and spoke to her. (At that time, around what is today Shiłdii Rock, there was nothing but barren land. There were no willows on the hill in those days. From where the girl stayed, if she looked downriver it would be easy for her to see her brothers returning. Her mother knew this.) "My daughter, pretty soon your brothers will be returning. When they do, you must not look at them and you must not say anything." Every day she told her daughter this so that she would remember. But the girl really loved her brothers – just as much as your own sister loves you. Soon she became very lonesome for her brothers and was anxious for them to come back. Although her mother talked to her, she apparently forgot what she was told. She would look downriver on the sly and once, when she was looking way down at the clear place on the hills, she saw her brothers walking along back toward home. "Mother, my older brothers are coming back!" she exclaimed. All at once the three brothers turned into stone – three rock pillars in a row. The dog which was walking along with the brothers also turned into stone. The mother was cooking a kind of bannock when all this happened, and it is said that the bannock, too, turned into stone. At Scraper Rock is [sic] you look around carefully you will see stones that the women used to bake bannock on – a kind of bannock which they cooked with lots of grease and which they fashioned with a hole in the middle. I have seen those rocks and for that reason believe the story is true. We really don't understand or know how things are on this earth, or how they were in the past. I think that since the time of the great flood people have been living differently than they did before. There may even have been white men living at that time, but we still haven't found out what was on earth at that time. Still, it is said that the old woman was baking bannock. I have seen the rocks and they might be bannock – they look like bannock. I have not heard what became of the old man and his wife and daughter. Perhaps nothing befell them. I once asked my mother, who was 80 years old when she died, about Shiłdii Rock. "Do you remember Shiłdii from the time you were a child?" "Even before I was a child, for many many generations, the people saw it and knew what it was," she told me. That rock has been standing there for a really long time. Before me, one of the pillars fell down and when that happened a lot of people died off. When I was a child, there were two of them left. Later on another fell down and once again lots of people died. Now only one is standing there, and the dog which was turned into stone is too low to be noticeable because the kids walk around there and the rock has been worn down and destroyed. It doesn't even show today [William Nerysoo Sr., cited in Ritter 1976b:98-102].

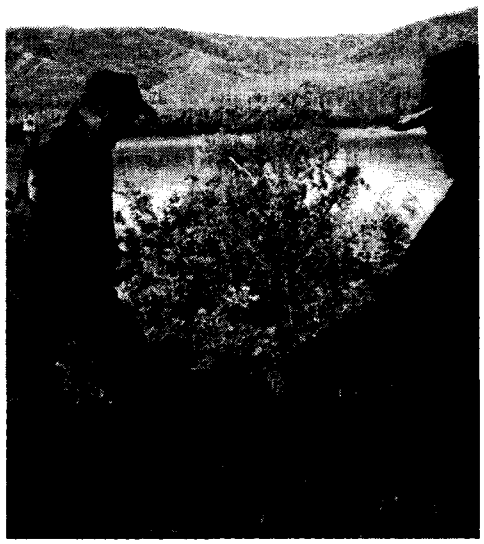


Figure 21. Grave at Sam's Place near Trail River (Photo credit: Ingrid Kritsch GSCI)

Figure 22. Fort McPherson cemetery

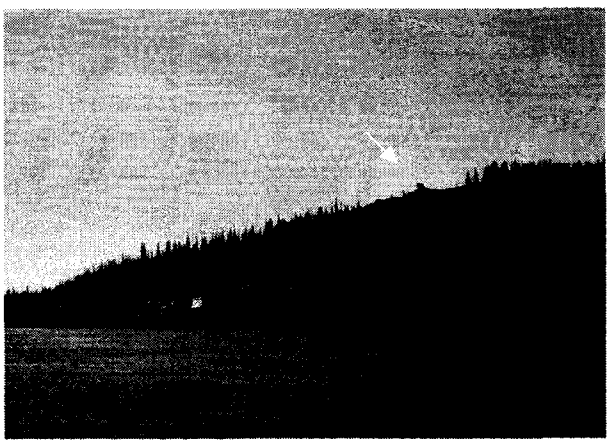


Figure 23. *Shìłdıı*

Figure 24. *Shìłdıı* (photo credit: Mike Gravel, RWED)

In the past, this legend contained a lesson of proper behaviour for girls who entered womanhood. It showed what could be the consequences if they did not respect the rules imposed during this passage. Although such rules are not in force anymore, *Shìłdıı* remains a place that is imbued with power. The death of many people corresponded with the fall of some of the stone pillars that used to stand at the site. I was told that the last time one of them collapsed, there was a flu epidemic in the community. About 15 years ago, when the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın held their first music festival, they were reminded that *Shìłdıı* is a place that ought to be respected:

> My grandmother said, when we had that first music festival at Shiltee Rock, she warned some of the men and some of the people up there. She said "I notice that since you went up there close to the rock, the wind is not being still. It's constantly blowing. You shouldn't be there. Maybe you should warn the children and the people not to go around that rock too often and to be respectful of being around there" [elder Mary Teya].
>
> The other thing too is that lake [at *Shìłdıı*] used to be dry [people had set their tents in there during the festival]. In the following spring it was filled up with water again... Those I think were signs to let us know... I really believe in things like that [elder Mary Teya, Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002, Fort McPherson].
>
> Mom used to say we're not supposed to go even close to it. Then, one time they had the music festival up there and it rained and blew all that time they were having it. I was dancing with my son and it was pouring with rain. Everybody had to come back [to Fort McPherson] and finish it up here. And I guess after everybody left it stopped. And now there's people staying right there [below the hill]... You see there again, our younger generation are not keeping the old traditional and cultural ways our elders used to respect... *Shìłdıı* was so respected. Nobody in those days ever wanted to even go near. It was something great for them [elder Doris Itsi].

As with ochre locations, overlooking proper rules of behaviour at *Shìłdıı* may bring bad weather. Such a phenomenon also occurred among other Indigenous groups of the Yukon and Northwest Territories. Andrews and Zoe (1997:167), for instance, were told that failure to pay for lithic material removed from the Ekwi River quarry "would result in heavy rains." McClellan also noted that several tribes in the southern Yukon believed that human actions could trigger specific weather conditions:

> ... various actions of human... may cause rain or snow. The uniting idea behind all of the weather tabus seems to be a rather generalized one that bad weather of some sort – be it rain or snow – follows a human disturbance of certain inhabitants of the universe or places associated with them [McClellan 2001:81].

Although the elders did not give such an explanation for the bad weather that results from misconduct at either *Shìłdıı* or ochre locations, it is not unlikely that these events may be linked to former beliefs such as those described by McClellan. Mitchell reported that in the past, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın looked upon different weather conditions – including the extreme cold wind of the north and the great heat of the summer – as bad spirits (in Graham 1935:241). Today, strong wind is generally perceived negatively because it makes travel difficult and hazardous. It is therefore important not to be responsible for it, and this is probably why the elders were taught to show consideration for places such as *Shìłdıı* and *tsaih* at an early age:

> We can't yell, we can't laugh, we got to be quiet. We can't talk loud. We got to be just quiet when we're there. This was told to me at a young age and I can't see any different way to act when I got there [to either *Shìłdıı or tsaih*], if I have to go there. I got to respect it in my own way [elder Elizabeth Colin].

During the meetings of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Site Project, some of the committee members suggested *Shìłdıı* as a potential place for national historic site designation. A discussion ensued as to whether attention should be brought onto that place, considering its significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. The committee finally decided to leave *Shìłdıı* on the list:

> Well it's in the papers all over Shiltee. You see paddlers coming down and go and check it. They ask about the legend... It's been in there since day one so maybe we just leave it in there... What if our younger generations see that and [they'll ask] "How come our elders put Shiltee down the list?" [elder Robert Alexie Sr., Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın National Historic Site Project Meeting, 14-16 November 2002, Fort McPherson].

Shìłdıı was not proposed for designation as an individual place, but the place is included in one of the two stretches that were selected for recognition, and it is highlighted as an important legendary/powerful place in the report prepared for the HSMBC (Fafard and Kritsch 2003). I think that while they have great respect for *Shìłdıı*, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın also feel pride for the place and its legend and wish to share it with other people. At the time of the meeting, I did not understand what Mr. Alexie had meant when saying that there are "papers" referring to *Shìłdıı*. It is only later that I realized that the place is listed as an attraction in at least one tourist guide, which covers the region (Western Arctic Handbook Committee 2002). The text about places to see in the Fort McPherson area was written by the Gwich'in, thereby indicating their willingness to have

other people know about *Shìłdıı*. For the elders, however, it remains very important that the site be respected and adequately protected. Some suggested that a plaque could be placed below the hill to tell the legend of *Shìłdıı* and ask people to respect the place and not to climb on the hill. Finally, although the two stone pillars still standing at the site are being eroded and will eventually collapse, the elders would not consider taking any action to prevent this from happening. What they do not want, however, is that people accelerate this process.

Archaeological Sites

Many of the places the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın value as part of their culture and history contain cultural remains left by their ancestors. Throughout the years and the work of several archaeologists who have conducted survey or excavation projects around Fort McPherson (e.g., Cinq-Mars 1973, 1974, 1976; Fafard 2001, 2003; Kritsch 2000a; MacNeish 1953; Morrison 1983), the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have come to appreciate the knowledge that archaeology can provide about their past and history. When archaeologist Richard S. MacNeish first came to the community in 1951, people were aware that there were old remains buried at the location of the old fort in Fort McPherson. Some community members who had found different artefacts there gave them to MacNeish (MacNeish 1953). Kids have also been excavating beads and projectile points from this place for many years. The community even set up a small exhibit with these items at the local school. Unfortunately, the school burned in 1996 and all the artefacts were lost.

Even though several archaeological projects were initiated by the GSCI over the past years, there is still a need to continue educating people about what archaeology is and how it is being conducted in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. As Alestine Andre, former Executive Director of the GSCI, explained:

> In the course of our work with the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, we do some excavations and I know in the minds of some of our people, this was always a question about excavation and the whole purpose of it, and they always refer to it as bonediggers, you know digging up for bones, and we have to explain to them that we have to look around for things that people drop or things that people leave behind [Alestine Andre, First Nations Burial Sites Workshop, October 30 1998, Whitehorse].

During the summer of 2002, I took part in the excavation of an area where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın used to camp during their visits to the fort before they started building

cabins in the settlement (Figure 25). I was told that some elders thought our work was the cause of the bad weather that befell the community, because we were digging too close to the cemetery. Our excavation was concentrated on the north side of the Anglican Church while the graveyard is on the south side of the building. There was therefore no real danger that we would come across a burial from the cemetery. The attitude of those elders, however, probably reflected a certain suspicion towards our work.

Throughout the Fort McPherson National Historic Site Project, we had the opportunity to question different elders about what they thought of archaeology. Those were mostly individuals who are familiar with the work of the GSCI and have participated in several of its projects. The elders were generally positive about investigating the past in this way:

> As part of the questionnaire used during the interviews, the elders were asked about their opinion about the archaeological excavation carried out at the site during the Peel River Ethno-Archaeology Project 2000. In all cases, the reaction of the elders to this work was favorable. Many of the elders believe that there is a lot of material to be found in the area of the old town. In fact, a few of them have found artefacts (e.g., beads, arrowheads) at the site and most are aware of other people who found some archaeological material there. Most elders think that archaeology may help the Teetl'it Gwich'in to reconstruct their history and that it has great potential to help teach their young people about where they are from and how their people lived in the past. Educating the younger generation about the Teetl'it Gwich'in history appears to be a very important concern for the elders. They also expressed an interest in the artefacts themselves. People seem to be positive towards archaeology partly because it allows them to see the objects that were made and used by their people in the past. However, three elders voiced concerns about what happens to the artefacts after they are recovered from an archaeological site. One of them asked where the artefacts were taken and kept after they have been removed from the ground. The others mentioned that the artefacts should be kept in a community museum, both for education purposes and tourism [Fafard 2001a:20-21].

In the course of the archaeological project that took place in Fort McPherson in the summer of 2002, several people from the community – including some from the local government – expressed discontentment about the fact that the artefacts could not be kept in the community following their excavation and analysis (Figure 26). As part of the Gwich'in Land Claim, it was agreed that such material could remain in the Gwich'in Settlement Area if there are adequate facilities and expertise to maintain the collections, and interpret and present them to the public (Government of Canada 1992a:116). Since no such facilities have been developed yet, artefacts are presently housed at the PWNHC in Yellowknife. In the final report for the project, it was recommended that casts of some

of the artefacts be made available to the community for educational and exhibition purposes (Fafard 2003). Whether this could actually represent a viable alternative to the problem is uncertain, however, as not everyone to whom this possibility was mentioned believed that casts can replace the original artefacts. The issue, therefore, remains a sensitive one.

Conclusion

The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın value many places as part of their heritage. These consist of resource harvesting areas such as hunting places or berry patches, travel routes, camps, burials, spiritual places and archaeological sites. For them, the meaning or value of those places is primarily constituted by the events that took place there. These include legends from former times, experiences of travel and life on the land, celebrated episodes such as the passage through the Peel Canyon with moose skin boats, and many others. The connection that many of these places provide with the ancestors is also a factor that contributes to their significance. Respect is the underlying concept that stands behind the attitude of the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın towards places they regard as important. Keeping places clean, maintaining them, being quiet and leaving offerings are different ways for them to show respect for such places.

Although the presence of tangible features may be part of the reason why a place is regarded as important, many of the locales that are of heritage significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have none. The fact that the history of those places may be forgotten by younger generations, however, is increasingly causing the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın to value such markers, because they help individuals who are not so knowledgeable about the land to identify important places and remember or learn their history. There are already some places within their homeland where the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın have erected signs to commemorate significant events of their history, which they believe might also be of interest to tourists. A good example are the monuments that have been placed at the two locations along the Peel River where four RNWMP officers, including Inspector Francis J. Fitzgerald, died of starvation and scurvy after they got lost on their way to Dawson in

the winter of 1910/11 (Figure 27).[47] Another one is the reconstitution of the Mad Trapper's cabin in Fort McPherson (Figure 28). As showed in this chapter, preserving and marking (or re-marking) different places, such as trails, burials or cabins is an option that the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are now considering as a way to preserve (i.e., transmit knowledge of) heritage sites. The production of educational and resource materials about those places also represents a viable alternative. On-the-land activities that are performed in the context of everyday life or organized by the community or the GSCI, however, are regarded as the best way to uphold knowledge and experience about the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape.

Much of the information presented in this chapter has been recorded from elders. It is important to mention, however, that throughout the interviews and the questionnaire with individuals from younger generations, it became clear that they share the view of the elders concerning the preservation of heritage places. Preserving the land as a whole and continuing to use it is a priority. The conservation of wildlife and fish habitats is also regarded as an imperative, and the need to protect the caribou was strongly emphasized. Many places along the river and in the mountains, including resource areas, villages and campsites were mentioned as significant because of their history. Moreover, both *Shìłdıı* and the red ochre location at Rock River are recognized as sacred sites. The individuals I interviewed personally maintained that they feel the same kind of respect towards such places as their elders do. It seems, therefore, that the concerns of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards the land transcend generations.

[47] One of the monuments is located where Constables Kinney and Taylor passed away around Three Cabin Creek. The other is found where Fitzgerald and Carter died around Sucker Creek.

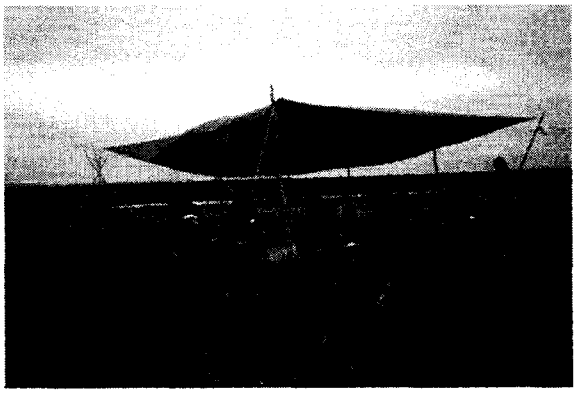


Figure 25. Fort McPherson Archaeology Project 2002/03. Several Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın youth are excavating the location where their people used to camp during their visits to Fort McPherson from approximately 1850 to 1920.

