

Interpreting Archaeology:  
An Experiment in Native Awareness  
and Writing for Children

by

© Neal Putt

A Practicum Submitted  
In Partial Fulfillment of the  
Requirements for the Degree,  
Master of Natural Resources Management

Natural Resources Institute  
The University of Manitoba  
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AN EXPERIMENT IN NATIVE AWARENESS  
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Neal Putt

A practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Natural Resources Management.

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## ABSTRACT

There is a general problem that interpretation has not kept pace with the scientific knowledge of archaeology. Major aspects of the problem are a lack of interpretation for children and a lack of consultation with Native people.

A literature review shows six themes, or consistent successes and problems, in the history of interpretation. Archaeologists should continue the successful methods and address the problems through new interpretive methods. Based on the literature review, seven interpretive methods are proposed. The chief aim of interpretation should be to relate archaeology to modern social concerns.

Native education is a useful area to test interpretive methods and aims. A literature review shows current issues which must be considered when planning interpretation for Native education. Native peoples are attaining self-control of Native education and can be expected to request a role in archaeology's interpretation of Native culture. When judged by the criteria of Native people and organizations, current interpretation seems unsatisfactory in the naming of artifacts, sites and cultures, in speaking of Native people in a depersonalized way and in neglecting significant aspects of Native history, beliefs and values. Excavations of burials have been objectionable.

The interpretive methods proposed by the literature review are applied to Native education, as a test. If the methods are successful in Native education they could be applied to other involvement of Native people in archaeology and to interpretation for adults. Interpreting archaeology and Native world views could increase cross-cultural awareness. The interpretive methods should increase the relevance and appeal of archaeology, resulting in greater demand for interpretation.

Grade six is chosen as the curriculum area for which to prepare interpretive material. The methods and objectives proposed by the literature review are refined for grade six social studies. The chosen medium is an illustrated book, composed of "vignettes" of archaeological history and teachings by Native elders. Cognitive and affective teaching goals for the book meet the needs of archaeology and the Manitoba Education curriculum, including Native awareness criteria. Native education advisors, conferences and awareness classes are used to assist in planning teaching objectives and drafting the book.

The draft book is tested with advisors, children and teachers for its ability to maintain children's interest and convey the teaching objectives. The general interpretive methods and the objective of working for Native education prove highly satisfactory. The combination of archaeology, Native teachings and the method of writing about daily life

are especially commended. After testing, a number of recommendations for further improvements in interpretive methods are possible, particularly the addition of questions and exercises to challenge children to link the past with modern issues. The general interpretive methods would be productive in further applications.

Further editing and testing of the draft children's book are suggested. The final test would be the publication and use of the book.

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Garry Robson and Victor Pierre provided my first lessons in Native awareness, and Garry, Victor, Joe McLellan and Danny Thomas continued to advise me and invite me to learn from Native teachings.

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## Chapter I

### INTRODUCTION

The task of resource management requires consultation with many people. This practicum seeks the input of Native people to the solution of a resource management problem -- the interpretation of archaeological resources. Since the practicum seeks to accommodate varying beliefs and values in the solution of the problem, its methods should be useful to many other resource managers whose tasks involve the participation of more than one culture. It should be especially useful to other resource managers involved in interpretation.

#### 1.1 THE GENERAL PROBLEM: INSUFFICIENT INTERPRETATION

Archaeology is the science which describes and explains the material remains of past cultures. It is the portion of anthropology devoted to understanding past cultures, their histories, and their relationship with present cultures. Archaeology provides an extension of history back into time, adding to written or spoken records (Jennings 1968:2).

Since the middle nineteenth century, archaeologists have developed a substantial body of Native history. A bibliography begun by Hlady and updated by Pettipas,

although now 10 years old, shows 650 articles and monographs pertinent to Manitoba archaeology (Hlady 1970, Pettipas 1977).

To give an idea of the scope of knowledge, the lay reader can refer to Introducing Manitoba Prehistory a series of excerpts from the works of 18 authors (Buchner et al 1983). Introducing Manitoba Prehistory deals with a time span of 12,000 years, with people who occupied five different ecological areas over that time, with the changing climates they encountered, and with the history of cultural change over that time. The text deals with people as groups and individuals, with their technology and economy, with religion, languages and movements of people, and events as intricate as a single person's work.

While archaeologists amassed a large body of knowledge about Manitoba's past, they also sought to interpret their work to non-archaeologists, through publications such as the one above.

Freeman Tilden originally defined interpretation as "an educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information" (Tilden 1967:8). Interpretation should reveal large truths, not just facts, and should enrich the mind and spirit. Tilden outlined six principles of interpretation:

1. Any interpretation that does not somehow relate what is being displayed or described to something within the personality or experience of the visitor will be sterile.
2. Information, as such, is not interpretation. Interpretation is revelation based upon information. But they are entirely different things. However, all interpretation includes information.
3. Interpretation is an art, which combines many arts, whether the materials presented are scientific, historical or architectural. Any art is in some degree teachable.
4. The chief aim of interpretation is not instruction, but provocation.
5. Interpretation should aim to present a whole rather than a part, and must address itself to the whole man rather than a phase.
6. Interpretation addressed to children ... should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach. (Tilden 1967:9)

Chapter 2 of this practicum provides a detailed review of the interpretation of archaeology in Manitoba. Chapter 2 lists many interpretive works, but shows that interpretation has lagged behind the massive development of archaeological knowledge in Manitoba. To give a rough numerical indication of this problem, only 37 of the 650 works cited in the bibliographies of Pettipas (1977) and Hlady (1970) interpret the findings of archaeology for the public. Half the publications are less than one or two pages in length.

The objective of the practicum is to address the problem of insufficient interpretation. The general method of the practicum is to explore the past interpretive methods and objectives of archaeology, and propose and test new methods and objectives.

## 1.2 MAJOR ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

Manitoba archaeology provides history of Native peoples (Indian, Inuit and Metis peoples) extending 12,000 years into the past. The drive for self-control of government and education is an important aspect of recent Native history. A brief literature review shows that Native peoples have worked for decades to develop education which suits their needs (see for example Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). One of the problems of Native education is a lack of suitable curriculum materials (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974). Archaeology, since it provides information about Native people, could be interpreted to suit the needs of Native education.

A literature review in chapter 2 shows, however, that archaeology shares some of the same biases as older curriculum material; it fails to reveal Native values and may contradict respect of Native cultures. Even one of archaeology's basic terms, "prehistory", can convey the negative connotation that before Europeans there was no history. Native leaders have objected to archaeologists'

motives, actions and ignorance of Native culture in a vocal and public manner. Interpretation should develop "Native awareness", assisting both Native and non-Native people to understand and appreciate traditional and contemporary Native cultures, enhancing self-esteem of Native children and improving Native and non-Native relations (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.a,n.d.b). The concerns and objectives of Native people, explored in Chapter 2, suggest that one aspect of the problem is a lack of communication, and a need to develop greater participation of Native people in the interpretation of archaeology.

A second aspect of the problem is a shortage of interpretation for children -- for example, there has never been a children's archaeological publication in Manitoba.

The general problem is that interpretation has not kept pace with archaeology. The major aspects of the problem to be addressed in this practicum are:

1. There has been little interpretation for children
2. There has been little involvement of Native people in planning interpretation.

### 1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this practicum was to develop methods for increasing the interpretation of archaeology's findings -- methods which allowed Native input, created Native awareness, and appealed to children. More detailed objectives are as follows:

1. to review archaeological interpretation in Manitoba, evaluating methods and objectives, recommending changes as necessary
2. to review the history and objectives of Native education, and Native people's objectives for the interpretation of archaeology
3. to select interpretive methods and objectives which are suited to the social studies and Native education curriculum
4. to apply and test the interpretive methods.

### 1.4 METHODS

Research for this practicum began with a review of published sources describing the interpretation of archaeology in Manitoba, the history of Native education, and Native concerns about archaeology. The discrepancy between archaeology and the needs of Native education is elaborated and a final section searches for the possible benefits in interpreting archaeology, especially for Native education. The literature review proposes general interpretive objectives and specific interpretive methods.

Chapter 3 reviews the methods of using and testing the proposed interpretive methods. Because of the need for new curriculum material in Manitoba, it was productive to choose a medium suited to school use -- a written, illustrated book. Interpretive methods for the book were planned following the guidelines of the literature review and were further refined by work with archaeologists, Native education advisors, Native advisors and additional literature. A draft of a book, or "draft book" was prepared, including text and illustrations. The draft book was tested with advisors, teachers and children as a means of assessing the success of the interpretive methods. The interpretive methods were evaluated in terms of their ability to achieve cognitive and affective teaching goals. The results of this testing are found in Chapter 4.

The draft children's book is composed of 14 archaeology "vignettes" and Native teachings, found as an Appendix to this practicum. It includes sample illustrations, questions and classroom exercises. The draft is prepared for submission to an editor and publisher. Chapter 5 contains a summary of the conclusions of the practicum, recommendations for the future interpretation of archaeology, and recommendations for the use of the draft book.

## Chapter II

### ISSUES IN INTERPRETATION AND NATIVE EDUCATION

#### 2.1 INTERPRETING ARCHAEOLOGY

Section 2.1 reviews how archaeology has been interpreted. The review is organized into the four periods of an analytical framework for the history of archaeology (Willey and Sabloff 1974, Syms 1978:5). The first period in Manitoba archaeology (Speculative Period 1858-1940) was one of speculation, not scientific explanation. The second period (Classificatory-Descriptive Period 1940-1950) was one of description and classification of data and limited reconstruction of lifeways. The third period (Classificatory-Historical Period 1950-1970) saw an added emphasis on the history of cultural changes. Since 1970 there have been signs of a fourth period (Explanatory Period 1970- ), characterized by the use of new techniques and an interest in explaining cultural change. Syms identified these periods in the history of Manitoba research, but related events can be traced in interpretation. The conclusion of the review of interpretation is a summary of consistent successes and problems in interpretation.

Wherever possible the review deals with archaeology and interpretation originating in Manitoba, although occasionally interpretive work from elsewhere is mentioned, particularly when it has been used in Manitoba. The review includes interpretation of the earliest archaeological findings in Manitoba, before the development of scientific archaeology.

### 2.1.1 1858-1940

The earliest exploration of archaeological sites in Manitoba was sporadic, unsystematic pothunting (Syms 1978:1-15, Mayer-Oakes 1967:340). "Efforts tended to consist of weekend pilfering of [burial] mounds for the grave goods with no concern for context or systematic recording of dating, followed by wildly speculative ideas about a lost race of mound-builders" (Syms 1978:15). Work of this type persisted from 1858 to the early 1940s (Syms 1978:7).

Although their work did not meet modern standards for archaeology, the earliest field workers had some success in interpretation. Many of the excavations were done by leading members of society, almost as a social event. Individuals with no experience of archaeology would attend, and artifacts were often distributed among members of the party. Several quotations depict the adventure and sharing of findings found in the earliest stages of "interpreting" Manitoba archaeology:

With ten men as assistants, I decided to go on with the preliminary uncovering...and I set them to work with a spade and a grubbinghoe (Bell 1885a:159-160 cited in Syms 1978:13).

After meeting with the settlers at a most enjoyable picnic, the party hastened away.... After three or four hours' hard work the 'find' was gathered up (Bryce 1904:42 cited in Syms 1978:13).

My father was the soul of generosity, and decreed that each participant should keep some part of the "proceeds". Even the most unique arrowhead...was pressed upon a Winnipeg visitor who was there almost by chance when it was found (Stewart 1978:7 cited in Syms 1978:14).