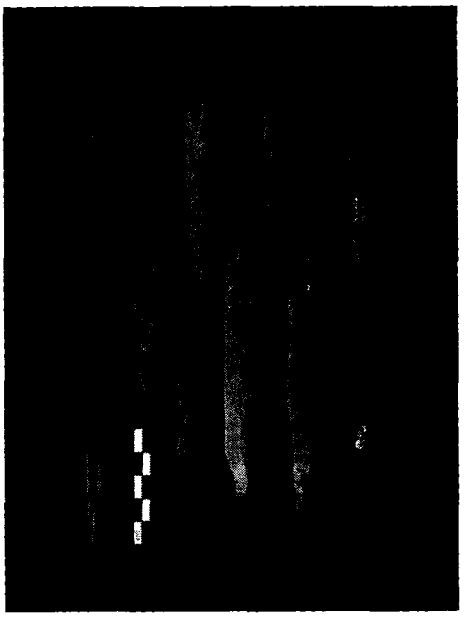


Figure 26. Bone and antler artefacts collected in Fort McPherson (MiTu-1)

Figure 27. Monument commemorating the locations where two of the four officers of the Lost Patrol passed away in the winter of 1911 (photo credit: Ingrid Kritsch, GSCI)

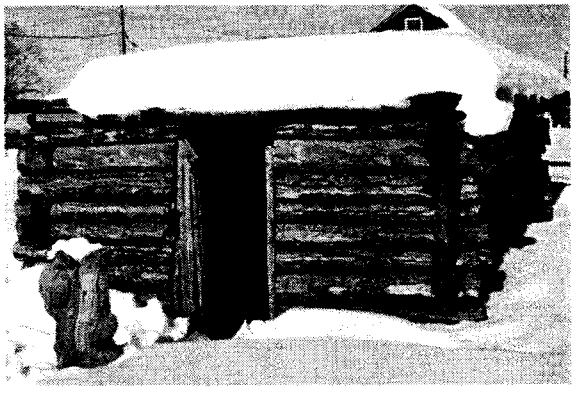


Figure 28. Reconstruction of the Mad Trapper's cabin in Fort McPherson

CHAPTER 7

Protecting and Managing Gwich'in Heritage Places in the Gwich'in Settlement Region

> *Preserving places important to Navajo people can help preserve Navajo culture, but to be most effective, preservation efforts must widen their focus from the specific place to the culturally significant landscape within which each place functions and from which it gets power (significance) and to which it gives power. A focus on places isolated from their landscape contexts also allows preservation bureaucrats to try to assign different levels of significance to each place to justify not preserving certain places. Preservation efforts that focus on places but ignore their associated landscapes that provide the material basis for Navajo way of life run the risk of saving the places while letting the living context be destroyed, as in a strip mine that "islands" or "pedestals" the family graves that people won't consent to have moved but evicts the living people and turns the land into an uninhabitable moonscape. Without Navajos living the customary life on the land, the places will no longer be part of a living cultural system and that landscape that it animates. They will only commemorate the past existence of a dead culture* [Francis and Kelley 1994:98].

For the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, protecting their way of life is what constitutes the essential of heritage preservation. Their traditional lifestyle depends on their ability to travel out on the land, harvest animal and plant resources, drink water from the lakes and rivers, establish camps and cabins, maintain family areas, show proper respect to those places that have a spiritual value to them, and remember the names and stories that connect them to their past and to who they are. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are working very hard to maintain all of this. They realize that it is largely up to them to ensure the transmittal of their knowledge and values, and they are constantly developing new ways to strengthen their culture. They are also very aware, however, that those efforts will be in vain if the landscape, which is really an anchor for their culture, is not preserved.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın also share many of the values and aspirations of other Canadians. They have homes in Fort McPherson, are engaged in the wage economy and send their children to school so they can get a solid education. They want to build a good future for themselves and their families and know that this cannot be achieved without a strong economic base. Even though they wish to preserve their homeland, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are not necessarily against using the land for commercial purposes. It is *how* it is used that really matters to them. They do not want to see development put the fragile

equilibrium of the ecosystem at risk. Their traditional relationship with the land – economic, social, cultural and spiritual – should not be significantly affected either. This means that the overall fabric of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape must be maintained. It is not sufficient to protect places in isolation, without consideration for their context or their relation to other places.

Traditionally in Canada, the protection of heritage places has been under the jurisdiction of provincial/territorial and federal governments. Several departments and programs have been established to manage those resources that are considered a part of the public trust. Their task is to implement different pieces of legislation specifically designed to ensure the protection of natural and cultural resources in the face of development and other potential threats. Such legislation remains an important instrument for the protection of heritage resources within the homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. With the signing of the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim, however, a number of other tools have been introduced for management purposes. These have conferred a more active role to the Gwich'in in the preservation of their heritage, and they have changed the face of resource management in their area. This chapter examines the management processes that are at play in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and considers how they are contributing to maintain Gwich'in heritage places and values. While the Gwich'in Land Claim contains chapters that specifically address the issue of cultural resources, the holistic perspective of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın on heritage places makes it necessary to consider all management issues in their area, as revealed through the whole agreement.

Legislation on Heritage

Although the socio-political context has changed significantly in the North as a result of the land claim process, federal and territorial legislation remain part of the tools that are in force within settlement areas to protect heritage places. Since their homeland overlaps both the Yukon and Northwest Territories, there are two different sets of territorial legislation that apply in the particular area of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın. The main federal and territorial laws that affect or may potentially affect their heritage places in the Gwich'in Settlement Region are outlined in Tables 5 through 7. Some of these laws have

been specifically designed to protect cultural sites and resources, while others have a broader scope but include provisions related to places that are of cultural significance. Several land claim agreements that affect the management of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın resources are also shown in Table 5.

Governments in the Yukon and Northwest Territories have not traditionally enjoyed the same powers as provinces because most of the lands within their jurisdiction belong to the Crown. Although there has been a transfer of responsibilities towards the territories in several areas since the 1970s, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC) largely retained control over land, water and resource management. This situation is now changing, however, as the federal government intends to give the territories authority over areas that are under provincial jurisdiction in other parts of the country. In April of 2003, the management of land and resources in the Yukon became a territorial affair. INAC now oversees matters related to waste and contaminants, and assumes responsibilities under the Yukon Environmental and Socio-Economic Assessment Act and the Canadian Environmental Assessment Act. In the Northwest Territories, negotiations for the devolution of authority over lands and resources are underway but INAC still has several directorates in Yellowknife, which assume responsibilities for land and resource management on Crown lands. This is why there are more federal laws and regulations that still apply within the Northwest Territories. The transfer of powers should be effective sometime in 2006 (INAC 2003).

Besides INAC, other federal departments with land management responsibilities in the Yukon and Northwest territories are the Department of the Environment and the Department of Canadian Heritage. The Canadian Wildlife Service, as its name suggests, oversees issues related to wildlife protection, while the Parks Canada agency is responsible for national parks and national historic sites, and also supervises some aspects of the Historic Places Initiative. Under the legislation administered by these organizations, some areas may be designated for protection and/or commemoration. Prior to the settlement of the Gwich'in Land Claim, there was only one place within the homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın that had received special recognition at the federal level. It is the old trading post location in Fort McPherson, which was designated a National Historic Site in 1969.

Table 5. Federal Legislation that Relate to the Management of Heritage Places in the Gwich'in Settlement Region

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Canada Oil and Gas Geophysical Operations Regulations (under the Canada Oil and Gas Operations Act)	Protection	Archaeological sites and burial grounds in the Gwich'in Settlement Area	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)	The regulations provide guidelines in case of an accidental discovery during an onshore geophysical operation on both Crown and private land. If a site is discovered, the operator must inform a conservation officer and suspend the operation in the immediate area of the discovery until the conservation officer gives the operator permission to resume activities in this area. Such permission can only be granted if the conservation officer is satisfied that the operation will not disturb the archaeological site or burial ground and will not affect the archaeological or other special characteristics or the nature of the site or ground.
Canada Wildlife Act and Regulations	Protection	Wildlife habitats	Canadian Wildlife Service (Environment)	The Act provides for the establishment of marine conservation areas and wildlife areas for the protection of endangered species. The Wildlife Area Regulations outline rules for the management and control of such areas. Hunting and fishing are generally prohibited.
Canada National Parks Act	Protection, Commemoration, Education, Recreation	Representative land and marine natural areas of Canada	Parks Canada (Canadian Heritage)	Parklands are federally owned. The first objective of park management is the maintenance or restoration of ecological integrity, through the protection of natural resources and natural processes. Zoning is used to regulate activities. Cultural resources within national parks and marine conservation areas are protected and managed according to Parks Canada's principles set out in the agency's Cultural Resource Management Policy.
First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun Final Agreement (validated by the Yukon First Nations Land Claims Settlement Act)	Ownership and management	Burials and places that contain moveable heritage resources or that are of value for aesthetic or cultural reasons	Government of Canada Government of the Northwest Territories First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun	The Nacho Nyak Dun own and manage heritage sites and resources on lands and beds of water they own in the Primary Use Area of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. They have the right to be involved in land use planning in the Peel River Watershed. The Agreement contains specific provisions for the nomination of the Bonnet Plume River as a Canadian Heritage River.

Table 5. Continued

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement (validated by the Gwich'in Land Claim Settlement Act)	Protection and management	Resource areas, historic and archaeological places and burials	Government of Canada Government of the Northwest Territories Gwich'in Tribal Council	This agreement established the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which includes the Gwich'in Settlement Area in the Northwest Territories plus the Primary Use and Secondary Use Areas in the Yukon. The main part of the agreement includes provisions related to land ownership, management boards, land use planning, parks and protected areas, special harvesting areas, heritage resources and self-government, and outlines the management rights and responsibilities of the Gwich'in towards natural and cultural resources within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The Yukon Transboundary Agreement refers to the management of resources in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas. Provisions relate to land ownership and management, land use planning, development assessment, and heritage places. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın own heritage resources on their lands in the Primary Use Area.
Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act and Regulations	Land and water management and protection	Environmental resources (including places of environmental significance) Archaeological or historic sites, and burial sites	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)	The Act establishes boards to plan for land use, to regulate the use of lands and water and the deposits of waste, and to do environmental impact assessments of projects in the Mackenzie Valley (including settlement areas). It also creates a process to screen, assess and review the environmental impacts of proposed developments in the Valley. Traditional knowledge must be considered. The Mackenzie Valley Land Use Regulations prohibit land use operation within 30 metres of a known monument or a known or suspected historical, archaeological site or burial ground, and, in the case of unexpected discovery, the immediate suspension of activities and notification of the Board or inspector is required. The concerned First Nation must also be notified and consulted.
Historic Sites and Monuments Act	Protection and Commemoration	Sites, buildings or other places of national historic interest or significance	Parks Canada (Canadian Heritage)	The Act establishes an advisory board that makes recommendations to the minister on the commemoration of historic sites and the establishment of historic museums. Sites are most often commemorated with a plaque. Aboriginal cultural landscapes are now considered for commemoration. Only those sites owned by Parks Canada are protected.
NWT Archaeological Sites Regulations (under the NWT Act)	Protection	Archaeological sites and objects, including burial sites	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (on behalf of INAC)	The Regulations apply to all NWT (lands and water) except National Parks and federally owned National Historic Sites They prohibit possession and/or sale of artefacts removed from a site on or after June 15, 2001, and establish a permitting system for survey and excavation.

Table 5. Continued

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement	Management	Resources areas, burials, and places that contain moveable heritage resources or that are of value for aesthetic or cultural reasons	Government of Canada Government of the Yukon Council for Yukon Indians	This Agreement provides for the creation of the Yukon Land Use Planning Council and potential regional land use planning commissions. It entitles Yukon First Nations to establish special management areas (parks and protected areas, designated heritage sites, watershed protection areas, etc.) as part of their final agreements. The agreement also contains provisions about a development assessment process and the creation of different resource management boards, including the Yukon Heritage Resources Board. Yukon First Nations own and manage heritage sites and resources on their lands.
Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation Final Agreement (validated by the Yukon First Nations Land Claims Settlement Act)	Ownership and management	Burials and places that contain moveable heritage resources or that are of value for aesthetic or cultural reasons	Government of Canada Government of the Yukon Vuntut Gwitchin First Nation	The Vuntut Gwitchin own and manage heritage sites and resources on lands and beds of water they own in the Secondary Use Area of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. They have the right to be involved in land use planning within this area.
Yukon Environmental and Socio-Economic Assessment Act	Protection	Environmental resources (including places of environmental significance) Places or areas that contain work(s) of people or nature with scientific, cultural or aesthetic value Human burial sites outside a recognized cemetery	Indian and Northern Affairs Canada (INAC)	The Act establishes a process for assessing the environmental and socio-economic effects of certain activities in the Yukon. It also establishes a public board to implement the process. Traditional knowledge must be considered.

Table 6. Northwest Territories Legislation that Relate to the Management of Heritage Places in the Gwich'in Settlement Area

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act	It makes public bodies more accountable to the public and protects personal privacy	Fossil sites or natural sites; sites having an anthropological or heritage value or aboriginal cultural significance	The Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (in most cases)	The head of a public body may refuse to disclose information about heritage places if such disclosure could result in damage or interfere with their conservation.
Charter Communities Act	Protection and Commemoration	Places, buildings or works of prehistoric, historic, cultural, natural or aesthetic value within municipal boundaries	The councils of municipal corporations	The Act entitles municipal councils to make by-laws to designate and classify heritage places and to prohibit or regulate the construction, alteration, repair, demolition and excavation of heritage resources.
Cities, Towns and Villages Act	Protection and Commemoration	Places, buildings or works of prehistoric, historic, cultural, natural or aesthetic value within municipal boundaries	The councils of municipal corporations	The Act entitles municipal councils to make by-laws to designate and classify heritage places and to prohibit or regulate the construction, alteration, repair, demolition and excavation of heritage resources.
Hamlets Act	Protection and Commemoration	Places, buildings or works of prehistoric, historic, cultural, natural or aesthetic value within municipal boundaries	The council of municipal corporations	The Act entitles municipal councils to make by-laws to designate and classify heritage places and to prohibit or regulate the construction, alteration, repair, demolition and excavation of heritage resources.
Historical Resources Act	Protection and Commemoration	Places and sites of prehistoric and historic significance to the NWT	Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Education, Culture and Employment)	This Act pertains to Commissioner's Land only. It establishes an advisory board whose mandate is to make recommendations to the Minister about the establishment of museums, the acquisition, marking and commemoration of historic sites, and the administration, preservation and maintenance of historic places and museums. The Commissioner may order developers to mitigate impacts on threatened prehistoric or historic remains (whether they are designated or not).

Table 6. Continued

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Settlements Act	Commemoration	Any heritage place on lands administered by the Commissioner's agent of Municipal and Community Affairs	The councils of settlement corporations	This Act entitles councils to commemorate heritage places by resolutions.
Territorial Parks Act and Regulations	Protection and/or recreation and tourism, education	Representative or aesthetically significant natural areas Core representative areas that contribute to regional biodiversity Culturally significant sites and landscapes, significant cultural or historical natural areas, physical features or built environments	Industry, Tourism and Investment	The Act provides for the establishment of cultural conservation areas, heritage parks, natural environment parks, recreation parks, wayside parks, and wilderness conservation areas. Industrial activity is generally prohibited within Wilderness Conservation Areas and may be prohibited within other parks. A permit system is used to regulate use, development, construction or research on parkland. The Territorial Parks Act Regulations allow the Superintendent of a park to include use permit terms and conditions respecting the protection of places of recreational, historical, geological, archaeological or scenic value. They also provide for the establishment of Historic Parks.
Travel and Tourism Act	Protection	Natural and/or cultural value of sensitive or travel development areas	Industry, Tourism and Investment	Under this act, outdoor recreational activities may be restricted in an area, through permitting, zoning and/or guiding.
Wildlife Act	Protection	Wildlife habitats	Environment and Natural Resources	The Act provides for the creation of wildlife management zones, wildlife sanctuaries, wildlife preserves, wildlife management areas, critical wildlife areas, or special management areas. It gives the Commissioner the right to make regulations for wildlife management within these areas.

Table 7. Yukon Legislation that Relate to the Management of Heritage Places in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Yukon

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act	It makes public bodies more accountable to the public and protects personal privacy	Fossil sites or natural sites; site having an anthropological or heritage value	Yukon Heritage Resources (in most cases)	The head of a public body may refuse to disclose information about heritage places if such disclosure could result in damage or interfere with their conservation.
Cemeteries and Burial Sites Act	Protection	Burial sites (including those outside recognized cemeteries)	Community Services	The Act prohibits the excavation or investigation of a burial site and the removal, or disturbance of a marker, monument or fence without permission from the Minister. It also prohibits disinterment or reburial without proper authorization, and the deposit of waste within 100 m of a burial site. Only the relatives of a deceased person or a RCMP officer may erect markers at burial sites without authorization. The act also establishes a permit system for the care of burial sites and it allows the Commissioner to make regulations about burials sites.
Historic Resources Act	Education, commemoration, protection	Designated historic sites Work(s) of man or nature of archaeological, palaeontological, pre-historic, historic, scientific or aesthetic value Human remains 45 years or older outside recognized cemeteries or burial sites	Yukon Heritage Resources (Tourism and Culture)	The Act establishes an advisory board to make recommendations to the Minister on issues related to designation, protection, and use of historic sites. The Minister is responsible for designating sites and maintaining an inventory. The Act provides for the establishment of a permit system to regulate activities around historic sites. It also allows the Minister to order the ceasing of an activity that may damage historic resources or human resources in undesignated places and to oblige the owner or lessee to apply for a Historic Resources Permit. A permit is required to research or excavate historic objects or human remains. Municipal councils can use by-laws to designate historic site within their municipalities.
Parks and Land Certainty Act	Protection, recreation, education	Areas of unique natural or ecological significance representative or unique landscapes of Yukon's ecoregions	Environment	The Act provides for the establishment of ecological reserves, natural environment parks, wilderness preserves, recreation parks or other types of parks prescribed by regulations. A management plan must be designed for each park. Zoning may be used to regulate activities. Industrial activity is prohibited within ecological reserves and wilderness preserves. A permit system is used to allow activities, developments or uses within parks. Parklands are owned by the Yukon Government. The Historic Resources Act applies to the protection of historic sites/objects and human remains within a park. Additional regulations may be designed to restrict access to historic site/objects and burials sites, and regulate research.

Table 7. Continued

Legislation	Objective(s)	Target Heritage Place(s)	Implementing Agency	Comments
Placer Mining Act and Regulations	Protection	Parks, historic sites, archaeological sites, burials	Energy, Mines and Resources	The Act stipulates that where in the opinion of the Commissioner in Executive Council lands may be required for a park or a historic site, he may prohibit entry on those lands for locating a claim or prospecting. The Placer Mining Act Land Use Regulation stipulates that all archaeological sites and burial grounds must be avoided and that if such a site is encountered in the course of an operation, it is to be marked, reported to the Chief and protected from further disturbance until authorization is given by the Chief.
Quartz Mining Act and Regulations	Protection	Parks, historic sites, archaeological sites, burials	Energy, Mines and Resources	The Act stipulates that where in the opinion of the Commissioner in Executive Council lands may be required for a park or a historic site, he may prohibit entry on those lands for locating a claim or prospecting. The Quartz Mining Act Regulation stipulates that all archaeological sites and burial grounds must be avoided and that if such a site is encountered in the course of an operation, it is to be marked, reported to the Chief and protected from further disturbance until authorization is given by the Chief.
Territorial Lands (Yukon) Act and Regulations	Protection	Historic Sites, archaeological sites and burials	Energy, Mines and Resources	The Act entitles the Commissioner in Executive Council to order the withdrawal of territorial lands for historic sites. The Regulations stipulate that a permittee cannot carry out a land use operation within 30 m of an archaeological site or burial. If a suspected archaeological site or burial is discovered during a land use operation, the permittee must suspend the land operation on the site and notify the inspector or an engineer of the location or the site and the nature of any unearthed materials, structures, or artefacts.
Wildlife Act	Protection	Wildlife habitats	Environment	The Act allows the Commissioner to designate, by regulation, habitat protection areas or wildlife sanctuaries. The Commissioner can make regulations to manage such areas.
Yukon Archaeological Sites Regulations (Historic Resources Act)	Protection	Archaeological sites and objects, including burial sites	Yukon Heritage Resources (Tourism and Culture)	The Regulations apply to the whole Yukon (lands and water) except National Parks and federally owned National Historic Sites The Regulations prohibit possession and/or sale of artefacts removed from a site on or after June 15, 2001, and establish a permitting system for survey and excavation.

At the territorial level, there are several departments that protect and regulate the use of resources in the Yukon and Northwest Territories. In the Northwest Territories these include the Department of Industry, Tourism and Development; the Department of Environment and Natural Resources; and the Department of Education, Culture and Employment.[48] The Departments of Energy, Mines and Resources; Environment; and Tourism and Culture are those that have a mandate for resource protection in the Yukon. There are two areas within the traditional territory of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, which were protected under territorial legislation before 1992. One is the Peel River Preserve, created in the early 1920s to give the Gwich'in exclusive hunting rights within its boundaries. This designation still exists but has become irrelevant with the signing of the Gwich'in Land Claim in 1992. The second place is located on the right bank of the Peel River along the Dempster Highway, Northwest Territories. Nitainlaii Territorial Park was established in 1983; it contains a campground and a visitor information centre, which provides tourists with a glimpse of Gwich'in culture.

The PWNHC and the Yukon Heritage Branch (now Heritage Resources) – both established in 1982 under the banner of culture-related departments – are the main agencies responsible for the management of *cultural* heritage resources. They are, among other things, overseeing programs related to the protection, management and commemoration of heritage places.[49] In both territories, archaeological and historic places are protected under federal and territorial legislation. The priority of the PWNHC and Yukon Heritage Resources in terms of site management is to limit the impacts of development activities on heritage places. In addition to regulating archaeological research and investigation, both agencies are therefore involved in resource inventory, database management and they also review land use applications and give expertise to different organizations including communities, public management boards, government

[48] In the past, the Department of Industry, Tourism and Development and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources formed together the Department of Resources, Wildlife and Economic Development (RWED).

[49]The PWNHC's Cultural Places Program is responsible for managing archaeological and historic sites and it also administers the territories' geographic names program. Yukon Heritage Resources is responsible for managing archaeological, palaeontological and historic sites and resources on Yukon lands. It maintains the database of Yukon geographic names and provides support to the Yukon Geographic Name Board. It also licenses scientific research in the Yukon under the Scientists and Explorers Act. In the Northwest Territories, the Aurora Research Institute is the main licensing agency for research projects outside of archaeology.

agencies, First Nation governments, and private companies. Archaeological and historic sites and objects in the two territories are generally considered as public resources and are managed on behalf of the whole population. Nevertheless, it is acknowledged that individual communities (Native and non-Native) have a special interest in some of these resources, and both the PWNHC and Yukon Heritage Resources conduct most of their work in consultation or collaboration with different groups.

As is usually the case with the law, legalistic definitions of archaeological and historic resources have been carefully prepared to avoid confusion about what they are. These definitions create a test, which serves to determine what resources are to be afforded protection. They also help identify government responsibilities towards heritage resources, and provide the basis for the establishment of financial and management capacities. Since the presence of cultural material is usually required for the legislation on cultural heritage to protect places in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, there is only a fraction of the sites of cultural relevance to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın that are in fact legally protected. Spiritual sites or story places with no remains of cultural activity, for instance, do not fit legal descriptions of archaeological or historic sites. Heritage officials are very aware of this problem and try to accommodate First Nation values as best as they can, sometimes by stretching the definition of archaeological sites to include other places that are of importance to First Nations into the database, so that these may be considered when land use applications are reviewed. Environmental legislation also give Indigenous groups an opportunity to identify sites or areas that are of heritage value and this, no matter what they are. The impacts of land use activities on those places are usually avoided or mitigated. Perhaps the greatest problem that territorial agencies are confronted with in terms of site protection is the lack of inventory data, since only those places that are known can be protected.

Finally, there are some pieces of legislation in the Northwest Territories that enable community councils to designate historic properties on their lands. The Yukon Historic Resources Act also entitles the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to do so on their Yukon lands. To this day, however, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Council has not made use of those laws to commemorate heritage places. Places designated at the local level or through territorial or federal designation programs are eligible for inclusion on the Canadian Register of

Historic Places. This status may raise the profile of heritage places and help to protect them. Such protection, however, is not granted and these programs are often not suitable to keep sensitive or spiritual sites from unwanted attention. Fortunately, the signing of their land claim in 1992 has bestowed the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories with a greater ability to take care of their heritage places. The agreement established different mechanisms that help preserving Gwich'in heritage sites and landscapes.

The Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim

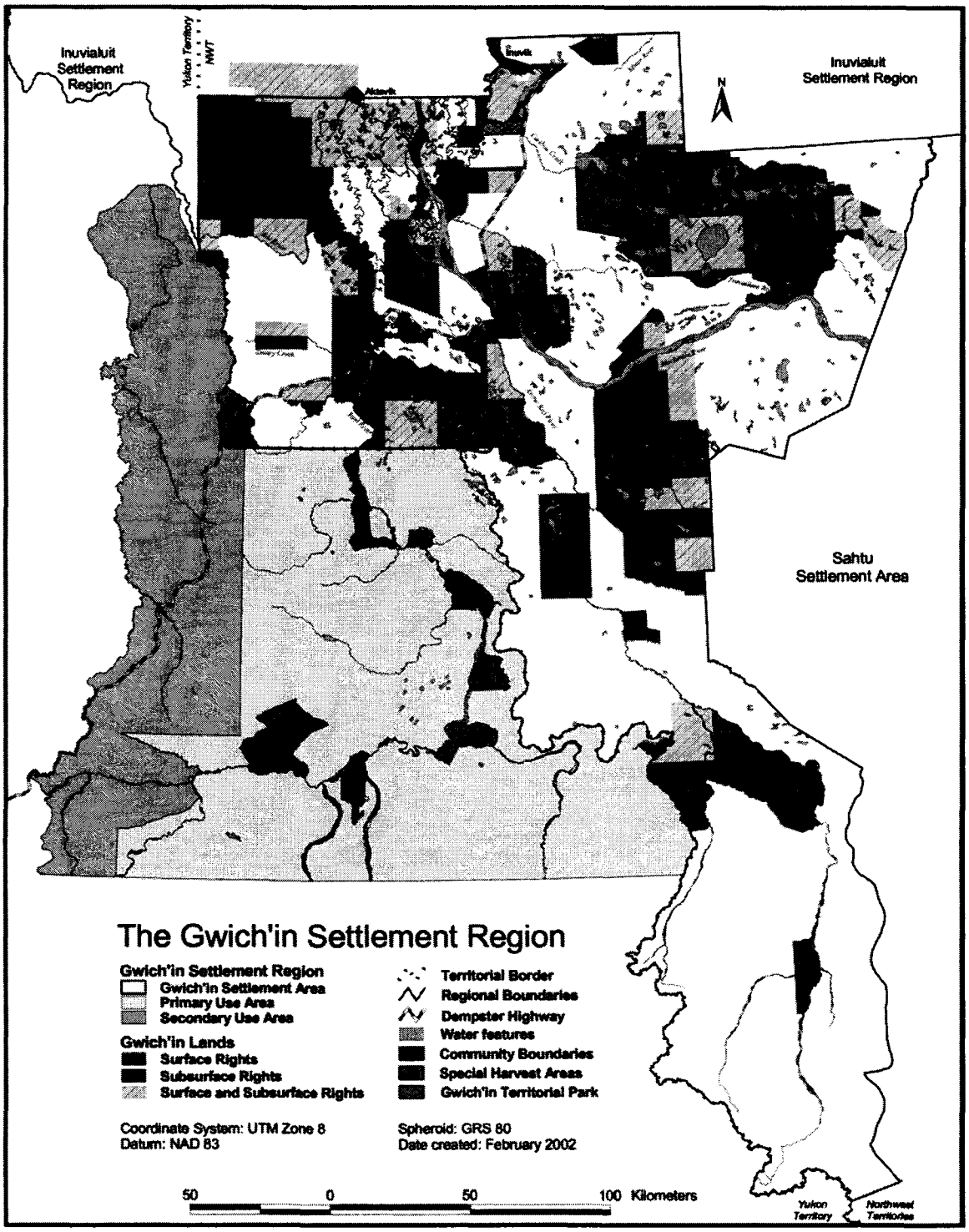
Oil and gas exploration in the late 1960s triggered the land claim process in the Northwest Territories, by stimulating an important debate on the interpretation of Treaty 11 and the rights of the Dene and Métis within their traditional territories (e.g. Berger 1977). Those groups argued that they never surrendered their rights to the land and that the Crown had not fulfilled its obligations as outlined in the Treaty. Canada agreed to negotiate comprehensive land claims with them, and the Dene Nation and the Métis Association joined forces to conclude a single agreement that covered the whole Mackenzie Valley. An Agreement-in-Principle was signed in 1988, but problems subsequently arose when a joint Dene/Métis assembly requested that some essential elements of the agreement be renegotiated. The federal government refused, thereby invalidating the Dene/Métis land claim. The Gwich'in and the Sahtu, who had disagreed with the idea of renegotiating the terms of the Agreement-in-Principle, requested that regional claims be established based on the unratified Dene/Métis agreement.

The Gwich'in Land Claim was the first of the regional claims to be settled in 1992 and it largely resembles the Dene/Métis agreement. The objectives of the agreement are to establish clearly the rights of the Gwich'in towards the land and resources and to compensate them for the surrender of certain rights. It is also a way to acknowledge the close relationship that the Gwich'in maintain with the land and to encourage economic self-sufficiency. The protection of the wildlife and environment in the Gwich'in Settlement Area is another priority, and the Gwich'in have the right to harvest resources and participate in their management. Finally, their land claim entitles the Gwich'in to negotiate self-government.

Since much of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın traditional territory is within the Yukon Territory, the Gwich'in Land Claim contains a transboundary agreement that defines the rights of the Gwich'in within the Yukon. The settlement of the land claim resulted in the creation of the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which includes the Gwich'in Settlement Area (56,935 $km^{2)}$ in the Northwest Territories, plus the Primary (21,988 km^2) and Secondary (11,456 km^2) Use Areas of the Yukon. The Gwich'in have different rights and responsibilities that apply within each of these areas. There are two chapters in the agreement that specifically relate to heritage resources but in fact, many other sections of the land claim include tools for the management of those resources as defined by the Gwich'in. These are the topic of the following discussion.

Land Ownership

The signing of their land claim has bestowed the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories some right of ownership over 22,422 km^2 (40%) of all lands within the Gwich'in Settlement Area, and 1,554 km^2 (7%) of the lands in the Primary Use Area of the Yukon. In total, this represents 18 percent of the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which covers an area of approximately 90,379 km^2. The Gwich'in hold both surface and subsurface rights over 6,054 km^2 (11%) of the lands within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. They have surface rights only for the remainder of their lands in both the Yukon and Northwest Territories, except for a very small area (93 km^2) in the latter territory, where their title is limited to subsurface resources (Map 6). Gwich'in lands are owned communally by all the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories. They cannot be sold, mortgaged or donated. They may, however, be rented, transferred to a designated Gwich'in organization, or exchanged with the government for other lands. If necessary, Gwich'in lands may be expropriated for public purposes.



Map 6. System of Land Ownership in the Gwich'in Settlement Region (GLUPB 2003b)

Throughout the consultation process that was carried out in preparation for the land claim, Gwich'in communities identified significant areas based on the presence of trap lines, good spawning or fishing locations, caribou habitats, berry picking areas, trails, camps, legendary places, etc. Many of the land parcels now owned by the Gwich'in were selected based on this information. An area of one hectare was also secured around each contemporary Gwich'in cabin site. Ownership allows the Gwich'in to regulate activities on their lands and thereby ensure the protection of their heritage places. On the other hand, it also secures their right to use those places for the pursuit of their own activities.

Unfortunately for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, however, they could not obtain ownership over many of their heritage places in the Yukon Territory, where most of their traditional lands are. They have no right of ownership in the Secondary Use Area, for instance. This is where the Rock River area *(Chıı deetak)* – a hunting place of great economic, cultural and spiritual significance to them – is found (see Map 5). In the Primary Use Area, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın own heritage sites (including archaeological sites) that are on their lands. They could also acquire title over most of their cabin sites located there. Their Yukon lands, however, only amount to a very small percentage of the whole area, which many Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın still consider the heart of their country.

Management Rights and Responsibilities

In addition to securing the rights of the Gwich'in to harvest resources within the Gwich'in Settlement Region, their land claim also gave them a voice in the management of these resources. In the Northwest Territories, this was done through the establishment of public management boards, which oversee matters related to renewable resources, land and water, land use planning, and environmental impact review. The Gwich'in are represented on all those boards. Governments also have to consult with the Gwich'in prior to introducing new legislation and/or policy that may affect fish and wildlife harvesting methods within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The Gwich'in regulate activities on their lands, and they also get to comment on proposed land uses in other parts of the Gwich'in Settlement Area.

In the Yukon Territory, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have special harvesting rights within the Primary and Secondary Use Areas and in some parts of the Na'cho N'y'ak Dun

traditional territory. They must be consulted before any new measures that may affect those rights are put into place. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın can take part in the conservation and management of forestry and fish and wildlife resources and habitats in the Primary Use Area, either by attending public proceedings related to those issues, or by nominating appointees to the Mayo District Renewable Resources Council.[50] They were also represented on the Peel River Watershed Advisory Committee, which was established under their land claim to make recommendations about a water management agreement, the establishment of a Yukon regional land use planning commission and the need for establishing special management or protected areas in the watershed. General terms of reference have been completed for the Peel River Planning Commission, where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have appointed one nominee. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are not represented on Yukon public management boards. The Gwich'in Tribal Council, however, recently joined the Council of Yukon First Nations, which is responsible for selecting the members who sit on those boards. This, therefore, opens the door to future representation.

There are different sections of the Gwich'in Land Claim that refer to heritage places. For example, twelve special harvesting areas were set up in the Northwest Territories to protect the ability of the Gwich'in to fish or hunt for caribou, moose and migratory birds. The agreement also specifies that if a national park was to be created within the Gwich'in Settlement Area, it would be done in consultation with the Gwich'in who would retain the right to hunt, trap, fish and gather plants within the park limits. An Impact and Benefit Plan would also be prepared to ensure that the Gwich'in would profit from the creation of the park. In addition, the Gwich'in would represent half of the members of the Park Management Committee, and therefore be actively involved in the production of a management plan.

The Gwich'in also negotiated that they would be consulted prior to the establishment of other protected areas (e.g., territorial parks) in the Gwich'in Settlement Area, and they are entitled to participate in the development of a management plan. Their rights and benefits as set out under the land claim are to be maintained within protected areas,

[50] When the Mayo District Renewable Resources Council deals with issues that affect forestry, fish and wildlife management in the Primary Use Area, Gwich'in appointees may replace the three Na'cho N'y'ak Dun members who sit on the Council along with three government representatives.

unless agreed otherwise as part of a Protected Areas Agreement. Such a document would also include provisions related to the protection of Gwich'in religious, cultural and historic sites, and to the continued use of Gwich'in camps and travel routes to assist harvesting and other traditional uses. The Gwich'in Territorial Park, which is along the Dempster Highway on the outskirts of Inuvik, was established through the Gwich'in Land Claim and officially opened in 1996. Issues related to the establishment of national parks and protected areas are not covered as part of the Yukon Transboundary Agreement.