Early workers published extensively, directing their findings at scholars, collectors and individuals interested in history. George Bryce, for example, published repeatedly in the Transactions of The Historical and Scientific Society of Manitoba (Bryce 1885, 1887, 1904 all cited in Hlady 1970:285). Charles N. Bell published in Canadian and American antiquarian and numismatic journals (for example Bell 1885a, 1885b, 1886, 1887 and 1893 all cited in Hlady 1970:283-284), and in The Great West Magazine, a Winnipeg publication intended for wider circulation (Bell 1898 cited in Hlady 1970:284).

Articles, such as Bryce's "Aboriginal Mounds in Manitoba", in the Popular Science Monthly were primarily catalogues of "finds" followed up with speculation about mound builders (Bryce 1890).

In 1912 a museum and art section opened in the new Exposition Building of the Winnipeg Industrial Bureau (Selby 1982:16-17). Archaeological materials were included in the collections, but exhibits were probably rows of artifacts with a bare minimum of labelling.

In summary, interpretation from 1859 to 1940 successfully presented the fascination of artifacts as antiquarian artistic objects, the adventure of archaeology as an activity, and the mystery of the "lost mound-builders". There was no written interpretation for children, and some articles were little more than antiquarian catalogues of artifacts.

There was no consideration of the Native concerns of the time. Indeed, by attributing the construction of burial mounds to a "race of mound-builders", interpretation implied that Native people were incapable of such accomplishments. Interpretation ignored Native history almost entirely. The excavation of burial mounds was virtually the only form of archaeology, contributing to an image of archaeology which has yet to disappear.

### **2.1.2 1940-1950**

By 1940 most archaeology took the form of amateur collections of artifacts. Most interpretation was likely speculative (for example Dack 1947). Archaeologists today

often correct collectors' vivid misunderstandings about warfare among Native people, materials resembling pemmican, and the use of projectile points and stone hammers (Riddle 1983:19-35). Amateur interpretation between 1940 and 1950 was likely enthusiastic but incorrect.

Although he lacked archaeological training, W. H. Rand, the Keeper of the Manitoba Museum, did excavate and collect from sites. Rand's publications depicted Native people as primitive warriors, and continued earlier speculation about unrelated noble mound builders. His publications include photographs of excavated burials with skeletons exposed and they continue the interpretive theme of archaeological work as adventure:

Each of us has his own idea of a perfect holiday. One likes fishing, another big game hunting, a third duck shooting and there are those who enjoy riding about the country... Several times before, I had been to the Whiteshell and had found the greatest interest in studying the old landmarks, the ceremonial sites and mosaics of the Ojibways, so that when a friend who lives at Lake Jessie told me that the lakes were very low and invited me to visit and to make use of his boats I accepted with alacrity. My object was to hunt the shores of various lakes and rivers for Indian relics... Ahead of us lay a glorious week of hunting for the Red man's artifacts with no women about to distract our attention... In about an hour we knew we had struck it rich by the signs as soon as we stepped ashore: bits of broken pottery, quartz basalt and flint chips. Indians must have camped there for hundreds of years. I soon had four nice arrowheads, two flint knives, an iron tomahawk, some scrapers and odds and ends (Rand 1941b:8-9).

This article includes obvious stereotypes and trivializes Native life by comparing it to a sportsman's holiday. It discusses artifacts only as antiquarian objects, valued for themselves and not for their revelations of history.

Chris Vickers was an active and devoted avocational archaeologist. He pioneered thorough notation, description, quantification, relative dating and stratigraphic observation in Manitoba. He was the first to apply ethnohistory in archaeology, and the first to identify burial mounds with a historically recognized Indian group (Syms 1980, 1978:16), allowing significant improvements in interpretation.

Vickers wrote interpretive articles for several sports and tourism publications (1947, 1949a, 1949b, 1949c, 1951). Publications have seldom reached such a wide popular audience (for example Game and Fish the journal of the Manitoba Federation of Game and Fish Associations, circulation 7,400, and Manitoba Calling, the widely distributed radio guide of the Manitoba Telephone System).

Vickers' interpretive publications reflect his direct historical approach. "Canada has history too" (Vickers 1952) includes a brief but vivid word picture of men, women and children involved in many types of daily work, play and education. "Indian hunting" (Vickers 1947) and "Over-hunting: past and present" (Vickers 1949) are rare and

effective comparisons of Native history to a modern problem.

Vickers concludes:

The white trader and his Indian customers had badly overhunted the eastern reaches of the Assiniboine valley.... The lesson is old, but not without its significance for lovers of wild life. It is a case where it might be well to remember "to be ignorant of what occurred before you were born is to be always a child" (Vickers 1949:13).

In spite of his interpretive successes and his apparent concern for the accurate portrayal of Native people, Vickers sometimes slips into stereotypes common to the period, characterizing the tools, weapons and conditions of the Indian as "primitive" (Vickers 1947,1951,1952), and characterizing the Indian as a "lusty killer", who is "almost daily engaged in hunting and fishing expeditions that should provoke the envy of the most ardent modern sportsman" (Vickers 1947). Indians are judged as "guilty" or "not guilty" of destroying wildlife.

The Manitoba Museum exhibits of the 1940s probably displayed many artifacts, without much explanation of Native peoples and their history (Maurice Mann, personal communication). The museum's exhibits included the contents of burial mounds which Rand had excavated (Rand 1941b:10).

In summary, the period from 1940 to 1950 saw very extensive popular publication. Vickers' publications included more factual information, and began to use historical data to successfully depict past lifeways. Most

other interpretation was highly speculative. Native people were often depicted in a stereotyped manner. Archaeologists continued to find original artifacts successful in museum exhibits and other interpretive work. The themes of "archaeologist as adventurer" and "artifacts for the sake of artifacts" continued. Some children may have attended exhibits, but there were no interpretive articles for children.

### **2.1.3 1950-1960**

The 1950s and 1960s were a period of awakening professionalism in archaeology. Beginning in the early 1960s Dr. William J. Mayer-Oakes worked towards the establishment of a Department of Anthropology, including archaeology; his goal was achieved at the University of Manitoba in 1967. The Manitoba Archaeological Society was formed in 1961 as a forum for professionals and amateurs and an organization to promote preservation and scientific investigation (Coodin 1964).

Professional archaeology arrived with Dr. Richard S. MacNeish in 1954 and continued under the direction of Mayer-Oakes in the 1960s. A chronology of cultures begun by Vickers was elaborated and extended back to an estimated 5000 years ago, from earlier estimates of 2500 years or less. There was a new concern for reconstructing the past environment and resource use (Syms 1978:21-22).

Ironically, as archaeological knowledge grew the interpretation of archaeology slowed. Between 1950 and 1970 there were only five publications exclusively intended for amateur archaeologists or non-archaeologists. Of these only four received large circulation among people unfamiliar with archaeology. These were publications in the Manitoba Arts Review (Hlady 1952), in the popular Zoolog journal of the Zoological Society of Manitoba (Elias and Steinbring 1967), in the Manitoba Hydro Magazine (Mayer-Oakes 1963), and as a Parks Branch booklet (Dewdney 1965).

The Manitoba Archaeological Society included high school students in the 1960s (Manitoba Archaeological Society 1964:2), meaning that some interpretation was being done for students. Although the Society brought professional and amateur together, its Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter was primarily limited to circulation among members. In addition, the newsletter quickly became devoted to the exchange of technical and theoretical information, written almost exclusively by professionals. By 1965 the newsletter had settled on a pattern of end-of-season reports, technical reports, surveys of literature and notices of professional conferences.

The Society began an innovative interpretive technique in 1964: the seven part television series "The Old New World" narrated by William J. Mayer-Oakes. The production was developed in conjunction with the CBC and was broadcast in

Winnipeg and Toronto (Manitoba Archaeological Society 1964:8). The series was succeeded in later years by a new Manitoba Archaeological Society show, which continues to reach a large audience.

For the first time, interpretation included depictions of Native spirituality based on fact. Selwyn Dewdney's booklet Stone Age Paintings expressed the beauty and spiritual meaning of the rock paintings of the Canadian Shield (Dewdney 1965). Dewdney based his interpretation on illustrations of original paintings and his personal relationships with Ojibwe elders. While the book includes only a few words from an elder, it successfully encourages the reader to experience the feelings of the original artists. Dewdney was an art therapist and author. Douglas Elias and Jack Steinbring, both archaeologists, interpreted the same topic but gave the impression of being knowledgeable authorities (Elias and Steinbring 1967). Although they quoted Ojibwe and Cree people and provided attractive copies of Native art, the article is a skeptical analysis of the data, an approach which could be interpreted as condescending.

Another new interpretive theme appeared -- interpreting the science of archaeology so that amateurs could do it correctly. The first article of this nature is found in the Manitoba Archaeological Newsletter (Fiske 1964). Many more articles would appear after 1970.

The old theme of explaining the activity of archaeology continued. Instead of the old idea of archaeologists as adventurers, there was a new emphasis on showing archaeologists as scholars. For example, the first television show of the new Live and Learn series was titled "Scholars as Diggers" (Manitoba Archaeological Society 1964:8).

During the 1950s and 1960s Manitoba archaeologists recommended three popular publications from outside Manitoba to their readers. These were publications by Alan Bryan (Hlady 1970:285), Alice B. Kehoe and Dr. H. Marie Wormington (Fiske 1964).

Wormington's Ancient Man In North America, published in the Denver Museum of Natural History Popular Series, is directed at "the intelligent layman...college and university students, and...the professional anthropologist who specializes in another field" (Wormington 1957:v). It is an exceptionally dry chronology of traditions, complexes, points, sites, finds, and industries (the terms "tradition", "complex", and "industry" have unique definitions in archaeological theory). There are 72 figures of archaeological sites, excavations, projectile points, bones and a limited variety of other artifacts (Wormington 1957:ix-xvii). There are no figures depicting people or artifacts in use. The monograph was recommended to amateur Manitoba archaeologists (Fiske 1964:6).

Publications by Kehoe and Bryan were much more lively. Bryan's "The First People" was part of an Alberta publication intended "to interest a wide audience...for schools, libraries and the reading public" (Hardy 1967:viii). In terms of Native awareness Bryan successfully connected archaeological findings to modern Native peoples, including photographs of Peigan, Blood, Cree, Assiniboine, Blackfoot, and Dene people. The article includes a substantial portion of vivid historical and ethnographic information. In terms of interpretive revelation, it asks us to visualize drifting newcomers to the Yukon as they encounter a cold winter night:

Clad in fur robes and huddled behind a wind-break close to leaping tongues of fire, men, women and children would survive the night (Bryan 1967:278).

Yet much of the interpretation still describes a succession of periods with corresponding lists of activities and artifacts. There may be little or no mention of people and the choice of words sometimes implies a personification of artifacts, unflattering to Native people. Consider the following paragraph:

All these Palaeo-Indian points or their very close relatives have been identified in collections made in Alberta. Most of these points have also been collected from sites in the Yukon and the Northwest Territories, but all of these...are associated with deposits up to 3,000 years younger than their southern predecessors. This fact suggests a gradual movement northward from the prairie provinces, rather than a migration from Alaska (Bryan 1967:282).

Bryan's use of language was suited to university-educated adults or others of similar learning, not the schools and wide reading public he had intended.

Like Bryan, Alice B. Kehoe intended to write for school students and adults (Kehoe n.d.). The result was Hunters of the Buried Years, a small book with black and white illustrations, published around the late 1950s. Kehoe succeeded in achieving a language level and use of concepts suited to an adult or senior student level. The book was published by School Aids and Text Book Publishing in Regina, suggesting that it was successfully used in schools, at least in Saskatchewan.