Chapter 25 of the land claim agreement addresses the topic of cultural heritage within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. It is only one and a half pages long and is rather limited in scope. The chapter does not speak to many of the issues that are important to the Gwich'in in terms of heritage protection. For instance, there is no mention of cultural or language conservation and no tools are included to help with the preservation of traditional knowledge, oral traditions or other cultural expressions. This means that the federal and territorial governments do not have any specific obligation under the Gwich'in Land Claim to provide assistance for the maintenance of those traditions. In fact, the main objective of the heritage chapter is to establish the rights and responsibilities of the Gwich'in about the management of their cultural sites and objects. Heritage sites are identified as "archaeological and historic places and sites and burials sites." Definitions for those places follow those of the existing legislation on heritage resources and are therefore based on the presence of material evidence. The chapter, then, mostly seeks to clarify issues of control over resources that are considered a part of the national heritage.

The Gwich'in are granted little control over their heritage resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The question of ownership is not directly addressed in their land claim. Gwich'in cultural sites and objects are implicitly treated as public goods, although it is acknowledged that they are of spiritual, cultural, religious and educational significance to them. Chapter 25 says that the Gwich'in are to be actively involved in the management of their heritage resources but it does not clearly establish how this is to be done. In fact, most of the articles included in the chapter limit the role of the Gwich'in to consultation. It states, for instance, that Gwich'in values are to be taken into account in management

decisions and policies, and that the Gwich'in must be consulted in the formulation of government policy and legislation that may affect their heritage resources in the Mackenzie Valley. Though they have a say on any proposed change of place names within the settlement area, the Gwich'in must apply to the Geographic Names Program of the PWNHC in order to obtain official recognition of their traditional names. While territorial authorities regularly consult the Gwich'in in the issuance of archaeological permits in the Gwich'in Settlement Area and consider any concerns they express, the land claim only establishes that the Gwich'in must be consulted by the permit holder.

Through the land use application review process, the Gwich'in have the opportunity to advise the Land and Water Board about the presence of heritage resources and any conditions they would like to see attached to a land use permit. They also negotiated that they would provide government with a list of sites that are of significance to them. Unfortunately, such a list has little potential to explain the relationships between these places and to protect them in their broader cultural context. Finally, the land claim secures the right of the Gwich'in to be represented on any body established by government in the region to administer or protect Gwich'in heritage resources. It does not, however, create a public board to oversee matters related to the management of heritage resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Area, such as those existing for land and water, and renewable resources. In fact, in the first ten-year (1992-2002) implementation plan developed for the Gwich'in Land Claim, no funding was transferred to the Gwich'in to carry out some of the responsibilities – such as heritage site identification or management – assigned to them under the agreement. The Gwich'in administration is partly responsible for this, as it did not negotiate to obtain implementation dollars for heritage resources. Those were clearly not a priority at the time. Things have changed since then, however, and starting in 2000 the Gwich'in have received a small amount of implementation funding.

In the Yukon, the rights of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın towards heritage resources are not so different from those they have in the Northwest Territories. The heritage chapter in the Yukon Transboundary Agreement also focuses on cultural sites and objects. The Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın own and manage heritage resources on their lands but the Yukon government is responsible for handling those on public lands. A heritage site is defined as "an area of

land which contains moveable heritage resources or which is of value for aesthetic or cultural reasons." Aside from burials, over which they have clear management rights and responsibilities,[51] the cultural resource management role of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın in the Yukon is mostly a consultative one. Governments must advise them when they identify a proposed designated heritage site in the Primary or Secondary Use Areas. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın also ought to be consulted before a management plan is designed for any heritage site in the Primary Use Area or a Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage site in the Secondary Use Area, or when legislation affecting Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın heritage sites or resources is introduced.

Through the Umbrella Final Agreement of the Yukon, two public boards were created to deal with matters related to heritage resources. One is the Yukon Heritage Resources Board, whose purpose is to advise government and First Nations on matter related to heritage, including heritage sites. The other is the Yukon Geographical Place Names Board, which is responsible for naming or renaming places within the Yukon. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Yukon Transboundary Agreement does not give them a right of representation on those boards, however. Moreover, it does not enable them to name or rename geographical features on their land such as other Yukon First Nations can do under the Umbrella Final Agreement.

In sum, the two heritage chapters of their land claim have not significantly empowered the Gwich'in with respect to their cultural heritage. To a certain extent, it is surprising to see that they have agreed to its contents, since it does not really correspondond to their views and priorities on heritage matters. It is important to realize, however, that the Gwich'in had many other priorities at the time they negotiated their claim. Securing their economic future is not the least of them. This is perhaps why the issues of land and natural resources have received greater attention. Another point to consider is that when they negotiated the land claim, the Gwich'in were not in a position to define exactly what heritage resources are for them and to articulate their values and

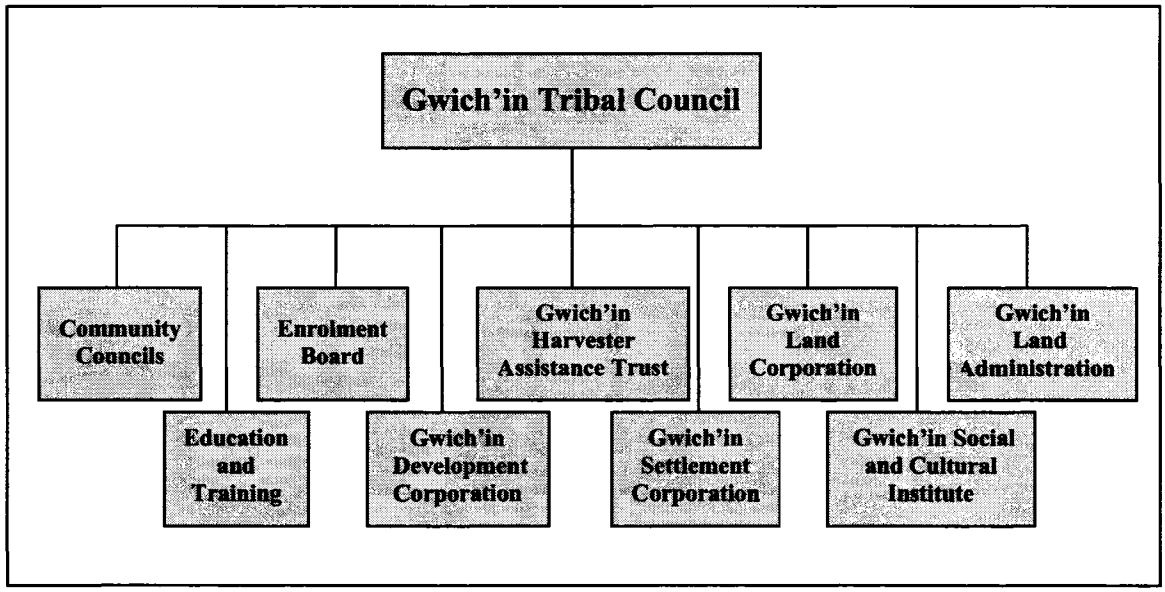
[51] The Yukon Transboundary Agreement states that Government and Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are to work together to establish procedures for the protection and management of Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın Yukon burial sites (see Yukon Heritage Branch 1999). The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın may also stop a land use activity in the Primary Use Area if a First Nation burial is discovered. Except if required by arbitration, any exhumation, scientific examination and reburial of remains from Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın burial sites is at their discretion.

concerns clearly. This would have been necessary for them to obtain more control over their heritage resources but it was not possible for lack of organization and resources. In fact, it is the settlement of the land claim itself that has provided the Gwich'in with the ability to define Gwich'in heritage and heritage values. This was done through the establishment of a third level of government – a Gwich'in one within the Gwich'in Settlement Region.

A Gwich'in Administration

The Gwich'in Land Claim identifies the Gwich'in Tribal Council as the primary Gwich'in organization within the Gwich'in Settlement Region. The Council, originally known as the Mackenzie Delta Tribal Council, was created in 1983 by the band councils and the Métis of the four Gwich'in communities of the Northwest Territories (GTC 2004b). The organization is composed of a board of directors, which includes two representatives from each of the four Gwich'in communities, plus an elected president and vice-president. The Gwich'in Tribal Council is now responsible for managing the lands and funds transferred to the Gwich'in and implementing other activities as described under the land claim. These are related to enrolment, economic development, land use planning, resource management, wildlife harvesting, parks and protected areas, heritage resources and self-government. Part of those responsibilities are being carried out in collaboration with territorial and/or government officials. This is why different boards have been created to bring Gwich'in representatives and government officials together and oversee matters related to land and renewable resource management, and land use planning. A committee composed of Gwich'in, territorial and federal representatives was also created to ensure that all features of the land claim are being properly implemented. As Figure 29 shows, different departments or organizations now work and assume specific responsibilities under the Gwich'in Tribal Council. Among those who play a role in the management of Gwich'in heritage places are the Gwich'in Land Administration, the GSCI, and community councils.

Figure 29. Departments or Agencies that Work under the Gwich'in Tribal Council



Gwich'in Land Administration

This Department is mostly concerned with issues related to land access, use, and occupation of Gwich'in-owned lands. Its main responsibilities are to assist the Gwich'in Tribal Council in developing management programs and policies and administering them, to issue authorizations to access and occupy Gwich'in lands, and to collect rents or other fees for the use and occupation of these lands (GTC 2003). Potential land uses on Gwich'in lands are varied and include logging and woodcutting, gravel pits and quarries, oil and gas, road construction, residential leases, government activities, recreation/tourism outfitting, and scientific research. Over the past few years, the Gwich'in Land Administration has processed over 40 authorizations annually. Many more applications are anticipated in the years to come, however, as the pipeline project develops in the Mackenzie Valley.

Even though the Gwich'in Land Use Plan (discussed in a later part of the chapter) was not finalized before 2003, it has already been directing the authorization process on Gwich'in lands for several years. A proposed land use is only allowed to proceed if it falls within a zone where activities of this nature are authorized by the plan. Before permitting a specific activity, the Lands Administration office also consults with

community councils, local renewable resources councils, the GSCI and the Gwich'in Renewable Resource Board in order to determine whether they assent to the proposed land use and have any concerns that would require special conditions to be attached to the authorization. If significant heritage places are located within a proposed use area, the office can protect them either by prohibiting or restricting access to the area (e.g., in winter only), or by establishing a buffer zone around the place. Gwich'in monitoring on private lands ensures compliance with the conditions of authorization.

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute

The GSCI came to existence in 1992, as a result of concerns that were expressed about the erosion of Gwich'in culture and language during an annual assembly that was held in Fort McPherson. The Institute started to operate in 1993 as a non-profit and charitable organization. Its main office is in Tsiigehtchic, with offices in Fort McPherson, Inuvik, and Yellowknife. The GSCI takes direction from both its Board of Directors and the Gwich'in Tribal Council. Its mandate is to document, preserve and promote the practice of Gwich'in culture, language, traditional knowledge, and values. Initially, the Institute was also expected to deliver social programs, but communities have taken the lead role in developing and implementing such programs. As a result, the GSCI is mostly responsible for the protection and promotion of Gwich'in heritage (GSCI 2002).

The GSCI is involved in resource inventory and management, the documenting and protection of oral history and traditional knowledge, genealogy and biography research, and the production of interpretive and educational material. Elders play a major role in many of these initiatives, as they are a primary source of information for the GSCI. The Institute has also organized several cultural and science youth camps out on the land, and it is creating as many training opportunities as possible. The GSCI has recently been assigned responsibility for developing and implementing the Gwich'in Language Plan. It has therefore been working through the Gwich'in Language Centre, which now falls under its wing, on the production of course curriculum, language dictionaries and other educational material. Several Gwich'in language immersion camps have also been held out on the land. Finally, as no specific body was established through the Gwich'in Land Claim to fulfil the different responsibilities of the Gwich'in vis-à-vis their heritage resources, the GSCI has been assuming many of them (GSCI 2002).

As part of these implementation activities, the GSCI has been involved in the review of territorial and federal legislation on heritage. It also participated in the development of the Gwich'in Land Use Plan and the Self-Government Culture, Language and Heritage Management Sub-Agreement. The Institute has been collaborating with the PWNHC and other institutions on different issues related to repatriation (e.g., Kritsch and Kreps 1997; Kritsch and Wright-Fraser 2002). It has also carried out a number of research projects related to Gwich'in heritage places, many of which have helped to fulfil Gwich'in obligations as described under the claim.

For instance, the GSCI provided input into the creation of the Gwich'in Territorial Park (established through the Gwich'in Land Claim), through the documenting of oral history (Kritsch 1994) and participation in the development of the park's management plan. It also worked with Yukon Heritage Resources and several Yukon First Nations to develop guidelines for the protection of burial sites in the Yukon, to inventory Gwich'in heritage resources in the upper Blackstone and Tombstone areas, and define the boundaries of the Tombstone Territorial Park (Kritsch 2000b; Yukon Heritage Branch 1999). Much time and effort have also been dedicated to recording Gwich'in place names, heritage sites and associated stories in other parts of the Gwich'in Settlement Region (e.g., Greer 1999; Kritsch and Andre 1993, 1994; Kritsch et al. 2000). This has permitted the creation of different databases and a Geographic Information System (GIS), a much-needed tool for the Institute who is in charge of reviewing land use applications and making recommendations for the protection of heritage places. These inventories will also assist the GSCI in building the list of heritage sites the Gwich'in will present to government. Moreover, many of the Gwich'in names collected may eventually be submitted for official recognition to the territorial Geographic Names Program. The community of the Gwichya Gwich'in – formerly known as Arctic Red River – was renamed Tsiigehtchic ("at the mouth of the iron river") in 1994, based on GSCI's work (Kritsch et al. 1994).

Over the years, the GSCI has built itself a strong reputation inside and outside the Gwich'in Settlement Region. It has established working relationships with elders, community members and many institutions including community councils, Gwich'in management boards and offices, the PWNHC and Yukon Heritage Resources, CPAWS,

Parks Canada, INAC, universities, museums, and other First Nations. The GSCI provides the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories with the necessary expertise to find funding, administer and carry out research or contract professionals to conduct projects and produce reports or other documentation required by government agencies. It plays an important role in searching for and presenting the Gwich'in with opportunities to undertake projects (e.g., archaeological research, place names inventories, historic designations) to document and foster an appreciation of their heritage. Explaining the intent and potential benefits of some government programs is not the least of its tasks, as people are largely unaware of their existence and do not always comprehend the rationale behind them. Nevertheless, the Gwich'in are very proud of their culture and history and they are happy to share those with other Canadians. The fact that their heritage is acknowledged by others also seems to enhance its value in their own eyes.

In sum, the GSCI is fulfilling very important responsibilities. It is not only documenting many aspects of Gwich'in heritage and culture, but it also helps managing heritage resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and implements many of the land claim activities related to heritage. The insight it has gained about Gwich'in values towards heritage sites and management allows the Institute to communicate local values to Gwich'in, territorial and federal agencies so that these may be acknowledged in legislation, policy, research and projects. Through the GSCI, then, the Gwich'in have taken a lead role in the preservation of their heritage.

Despite all this, however, the GSCI has not always received much support from the Gwich'in Tribal Council. It took several years for the Institute to succeed in showing the value of its activities and obtaining greater recognition for the role it plays as part of the Gwich'in administration. The strong support for GSCI activities at the grassroots level is now carrying more weight and influences leadership decisions. The Gwich'in Tribal Council is allocating more funds to cover the operational costs of the Institute, which raises money to finance all of the projects it undertakes. The GSCI started with only two staff members but now has eight employees. In the years to come, the GSCI intends to build more capacity and hopes to erect an adequate facility to allow for the storage of Gwich'in heritage objects and archival material within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The place would also be used to showcase Gwich'in culture.

Unfortunately, that the GSCI is implementing many of the heritage responsibilities of the Gwich'in as established under their land claim is not yet fully acknowledged by government. As mentioned earlier, no funds were allocated for the carrying out of heritage-related activities within the first ten-year implementation plan of the Gwich'in Land Claim. Starting in 2000, the GSCI managed to get an annual amount of $25,000 from INAC to identify Gwich'in heritage sites, but there are many other implementation activities that are not supported. The first implementation plan for the land claim expired in 2002 but a new plan has not been adopted since then. The situation therefore remains unchanged at this point, although negotiations are underway.[52]

Community Councils

Gwich'in community councils are designated Gwich'in organizations, which were created by the Gwich'in Tribal Council pursuant to the land claim agreement. They are local government agencies whose role is to represent Gwich'in beneficiaries from the four communities of the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The councils are composed of eight members plus a chief. They administer local renewable resource councils, whose mandate is to "encourage and promote local involvement in conservation, harvesting studies, research and wildlife management" (Government of Canada 1992a:62). They also oversee the activities of local development corporations and they manage different social and community programs. Two members from each of the councils represent their community on the Gwich'in Tribal Council.

In terms of heritage management, community councils are given a chance to review land use applications and to comment on them. They have the opportunity to communicate directly with those individuals who may be affected by a specific development and to address their concerns. When the GSCI plans to introduce a new project within the traditional area of a group, it always works in partnership with the community, drawing upon local advice and direction. In many ways, then, local councils are the ears and voice of the people. They have a say in most issues that affect their community, including matters related to heritage preservation and management.