Hunters of the Buried Years was a unique experiment in interpretation, particularly in story telling. The bulk of the book is five stories of the actions of individual people, based on archaeological and ethnological data, ranging from the earliest occupants of the plains to the historic Blackfoot. The characters in the stories are involved in dialogue, action, emotions, and decisions about changes in their cultures. Each story is followed by a brief discussion of its archaeological background and its meaning to today's society. Many of the illustrations depict archaeological sites and archaeologists at work, interpreted to show how the sites reveal lifeways. Several photographs and drawings show the lifeways of modern Native people and reconstructed scenes of the past.

A contemporary review by the Manitoba Archaeological Society described the Hunters of the Buried Years as "vivid and reconstructive" (Fiske 1964:6). Kehoe's work is a significant positive example of interpretation.

During the 1950s and 1960s, exhibits at the Manitoba Museum continued as before -- lithic and ceramic artifacts laid out with basic labels and time charts (Maurice Mann, personal communication). The museum took a step backwards in Native awareness by constructing an exhibit of the excavation of a Native burial, including skeleton and artifacts. The burial exhibit was later moved to the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, successor to the Manitoba Museum.

In summary, the 1950s and 1960s (Classificatory-Historical Period) saw remarkable developments in professionalism and research. On the other hand, interpretive publications in Manitoba archaeology began to lag far behind research.

In terms of interpretive methods, some publications showed a tendency to almost totally dissociate artifacts from people. At their worst these publications consisted almost entirely of exceptionally dry chronologies of artifacts.

Although some publications suggested that they were directed at children, none was successfully written at a

junior level. The publications used advanced language, scientific terminology and concepts. In some cases the language required prior adult education in archaeology. One exceptional author from Saskatchewan published lively stories based on archaeological and ethnographic data, and pointed out their messages for today's society.

Archaeological societies and a television series were new vehicles for interpretation. A new interpretive theme, "how amateurs can do archaeology" appeared. Two interpretive publications in Manitoba used ethnological and historic records. One particularly stimulating publication encouraged readers to explore the spirituality of modern Ojibwe people.

#### **2.1.4 1970-Present**

The 1970s saw the Explanatory Period in Manitoba archaeology, characterized by application of systems theory, ecosystem concepts, statistics, computers, increased ethnographic analogy and an emphasis on the philosophy and methods of science (Syms 1978:23-24). A professional community has developed in Manitoba, with government and university institutions, archaeological associations and formal relationships to amateur archaeologists and the general public. Archaeologists have established a huge catalogue of artifacts, sites and cultural history.

The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature displays 12 exhibits of Plains, Boreal and Transitional forest archaeology. Exhibits include miniature dioramas, artifact classifications, an excavation display, illustrations and text panels. The University of Winnipeg, Brandon University and numerous community museums present smaller displays. The Kenosewun Interpretive Centre in Lockport is unique for its combination of exhibits with an archaeological site and videotape. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature provides a guided school tour on archaeology. In 1987 the Museum and the Manitoba Archaeological Society organized a Young Archaeologists' Club, and the Museum and Winnipeg School Division #1 conducted a children's summer archaeology program.

The Province of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch prepared a series of single sheet popular pamphlets in the early 1970s. By 1981 there were 12 titles (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch n.d.). A new series of brochures is larger in format (e.g. Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 1985a, 1985b). The pamphlets and brochures use illustrations of both artifacts and activities. The Branch has produced several larger publications, introducing prehistory and archaeology (the most recent versions are Buchner et al 1983 and Saylor et al 1982) and popular accounts of the archaeology of regions (see for example Hill 1984, Riddle 1983, Carmichael 1981). All publications,

including a large series of technical reports, are distributed to schools and individuals, on request.

Historic Resources Branch archaeologists, like other archaeologists, are involved in frequent meetings with artifact collectors, amateur archaeologists and other citizens of their regions. From time to time archaeologists from museums, the government and universities appear in newspapers, explaining sites and findings.

The Manitoba Archaeological Society prepares a series of videotapes on archaeology and distributes them widely by loan and cable television. The Association of Manitoba Archaeologists occasionally organizes conferences to bring together professionals, amateurs and educators. These conferences have included hands on experience with pottery and stone tool making. The Manitoba Archaeological Society presents popular speakers on archaeology, primarily at an adult level. Both the Manitoba Archaeological Society and the former Archaeological Society of South-Western Manitoba have published journals, intended in part to promote popular information.

Archaeology is touched on in grades six, eight and 11 of the Manitoba social studies curriculum. Archaeologists have encouraged teachers to use archaeology in social studies and in other areas such as science, art and language arts. In 1985 the Association of Manitoba Archaeologists organized a

conference on archaeology in the curriculum. Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and Historic Resources Branch archaeologists have participated in meetings of Native education and social studies education groups (e.g. Buchner 1986). In 1986 and 1987 the Department of Education, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and the Historic Resources Branch organized "ED-ARCH", a science workshop designed to assist teachers in developing archaeology in the curriculum (Handouts for 1987 ED-ARCH, papers on file at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature). Archaeologists have participated in the Brandon University Northern Teacher Education Program since the 1970s. The University of Manitoba offered an archaeology course at Stony Mountain Penitentiary in the early 1980s.

In summary, this list of interpretive techniques shows that since 1970 archaeologists have worked hard to help the public become aware of the vast new body of archaeological knowledge. Traditional printed publications continue, but other methods of interpretation include new kinds of museum exhibits, tours, videos, hands-on experience and interaction with educational institutions. Looking back over interpretation in Manitoba it is possible to identify recurring successes and problems in interpreting archaeology.

## **2.1.5 New Aims and Methods for Interpreting Archaeology**

### **2.1.5.1 Interpretation Using Original Artifacts**

Since the earliest interpretation, archaeologists have presented artifacts for their own merit. Artifacts provoke the imagination of viewers with their aura of antiquity, their obvious beauty, and the almost tangible presence of their makers and users. Today's interpretation continues to display and depict original objects in museums, publications, tours and personal encounters. Interpretation occasionally takes special pains to draw out the skill or thoughts of the makers (e.g. Dewdney 1965, Dickson 1976, and demonstrations of pottery making and flint knapping).

Freeman Tilden emphasized the success of original objects and firsthand experience in conducting interpretation (Tilden 1967:8). The repeated use of artifacts and illustrations throughout all the decades attests to the favourable response which archaeologists have achieved with their artifacts. Archaeology is especially suited to interpretation because of its unique resources of material history.

Unfortunately interpretation has placed excessive emphasis on artifacts, resulting in little or no reference to Native people, a problem which continues to the present. Interpretation more often describes lifeways, but extensive sections of publications still emphasize photographs,

drawings, lists and discussions of artifact forms and changes (for example Riddle 1983:71-93, Carmichael 1981:35-71, Syms 1977, Pettipas 1975,1976). Museum exhibits, while also now depicting lifeways, still sometimes feature cases of objects as their major image. For example, the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature exhibit "Continental Trade Networks" now includes the complex economic activities behind artifacts, but is saddled with a catalogue of artifacts as its major image, some artifacts originating from excavated burials. Kenosewun Interpretive Centre, the University of Winnipeg and smaller museums have been encouraged to depict the people and history behind artifacts (Syms 1981), but still place the study of artifacts in the spotlight. Interpretation should place greater emphasis on the people who made the artifacts than on the artifacts themselves.

The emphasis on objects themselves misses opportunities to use the objects to interpret Native history. Interpretation usually avoids the spirituality of past and present Native people. Because archaeologists in the past failed to link their interpretations to modern Native values, they could display burials and burial artifacts like any other artifacts worthy of study and understanding. For example, the display of a Native burial in the Manitoba Museum and the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature lasted about 20 years, until an increasing understanding of Native concerns led to the removal of the exhibit.

### 2.1.5.2 Interpreting the Science of Archaeology

The activity of archaeology has obvious appeal to the public. From the earliest publications archaeologists have successfully revealed the atmosphere and adventure of archaeology (for example Bell 1885a, Bryce 1904 cited in Syms 1978:13, Rand 1941b). Modern publications continue to hint at adventure (e.g. "On the Trail of the Chipewyan" (Nash 1971), however the tendency is now to emphasise that archaeology is a science, to explain its concepts and methods, and to encourage the proper behaviour of amateurs. Recent interpretive work includes the television show "Scholars as Diggers" (Manitoba Archaeological Society 1964), and the publications "Archaeology and the Amateur" (Fiske 1964), "Techniques and Uses of Site Location Recording" (Putt 1981), "The Relic Collector and the Law in Manitoba" (Archaeological Research Centre 1976), Archaeology: Its Methods, Goals and Objectives (Saylor and Pelleck 1976) and "A Message for Artifact Collectors" (Will 1971).

The interpretation of archaeological activity is exciting to the viewer because archaeology is so tangible and active. It is necessary because it places the findings of archaeology in a theoretical context. It is probably familiar to the personal or cultural "experience of the visitor" (Tilden 1967:9) due to its ties to other sciences.

However, the interpretation of archaeology as an activity consumes considerable space and energy, apparently at the expense of the interpretation of Native history. Publications for teachers (Anthro Notes from the Smithsonian Institution and Teaching Anthropology Newsletter from St. Mary's University, Halifax) show how interpreters slip into teaching the science of archaeology at the expense of its findings. Articles in these publications suggest that students participate in surveys and excavations (Baird 1987, Williams 1988), or simulate archaeology through mock-up excavations and garbage analysis (Brooks 1986, Etherington 1985, Warrack 1980, Wainwright 1986). The same publications contain only one suggestion for teaching about the Native history revealed by archaeology (Rowley 1988).

In Manitoba, as elsewhere, the interpretation of the science of archaeology is rewarding, important and relatively easy. The filmstrip/tape kit Manitoba Archaeology and Pre-History was prepared by Kelly (1983) for use in schools. It opens with archaeologists in the laboratory, and even when the findings of archaeology are introduced at the half way mark, the emphasis is on data, not on Native lifeways. In the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Boreal Forest Gallery one large archaeology diorama exhibit shows the excavation of a hearth, not the lifeways the excavation revealed. The Kenosewun Interpretive Centre

is designed through colour scheme, layout and exhibits to suggest a subterranean environment -- the environment of excavations, not of Native people. Popular publications, particularly the initial ones in the Provincial series, spent substantial space explaining the activity, terminology and theory of archaeology. Almost all of the first three publications of the Historic Resources Branch Popular Series dealt exclusively with the activity and rationale of archaeology (Carmichael 1981:2-24, Saylor and Pelleck 1976, Saylor et al 1982).

The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature does include many exhibits which emphasize Native people and lifeways. The Provincial Historic Resources Branch has produced publications devoted almost exclusively to culture history. But there is clearly a temptation to dwell on the explanation of the science, at the expense of revealing its findings. Interpreting Native lifeways is more challenging than the relative ease of interpreting the science.

### **2.1.5.3 Use of Terms and Concepts in Interpretation**

Most interpretive work in Manitoba, including that done since 1970, makes extensive use of technical terms and theoretical concepts, and as a result will only appeal to adults with an advanced level of education.

Ironically, language suitable to the layperson was used most commonly during the 1940s, 1950s and early 1960s, when Rand (1941a, 1941b, 1944), Vickers, (e.g. 1947), Hlady (1952), Mayer-Oakes (1963) and Dack (1947) published in widely circulated magazines such as Manitoba Calling, The Manitoba Arts Review, Manitoba Hydro Magazine, Game and Fish, Outdoor Canada, Northern Sportsman and the United Church Onward!. In later interpretation, the proportion written without technical and theoretical terms decreased.