[52] The GSCI, through Gwich'in Tribal Council negotiations, is asking the federal government to fund one or two staff positions within the Institute plus some operational costs in order to carry out responsibilities which are related to heritage places and resources within the Gwichin Land Claim (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. comm.,, 2004).

Public Management Boards

Through the Gwich'in Land Claim, several public management boards have been created and/or attributed different responsibilities for land and resource management within the Gwich'in Settlement Region. The Gwich'in Renewable Resource Board, the Gwich'in Land and Water Board and the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board, for instance, were established specifically to fulfil this purpose within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories are represented on those boards, along with territorial and federal government officials. Their mandate is to manage resources in a sustainable manner, while addressing the need of the Gwich'in and those of the Canadian population in general. The Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact and Review Board is responsible for conducting impact assessment studies for developments that take place across the Mackenzie Valley. The Gwich'in Tribal Council can nominate at least one member to the board. The Mackenzie Valley Land and Water Board is the permitting agency for developments, which extend beyond the Gwich'in Settlement Area. All the members of the Gwich'in Land Use Water Board figure on this regional board.

In the Yukon, the Umbrella Final Agreement led to the creation of public agencies, which are responsible for managing resources in the territory. Those include the Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board, the Yukon Land Use Planning Council, the Yukon Heritage Resources Board and the Yukon Geographical Place Names Board. Specific responsibilities are also ascribed to the Yukon Environmental and Socio-Economic Assessment Board and the Yukon Water Board, where Yukon First Nations are represented. Even though the Teetl'it Gwich'in are not part of Yukon public boards, all of them play a role in the management of resources within the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. This is why they are listed along with Northwest Territories boards in Table 8, which outlines the principal function(s) of each agency. These organizations have an impact on the preservation of heritage places, either through the recommendations they make for the protection of wildlife habitats and other heritage sites, or by controlling the activities that take place within the Gwich'in Settlement Region, through permitting, land use planning, or environmental impact assessment.

Together with territorial and federal government agencies, the Gwich'in Tribal Council, Lands Administration, the GSCI, community councils and renewable resource councils (RRC), these boards complete the list of organizations that participate in resource management within the Gwich'in Settlement Region (See Figures 30 and 31).[53] As we have demonstrated, most of them are somehow involved in the preservation of heritage resources, as those are defined by the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın.

[53] It is also important to mention that the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories have been a part of the Porcupine Caribou Management Board since the mid 1980s.

Table 8. Public Organizations that Play a Role in Resource Management within the Gwich'in Settlement Region

NWT BOARDS	FUNCTION(S)
Gwich'in Renewable Resources Board	The Board is the main instrument of wildlife, fish and forestry management in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. It is responsible for conserving and managing renewable resources in a sustainable manner for the public interest. It is involved in research and harvesting studies, the establishment of harvesting policies and regulations, the development of management plans, the designation of conservation areas and endangered species. The Board works in collaboration with community renewable resource councils.
Gwich'in Land and Water Board	The Board is in charge of the conservation, development and use of the land and water resources and the deposit of waste into water in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. It controls development practices, on both Crown and Gwich'in private lands, through the process of land use permitting and water licensing. The Board has a responsibility to involve affected communities, the Gwich'in Tribal Council, public boards, and appropriate government agencies. It must also use traditional knowledge in making decisions. The **Mackenzie Valley Land and Water Board** is responsible for processing transboundary land use and water use applications in the Mackenzie Valley.
Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board	The role of this Board is to develop, review and implement a land use plan for the Gwich'in Settlement Area that provides for the conservation, development and utilization of land, water and resources. It is also responsible for reviewing land use applications to ensure conformity with the land use plan.
Mackenzie Valley Environmental Impact Review Board	This Board is responsible for conducting environmental assessments and public review of developments throughout the Mackenzie Valley. Projects which may have adverse environmental impacts of are of public concerns are referred to the board for assessment.
YUKON BOARDS	**FUNCTION(S)**
Yukon Fish and Wildlife Management Board	The Board is the primary instrument of fish and wildlife management in the Yukon. It reviews and/or makes recommendations about fish and wildlife management legislation, regulations and policies (including habitats), wildlife management plans, and harvesting practices.
Yukon Water Board	This Board provides for the conservation, development and utilization of waters in the best interest of Yukoners and Canadians. It is responsible for the issuance of water use licences for the use of water and/or the deposit of waste into water in the Yukon. It also carries out environmental assessment of some water use applications.
Yukon Environmental and Socio-economic Assessment Board	This Board is responsible for conducting environmental assessments of development projects in the Yukon that are referred to it.
Yukon Land Use Planning Council	The Council is responsible for land use planning in the Yukon, including the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Gwich'in Settlement Region. It is supposed to consult with the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board on any land use planning initiatives in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas. The Council established the **Vuntut Planning Commission** in 2000, and the **Peel River Watershed Land Use Planning Commission** in 2004. They are responsible for land use planning in the Secondary Use Area and the Primary Use Area of the Gwich'in Settlement Region.
Yukon Heritage Resources Board	The Board is responsible for making recommendations about the management of moveable heritage resources and heritage sites to the Minister and to Yukon First Nations.
Yukon Geographical Place Names Board	This board is responsible for naming and renaming places or features in the Yukon. When these places or features are located within the traditional territory of a Yukon First Nation, the Board must consult with that First Nation. Nothing indicates in their land claim that the Teetl'it Gwich'in must be consulted.

Figure 30. Resource Management System in the Gwich'in Settlement Area (adapted from GTC 2001:11)

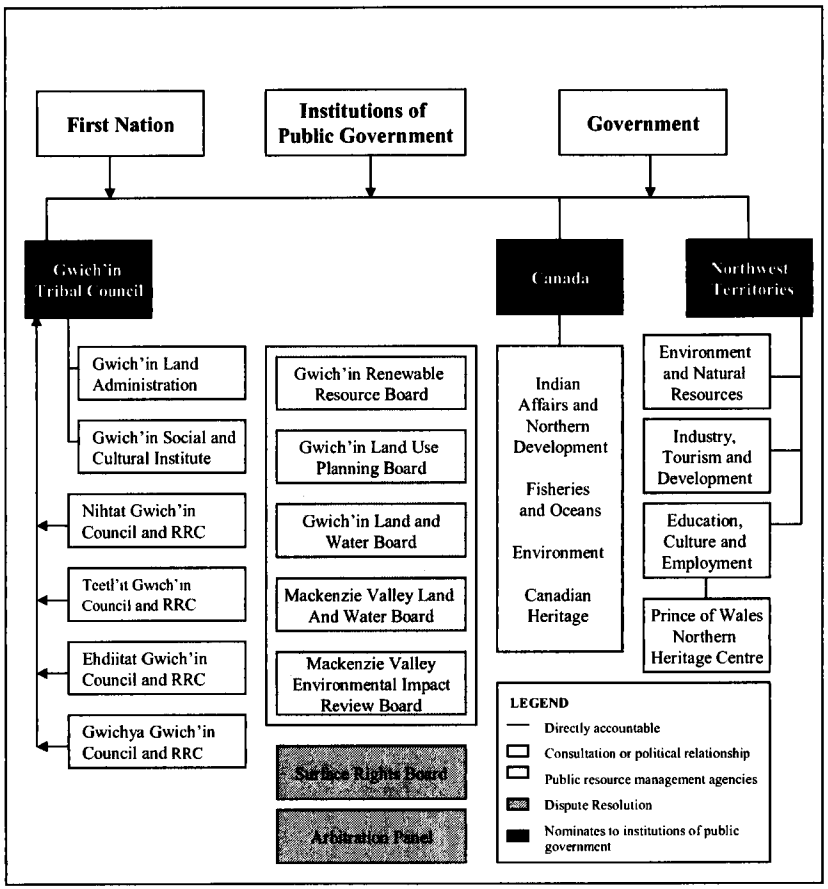
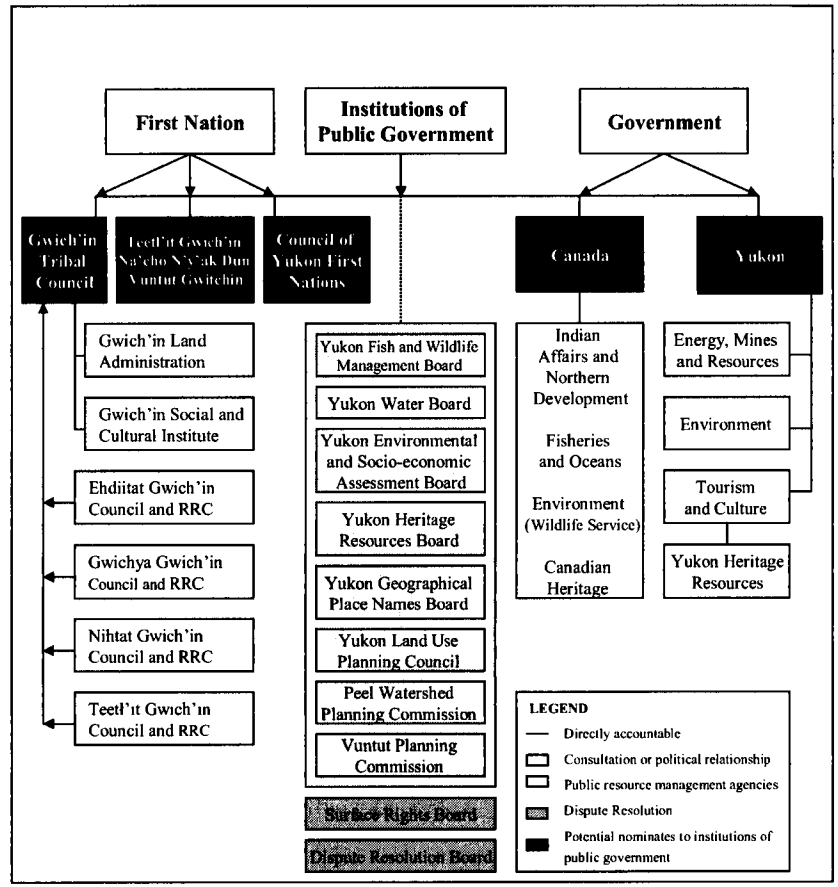


Figure 31. Resource Management System in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Gwich'in Settlement Region



Land Use Planning

Land use planning is a management tool generally mandated in the Yukon and Northwest Territories through land claim agreements. In the Gwich'in Settlement Region, there are several planning processes at play. The Vuntut Planning Commission is responsible for land use planning in the Secondary Use Area, whereas activities in the Primary Use Area fall under the jurisdiction of the Peel Watershed Planning Commission. Obviously, both these processes will have an impact on a number of areas in the Yukon that are of importance to the Teetl'it Gwich'in. According to the Yukon Transboundary Agreement, however, these only have a say about land use planning in the Primary Use Area. The Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board also has to be consulted on planning initiatives that concern the Peel River Watershed. Its main task, however, was to develop and implement a land use plan for the Gwich'in Settlement Area.

The development of the Gwich'in Land Use Plan was a collaboration initiative that involved communities, Gwich'in public boards, government and non-government groups, and businesses. The Plan got final approval in August of 2003 when the federal government signed the document, which had already been endorsed by the Gwich'in Tribal Council and the territorial government. It provides for the "conservation, development and utilization of land, resources and waters" in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. Its purpose is to "protect and promote the existing and future well-being of residents and communities of the settlement" while considering the interests of all Canadians (Government of Canada 1992a:108). This is achieved by balancing conservation and resource development in the Gwich'in Settlement Area through an integrated approach to planning, which consider all parts of the environment and uses different types of knowledge in planning decisions (GLUPB 2003a:36-37).

Zoning is the main method employed in the Plan to determine which use can be made of the land and water in different parts of the settlement area. Three types of zones have been defined, including Gwich'in General Use Zones, Gwich'in Special Management Zones and Gwich'in Conservation Zones. All land uses are allowed in General Use Zones, as long as they receive formal approval from regulating agencies. Within Special Management Zones, all land uses may take place if specific conditions

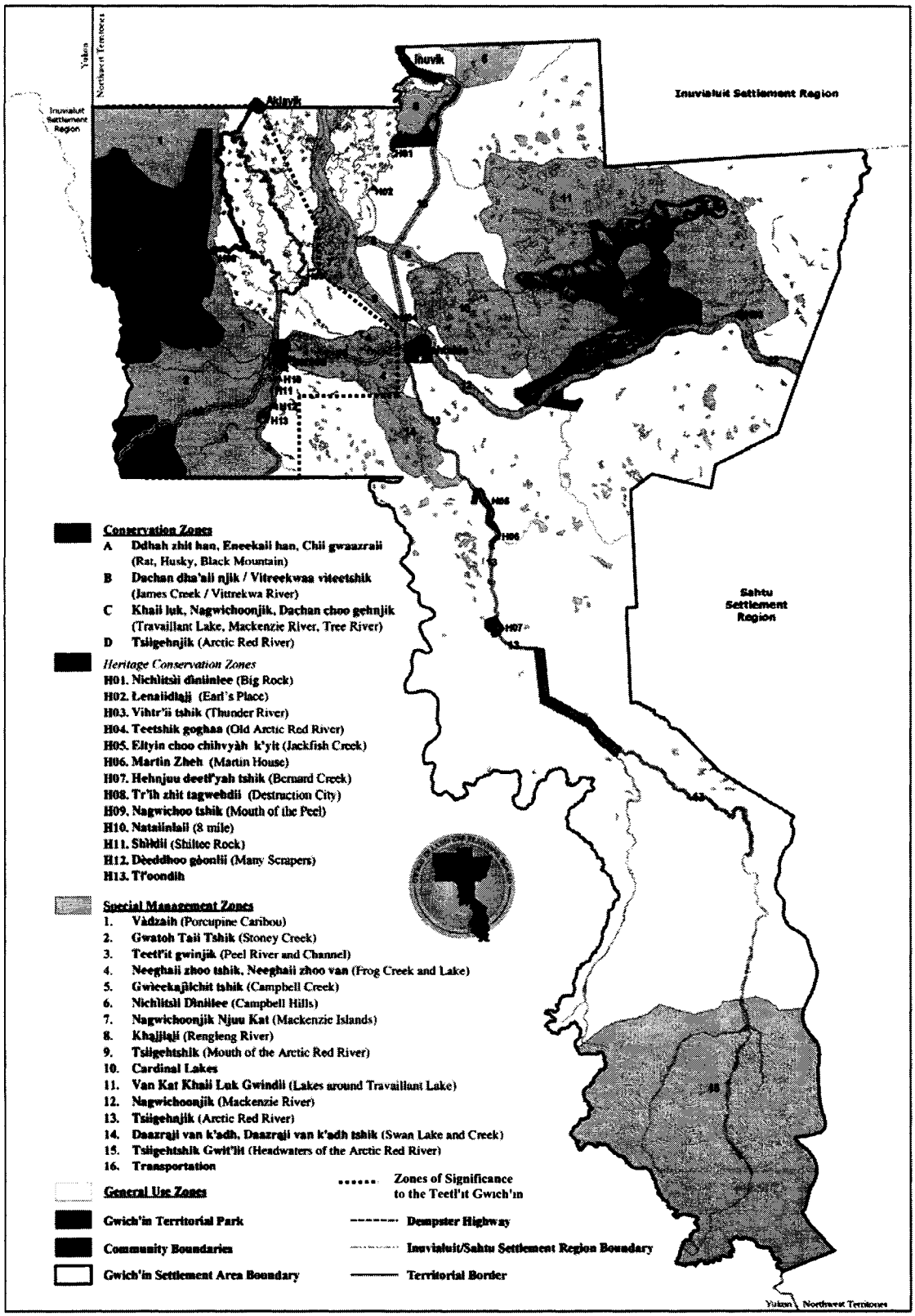
outlined in the Plan for those areas are respected. Finally, Gwich'in Conservation Zones are the most protected. Mineral and oil and gas exploration and development are generally prohibited, along with sand, gravel and rock extraction, transportation, waste disposal, communication, power development and commercial renewable resource harvesting. There are some uses, however, which are exempted from the zoning system. They include commercial activities that were taking place in the Gwich'in Settlement Area prior to the adoption of the Land Use Plan, low impact recreational and tourism activities, traditional activities, and activities resulting from an emergency. The Mackenzie gas pipeline will be allowed to cross any type of zones within the Gwich'in Settlement Area, as it is believed that it will bring great economic benefits with only minor environmental impacts. The extension of the Mackenzie Highway, for which a possible route is identified in the Gwich'in Land Claim, is also considered a permitted use in all zones defined in the Plan. Those two corridors will not directly affect the homeland of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, although social impacts may be highly significant.

In order to determine which areas belong in each of the zone types, traditional and scientific knowledge were both employed to define their values, and significance was thereby assessed from different perspectives. Scientific data mostly relates to renewable and non-renewable resources that are found in the settlement area. The Gwich'in, on the other hand, identified areas they believed should be protected based on traditional use, cultural heritage, water and animal and plant resources. The GSCI was closely involved in the preparation of the Land Use Plan and contributed much information about the heritage value of the areas considered. It also provided a definition for heritage resources that represents well the values of the Gwich'in. Those include documentation and records related to Gwich'in culture and history, burial sites, archaeological and historic sites and associated artefacts, and locations of cultural value such as sacred sites, named places, traditional camps, trails, berry picking areas, harvesting areas, meeting places and caribou corrals (GLUPB 2003a:20).