The development of methods, theories, classifications and chronologies over the decades implied the development of suitable terms. Because archaeologists use a complex theoretical framework to explain their data, they find it difficult to abandon their terms even when dealing with the layperson. Thus, works such as Introducing Manitoba Prehistory (Buchner et al 1983) and the booklet The Prehistory of the Lockport Site (Manitoba Historic Resources Branch 1985a) use concepts and terms such as "culture history", "pattern", "complex", "component" and "period". Although these terms are used in many other contexts, they have unique meanings and applications in archaeology.

The language level in most publications, aside from terms and theoretical concepts, is also advanced. Thus a sentence from the report Journey Through Time reads:

The presence of the bison in large numbers, combined with the highly productive jump hunting technique, gave the Plano peoples a relatively secure base from which an increasingly complex social organization developed (Hill 1984:47).

Advanced language together with specialized terms creates a formidable barrier to interpretation. A single paragraph from Introducing Manitoba Prehistory contains the words adjacent, archaeologically, visible, phase, geographically, associated, environmental, zone, assemblage, relatively, homogenous, unifaces, bifaces, ovoid, adzes, mauls, organic, flakers, shaft straighteners, fleshers, globular vessels, constricted, excurvate, punctates, bosses, impressions and incisions (Buchner et al 1983:164-165). Some museum exhibits in the province use similar complex language. Successful interpretation for children and for many adults would require new ways of speaking about the findings of archaeology.

#### **2.1.5.4 Interpretation Addressed to Children**

According to Tilden, interpretation for children should not be a dilution of the presentation to adults, but should follow a fundamentally different approach (Tilden 1967:9). To date there are no Manitoba publications intended for children. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature has an archaeology school tour and has recently participated in a children's archaeology club and course. The Manitoba Historic Resources Branch is preparing a publication at the high school level (Leo Pettipas, personal communication). Participation in Manitoba Education programs, the Brandon

University Northern Teacher Education Program, and contacts with individual teachers have been used to try to get archaeology into the curriculum. But clearly more interpretation is needed for children.

#### **2.1.5.5 Interpretation that Relates to Visitors**

According to Tilden, interpretation is more than just facts. It should give firsthand experience and relate to the whole life of the visitor. Interpretation presents a whole rather than a part, adding art and revelation to scientific information (Tilden 1967:9).

Much of archaeology deals with large groups and their gradual change over time. Little research gives an "on the scene" account of an individual or small group. Hence interpretation struggles to rise above dry recitations of periods, horizons, traditions, cultures, population movements and lists of artifacts.

This problem has been common since the outset of interpretation. Current examples are found in the Province of Manitoba Popular Series; there are cut and dried "diagrammatic representations" of history (Hill 1984:79) and broad statements about populations "shifting" from one area to another, together with long lists of culture traits (Buchner et al 1983:122-124,139-140). The Manitoba Museum

of Man and Nature Boreal Forest Gallery shows a series of cultures as maps and dates, each culture otherwise represented by one or two artifacts. A review compared interpretations of people in an exhibition on the northern transitional forest, concluding:

Finally, with the chronology coming full circle and anonymity reaching its climax, the complete human prehistory of the northern region is compressed into a small panel of arrowheads and pottery shards superimposed upon a nearly incomprehensible graph showing the rise and fall of whole aboriginal civilizations (Neufeld 1988:60).

Broad descriptions of culture and history fail to vividly depict the changing lives of individuals, to which a visitor could relate. Archaeology needs to develop interpretation familiar to the viewer's whole experience of life.

Placing artifacts in the context of lifeways is successful (e.g. pottery-making demonstrations, "The Spear-Thrower" in the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Grasslands Gallery, and the "Cree Summer Camp" miniature diorama in the Boreal Forest Gallery). "The Spear-Thrower" shows a spear point in use by a full-size person, complete with surrounding technology. "Cree Summer Camp" creates an entire village in intricate detail, based on a combination of archaeological and ethnological data, including surrounding panels of Cree prayers and songs, and has won national awards for excellence. Articles and illustrations which ask us to imagine our presence in the past (Bryan 1967:278, Kehoe n.d., Kroker 1985, Lalor 1986) or which evoke the

meaning of Native religions (Dewdney 1965, World of Cree and Ojibway astronomy, Manitoba Museum of Man & Nature Happenings April 1988) demand greater thought and provoke the viewer to enter a new state of mind. Ethnology and history enable interpretation to depict life more fully, relating to the life of the visitor.

The science of archaeology deals with objects and emphasises economic history, not history of religion, thought or emotions. It cannot identify leading historic figures. Yet these examples show that interpretation can provoke us to at least imagine the actions, thoughts, values and emotions of individuals within what archaeologists consider a scientifically accurate setting.

#### **2.1.5.6 Interpretation that Reveals Larger Truths**

According to Tilden, interpretation should go beyond information to reveal larger truths. Interpretation must relate to the personality or experience of the visitor, and its chief aim should not be instruction, but provocation to consider attitudes and concepts (Tilden 1967:7-8).

Interpretation in Manitoba almost continually fails to relate archaeology to the concerns of today's society, to challenge readers and visitors to a "larger truth". The work of Vickers, the article "Why Archaeology? A Discussion

of the Benefits Arising from the Study of the Past" (Pettipas and Kelly 1977) the pamphlet "What Is In It For Us?" (Kelly 1976), and the Brandon University Stott bison kill exhibit (Leigh Syms, personal communication) were exceptions. These works suggested the relationship of archaeology to modern events, such as the oil supply crisis and the changing agricultural economy. Kehoe's *us Hunters of the Buried Years* was one of few publications which discussed cultural phenomena, such as invention and wealth, as universal experiences. She drew her examples from her vignettes of Native history, and sometimes searched for their modern applicability (Kehoe n.d.).

For the most part archaeology has not explicitly challenged us to a greater understanding of Native peoples. At the earliest stages of archaeology, the role of Native people in creating sites was explicitly denied. Since then interpretation has sometimes omitted the mention of people altogether, ignored modern values about burials, and included derogatory characterizations of Native people, even when the authors intended to be constructive. Interpretation overemphasises artifacts and the science of archaeology at the expense of showing Native lifeways, and makes sweeping statements about "cultures" without describing lifeways. When historic Native peoples are depicted, their relationship to modern peoples is seldom explained. Native advisors are now sometimes consulted in

the preparation of interpretive material, and the results have been very promising. Clearly archaeology could do more to provoke thought about Native history.

Based on the preceding literature review, the following methods of interpretation can be proposed to the modern archaeologist:

1. Interpretation should continue to use the authenticity, beauty and communicative ability of real artifacts. Artifacts should complement other depictions of lifeways.
2. The activity and science of archaeology should be interpreted, but not at the expense of the interpretation of lifeways.
3. History without "people" should be avoided. Interpretation should vividly depict the lives of people, to which the viewer can relate.
4. Ethnology and history should be used to make interpretation more full and lifelike.
5. Complex language, technical terms and theoretical concepts should be avoided or introduced with care.
6. Unique methods of interpretation should be devised for children.

Finally, the objective of interpretation should be to relate archaeology to modern life, helping us to question and develop our understanding of culture. To use Tilden's terms, archaeologists seldom use interpretation to "provoke" the public. Archaeologists could challenge us to look on their findings as part of the history of today's Native people, and challenge us to gain a better understanding of Native culture from their knowledge. Archaeologists could challenge us to search their findings for their parallels

and uses to modern issues of ecology and cultural change. Objectives should be well planned, or interpretation may be counter-productive.

Clear statements of interpretive objectives will reveal new uses for archaeology, and improved methods will make the achievement of objectives more likely, resulting in greater demand for interpretation. The field of Native education would appear to be a good place to test interpretive objectives and methods. Accordingly, the next chapter reviews the objectives of Native people for archaeology and Native education.

## **2.2 NATIVE EDUCATION AND ARCHAEOLOGY**

Native education is the practice that identifies and meets the educational needs of Native children, and assists non-Native students to learn more about Native people and cultures. The following two sections briefly review the history of Native education and the concerns and desires of Native people about archaeology. These reviews suggest interpretive objectives and methods of archaeology to suit the needs of Native education. A final section reviews a variety of sources to suggest the general benefits of adding more archaeology to the school curriculum.

### **2.2.1 Brief Review of Native Education**

Native cultures have long established education practices that ensure cultural continuity and provide life skills (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). When European people arrived, their decisions about Indian education were usually made to benefit the new settlers. The first European-style education was provided by missionaries, beginning in about 1600, and was planned in Europe (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C, Hamilton 1986). Between 1750 and 1850 colonial governments and fur-trading companies became involved, but policies vacillated. Decisions about education were related more to the companies and colonies than to the rapidly changing needs of Native children. Integrated schools and industrial

schools were used, while the occasional independent school taught in an Indian language (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C, Hamilton 1986.).

Confederation entrenched responsibility for Indian education with the federal government. The segregation of Indian peoples on reserves was accompanied by Christian denominations vying with each other to establish schools to support the process of conversion (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). Schooling for Native people was increasingly segregated, following the stated government intention of "protecting" Native people, at least Indian people, from a growing society that was harmful to their interests (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). Residential schools, operated either by the church or the government, were ostensibly intended to protect Indian children from exploitation. They centralized the administration of schooling, and at the same time carried out a process of assimilation, acculturation and conversion. Residential schools became a dominant feature of Native education in Manitoba (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). Many Native people relate extremely unhappy accounts of their experiences at residential school -- stories of loneliness, punishment, alienation from family, and loss of traditional language and culture (McDowell and Plett 1976a:18-21, 1976b, Miller 1987). Bad as these schools were, many Native leaders emerged (Miller

1987, Scott-Brown 1987, Knight, Hurlburt and Pazdzierski 1986).

Between 1950 and 1970 Canada assumed a policy of integrated education for Indian people, in the direction of assimilation. During this period many Indian children in Southern Manitoba attended consolidated schools with no cultural programs to suit their needs. A Manitoba Indian Brotherhood policy paper concluded that the policy was a "shocking illustration of monumental failure" (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1971:104). The paper identified such problems as absence of parental involvement, inadequate facilities, inadequate staff, and a failure to relate education to Indian culture and Indian reality (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1971:104-106).

In 1969 a federal white paper advocated that all education services be provided by provincial agencies. Indian reaction was explosively negative. The National Indian Brotherhood presented its views formally in a position paper in 1972 (National Indian Brotherhood 1982):

we modern Indians, want our children to learn that happiness and satisfaction come from:

- pride in one's self,
- understanding one's fellowmen, and
- living in harmony with nature...

We want education to give our children the knowledge to understand and be proud of themselves and the knowledge to understand the world around them (National Indian Brotherhood 1982:1).

The traditional values of self-reliance, generosity, and respect for personal freedom, nature and wisdom were to be emphasized in Native education, through the history, teachings and cultural activities of Native people (National Indian Brotherhood 1982:2).

Gradually there was a shift from Native people being the recipients of imposed education to Native people asserting their right to self-controlled education (Ward 1986). By 1982, 24% of the Canadian Indian school population was in separate Indian schools (Indian and Inuit Affairs Program 1982:Appendix C). There are now 32 self administered Indian schools in Manitoba (Diane Cooley, personal communication), still, most Native children attend provincial schools where they differ in cultural and linguistic background from the predominant school population. The Native Education Branch, Manitoba Department of Education, works with teachers, schools, communities, and Native organizations to identify and meet the education needs of the Native children, and to assist non-Native students in learning about Native people and Native cultures (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.a)

The current shortage of suitable curriculum materials for the Native education program should be of particular interest to archaeologists. Some years ago, a study by the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood (1974) chronicled the shocking frequency of biases in Manitoba grade six social studies curriculum material. Texts selected information that

credited only white culture, while omitting Native cultures, disparaged the contributions of Native people to Canadian culture, and presented inaccurate information. Texts perpetuated legends, stereotypes and half-truths, ignored significant aspects of Native history, and referred to Native people in a disembodied way, as the "Indian menace" or the victims of the "march of progress" (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974:i-ii). Materials such as this historically damaged and undermined the productive potential of Native children and affected non-Native children by accepting racism (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974:3-4).

Since there is still a need for curriculum material, archaeologists have an opportunity to provide interpretation which meets the objectives of Native education.

The preceding brief review states several objectives of Native education. If archaeologists prepare curriculum material they should be aware of other concerns of Native education. Self control of education is still an important issue in Manitoba, featured as the theme of the 1987 Manitoba Metis Education Conference. Other issues are parental involvement (Stonechild 1986, Manitoba Metis Education Conference 1987) student motivation (Mock 1986, Longclaws 1986), stereotypes and Native awareness among non-Native people (Lussier 1986, Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.a), Native learning styles and appropriate teaching styles (Chrisjohn 1986, Millin 1986, Green and

Flanagan 1986), maintenance of language, culture and history (Manitoba Indian Cultural Education Centre n.d.), teaching in an urban setting (Millin 1986), English language development (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.a), curriculum areas dealing with Native religion, government and family life (McMartin 1986, West Region Tribal Council 1987, McLeod 1985), and development of qualified Native staff (Paulet 1987).

The references here are only examples of the type of literature that is available for further review. Since Native control of Native education is a dominant issue, archaeologists will require at least a rudimentary knowledge of current Native objectives before they can provide effective interpretation.

### **2.2.2 Native People's Objectives for Archaeology**

That Native people have been defined by others is not only unfair but also annoying to them. The responsible thing for educators to do now is to open their policies and their classrooms to Native people who are defining themselves. . . It is of utmost importance, then, to utilize Native thinking and Native talent whenever Natives are being discussed in classrooms (LaRoque 1975:13-14).

LaRocque recommends that Native people be involved in planning education. Like other educators, archaeologists must seek advice in planning interpretation. Although there have been few suggestions specifically dealing with

archaeology in education, recommendations can be inferred from the general comments of Native people on archaeology and education. First the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood's analysis of curriculum material can be applied to archaeology's interpretative materials, as an evaluation of methods and a search for new objectives.

### Manitoba Indian Brotherhood Criteria

Three of the biases found in textbooks by The Shocking Truth About Indians in Textbooks (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974:i-ii) might also be identified in archaeological writing. These are bias by omission (selecting information that reflects credit on white culture while omitting Native cultures), bias by obliteration (ignoring significant aspects of Native history), and bias by disembodiment (referring in a casual and depersonalized way to Native peoples as a group) (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974:i-ii). The following paragraphs illustrate some examples of these biases.

Bias by omission may occur in naming archaeological sites, cultures and tools. Manitoba's list of classic sites includes such names as the Lockport site, Harris Bison Runs, Bjorklund site, Sinnock site, Kame Hills site and Seahorse Gully site. Sites are usually named after the landowner, the initial collector at the site, or by the English name for a geographic feature in the area. Native peoples are

given non-Native names, such as Palaeo-Indian, Plains Archaic, Middle Woodland, Selkirk, Blackduck, Laurel, Dorset and pre-Dorset cultures. Tools are given such names as Larter tanged, McKean, Oxbow, Clovis, Folsom, Besant, Sonota, and Avonlea. Such titles reflect credit on landowners, archaeologists, and European culture, and fail to emphasize Native heritage. A Native name, even when the original name of a site is unknown, might be better. Names such as Taltheilei culture, Mistikwas culture, or Kenosewun interpretive centre are more indicative of Native heritage.

Bias by omission also occurs when interpretation places heavy emphasis on artifacts and the activity of archaeology, as discussed in section 2.1. The exclusion of information about Native people would be highly objectionable to the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood analysis. The misplaced emphasis of interpretation might be more offensive than the European naming of sites and cultures.

A second bias, bias by disembodiment, occurs when archaeologists refer in an impersonal way to traits, groups, cultures, populations, material cultures, and so on. The lack of specific numbers, characters and daily events creates an impersonal approach to Native people in both scientific and popular publications. There is seldom any discussion of individual thoughts and activities.

Indeed, archaeologists seldom refer to the people who occupied Manitoba as Native or Indian people -- instead we might see "human beings were occupying most of Manitoba" (Buchner et al 1983:46). There are many examples of interpretation that describe the history of cultures as the evolution of sites, tool kits and subsistence habits -- the words people and Native people are not used (e.g. Buchner et al 1983:54-56). The Manitoba Indian Brotherhood analysis suggests that such writing is bias by disembodiment, an objectionable problem in interpretation.

The final bias, bias by obliteration or neglect of significant aspects of Native history, occurs when archaeology neglects the spiritual aspect of Native life. As discussed in section 2.1, most archaeological research deals with economic and ecological history. However, Basil Johnston wrote "If the Native Peoples and their heritage are to be understood, it is their beliefs, insights, concepts, ideals, values, attitudes, and codes that must be studied" (Johnston 1976:7). LaRocque states that in Native education:

Culture is more than a package of tangibles.... selective treatment of "culture" negates a wealth of intangibles that are a vital and integral part of any culture. It is neither fair nor intellectually honest to fragment anyone's heritage or culture into unrecognizable bits and pieces. We must seek to be wholistic in our teaching.... It is only through a well rounded knowledge of each other's life-views and life-styles that different peoples can appreciate each other. In our goal to understand the inner life and spirit of a people, we must probe its art (as well as its religion, literature, poetry, music and dances) (LaRoque 1975:23-24).

Native values and spirituality are engrained in all lifeways and their importance is repeatedly reflected in Native history, writing and speaking. Yet Native world view is an extremely rare topic of discussion in archaeological writing. Discussion of ceremonial artifacts and features often takes the form of speculation about makers and ceremonies, not the world view they imply (e.g. Buchner et al 1983:141-145, 183-189, Manitoba Historic Resources 1983). In their interpretive work, archaeologists seldom use the oral teachings which reveal Native beliefs and values. Interpretation which uses ethnography and Native religious teachings provides positive exceptions, such as the work of Dewdney (1965) and the boreal forest mini-diorama at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. But the general failure to deal with Native values and spirituality is a prominent form of bias by obliteration.

In summary, it appears that archaeology must address several biases before its interpretation can become a useful part of Native education. These are the biases of omission (selecting information that reflects credit on white culture while omitting the Native cultures), bias by obliteration (ignoring significant aspects of native history, and bias by disembodiment (referring in a casual and depersonalized way to Indians as a group) (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974:i-ii). M. I. B. criteria confirm some methods proposed in section 2.1.5 and suggest refinements in interpretive

methods to meet archaeology's interpretive objectives in Native education. The current method of naming sites and cultures may be problematic and the neglect of Native spirituality in interpretation is emphatically objectionable.

### Burials

Native comments in the news media suggest that the interpretation of burials must be handled with great care. Relations between archaeologists and Native peoples have been strained over the matter of burials (e.g. Museum accused of grave robbery, Winnipeg Tribune, August 22, 1977; Mohawks win return of bones from dig, Winnipeg Free Press, September 1, 1977; A.I.M. opposes grave openings, Winnipeg Free Press, December 4, 1976; Occupation by A.I.M. ends as pact near on disposal of bones, Winnipeg Free Press, December 2, 1976; Finding a 'lost' tribe: one man's discovery is another man's desecration, Maclean's, November 29, 1976; Indian threatens to dig up John A., Winnipeg Free Press, December 11, 1978, Indian burial site upsets highway planning, Civic Public Works, December 1978).

In one of the more scornful reactions, an anthropologist replied:

Are the bones ancestral? Probably not.... one cannot fail to note that the Indian would not know of the possibly ancestral relationship if the Museum authorities did not tell them.

While sympathizing deeply and sincerely with the Indian, we should not lose sight of the value of

scientific knowledge to be gained from a professional study of the bones. Surely it is not to be argued that the search for knowledge should be ended? Incredibly, even the artifacts are being claimed in some instances (T.E.L.1977)

Some anthropologists and archaeologists did criticize the treatment of burials, commenting that archaeologists contributed to their own discredit through their insensitivity to Native peoples:

Had the professional archaeologist possessed a stronger sense of moral values and feelings of obligation toward these people, he might have been freely granted the honour of acquiring the data and history from such burials (Kraemer 1977:36).

More often the reaction of archaeologists was one of puzzled disappointment that Native people did not appreciate their work. In 1975 Native people from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta asked that remains from a Selkirk, Manitoba burial site be reinterred. Archaeologists objected, saying that they were helping Native people, especially since they were saving material which would otherwise be lost to construction (Indian skeletons will be reburied, Winnipeg Tribune, May 30, 1975; Museum skeletons reburied in quiet riverbank ceremony, Winnipeg Tribune, June 3, 1975; Decision upsets archaeologists, Winnipeg Free Press, May 30, 1975). In the Ontario St. Regis reserve case, archaeologists James Pendergast explained that the excavated bones would help the National Museum of Man understand more about Indian history. The chief of the St. Regis reserve replied "We are not asking for an interpretation from you of our history" (Mohawks win return of bones from dig, Winnipeg Free Press, September 1, 1977).

Clearly, Native opinions about the excavation of burials must be reconciled to avoid jeopardizing other participation of Native people in interpretation and archaeology. Since the late 1970s Native people and archaeologists have even joined to use data from burials to support land claims (The Globe and Mail, December 9, 1986). Interpretation which promotes Native awareness, showing the value of archaeology, will assist to ease poor perceptions of archaeology, however archaeologists will experience lingering resentment of their past casual approach to burials.

#### Other Comments on Archaeology

Chief Lawrence Francis's angry remark about archaeology ("We are not asking for an interpretation from you of our history", Mohawks win return of bones from dig, Winnipeg Free Press, September 1, 1977) suggests broad Native skepticism about archaeology. Native people preserve their own history, and some resent archaeology's version of history, its choice of emphasis, its point of view. The perception exists that archaeology discredits highly valued goals and traditions by purporting to be the true source of knowledge. Interpretation must avoid presenting such an image.

At the 1975 Plains Cree Conference, Cree elders repeatedly commented that the findings of anthropology and

archaeology missed important oral history and the spirituality of all aspects of Native life. Ernest Tootoosis said:

There's a lot more than just what the white man has been talking about, what he observed and what he assumed. First, you've got to understand that the North American Indian was a spiritual person created by God in the North American continent and given an understanding of how to relate and to live and to understand nature.... Some of these things that are put in books today, written by white men of what they observed, are going down in history and it's going to stay that way; which is very misleading to really understand our culture. That should be corrected (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:85).

Comments at the conference confirm the importance of including Native spiritual teachings in the interpretation of archaeology. Tootoosis gave an oral history of the buffalo pound and concluded by saying:

That's a thumbnail history of what I heard from my elders. But when a white man sits here now and tells us how the buffalo pounds were made for thousands of years that were done on this continent -- is he an Indian? Does he really understand the spiritual aspect of our lives as Indians? You have to understand all that, in order to understand what the buffalo pound is all about (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:86).

Michael Ames recent study sums up the trend for Native people to take more control of depictions of their culture. Ames studied interpretation in museums:

Indian people, increasingly concerned about the preservation and recovery of their natural resources as they dwindle...are also claiming back from anthropologists and others, their own histories so that they may exert more control over how their cultures are presented to themselves and to others. It is natural for any community to want to control the production and presentation of its own image, but minorities and dominated populations within larger states frequently have

to struggle to win the right to that control....  
change may appear to be slow, but the trend is  
there (Ames 1987:14-15).