Approximately 57 percent of the settlement area was identified as General Use Zone. Sixteen Gwich'in Special Management Zones, which cover 33 percent of the settlement area, were also created. The main reasons for their establishment are the protection of water, caribou, fish, waterfowl and raptors, fish harvesting sites, and heritage resources.

The conditions attached for the utilization of each zone ensure that activities will not significantly alter resources. Seasonal restrictions are common within those zones, and the potential impacts of proposed activities on heritage resources must often be assessed. The Plan also indicates that regulatory groups will work with heritage and community groups to develop other conditions for the protection of heritage resources in areas with high heritage value. Finally, 10 percent of the Gwich'in Settlement Area was designated as Gwich'in Conservation Zones. Those include four large areas and another 13 small Gwich'in Heritage Conservation Zones that are protected on a year-round basis. The four main conservation zones were set up in order to protect water, forest resources, animal species, habitats, and harvesting locations. All are of great cultural significance to the Gwich'in. The development potential of these areas does not generally outweigh their cultural and environmental values, except in zone C, where the construction of a pipeline and the extension of the Mackenzie Highway will be allowed. The James Creek/Vittrekwa River Conservation Zone was also divided into two areas in order to leave a transportation corridor in between and accommodate activities such as sand, gravel and rock extraction, which are required for highway maintenance. Other than that, however, non-renewable resource activities are generally excluded from conservation zones.

Map 7 shows the location of the different conservation zones found in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. Those that relate to the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın (some are overlap areas) are also delimited. They include two major conservation zones (A and B), six heritage conservation zones designed to protect specific locations (H08 to H13), and four special management areas (1 to 4). The value(s) of each of these places are outlined in Table 9. The Plan is flexible and there is room for incorporating other heritage places for protection in the years to come. The Plan is to be reviewed every five years in order to "consider new issues, information, opportunities, and user needs" (GLUPB 2003a:6). This is particularly important since the work of documenting heritage resources is far from being completed.



Map 7. Land Zoning System in the Gwich'in Settlement Area
(Adapted from GLUPB 2003c)

Table 9. Areas of Significance to the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın that Receive Protection Under the Gwich'in Land Use Plan (Adapted from GLUPB 2003a)

Conservation Zones	Reasons for Protection
Ddhah zhit han, Eneekaii han, Chii gwaazraii (Rat, Husky, Black Mountain)	Spawning and nursing, migration habitat for dolly varden char Lambing and rutting habitat for Dall's Sheep Porcupine Caribou migration corridor
Dachan dha'aii njik/Vitreekwaa viteetshik (James Creek/Vittrekwa River)	James Creek is the headwaters area for the Vittrekwa River Spawning and nursery area for dolly varden char on the Vittrekwa River Porcupine Caribou migration corridor Primary Hunting Area for Porcupine Caribou Source of Drinking Water Scenic Area of Tourism Value along the Dempster Highway
Heritage Conservation Zones	**Reasons for Protection**
Tr'ih zhit tagwehdii (Destruction City)	Place where the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın used to leave their canoes to walk into the mountains and hunt Many people congregated in this area during the Klondike Gold Rush
Nagwichoo tshik (Mouth of the Peel)	Traditional summer fishing village
Nataiinlaii (Eight Mile)	War site for the Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın and Siglit Fishing location
Shìłdii (Shiltee Rock)	Powerful legendary site
Dèeddhoo gòonlii (Many Scrapers)	Related to the legends of Shìłdii The Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın used to collect flat stones from there to make scrapers
Tł'oondih	Important traditional campsite There is a healing camp there
Special Management Zones	**Reasons for Protection**
Vadzaih (Caribou)	Porcupine Caribou
Gwatoh Taii Tshik (Stoney Creek)	Porcupine Caribou, water, heritage resources (trail)
Teetł'it gwinjik (Peel River and Channel)	Fish, fish harvesting area, heritage resources (archaeological sites, camps and cabins, fishing, hunting and trapping area)
Neeghaii zhoo tshik, Neeghaii zhoo van (Frog Creek and Lake)	Waterfowl, fish harvesting area, heritage resources
Transportation Dempster Highway Yukon/NWT Border to Tsiigehtchic	Porcupine Caribou, waterfowl, tourism value

In sum, land use planning in the Gwich'in Settlement Area is an important tool for heritage protection. It helped to determine the significance of different areas within the Gwich'in Settlement Area – environmental, cultural, economic – in order to develop a land use strategy aimed at protecting and maximizing those values. This process differs from other land management tools, such as land use permitting and environmental impact assessment, in that it is a more global mechanism for preservation. It is a landscape-oriented approach, which establishes a management regime that applies to large areas, regardless of land ownership. The planning takes place ahead of time and is not a response to a proposed activity. It is the overall significance of an area that determines what land uses are allowed therein. Development is encouraged but should not threaten ecological and cultural sustainability. All land users in the Gwich'in settlement area, including the Gwich'in, governments, public boards, and business groups have to conform with the Plan.

Perhaps one of the greatest limitations of the Plan is that it does not necessarily offer long-term protection to special management and conservation zones. These could be modified during the review process, and in some cases, exceptions or amendments to the Plan can be made in order to allow non-conforming land uses to take place in sensitive zones. This limitation was acknowledged by the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board, which recommended that legislated protection area status be considered for different parts of the settlement area including, among others, the Rat River Watershed, the James Creek Area, and the Central Mackenzie Delta. Such status could be sought through the NWT Protected Areas Strategy, which provides a framework for identifying and establishing parks and other protected areas. Transboundary protection would also have to be sought for the two first areas, which extend into the Yukon Territory. At the present, there is less than one percent of the Gwich'in Settlement Area that is protected under legislation (GLUPB 2003a:144).

From what I could observe, it is very uncertain at this point that the Gwich'in would seriously consider obtaining protected area status for areas that are only partly under their jurisdiction. The Gwich'in Tribal Council, for instance, owns title for lands within the Rat River area. Throughout interviews I conducted with staff from the Gwich'in Land Administration, I understood that the Gwich'in Tribal Council does not intend to

surrender title over these lands to obtain long-term protection. Ownership allows the Gwich'in to protect this area while using it as they wish. Economic development is a priority for the Gwich'in Tribal Council and resource exploitation cannot be excluded. Shortly after the signing Gwich'in Land Claim, the Council created the Gwich'in Development Corporation, an investment company whose mandate is to supervise a number of commercial initiatives within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. Its objectives are to generate profits for the Gwich'in Tribal Council and to create employment opportunities to the Gwich'in of the region. Construction, real estate, transportation and oil and gas are the four principal sectors of activity where the Corporation is involved in the Gwich'in Settlement Area but also in Whitehorse, Yellowknife and Edmonton (Gwich'in Development Corporation 2004). My general impression is that the Gwich'in Tribal Council does not want to close any doors at this point.

The GSCI faced a situation in the last few years that clearly exemplifies this. When the Gwichya Gwich'in of Tsiigehtchic selected a large stretch of the Mackenzie River for designation as National Historic Site, the GSCI had to request letters of support from all landowners, including Gwich'in, territorial and federal agencies. The Gwich'in Tribal Council and INAC were initially reluctant to support this project for fear that it would limit development possibilities within the area. In fact, if designation as a national historic site had prevented development within the area, those agencies would probably not have issued letters of support (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. comm., 2001). Similar concerns were expressed by the Gwich'in Tribal Council in 2003, when the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın sought its approval to nominate two stretches of the Peel River for national recognition (GTC 2003). It is important to mention, however, that two sections of sections of the Mackenzie River, one of which overlaps with part of the Nagwichoonjik National Historic Site, were designated as Special Management Zones in the Gwich'in Land Use Plan. These areas consist of a 500-meter buffer zone on either side of the river, where specific conditions apply to protect heritage resources, fish, raptors and waterfowl. Gwich'in Heritage Conservation Zones were also established to protect two specific places which are part of the National Historic Site (GLUPB 2003a).

Environmental Impact Assessment

Land claim agreements in the Yukon and Northwest Territories contain provisions for the establishment of a process aimed at measuring and reviewing environmental impacts of proposed developments within settlement areas. The Mackenzie Valley Resource Management Act was proclaimed in 1998. The Act implements many provisions that relate to land and water management in the Gwich'in Land Claim. It also officially created the Gwich'in Land Use Planning Board, the Gwich'in Land and Water Board, the Mackenzie Valley Land and Water Board, and the Mackenzie Environmental Impact Review Board. The latter is equally composed of First Nations and territorial/federal government representatives. The Board is responsible for conducting environmental assessments and public reviews of development projects in the Mackenzie Valley, including those that take place on any lands within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. Only those projects that are of public concern or may have negative impacts on the environment are referred for assessment. The Gwich'in Tribal Council (through the Gwich'in Land Administration), local governments and territorial and federal departments or agencies are those who may require that projects be reviewed.

The Yukon Environmental and Socio-Economic Assessment Act implements Chapter 12 of the Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement and establishes a process to evaluate the environmental and socio-economic impacts of development projects on federal, territorial and First Nations' settlement lands. It also involves the creation of a board composed of nominees from the Government of the Yukon, the Government of Canada, and the Council of Yukon First Nations. The mandate of the Yukon Environmental and Socio-economic Assessment Board is to overview the assessment process and conduct public hearings related to proposed development projects. Six designated assessment district offices work under the Board to assess local projects. The Gwich'in Tribal Council must be consulted on projects that may affect resources within the Primary Use Area.

Both the Yukon and Northwest Territories environmental legislation require the assessment of impacts on heritage resources. Moreover, they also require the use of scientific data and traditional knowledge in the assessment process, thereby ensuring Indigenous participation. This allows for the identification of heritage places, which are

impossible to recognize for those who are not familiar with Indigenous cultural landscapes. There is therefore a wider range of places of heritage significance to the Gwich'in or other First Nations, which may be considered for protection. Once the effects of a project have been evaluated, environmental assessment agencies make recommendations about whether the activity should be allowed to take place or not, and any conditions that should be attached to a license or permit in order to avoid or mitigate impacts on resources.

As an agency under the Gwich'in Tribal Council, the GSCI is involved in the review of land use permit applications. Its participation in this process is particularly important. While community members and local organizations may express concerns and supply information about sensitive areas at public hearings, the GSCI is better positioned to make a global assessment of the potential impacts of a project and prepare a formal response to it. The wealth of information the GSCI has accumulated about oral history and heritage resources is invaluable when assessing the possible effects of land uses on significant sites and areas. If sufficient data on a place are not available, the GSCI usually contacts elders who are knowledgeable about this area or else recommends that some traditional knowledge research be carried out to identify resources. One problem the Institute faces with land use applications, however, is that adequate maps are seldom included (sometimes they are faxed copies) and this makes it difficult to identify clearly the location and extent of a proposed activity. Moreover, the Institute is usually given very little time to return feedback on a project and cannot provide as much information as it would like to.

The GSCI has been contracted several times in the past to conduct research related to environmental impact assessment projects. One was carried out recently and was very large in scale; it was related to the Mackenzie Gas Project. The GSCI and Imperial Oil signed a one-year agreement in 2004 to conduct traditional knowledge research within the proposed pipeline route, which goes through the homeland of the Gwichya Gwich'in. The GSCI identified gaps in the traditional knowledge available for the area and carried out research to complete this knowledge. The agreement with Imperial Oil also helped to develop a GIS capacity within the Institute, in order to map and organize traditional knowledge information and make it readily available. Since the GSCI is spending an

increasing amount of time on resource management, GIS will significantly facilitate this work, in addition to offering significant potential for research and map production. There should ideally be one person within the Institute dedicated exclusively to resource management, but this is not possible at this time due to a lack of resources. A management position could certainly be justified as part of land claim implementation.

Conclusion

Since the signing of the Gwich'in Land Claim and the creation of the Gwich'in Settlement Region in 1992, the resource management system in the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın area has undergone significant changes. National and territorial legislation and programs are still used to protect and manage resources that are considered a part of the public trust, but several other mechanisms have been introduced that endow the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories with a greater role in the management of both natural and cultural resources. They include land ownership, different management rights and responsibilities, the establishment of a Gwich'in level of administration, the creation of public management boards, land use planning, and environmental impact assessment. These do not make the Gwich'in full co-managers of resources, but they certainly grant them a real influence over management practices in the Gwich'in Settlement Area and, to a lesser extent, in the Primary and Secondary Use areas of the Yukon Territory. This enables them to integrate their concerns and values in management and to protect places they consider of heritage value.

The Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories now own different land parcels throughout the Gwich'in Settlement Region. They control access and activities in those areas and can protect important places. The Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın, however, are disadvantaged because their traditional lands overlap both the Yukon and Northwest Territories. They do not have title over much land in the Yukon, where other Yukon First Nations have in fact obtained control over areas they have traditionally occupied. The Gwich'in Tribal Council has only limited power over what occurs within the Primary and Secondary Use Areas and has no right of representation on Yukon public management boards. Finally, while land use planning has been completed in the Gwich'in Settlement Area, this

process is only starting in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Yukon. Moreover, the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are not involved in land use planning in the latter area.

As part of their management rights and responsibilities the Gwich'in are represented on public boards that were created in the Northwest Territories for managing renewable resources, land and water and to oversee land use planning and the environmental impact assessment process. They have to be consulted when new legislation or policies that may affect resources in their area are being designed. The Gwich'in also have a say in the establishment and management of new protected areas. Moreover, governments have to take their values into consideration when managing cultural resources. The Gwich'in are the only owners and managers of heritage resources on their Yukon lands. They also have some right over culturally-affiliated burials sites in the Yukon and ought to be consulted before a management plan or new legislation affecting their heritage places is introduced in the Primary and Secondary Use Areas.

The creation of a Gwich'in level of administration and the establishment of agencies such as the Gwich'in Land Administration and the GSCI really strengthened the role of the Gwich'in in land and resource management. Those agencies implement many rights and responsibilities assigned to the Gwich'in as part of their land claim, and they also represent local interests when dealing with outside agencies such as companies, researchers, and governments. The presence of the GSCI as part of the Gwich'in administration significantly empowers the Gwich'in on heritage matters. Without the Institute, it is likely that several of the provisions contained in the land claim about heritage resources would not be enforced. The GSCI has documented many places of heritage value to the Gwich'in and is defining their perspective towards heritage and heritage management. This is particularly important, since it allows the Gwich'in to obtain recognition of their values as part of the management system in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and beyond.

Land use planning and environmental impact assessment are two very important tools for the protection of heritage places. This is partly so because they take place before development is allowed. The interests of different parties are taken in consideration and the objective is, whenever possible, to reach a consensus. The importance of traditional

knowledge is recognized and local values are taken into account, along with economic and environmental considerations. These processes reflect better the perspective of the Gwich'in compared to other management tools, because they aim at protecting both natural and cultural resources and preserve the values attached not only to specific places, but also landscapes. Last but not least, places where cultural remains are nonexistent but that are nonetheless of great cultural value can also be considered for protection.

Finally, the Gwich'in are negotiating a self-government agreement to obtain control over programs that have traditionally been administered by territorial and federal government agencies into their hands, and adapt them to their own needs and values. The Gwich'in Tribal Council will oversee, among other things, matters related to culture and language, education and training, social and health services, and the administration of justice. Such competence will help the Gwich'in to strengthen their culture and traditions and increase their participation in public government. The Beaufort/Delta Self-Government Office is responsible for negotiating a self-government agreement for the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit of the Northwest Territories. A Self-Government Agreement-In-Principle was signed in 2003 and negotiations are underway to reach a final agreement.

Chapter 7 of the Agreement-In-Principle relates to culture and language. It states that the Gwich'in government can make laws related to Gwich'in culture and language for the Gwich'in of the Settlement Area. It can also offer culture and language programs and services to the Gwich'in who reside outside of the Gwich'in Settlement Area (Government of Canada 2003c:46). Provisions related to Gwich'in heritage resources may be included in the final agreement. Such provisions would have to be consistent with the heritage chapter of the Gwich'in Land Claim (Government of Canada 2003c:108). A discussion paper on heritage resources recently prepared by the federal team who is negotiating the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit self-government agreement, however, suggests that some of their rights could be extended to match those obtained by the Thcho (or Dogrib) through their land claim. For example, this would enable the Gwich'in to make laws related to heritage resources on private lands. At the request of the Gwich'in, human remains and associated grave goods that were removed from Gwich'in burial sites in the Northwest Territories and are still held by government would be returned to them. The Gwich'in would also have to be consulted when government prepares public information

material about protected areas, projects and programs related to their heritage resources, to ensure that appropriate recognition is given to their culture and history (Gwich'in and Inuvialuit Self-Government Negotiations Federal Team 2005). Self-government could therefore further increase Gwich'in control over heritage resources.

CHAPTER 8

Conclusion

> *We [First Nations] have to have a say in what types of sites need to be protected and acknowledged. These include a very long list and it would vary from group to group all the way across Canada, what is particularly important and distinctive about their heritage... The grassroots foundations are so important. And the bottom line is protection: we have to be in the driver's seat when it comes to identifying and protecting what needs to be honored and conserved. And the details: what sites are important to protect and commemorate in different areas, the underlying values. Indigenous people's rights should be expressed as part of the whole context in which our sites need to be understood. As we said our heritage isn't a thing of the past. It's part of what still makes who we are and we still have this relation to [the] land and resources* [One of British Columbia representatives, Historic Places Initiative Workshop held at the Annual General Assembly of the FNCCEC in Calgary, September 22, 2002].