Archaeologists have received positive commentary when archaeology is done in an atmosphere of cooperation with Native people. As early as the Selkirk Burials controversy, archaeologists and Native leaders met to establish better cooperation (On the museum meeting between Natives and professionals December 8, 1971; The University of Manitoba Department of Anthropology statement on community research April 1972 -- documents on file at Manitoba Historic Resources Branch). However, the resulting proposals for the cooperative planning of archaeology and the provision of results to Native communities were apparently not enacted -- a failing which cannot be repeated in interpretation.

During the 1970s Cree people worked as crew members during the salvage of sites threatened by hydroelectric projects. Several lasting relationships developed, and several archaeologists continue to work and teach in the north, consulting their contacts as advisors. Manitoba Historic Resources Branch archaeologists have recently consulted with Native education representatives in preparing interpretive material for northern Manitoba (Leo Pettipas, David Riddle personal communication). Archaeologists assisted with an Ojibwe claim to wild rice harvesting (Dr. E. Leigh Syms, personal communication). Archaeologists have long participated in the Brandon University Northern Teacher

Education Program and have participated in Manitoba Native educators' conferences (e.g. Buchner 1986). Ethnologists, Native advisors and archaeologists have cooperated in displays at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. In all of these efforts archaeologists and Native people apparently worked to their mutual satisfaction.

Manitoba archaeologists have expressed interest in Wanuskewin heritage park, an example of close cooperation between archaeologists and Native elders, at a site near Saskatoon. A board of elders from across Saskatchewan takes part in all park planning. Native spirituality is included in plans for land use and interpretation. Native students participate in excavations and archaeologists take part in some religious events. Both archaeologists and Native elders are very pleased with the arrangements at Wanuskewin (Manitoba Archaeological Society Annual Meeting Agenda for Nov.1,1987, document on file at the Manitoba Archaeological Society).

The Wanuskewin example shows the successful achievement of LaRocque's recommendation (1975:13-14) that Native people's thoughts and talents be included in interpretive planning.

### 2.2.3 Benefits of Archaeology in the Curriculum

Although archaeologists and Native people agree that archaeology should benefit Native people, the results, like those of other sciences, have been judged unsatisfactory:

Many studies have been conducted on the Canadian Indians by anthropologists, sociologists, etc., for which large sums of money have been granted by the federal government. In view of the fact that virtually nothing has been gained by the Indian people from such studies, we request that monies be made available to us to do our own research. No longer will we passively co-operate with "outsiders" assigned to study us. All future studies must provide meaningful information based upon direct programs leading to our own betterment. (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1969:12).

At the 1975 Plains Cree Conference, David G. Mandelbaum was the focus of questions about the purpose of anthropology. Ernest Tootoosis, the Cree elder, expressed elders' reluctance to reveal traditions for fear anthropologists might use them for their own purposes -- for academic recognition or profit. He asked how anthropology will benefit Native people:

I wanted to ask Dr. Mandelbaum a question before he leaves, he and all the anthropologists. I understand that wherever the white man went, discovered a new island or a new kind of people, (like savages that they discovered here in North America) the missionaries went, brainwashed these people, and then the anthropologists came behind and studied the people to find out their strong and their weak points. And through these avenues they destroy and conquer these nations.

Now today, with all the anthropologists that have been working among my ancestors for years (and here they are today), I'd like to have a concrete evidence of what these anthropologists have gathered from my people that will benefit my children, as Native people. What good have they

done to our people? I understand that the material that is picked up by the anthropologists is taken over by the governments, and synchronized, and used to implement another way of life for these people. And that's what has happened to us. I'd like to know and I'd like to ask Dr. Mandelbaum to tell me one or two things that he has gathered from my people that will benefit my children (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:67-68).

Mandelbaum, like other archaeologists and anthropologists, looked forward to sharing archaeology for the benefit of all:

Ernest Tootoosis asked what good did my questions and answers and what I wrote about the Plains Cree do for the people. Now, that remains to be seen in future generations. It may be that it was a waste of time; I hope not. I hope not because what anthropologists try to do is to learn from all peoples of the world (from their different ways of life) so that our children, when they are students, can benefit by knowing how peoples other than themselves have lived, and also by knowing the very fine things there are in different ways of life. And if our students and our children and grandchildren can appreciate that, I think that there will be less exploitation than there was before, less suffering than there was before, less warfare than there was before (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:68-69).

Although aware of elders' objections to the shortcomings of archaeology, Mandelbaum hoped that the history he studied would be useful to Native people:

Now my interpretation as I understood what the elders told me 40 years ago may not be entirely accurate: I made it as accurate as I could.... We're not perfect, but we do the best we can. And so I think when your fine sons grow up, Ernest, and probably when their children grow up, they will want to read what we have written in order to perhaps fill in the gaps in their knowledge of their own people, and to read about the history of their own people (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:68-69).

Archaeologists clearly want communication with Native people, so that their science will be useful:

We...fully support the necessity for feedback of research findings to Native peoples, (in particular those who are residents of communities in which research is conducted), and their active participation in such research.

We therefore endorse any proposal that is designed to improve communication and understanding between those doing research and the individuals and communities involved (University of Manitoba Department of Anthropology Statement on community research, February 19, 1972 - document on file at the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).

Archaeologists of the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch stated their belief that archaeology could promote respect and understanding of Native culture:

One of the problems of Canadian society today is the status of the Native and the misunderstanding and prejudice that is often directed toward him. One need only read the works of such vocal Native spokesmen as Harold Cardinal in this country and Vine Deloria in the United States to understand the nature and magnitude of the problem. As to the resolution of this situation, education, particularly of the young, is vital to whatever effort we might put forward in eliminating or at least reducing the misunderstanding and discrimination that exists in this country today. In the final analysis, the fact remains that the Native identity is a major component of Manitoba's cultural mosaic, and archaeology can be a most useful means of defining that part of the mosaic within the long-term perspective (Saylor et al 1982:55-56).

To make archaeology useful, interpretation must depict the history and spirituality of Native peoples, and seek advice from Native people in planning interpretation. Smith Atimoyoo indicated the traditional willingness of Native peoples to share their knowledge:

I appreciated Dr. Mandelbaum's talk this morning to us. I came from that area. The people that he talked about were our grandfathers. We are still very rich in our area because we have our Sun dances. We have our different customs that we are still following. There are certain philosophies that we are still following. There are certain philosophies that we like to follow, that we like to pass on....

And my friends, I guess this is part of understanding and this is what we are here for today, to share with each other the things that hold value to our people and the things that are of value to your people. I don't think you are here to try and take advantage. I don't think you are here to use us again. Or am I mistaken? But today, in this age particularly, I think it's so important for us Indian people to think of this contributing thing that we should have been doing years and years ago. There are many things we could talk about that would run into days but I hope that what our people here have contributed, the few speakers that we've had already, may contribute to the sharing feeling that we have. We may have that little piece of bannock, the only piece in our cupboard. We don't say, 'Well I'm going to save this for tomorrow, I may want this tomorrow.' But instead my mother or my wife, makes that tea and serves this little piece of bannock that she has. That's the kind of sharing that we have to take to our young people so that once again they may be able to tell the values that we have, to maintain this sharing and this living together (Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:49-52).

Interpretation of archaeological and Native knowledge could be especially beneficial. Presenting the European-derived scientific world view and Native world views at the same time would be a form of cross-cultural education. Deidre Sklar reviewed the interpretation of Native culture in the Museum of the American Indian. She concluded that although present interpretation projected only European images of Native peoples, interpretation could benefit both

Native and non-Native peoples by taking a cross-cultural approach:

The museum has the potential of functioning as a bridge, the kind of meeting place that has traditionally been absent from cross-cultural relations. However, the prerequisites for any institution that claims to be cross-cultural are, first of all, the presence of the "other", and second, the acknowledgement that the Euro-American perspective is as subjective and relative as any other (Sklar 1987:30).

Sklar recommends that Native people present their own conceptions of themselves in interpretation.

Cross-cultural education would help students understand their perceptions of other cultures and allow students to grasp the concept of differing "world views". It could encourage students to understand the validity of world views which are not those of the Canadian majority. Paul Erickson encouraged Canadian school teachers to heed anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn's classic message on the value of cross-cultural education. Kluckhohn argued, in 1949, that we learn by contrasting ourselves with others (Erickson 1985:15).

Erickson discusses how the study of differing world views helps students to understand all sciences. Anthropology shows that science is part of a culture's ideology, and shows that scientific explanations of phenomena can be subjective, affected by values and social and political circumstances (Erickson 1985:15-16). Cross-cultural education urges us to recognize the integrity of all ideologies. Cross-cultural interpretation would also touch

on the concepts of emic and etic knowledge. Etic phenomena can be studied without inside knowledge -- they are phenomena such as artifacts, the economy, and things which can be seen (Harris 1975:159-163). Etic phenomena are accessible to archaeology. Emic phenomena can only be studied through inquiry into a people's knowledge -- the phenomena of values, rules, codes, goals, beliefs, attitudes and all descriptions from the people's point of view (Harris 1975:159-163). These are the things which could only be learned from Native people.

Some educators argue that education which uses both European and Native methods can stimulate new learning skills, and suit the learning styles of Native cultures (Flanagan and Iverson 1985, Brown 1986, Pepper and Henry 1986). Flanagan and Iverson argue that, traditionally, Native people have worked within a cultural framework of holistic thought, in which the world and its elements are perceived in totality. In contrast present-day western thinking is linear, symbolic and sequential. Education which includes both "integrative holistic" approaches and "linear Western" models would offer the best of both worlds:

Since each perspective is legitimate and valuable in its own right, a perfect world might be one in which all people were able to draw, with equal ease on the strengths and abilities inherent in each mode of consciousness (Flanagan and Iverson 1985:8-9).

If such arguments are valid, then traditional Native teachings of spirituality and history would expose students

to traditional "holistic" learning styles. At the same time, teaching archaeology could expose students to a scientific method of thinking, giving a second learning method.

Finally, the benefits of new interpretive methods and goals would accrue to archaeology itself. By accomodating Native concerns and objectives in interpretation, archaeologists will practice methods of making all archaeology more useful to Native peoples, creating a more positive environment for all archaeological work, and encouraging further participation of Native people in archaeology. Interpretation that links archaeology to modern social concerns should gain wider public support by showing archaeology's utility. More than anywhere else, working with children will require that problems in interpretive methods be addressed. Successful interpretive methods developed for children could then be applied with other media and audiences, including adults.

## Chapter III

### METHODS

The Chapter 2 literature review concluded that the goals of interpretation should be to develop greater understanding of modern social concerns, including awareness of Native cultures. Interpretive methods should:

1. use real artifacts, but use them as a complement to other depictions of lifeways
2. interpret the science of archaeology, but place greater emphasis on the interpretation of lifeways
3. vividly depict the lives of people, to which the viewer can relate
4. use ethnology and history to make interpretation more full and lifelike
5. generally avoid complex language and terms
6. use unique methods for children
7. involve Native people in planning interpretation, avoid "biases" against Native people and include Native explanations of values and spirituality

The method of this practicum was to use the methods listed above to see whether greater understanding of modern social concerns could be actually be achieved -- to see whether the methods proposed could avoid previous shortcomings, and produce results which promoted Native awareness and understanding of ecological issues and cultural processes.

The methods might have been put to use for clients such as urban or reserve schools, Frontier School Division or the Manitoba Native Education Branch. The initial approach was to Ginew School at Roseau River, because of the author's familiarity with the archaeology of the area, but the difficulty of travel was prohibitive. The author then approached the Native Education Branch, which coordinates the production of widely used curriculum resource materials. Because the branch had information about provincial needs and could use immediately use archaeological interpretation, it was a suitable client with which to carry out the testing of new interpretive methods.