This dissertation has traced the historical developments of the Canadian approach towards the protection and management of heritage places and examined underlying ideas and values. It has shown that heritage preservation was largely developed by Euro-Canadians and, as a result, mostly reflects the Western perspective on heritage places. Natural landscapes, archaeological sites and built places are those that are most valued as part of the national heritage. The federal and provincial/territorial governments, along with a range of specialists, have made themselves the guardians of those "resources," which are seen as the legacy of the whole nation. They established legislation and programs to protect and manage heritage places and resources. With the exception of parks and protected areas, which are aimed at protecting outstanding natural areas, heritage programs are mostly designed to protect individual sites that contain cultural remains of some sort. Heritage places are usually prized for their social, cultural, historic, scientific, natural or aesthetic qualities, and they are often used for economic, educational and/or recreational purposes.

The perspective of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın towards heritage places and management was described in detail. It largely corroborates what has been presented in Chapter 3 as the general view of Inuit and First Nations on this topic. Perhaps the most striking aspect of their attitude is its holism. Indigenous peoples tend to emphasize the importance of the land as a whole and they also believe in the interdependence of all the elements that

compose it, including themselves. In this context, the dichotomies that are so pervasive in the Western world between what is perceived as natural or cultural, material or immaterial, past or present, religious or secular, are largely irrelevant. Resource areas, trails, camps, legendary places, burials and/or locations imbued with power are heritage places just the same: they are all of great cultural significance and worthy of protection.

Ideally, the landscape should be protected in such a way as to maintain its integrity. The physical and/or symbolic connection that exists between the different elements (including places) that compose it must be preserved. The sustainability of their environment is essential for Indigenous peoples to sustain their cultures and traditions. This is why they emphasize the need to protect the land and resources. According to their views, the preservation of heritage places is mostly about retaining places of significance as part of their lives. This not only means protecting them but also upholding the knowledge about the names, stories or legends that are associated with them and which convey much information about the land, resources, and history.

For the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın and many others, on-the-land life and activities are the best way to preserve and transmit this knowledge to younger generations. Nevertheless, with the erosion of Indigenous cultures and traditional ways of life, other methods have to be developed to preserve cultural sites and landscapes. Inuit and First Nations are borrowing and adapting different heritage conservation practices – inventorying heritage places, marking sites, restoring buildings, the creation of museums and interpretation centres, the production of educational material – to maintain heritage places and uphold knowledge and experience about the land.

The way Indigenous values are represented in management was evaluated in two contexts. The first is the approach to heritage management in Canada, as seen through the development and evolution of heritage legislation and programs. The fact that Indigenous peoples were initially not involved in heritage management had important consequences. Many places of great economic, cultural and/or spiritual relevance to them were incorporated in the national heritage and removed from their custody. A number of Indigenous groups were denied access to traditional subsistence areas and to other places or objects of cultural significance, thereby altering their lives sometimes in dramatic

ways. Indigenous ideas and values about heritage places have also long been disregarded. Inuit and First Nations have voiced their disagreements and concerns, however, and gradually regained some level of control over the establishment and management of parks and protected areas. They also became increasingly involved in cultural resource management. This led to a better understanding of what heritage places are to them and resulted in significant changes to the way heritage places are managed in Canada.

The objectives of Euro-Canadians and Indigenous peoples about heritage are are not entirely apart. All want to preserve these resources for the present and future generations and use them for nation building and sometimes other (e.g., scientific, educational, political, or economic) purposes. It is totally acceptable that not all people value heritage resources for the same reasons. What is most important, however, is to ensure that these distinctive values are acknowledged and respected. More particularly, the significance of heritage resources to their traditional owners must be fully recognized when these are included as part of the national heritage. Indigenous peoples must also remain stewards of these resources. Otherwise, the commemoration of these places as heritage is more like an appropriation than a celebration of someone else's culture and history.

The last three decades have been the stage of many positive changes towards the recognition of Indigenous concerns and values about heritage. This is especially so in the North, where there are large Indigenous populations and the comprehensive land claim process has introduced collaborative systems of management. Burial sites affiliated with Inuit and First Nation groups are now shown greater respect and archaeological research in their areas often takes place in cooperative contexts. Parks and historic sites that relate to Indigenous peoples can no longer be established without local support and their input in management is generally secured. It was also recognized that areas that Westerners protect as "wilderness" are "home" to Indigenous peoples and have great cultural, economic and spiritual significance to them. The designation of cultural landscapes as national historic sites also shows a better appreciation of Indigenous traditional areas as "heritage" and reflects the close association that Inuit and First Nations maintain with the land, through oral history and traditions. Finally, some Indigenous groups are or will soon be in a position to designate and include places they consider of heritage value on the Canadian Register of Heritage Places. While places submitted for provincial, territorial or

national recognition will still have to meet specific criteria, local groups will be able to decide for themselves what places they want to celebrate as part of their heritage and to establish their own standards and processes to designate them. This is a significant improvement, since it helps to circumvent the problem of having one's heritage validated by others.[54] When they feel that they retain control over their heritage, most Indigenous groups are inclined to use the existing tools for heritage management to protect and foster an appreciation of their cultural places.

Unfortunately, these tools are still inadequate in acknowledging their values about heritage places and management. Burial sites, for instances, are still mostly protected as archaeological resources, even if they are sacred places to Indigenous peoples and their significance cannot be assessed based on scientific criteria. Many places that do not fit the definitions of cultural resources but have heritage value to Indigenous peoples are not protected under the current legislation on heritage places. This is generally the case for trails and many sacred sites or places associated with stories that do not contain cultural remains. On the other hand, although we know that parks and protected areas are economically and culturally very important to their traditional owners, cultural values are not taken into account in the definition of those areas. In fact, if their natural components are not exceptional, Indigenous cultural landscapes are afforded no legal protection. Canada still lags far behind other developed countries with regard to its legislation on heritage resources. The federal government is trying to pass a bill to protect archaeological sites, and historic sites and buildings on Crown lands. While many consider that it is time Ottawa takes responsibility for heritage resources on those lands, this initiative mostly perpetuates the traditional definitions and management approach towards heritage places, and does not address many of the issues that are of concern to Indigenous peoples.

The second framework in which the integration of Indigenous values was considered is the post-land claim context. In both the North and British Columbia, the

[54] For example, over the last few years, the Teetl'it Gwich'in were involved in two different projects related to national historic sites. The process that leads to the acceptance or rejection of a nomination was difficult to comprehend for the members of the Community Steering Committee. They could hardly conceive how an external body – in this case the HSMBC – composed of people who do not have any knowledge of their heritage, gets to decide whether a place is worthy of designation or not.

comprehensive land claim process has given Indigenous groups more control over the management of the land and resources. Different mechanisms have been introduced that allow them to better protect places that are of heritage value to them. The particular case of the Teetl'ıt Gwıch'ın was closely examined. It certainly speaks to the complexity of management issues in Indigenous settlement areas.

The signing of the Gwich'in Land Claim in 1992 resulted in the creation of the Gwich'in Settlement Region, which includes the Gwich'in Settlement Area of the Northwest Territories, plus the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Yukon. New mechanisms – land ownership, specific management rights and responsibilities, the establishment of public management boards, land use planning and the environmental impact assessment process – were introduced to manage resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. These bestowed the Gwich'in with more control over resources and helped them to incorporate their values in management. The establishment of a Gwich'in level of administration also strengthened their authority in the Gwich'in Settlement Area and supplied them with the necessary capacities to manage resources and deal with other levels of government.

The decision of the Gwich'in to create the GSCI was particularly significant. Although it was not initially established to implement the heritage chapters of the Gwich'in Land Claim and the Yukon Transboundary Agreement, the GSCI has come to play a very important role in management. The work it has carried out in terms of recording Gwich'in knowledge and history is tremendous considering its resources. Many heritage places in the Gwich'in Settlement Region and beyond have been inventoried, along with their names, stories and significance. The Institute provides other organizations with a sense of what heritage is to the Gwich'in and which places they value and want to see preserved. On the other hand, it is using several of the tools that are available for heritage preservation at the territorial and national levels to document, protect and enhance the profile of Gwich'in heritage places. The place the GSCI occupies as part of the Gwich'in administration is giving heritage a high profile. It also allows the Gwich'in to play a lead role in the management of their heritage places and to make sure that their values are taken into account.

In general, then, the Gwich'in Land Claim has considerably empowered the Gwich'in towards heritage places and management. While territorial and federal legislation and programs are still used to manage places, the land claim introduced other approaches that involve the Gwich'in in management and allow them to integrate their perspective. Many places that are not covered under the territorial or federal legislation on heritage get to be protected, through processes such as land use planning and environmental impact assessment. Small and large areas are considered for protection along with individual sites, and both the natural and cultural value of places is acknowledged. The underlying idea behind the management of Gwich'in lands and resources is to maintain them as part of Gwich'in contemporary life. While the Gwich'in Land Claim was used here as an example, the same is true of the other comprehensive land claims thus far settled across the country. The preservation of heritage places in settlement areas is therefore much more progressive than elsewhere in its recognition of Indigenous perspectives and values towards heritage and heritage places. These systems could certainly provide suitable models for management in other Indigenous areas across the country.

Of course, not everything is perfect and the land claims have not resolved all of the issues related to the management of Indigenous heritage places. As we have seen, the protection of heritage sites is closely related to the topic of land jurisdiction, and the land claim process created areas that are under the authority of different Indigenous groups. Not all the lands the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın consider a part of their traditional territory are included in the Gwich'in Settlement Region. There are several areas that are under the jurisdiction of other groups (as part of their settlement areas), where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have little or no legal control over their own heritage resources. Such is the case, for instance, in the Peel River Watershed south of the Primary and Secondary Use Area boundaries. The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın made intensive use of the region between the Peel River and Dawson City in post- and probably pre-contact times also. This region is now part of the Nacho Nyak Dun and Tr'ondëk Hwëch'in settlement areas. There are also lands west of the Secondary Use Area where the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın have lived and travelled over the years, but this area is now mostly part of the lands of the Vuntut Gwitchin of Old Crow, Yukon. Finally, although they have not been inventoried yet, it is

more than likely that some heritage sites of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın also fall within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region, where the Gwich'in have no rights over heritage resources.

Even within the Gwich'in Settlement Region, the Gwich'in do not have authority over all their heritage places. Both the Primary and Secondary Use Areas of the Yukon are overlap areas which are partly under the control of other Yukon First Nations. Although the land claim process has granted Indigenous groups more power over the management of their heritage resources, then, there are some resources that fall beyond their control and are in the custody of other groups. The question of how well another people may take care of someone's heritage is a tricky one.

It is also important to remember that most lands within Indigenous settlement areas remain public property and are under the authority of provincial/territorial or federal agencies. For instance, the traditional area of the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın, which covers part of both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, is managed under two different territorial regimes. Territorial and Crown lands in settlement areas remain largely opened for exploration. Although several processes have been introduced through the land claims to ensure collaboration in resource management, economic interests can weight heavy in decisions compared to Indigenous concerns. The Yukon Government, for instance, has opened the Peel Watershed for exploration before land use planning was completed in the area, and the Gwich'in and other Yukon First Nations could do nothing about it. We will therefore have to wait a few decades to see how efficient the management systems in land claim areas really are in maintaining Indigenous cultural landscapes.

The heritage chapters of the Gwich'in Land Claim and Yukon Transboundary Agreement largely correspond to the Western perspective on heritage resources and do not speak to many of the issues that are of importance to the Gwich'in. Definitions of heritage places, for instance, basically follow those of the existing legislation on heritage resources and disregard many places that are of heritage value to the Gwich'in. Moreover, the Western dichotomy between natural and cultural resources is very pervasive throughout the land claim, and it is also mirrored by the different bodies that were created to manage resources in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. This is even true of the Gwich'in organizations, which largely reproduce the model of other levels of

government. It is not necessarily bad, but a lack of communication and collaboration between different agencies could be an impediment to the development of a real integrated approach to management.

The lack of funding to document and preserve heritage is also an important issue. Heritage in Canada tends to be low on the scale of government priorities. Heritage programs are too often underfinanced and dependent upon changing political agendas. As part of the Gwich'in Land Claim, no organization was created to care for heritage resources, and at first no funding was allocated to implement the provisions regarding their management. This shows how unimportant heritage is to governments compared to other resources. This also applies to Gwich'in politicians, who did not request capacities or funding to manage Gwich'in heritage places and objects when negotiating the Gwich'in Land Claim.

The Gwich'in Tribal Council is in charge of managing lands and resources on behalf of all the Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories. This means that the Gwich'in have to deal with its leadership. The Gwich'in Tribal Council functions much in the same way as any other government. It established different departments or agencies to manage resources, and also created the Gwich'in Development Corporation whose role is to supervise development projects within and outside the Gwich'in Settlement Area in order to generate profits. Protecting what is important to the Gwich'in is a priority for the Gwich'in Tribal Council. Economic self-sufficiency, however, is also one of its responsibilities and resource development is probably the only way to achieve it. Just as within any other government, then, there might be some differences between the aspirations of the Gwich'in at the individual or community levels, and what the Gwich'in Tribal Council want or can do. Balancing different interests towards the land and resources will no doubt represent an important challenge for the Gwich'in and other Indigenous governments in the future.

Even at the community level, Indigenous peoples could eventually decide not to protect some heritage places. While it was fairly simple for the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın to answer during the interviews or in the questionnaire that they want to preserve everything, they may be confronted with different situations in the future where they will

have to make choices. Is it likely, for instance, that there will be opportunities for them to develop their economy through the exploitation of natural resources. Some projects could be allowed to proceed because the benefits anticipated are considered greater than the impacts they may have on some sites or areas. Moreover, Indigenous peoples may find out that some of the uses they make of the land (e.g., building cabins, excavating refuse pits, wood cutting) are incompatible with the protection of certain places (e.g., burials, archaeological sites) of heritage value. If they want to protect those, they may have to sacrifice part of the freedom they enjoy on the land and regulate some of their activities to ensure that resources are not damaged inadvertently.

The attitude of Indigenous peoples towards some places is likely to change with time, as the values of one generation might not reflect those of the next. The interest these peoples will have in protecting heritage places will greatly depend on how their economic and cultural association with the land evolves within the next decades. Even though the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın adults and students who answered the questionnaire seemed to share the values of their elders about the protection of their homeland, there is already a large gap between present-day elders and youth in Fort McPherson in the way they experience the land.

There are different reasons to account for that, but the Gwich'in Land Claim is one of them. As Nadasdy (2000) demonstrated, processes such as land claims and co-management are rooted in Euro-Canadian bureaucracies. They force Indigenous peoples to engage with outside agencies in Western ways and to establish administrative capacities that match those of other governments. This contributes to weakening the very way of life they seek to preserve by taking part in those processes. Land claim negotiations have certainly involved many individuals from the middle-age generation in Fort McPherson, and turned them into bureaucrats. These people are now largely alienated from their cultural way of life and cannot hand it down to their children.

The Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın are trying hard to create opportunities to transmit their knowledge and traditions to the younger generation. Some of these activities are the initiative of individuals – often elders – who realize how much is being lost. Increasingly, however, people are looking up to different institutions, such as the school, the

Renewable Resource Council, or the GSCI, to take responsibility for the preservation and transmission of Gwich'in culture. This is done through on-the-land activities, youth and elders meetings, heritage place inventories, the production of educational and interpretive material, etc. How successful those efforts will be in keeping the Teetł'ıt Gwıch'ın landscape alive – and thus preserving it – is still uncertain at this point. The documentation of Indigenous heritage places and landscapes is very urgent, since it is practically impossible to protect places that have not been identified, and more so when they do not contain cultural remains. Elders have an essential role to play in sharing their knowledge and experience about the landscape. Many of them are passing away, however, thereby increasing the pressure to document this information.

Other institutions, such as research and government agencies also have an important role to play in the management of Indigenous areas. Their expertise is important for Indigenous peoples to make informed decisions and carry out projects that require some level of specialization. As we have seen, it is largely because of collaborative projects that involved Indigenous peoples and professionals that the values of the former towards heritage have been documented and are now getting greater consideration. Such partnerships remain essential to improve understanding and fill many of the gaps that exist in the management of heritage sites in Canada. What is more important is that indivuals who collaborate with Indigenous be sensitive to their values and concerns on heritage and management.

It would also be important that more Indigenous individuals get engaged in university professions that relate to heritage (e.g., cultural anthropology, archaeology and cultural resource management programs). This would contribute to merging different perspectives and to finding solutions to some of the issues that are faced when managing heritage places. Heritage-related professions are not the most valued, however, and finding committed people is not always an easy task. The GSCI, for instance, is having a hard time getting people to join the team to eventually take over the work of the Institute. This points to the need of valorizing and promoting the role of heritage officers. It is interesting to note that there are presently more Indigenous women than men involved in the heritage field (Nicholas and Andrews 1997b).

The participation of Indigenous peoples in heritage matters is particularly significant, as they have an important responsibility towards their heritage. In fact, it is up to them to make the most of what they have and develop capacities to take on the task of managing heritage resources in their areas. As we have seen through the example of the Gwich'in, the empowerment of the grassroots level – which includes self-empowerment – is probably the best way to develop approaches to the management of Indigenous heritage places that really correspond to their perspectives.