Interpretation was designed to meet the needs of Native and non-Native students, parents, teachers, archaeologists and the provincial social studies curriculum. Needs were identified by consulting the Native Education Branch, teachers, further literature, archaeologists, and Native people at a variety of meetings (see section 3.1.4). Methods proposed by the literature review were refined and elaborated according to the needs identified. The author determined, with advisors, that writing a children's book would be a satisfactory way to apply and test the proposed interpretive methods. While the literature review had been relatively specific about methods, further work was especially required to spell out the teaching objectives of the interpretation.

The success of the interpretive methods was tested by submitting drafts of the text and illustrations of the book to advisors and children. Two Native advisors evaluated whether the methods used to depict history, beliefs and values were satisfactory (see section 4.1.1 and 4.2.1). Two teachers evaluated whether the draft book was successful in using terms, concepts and language suitable for the intended grade level (see section 4.1.2). Six archaeologists evaluated the factual content and the suitability of teaching goals from an archaeologists' point of view (see section 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). Two school classes and a children's archaeology club were used to evaluate whether the interpretive methods were successful in conveying facts and provoking consideration of concepts, generalizations and values (see section 4.1.2, 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). Testing with two individual children provided editorial evaluations of the book.

The methods suggested by the literature review were refined and improved by applying and testing them with the children's book -- these improvements became part of the recommendations for interpretation at the conclusion of this practicum.

### **3.1 SELECTION OF INTERPRETIVE METHODS**

#### **3.1.1 Stakeholders in the Curriculum**

In preparing interpretive materials, one should identify people who have a "stake", or a right to ask that the interpretation respond to their needs (Connelly, Irvine and Enns 1980:44-47). Elaborating the needs of different stakeholders allows clear definition of the audience and teaching objectives, and helps to choose interpretive media, data sources, writing styles and illustrations.

Archaeologists, Native students and parents would have the greatest concern that archaeology in the curriculum respond to their needs. The needs of teachers had to be considered, and the Manitoba curriculum speaks of the needs of the entire provincial school population, including non-Native students and families.

The first group of stakeholders are the students, including Native and non-Native students in all areas of Manitoba, in urban, rural and Native self-administered schools. Students need curriculum resources which help them develop their judgment, decision-making abilities, values, literacy, and factual knowledge (Connelly, Irvine and Enns 1980:44). Archaeological interpretation had to use language and concepts familiar to a wide range of students, and introduce concepts, values and facts which met the needs listed. The Manitoba curriculum, Native awareness

guidelines, Native education advisors, literature and attendance at various Native meetings were used to further identify needs, culminating in the teaching objectives found in section 3.1.8 and Appendix A.

Second, parents need schools to socialize their children and help them towards goals in life (Connelly, Irvine and Enns 1980:45). Native parents especially need curriculum resources which present Native culture for the understanding of all students. Parents need resources which enhance self-knowledge and esteem of Native children and improve Native and non-Native inter-relationships (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.a). Interpretive objectives had to reflect these goals.

Third, teachers need curriculum resources to develop the intellectual, emotional and social skills of their students, but they are limited by time, large classes, and lack of research resources (Connelly, Irvine and Enns 1980:45). Teachers need interpretive methods which provide discrete well-researched lessons for ease in classroom use.

Fourth, archaeologists and anthropologists need the curriculum to convey their knowledge and apply it for students. Interpretive objectives had to include the development of a basic understanding of archaeology and the interpretation of the Native history revealed by archaeology.

Fifth, the needs of the Manitoba curriculum are clearly spelled out (e.g. Manitoba Education 1985), and to some extent express the needs of the entire school population.

The interpretive methods in the following sections are designed to meet the identified needs of the stakeholders, and are concluded by a detailed list of teaching objectives, devised according to the needs of stakeholders (section 3.1.8, Appendix A).

### **3.1.2 Curriculum Area**

The grade six level of the provincial social studies curriculum includes the study of Native peoples before European settlement. The study unit dealing with Native peoples is titled "The First Inhabitants": .quote begin This unit provides students with an opportunity to examine various aspects of the first inhabitants of Canada -- the ancestors of present-day Indians and Inuit. Native people lived here for thousands of years, developing a variety of ways of life that closely related to their physical environments. A knowledge of how Native people lived in the past will help students understand and appreciate contemporary Native culture (Manitoba Education 1985:62). .quote end Key focusing questions are: .quote begin Where did Native people come from and where did they settle? ...How did Native people live before the arrival of Europeans in what is now Manitoba? (Manitoba Education 1985:62-63).

These excerpts from the curriculum echo the subject matter of archaeology. Grade six was selected as the most suitable level for which to prepare new resources.

References indicated that good curriculum material is general. "The developer prepares it for a wide range of pupils, who attend school in varied settings and are taught by teachers with differing beliefs, interests, and abilities" (Babin 1985:58). Thus interpretive methods were required to suit a range of grade six students -- urban, rural, Native, non-Native, reserve, non-reserve. Interpretation was required to repeat concepts introduced in earlier grades and lead up to concepts taught at later grades.

Native awareness and history reappear at the primary, junior and senior levels in the Manitoba curriculum, building to more complex levels of inquiry. Interpretation was required which would teach about major concepts common to all curriculum levels, and introduce or lead up to the grade eight and eleven curriculum topics (Manitoba Education 1985:4-6).

### 3.1.3 Medium: Book of Vignettes, Teachings and Illustrations

The introduction to this practicum mentioned that archaeology could be interpreted through a number of media: oral stories, museum exhibits, museum tours, interpretive park trails, video tapes, video games, films, books, pamphlets and on-site interpretation would be only a partial

list. Many of these media are used as curriculum resources, however the most common are books, which are also easier to produce and get into the classroom. The choice was to write a children's book as the interpretive method; however, the aims and methods of the book could be used in other media.

Chapter 2 showed that artifacts and illustrations of artifacts have always been popular in interpretation. Illustrations and exhibits that depict people using artifacts, involved in activities and scenes, enable the viewer to become personally involved. Therefore, illustrations of artifacts and scenes of daily life were to be included in the book.

The literature review suggested that Native people should be involved in planning interpretation and providing interpretation of Native beliefs, values and history. Therefore the children's book was to alternate archaeology vignettes with writings by Native people.

The literature review suggested that interpretation should be more lively and lifelike. A continuous chronicle of Native history in Manitoba would be voluminous (e.g. Buchner et al 1983) and tedious for the grade six reading level. A continuous history would not lend itself to discrete lesson planning by the teacher. For these reasons, the interpretive method selected was the preparation of short vignettes, or scenes and episodes in history, based on

archaeological data. The vignettes would be arranged in chronological order, but would not be connected in a continuous narrative. The vignettes would depict the scenes, activities, emotions and tools of daily life, and people making social decisions as we do today. The vignettes were to reveal archaeological history, data and universal cultural processes through the actions of identifiable characters

The literature review suggested that interpretation involve Native people in planning and include Native people's own depictions of beliefs, values and history. To accommodate these recommendations the children's book was to include writings by Native elders. Elders are the respected older members of Native communities, recognized for their development of knowledge. Ahenakew describes the truthfulness and vivid recall of past events which are skills and responsibility of an elder. He describes the responsibility of elders to be religious teachers, advisors of justice, and historians, in touch with the past. Elders are those who provide inspiration and encourage kindness, justice, mercy, perseverance, friendliness, humour and courage (Ahenakew 1973:24-26).

Elders provide teachings from their own experience and from legends and history preserved by memory. In this practicum and children's book the term "teachings" is used as a broader term than "legends" or "myths" -- elders'

teachings can derive from their personal experience or the recent history of the nation. "Teachings" avoids devaluing the elders' knowledge by the connotations of the terms "legends", "myths" or "stories".

Thus the children's book would be composed of two types of material -- archaeology "vignettes" and elders' "teachings", selected and designed to meet the needs of the curriculum stakeholders. To introduce the book two short sections were planned to explain the science of archaeology and the role of elders, at the same time introducing the format and purpose of the book. One section was to explain who elders are and where their teachings originate. Another story was to explain that the vignettes are based on the best explanations of archaeology.

Each vignette and teaching would be preceded by bold faced type explaining the source of the reading. These credits were to indicate to the reader that the source of the reading was either archaeological research or the knowledge of elders. The credits would teach a few details of archaeological methods and suggest further literature on the subject of the vignette. The credits would indicate that the words of the elders were indeed respected teachings, not just "stories". They were also to show the variety of nations from which the teachings originated, and suggest the context of the teaching as part of a much larger body of knowledge.

A review of children's publications on Native heritage showed that publications for children around grade six ranged from 20 to 120 pages, with most being about 60 pages in length. The children's book was to be long enough to cover the desired teaching objectives and fall within the normal limits of length (see section 3.1.4 for a list of comparative children's publications).

#### **3.1.4 Sources, Advisors and Models**

The archaeology vignettes were primarily based on published literature such as site reports, area surveys and articles presenting explanatory hypotheses. Some were augmented by archaeologists' (including the author's) personal familiarity with sites, which allowed the addition of significant details to scenes of daily life.

Ideally archaeologists would use the personal assistance of elders to plan and carry out interpretation. This would be a challenging method, partially because of the suspicion of the motives and competence of anthropologists among elders (e.g. Tootosis in Canadian Plains Research Centre 1979:68-69,85-86, see Chapter 2). Although one-to-one work with elders would have been beneficial, the challenge of time and travel was beyond the scope of this practicum. Thus most depictions of Native beliefs and values were derived from sources written by elders.

Using written teachings without personal advice from elders meant that the author ran the risk of using teachings in the wrong context -- for example using teachings for children when they were intended for adults. Garry Robson (personal communication) stressed the potential of this mistake when he described an incident involving a northern Manitoba teacher. The teacher, hoping to use teachings in the class, requested an elder to visit and tell stories, specifying that he "tell a story that old men tell when they get together". Because the teacher specified teachings for an adult age level, the result was ribald material which was unsuitable to the class.

Teachings are intended for different ages and they are multi-layered, providing additional meanings as listeners learn to delve further. Because archaeologists would begin at an early level of understanding, they might not realize the importance of the details of a teachings. They may alter or delete details, use the teaching for the wrong purpose, or in the wrong season. For example, Cree teachings about Wee-sa-kay-chak should ideally be used in the traditional winter season (Garry Robson, personal communication). Finally, the author could receive a teaching from an elder, transcribe it and publish it. Then the use of that teaching would no longer be under the control of the elder, or even the archaeologist, and could be subject to additional forms of misunderstanding and misuse.

Using published teachings would ensure that at least one elder had judged the teaching to be suitable for general use, and overcome some limitations of the author's knowledge and time. To understand more about Native beliefs and values and how to responsibly use the written sources the author attended a variety of events: two fall spiritual meetings at Roseau Reserve, a youth and elder conference (West Region Tribal Council 1987), two Native education conferences (Manitoba Education 1986, Mokakit Indian Education Research Association 1986), one meeting on Native self-government at the Roseau Reserve, and four Native awareness programs in rural, urban and reserve schools. The author listened to the concerns and priorities of elders at these events and heard specific instruction about the use of teachings. Garry Robson and Danny Thomas, both of the Native Education Branch, Manitoba Education, provided further guidance to the use of literature.

Native education advisors assisted in choosing the teaching goals for the children's book, which in turn lead to the selection of appropriate teachings. The teachings were to be presented in the book in the original wording of the author, as much as possible. Changes would be made when a word was beyond the vocabulary of the grade six reading level, or when the teaching would be out of context without additional notes. Future interpretation could use more participation of Native advisors, including elders.