Finally, while this study focused on the Canadian context of heritage places management, Canada's situation is not unique. There are several other nations, such as Australia, the United States, New Zealand, Russia and many others, for whom the questions of protection and management of Indigenous heritage places are an ongoing issue. These countries also have a history of colonization that involved the development of a national heritage largely based on Western values. As a result, Indigenous populations there largely face the same problems as Canadian Inuit and First Nations in gaining recognition and protection for heritage sites and areas. Matters related to the control of the land and resources in these countries are being addressed, however, and efforts are made to acknowledge Indigenous values and integrate them in management practices. Some of these initiatives may be a source of inspiration for Canada.

Several countries, for instance, have enacted legislation to protect Indigenous heritage places and values. In Australia, some jurisdictions have long acknowledged the continuing importance of traditional sites for Aboriginal peoples and have developed heritage legislation that specifically relate to their sites. The Western Australia Aboriginal Act (1972) included "special provisions for Aboriginal custodians and traditional use of sites and artefacts, and for the protection of sacred sites, including those lacking visible traces of Aboriginal culture." The Aboriginal Sacred Sites Act of the Northern Territory was enacted in 1978 to establish a register of sacred sites, examine and evaluate all Aboriginal claims for sacred sites, and record sacred sites and their significance to the Aboriginals (Flood 1989:81). It was revised in 1989 to provide protection to all sites sacred to Aboriginals or have other significance, and prohibit desecration and work of a site unless the work will not damage a site or is permitted by the Aboriginal custodians. It also requests the Aboriginal Areas Protection Authority to carry surveys in order to

identify sacred sites on or nearby proposed capital works. Both the Northern Territory Land Rights Act and the South Australian Aboriginal Heritage Act grant traditional Aboriginal custodians the power to limit access to sacred and other sites of significance, and to determine which activities can be carried out there. The Northern Territory legislation recognizes the existence of sacred sites in coastal waters. Some of them are marked with buoys in order to prevent ships from passing over (Ritchie 1994). The 1984 Torres Strait Islander Protection Act is also a unique example of federal heritage legislation aimed at protecting places, areas and objects of particular significance to Aboriginals.

The United States have also taken legal means to acknowledge Indigenous rights and interests towards heritage places. For instance, the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, and a later Executive Order (13007) issued in 1996, protect the rights of Native Americans to worship and access their sacred sites (Mason 2004). The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) increased protection for Native American burial sites by controlling the removal of human remains, funerary and sacred objects, and items of cultural patrimony on federal and tribal lands (McManamon 1992). Amendments to the National Historical Preservation Act in 1992, required "that places significant to Native Americans be conserved with other culturally significant sites that are part of a diverse national heritage" (Mason 2004:51-52). They also permitted tribal groups to assume cultural resource compliance activities in place of the State Historic Preservation Offices. As the example of the Zuni demonstrates, this gave impetus to tribal heritage programs in the United States (Anyon and Ferguson 1995).

Although Parks Canada's Approach to Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes (Buggey 1999) provides an inspiring model for other jurisdictions (e.g., Horton 2004a), Canada can still learn from initiatives elsewhere. Australia, for instance has been a pioneer in cultural landscape management. As early as 1976, the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies (AIAS) acknowledged "the inadvisability of treating Aboriginal attitudes to land and sites as a concern centred only on individual spot localities rather than as complex and inter-related elements of a cultural significant landscapes (AIAS's Sites of Significance Committee, cited in Ritchie 1994:237). New Zealand also recognizes the importance of ancestral landscapes for the identity and well-being of the Maori. It was

the first country to nominate an Indigenous associative cultural landscape – the Tongariro National Park – as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. This was followed by similar initiatives from Australia and Sweden (Buggey 1999).

While the concept of ethnographic landscape is still emerging in the United States (Mason 2004), it has already triggered efforts to document and recover the history and meaning of Indigenous landscapes in Alaskan national parks (see Horton 2004b). In Russia, interesting initiatives are underway to protect Indigenous ethno-cultural spaces under nature preservation legislation, and to restore traditional northern landscapes and management practices (Shul'gin 2004). One of these projects, which proposes the creation of a co-managed protected area in the territory of the Yugan Khanty people of Western Siberia, aims at integrating ethnographic landscape information in the delimitation and zoning of the area (Wiget and Balalaeva 2004).

Finally, there are several examples of co-management regimes in protected areas that contribute to the maintenance and protection of Indigenous cultural landscapes. Kakadu, for instance, is only one of several Australian national parks that are jointly managed by traditional Aboriginal owners and the federal government. About 50% of the park is Aboriginal land that was leased to the Australian National Parks and Wildlife Service to be managed as a national park. Aborigines count for two-third of the park's management board, whose mandate is to conserve the natural and cultural heritage of Kakadu and respect the interests of the Aboriginal traditional owners. Other interesting models of Indigenous involvement in protected area management are also found in other regions, such as Bolivia and Russia (Beltrán 2000). These are highly productive from a heritage conservation perspective, since they help protecting ecosystems while sustaining Indigenous economies, cultures, and traditions.

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Appendix A

Questionnaires Distributed to Teetl'it Gwich'in Students and Adults

Questionnaire for Chief Julius School Students
Teetl'it Gwich'in Culture and Heritage

A- Information about Yourself

1. Gender: Male _____ Female _____

2. Date of birth (e.g., 1982) _____

3. Who did you grow up with?
   your parents _____
   your grandparents _____
   other, please specify _____

4. **How well** do you **understand** the Gwich'in language?
   not at all _____
   a little _____
   well _____
   very well _____
   perfectly _____

5. **How well** do you **speak** the Gwich'in language?
   not at all _____
   a little _____
   well _____
   very well _____
   perfectly _____

6. **How far** have you travelled **up the Peel** River? (e.g., Trail River) _____

7. **How far** have you travelled **down the Peel** River? (e.g., Rotten Eye) _____

8. **Have you ever been in the mountains**, other than the highway? yes _____ no ____
   a) If yes, on which occasion? _____
   b) And where? _____

9. What is the **farthest city/place** from McPherson you have been to? _____

10. Does your **family have a camp** on the land? yes _____ no _____
    a) If yes, **whose** camp is it? (e.g., father, grandmother) _____
    b) **Where** is it located? _____

11. **How much time** do you spend on the land in a year?
    none _____
    less than a week _____

a week or two _____
a month _____
several months _____
If you have answered several months, please specify the number of months _____

12. **Who** do you usually go out on the land with? _____

13. Please, check the **activities** below that **you do** carry out on the land.

Caribou hunting	_____	Berry picking	_____
Moose hunting	_____	Gathering medicinal plants	_____
Sheep hunting	_____	Cutting/hauling wood	_____
Loche fishing	_____	Tanning hides	_____
Net fishing	_____	Camping	_____
Trapping	_____	Making fire	_____
Setting Snares	_____	Clearing trails	_____
Cutting/skinning animals	_____	Others, specify	_____

14. **What kind of formal education** would you like to get?
Highschool _____ College _____ University _____ Other, specify _____

15. How would you like to **make your living** once you are out of school?

- On the land (hunting, fishing, cutting wood, trapping) _____
- Working in an office (e.g., band, hamlet, etc.) _____
- Working in a school _____
- Working for an oil company _____
- Working on highway maintenance _____
- Working in construction _____
- Working in a store _____
- Providing utilities (water, oil) in McPherson _____
- I have no idea _____
- Other _____ Specify_____

16. Would you like **to spend your life** in Fort McPherson? yes ____ no ____
a) If not, **where** would you like to live? _____

17. **How often** do you eat the following food from the land?

	Never	**Once in a while**	**Often**	**Regularly**
- caribou meat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- moose meat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- whitefish/coney/trout	☐	☐	☐	☐
- loche	☐	☐	☐	☐
- rabbit	☐	☐	☐	☐
- porcupine	☐	☐	☐	☐
- mountain sheep	☐	☐	☐	☐

- bear	☐	☐	☐	☐
- duck/geese	☐	☐	☐	☐
- ptarmigan	☐	☐	☐	☐
- beaver	☐	☐	☐	☐
- muskrat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- berries	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

18. **What kind of food do you mostly eat?** Store food ____ Food from the land ____

B- <u>Teetl'it Gwich'in Culture and Heritage</u>

19. How **important a part** do you think the following things are in the Teetl'it Gwich'in Culture?

	Not at all	**A little**	**Important**	**Very Important**
- The Gwich'in language	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The town of Fort McPherson	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The Peel River	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Travelling on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Living off the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Hunting caribou and moose	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Fishing with net	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Jiggling	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Picking berries	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Eating Gwich'in traditional food	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Gwich'in sewing (beading, moccasins, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Jigging/Fiddling	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Square dances	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Country Music	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The Midway festival	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Gwich'in feasts	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Religion	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Family life/Relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Storytelling/oral tradition	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Old places	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Traditional medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
- CBQM	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Traditional sports (e.g., snowshoeing, canoeing)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Western sports (e.g., curling, hockey, baseball, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, please specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

20. How **important** is it for you that the following kinds of places be protected?

	Not at all	A little	Important	Very Important
- Camps used nowadays	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Archaeological sites (where remains are buried in the ground)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Old trails	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Trails used nowadays	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Places where your people used to live long ago	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Places where your people live now	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Places with legends/stories attached to them	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Places that have Gwich'in names	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Traplines	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Burials on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Berry patches	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Places where there is caribou	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Good fishing locations	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. Are there some specific **places or areas** that are very **special/important** for your people and that you think should be **protected**? If yes, can you please **name them**?

Name of Place/Area	**Reason(s) why it is special/important**
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

22. **In your opinion, how threatening/bad** are the following things for the places on the land that you would like to protect?

	Not at all	A little	Threatening/ Bad	Very Threatening/Bad
- Oil and Gas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐

- Gravel Pits	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Building Roads	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Building cabins	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Pollution	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
- the Dempster Highway	☐	☐	☐	☐
- the fact that places are not recorded	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Erosion of the Riverbank	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Decay (rotting buildings, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Vegetation growth (over trails, camps, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

23. Can you think of some **stories** that you have heard from your parents/grandparents, and that you think are **important in the history of the Teetl'it Gwich'in**? If yes, which ones?

_____

_____

_____

_____

Questionnaire for Fort McPherson Community Members
Teetł'ıt Gwich'ın Culture and Heritage

A- Information about Yourself

1. Gender: Male _____ Female _____

2. Date of birth (e.g., 1963) _____

3. Where were you born? _____

4. Who did you grow up with?
   your parents _____
   your grandparents _____
   other, please specify _____

5. **How well** do you **understand** the Gwich'in language?
   not at all _____
   a little _____
   well _____
   very well _____
   perfectly _____

6. **How well** do you **speak** the Gwich'in language?
   not at all _____
   a little _____
   well _____
   very well _____
   perfectly _____

7. **How far** have you travelled **up the Peel** River? (e.g., Trail River) _____

8. **How far** have you travelled **down the Peel** River? (e.g., Rotten Eye) _____

9. **Have you ever been in the mountains**, other than on the highway? yes ____ no ____
   a) If yes, on which occasion? _____
   b) And where? _____

10. What is the **farthest city/place** from McPherson you have been to? _____

11. Do you **have a camp** on the land? yes _____ no _____
    a) If yes, **where** is it located? _____

12. **How much time** do you spend on the land in a year?
    none _____
    less than a week _____
    a week or two _____
    a month _____
    several months _____
    If you have answered several months, please specify the number of months _____

13. **Who** do you usually go out on the land with? _____

14. Please, check the **activities** below that **you do** carry out on the land.

Caribou hunting	_____	Berry picking	_____
Moose hunting	_____	Gathering medicinal plants	_____
Sheep hunting	_____	Cutting/hauling wood	_____
Loche fishing	_____	Tanning hides	_____
Net fishing	_____	Camping	_____
Trapping	_____	Making fire	_____
Setting Snares	_____	Clearing trails	_____
Cutting/skinning animals	_____	Others, specify	_____

15. **What level of formal education did you get?**
Elementary School ____ Highschool ____ College ____ University ____
Other certificate/training (specify) _____

16. **How** do you **make your living**? (you can check more than one of the following)

On the land (hunting, fishing, cutting wood, trapping)	_____
Sewing/beading	_____
Working in an office (e.g., band, hamlet, etc.)	_____
Working in a school	_____
Working for an oil company	_____
Working on highway maintenance	_____
Working in construction	_____
Working in a store	_____
Providing utilities (water, oil) in McPherson	_____
Government programs (pension, EI, warfare)	_____
Housework	_____
I do not work	_____
Other	_____ Specify _____

17. So far, have you **spent all your life** in Fort McPherson? yes ____ no ____
a) If not, **where** else have you lived? _____

18. **How often** do you eat the following food from the land?

	Never	**Once in a while**	**Often**	**Regularly**
- caribou meat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- moose meat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- whitefish/coney/trout	☐	☐	☐	☐
- loche	☐	☐	☐	☐
- rabbit	☐	☐	☐	☐
- porcupine	☐	☐	☐	☐
- mountain sheep	☐	☐	☐	☐
- bear	☐	☐	☐	☐
- duck/geese	☐	☐	☐	☐
- ptarmigan	☐	☐	☐	☐
- beaver	☐	☐	☐	☐

- muskrat	☐	☐	☐	☐
- berries	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

19. **What kind of food do you mostly eat?** Store food _____ Food from the land _____

B- Teetl'it Gwich'in Culture and Heritage

20. How **important a part** do you think the following things are in the Teetl'it Gwich'in Culture?

	Not at all	A little	Important	Very Important
- The Gwich'in language	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The town of Fort McPherson	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The Peel River	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Travelling on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Living off the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Hunting caribou and moose	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Fishing with net	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Jiggling	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Picking berries	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Eating Gwich'in traditional food	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Gwich'in sewing (beading, moccasins, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Jigging/Fiddling	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Square dances	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Country Music	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The Midway festival	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Gwich'in feasts	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Religion	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Family life/Relatives	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Storytelling/oral tradition	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Old places (camps, villages, places with history or legends)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Traditional medicine	☐	☐	☐	☐
- CBQM	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Traditional sports (e.g., snowshoeing, canoeing)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Western sports (e.g., curling, hockey, baseball, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, please specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

21. How **important** is it for you that the following kinds of places be protected?

	Not at all	A little	Important	Very Important
- Camps used nowadays	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Archaeological sites (where remains are buried in the ground)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Old trails	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Trails used nowadays	☐	☐	☐	☐

- Places where your people used to live long ago ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Places where your people live now ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Places with legends/stories attached to them ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Places that have Gwich'in names ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Traplines ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Burials on the land ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Berry patches ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Places where there is caribou ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Good fishing locations ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐
- Others, specify _____ ☐ ☐ ☐ ☐

22. Are there some specific **places or areas** that are very **special/important** for your people and that you think should be **protected**? If yes, can you please **name them**?

Name of Place/Area	**Reason(s) why it is important/special**

23. **In your opinion, how threatening/bad** are the following things for the places on the land that you would like to protect?

	Not at all	**A little**	**Threatening/ Bad**	**Very Threatening/Bad**
- Oil and Gas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Mining	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Gravel Pits	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Building Roads	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Building cabins	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Pollution	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Tourism	☐	☐	☐	☐
- The Dempster Highway	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Erosion of the Riverbank	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Decay (rotting buildings, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Vegetation growth (over trails, camps, etc.)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

24. **In your opinion, how efficient/good** would be the following measures to protect important places on the land?

	Not at all	A little	Efficient/ Good	Very Efficient/Good
- To have a buffer zone around important sites/areas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To prevent development around important sites/areas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To limit tourism within your traditional area	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To limit local wood cutting activities within some areas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To prevent the building of cabins in some areas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To limit the construction of roads on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To relocate burials if they interfere with development	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To rebuild markers/fences at burials on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To record/document important places/areas	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

25. Do you think that **educating the youth** about their cultural heritage can help to protect important/special places? **yes** _____ **no** _____

26. **In your opinion, how efficient/good** are the following measures to educate the youth about their cultural heritage?

	Not at all	A little	Efficient/ Good	Very Efficient/Good
- To hold 'on the land' programs	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To teach the Gwich'in language to the youth	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To have the elders teaching the youth	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To produce a Teetł'it Gwich'in history book	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To produce maps with Gwich'in place names	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To make videos about on the land skills	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To restore (strengthen/rebuild) old cabins on the land	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To mark burials	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To mark trails	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To do archaeology (e.g. the excavation of old camps)	☐	☐	☐	☐
- To put information signs at important locations	☐	☐	☐	☐
- Others, specify _____	☐	☐	☐	☐

27. **Do you know any agencies** (Gwich'in, territorial or federal) that play a role in the protection of important places in the Gwich'in Settlement Region? **yes** ___ **no** ____

a) If yes, **which ones**? _____

_____

_____

_____

28. **Do you know any laws/regulations** that have for objective the protection of important places within the Gwich'in Settlement Region? **yes** ___ **no** ___

a) If yes, **which ones**? _____

_____

_____

_____

29. **Do you think** that the **existing organisations and laws/regulations** for the protection of important places within the Gwich'in Settlement Region **really help to protect these places**? **yes** ____ **no** ____ **I don't know** ____

30. **If you have other comments, these are very welcome!!**

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