Ethnographic and historic sources, including elders' teachings, were to provide details of daily life and religion in the archaeology vignettes. When an archaeology vignette made extensive use of a historian's work the source was to be indicated in the bold faced credits at the introduction of the vignette.

A variety of children's books and teaching guides were used to provide models for writing style, organizational style and methods of questioning. Books such as The Micmac (Whitehead and McGee 1983), The Peigan (Pard et al 1985), Murdo's Story (Scribe 1985), Medicine Boy and Other Cree Tales (Brass 1978), and The Ojibwe People (Ojibwe Curriculum Committee and Educational Services Division 1973) provided good models for format, illustrations, writing style, vocabulary, use of traditional teachings and approaches to Native awareness. Other publications provided ideas for questions, activities and discussion topics to accompany the stories (e.g. Manitoba Native Bilingual Program n.d., Schemenauer 1978, 1979, 1981, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature 1987, and a variety of articles in the journals Teaching Anthropology Newsletter and Anthro Notes).

### **3.1.5 Writing Style**

The style was planned to suit the target grade six reading level. Sentences were to be short, usually one or two phrases. The vocabulary was to be familiar to grade six

level readers, except when the introduction of new terms or concepts was part of the teaching objectives. Existing publications for the grade six level were used as models for vocabulary, sentence and paragraph structure, and organization of the book.

Since the literature review suggested that names of sites, cultures and artifacts are biased in favour of European heritage, this raised the question of whether to use new names more reflective of Native heritage. Applying an entire lexicon of Native names implied good familiarity with Native languages and the assumption of a responsibility which would not be reasonable for a single author. Riddle and Pettipas (personal communication) reported that they attempted to avoid all proper nouns for cultures, geographical features, and artifacts in their draft popular publication, The Oldtimers. The result was extreme confusion. Both Garry Robson and William Dumas, who assisted Riddle and Pettipas, suggested that the use of some European names would be practical. Robson (personal communication) suggested that sites could have both Native and European names. Accordingly, the writing style was to use a mixture of Native and European proper nouns.

Characters in vignettes were to be named following the guidelines of Native authors. Johnston, for example, provides useful guidance to the selection and meaning of male and female names in Ojibwe society. Characters who are

part of a society closely related to a modern Native nation would have their name chosen from the writings of the modern nation. For example, in the vignette "A Fall Meeting at Calf Mountain", the people depicted by archaeology are proposed to have spoken a Siouan language. The name Hawk was therefore taken from a Lakota character in the book Legends of the Lakota (La Pointe 1976).

Elders' teachings were left in their original style, as much as possible, partially to achieve the traditional teaching style advocated by Flanagan and Iverson (1985), Brown (1986), and Pepper and Henry (1986).

### **3.1.6 Avoiding Stereotypes**

The literature review showed that interpretation can easily fall into biases and stereotypes that are uncomplimentary to Native people. Native education advisors stressed the importance of planning accordingly.

Possibilities for negative stereotypes abound: Native people were awe-struck and fearful at first meeting Europeans, Native people were dirty and hungry until they received the gifts of European culture, Native peoples constantly fought each other, Native people had no religion, all Native people were the same, Native people were lazy, improvident, thieving and treacherous (Manitoba Indian Brotherhood 1974, Berkhofer 1978:26-28). Illustrations

might dwell on hunting and killing, without depicting the full range of people's activities and might constantly depict people in a minimum of clothing, without showing garments intended for different functions, seasons and symbolism.

Positive stereotyping occurs in writing and illustrations. The "good Indian" is friendly and welcoming to Europeans. Native people are stereotyped as handsome and rugged, beautiful and majestic. They have stamina, endurance, modesty, calmness, dignity in bearing and conversation, bravery in combat, and love in the family. Native people commune with the earth and its animals. In short, Native people lived lives of complete harmony, simplicity and innocence (Berkhoffer 1978:28, figure 10, 11).

There are stereotypes that Native cultures did not change over time, that cultures of hundreds of years ago are still current, or that Native people have fallen into poverty, reserve life, and degeneracy, unaware of their history (Berkhoffer 1978:30).

In the children's book the use of lessons from elders would immediately dispel the notion that Native people have no religion. Teachings were to be selected that urge people to strive against vices, emphasising values of respect, sharing, honesty and care of the environment. Teachings

demonstrate factual knowledge and wisdom, and could be presented in a manner that stresses they are still in use today.

By showing many people involved in their daily tasks, such as making tools, cooking, using food sources, trading, travelling, making living sites, exploring, making clothing and so on, the archaeology vignettes would counter stereotypes that Native people were dirty, hungry, lazy, improvident, or single minded warriors and hunters. The vignettes would show people moving from place to place, but they would indicate that this required foresight and impressive knowledge. Changes in lifeways, migrations, diffusions and inventions would also be shown as the conscious choice of individuals, not as "things that happened to cultures". Illustrations, like the text, were to show people in a variety of settings, in seasonal clothing, involved in a variety of tasks.

To link distant history with modern Native people, the archaeological vignettes were planned to cover the spectrum from the earliest occupation of Manitoba to the era of fur trade cooperation with Europeans. By including the fur trade period the vignettes could counter stereotypes of Native dependence and instead depict the mutual dependence and problems which were part of the European-Native fur trade. To further link history to modern living people, one teaching would be selected which would be based on an

elder's own experience of life. This teaching might introduce the concepts of government, religious, and economic power over Native people in recent history.

To prevent positive stereotypes the archaeology illustrations and text would avoid the repeated image of noble young men, and present a full range of characters. Characters would experience hunger, grief, impatience, cold and wet. The fur trade vignette might include the use of alcohol, but show its place in the economic and social system, and show its equal abuse by Europeans and Natives. Elders' teachings would depict the occurrence and results of failings such as greed and lack of respect.

The introductory stories to the book were to explain that there are a number of Native nations represented in Manitoba, to avoid the impression that all Native people are the same. Plans were made to select teachings from all of Manitoba's Native nations, to remind the reader that each has its own heritage. In a parallel structure, plans were made to use archaeology vignettes set in all of the major physiographic regions of the province, showing differences in lifeways which occurred both in space and time.

Advisors, especially Native education advisors, would be used to determine whether these methods were successful in avoiding stereotypes.

### 3.1.7 Illustrations

Illustrations enliven books, provide additional information, and increase the reader's comprehension and retention of knowledge. Like the text, illustrations had to achieve the required teaching objectives, suit the grade six reading level, and avoid stereotypes.

Following the recommendations of the literature review, plans were made to include photographs of original artifacts. These would be chosen to give a tangible connection to the past and to show some of the technical and creative skills of the makers. They would also be selected to exemplify the data and methods of archaeology.

To avoid an overemphasis on artifacts most illustrations would show people involved in daily activities, based on archaeological and ethnographic data.

To express Native beliefs and values, artists interested in Native spirituality were to be requested to prepare illustrations based on the elders' teachings contained in the book.

Testing and interviews with children would show whether the illustrations were at a suitable level and whether they were successful in achieving teaching goals. Advisors would be used to test for stereotyping and errors of fact.

### 3.1.8 Teaching Objectives

Detailed teaching objectives were developed to guide the selection and preparation of each vignette and elder's teaching. The objectives are spelled out in Appendix A. The teaching objectives were categorized as cognitive (concepts, generalizations, and specific facts) and affective (values, feelings, attitudes and sensitivities). The combination of archaeology vignettes and elders' teachings was to allow the achievement of both cognitive and affective objectives.

The detailed teaching objectives were planned to meet the needs and guidelines identified by stakeholders, as discussed in sections 3.1.1 to 3.1.7. The guidelines of the K-12 Social Studies program (Manitoba Education 1985:1-7) and the Native Awareness Program of Manitoba Education (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.b) were especially useful to spell out detailed teaching objectives. Like archaeology, social studies and Native awareness both emphasize the goal of exploring lifeways. Indeed the basic concepts or "content organizers" of the social studies curriculum include the basic concepts of of archaeology and culture history: concepts of location, causality, interdependence, interaction, power, time, change, needs, resources, groups, decision making, technology, ecology, economy, culture, adaptation, beliefs, traditions, language, identity and diversity (Manitoba Education 1985:2,4-6).

Archaeology and the Native awareness program suggest additional concepts: science, data, deduction, traditional history, individual roles, symbolism, government and the gifts of the creator. These concepts were to be threads of thought in the children's book, moving toward greater development as the book proceeds.

The grade six social studies guidelines suggest very specific teaching objectives which assisted in spelling out the teaching objectives for the children's book. The children's book was to present the idea that needs can be met in different ways depending on a people's environment, cultural traditions, innovations and relations with other peoples. The book was to show that people both change and are affected by their environment. Content was to explore how traditions and change co-exist in societies. Finally, content was to discuss how exploration and migration bring cultural interaction, enrichment and conflict (Manitoba Education 1985 61-63).

The children's book was to carry on basic concepts introduced at earlier grade levels, and lead up to teaching objectives of subsequent grades. Thus the vignettes and teachings were to repeat grade two explorations of how people use technology to meet needs and respond to changes in the environment. The book was to ask how families long ago met their needs, and how our families differ in size, structure, roles, food, shelter, clothing etc. The

vignettes and teachings would ask the student to once again consider the advantages and disadvantages of technological change, and to consider environmental stewardship and the impact of people on the environment. The vignettes and teachings were to lead up to grade 11 topics, such as the the interaction of European and Native cultures, differences among Native cultures, and the role of Native people in modern society (Manitoba Education 1985:101-103).

The objectives were also to teach about specific historical findings of archaeology, such as the development of particular technologies and economic systems. There were also to be specific objectives dealing with Native awareness: such as traditional history, male-female roles, child rearing (games, teachings for children), the home and its symbolism, the clan system, the original laws, the path of life, treaties, government, and gifts to the first people (drum, rattle, incense, braid) (Manitoba Native Education Branch n.d.b).

The author initially intended that archaeology vignettes would deal primarily with economic aspects of lifeways (primarily cognitive objectives) and elders' teachings would be selected to depict beliefs and values (primarily affective objectives). However, as the detailed teaching objectives were prepared it became clear that both vignettes and teachings could achieve cognitive and affective goals. The combination of vignettes and teachings allowed the

achievement of teaching objectives to satisfy the needs of all stakeholders. The cross-cultural approach itself encourages affective learning about the value of history, tolerance for differing views, and respect for other peoples.

Detailed teaching objectives are spelled out in Appendix A.

### **3.2 FIELD TESTING METHODS**

Fourteen draft vignettes and teachings were completed following the methods based on the proposals of the literature review. Testing was done at two intervals -- following the completion of the first eight drafts, and following the completion of the entire draft text.

Testing assessed how well the seven recommended interpretive methods:

1. achieved teaching objectives of the grade six provincial studies curriculum
2. satisfied the objectives of Native advisors, and the teaching objectives of the Manitoba Native education Native awareness program
3. met the needs of teachers
4. satisfied the objectives of archaeologists
5. appealed to the interest of children, encouraging them to learn.

The text was evaluated by archaeologists, Native education advisors and Native and non-Native teachers, and evaluated and tested by using the draft text with Native and non-Native classes, individual students and Native and non-Native teachers. Written and oral questions were used to test the effectiveness of the vignettes and teachings in developing children's cognitive knowledge, concepts, comparisons, generalizations and affective learning objectives.

Interim testing was used to detect and correct problematic methods in further preparation of the text. Testing resulted in many editorial improvements affecting the ability of the draft text to reach its objectives.

Four Native advisors and Native education specialists evaluated the text for Native awareness. Garry Robson, Diane Cooley and Danny Thomas of the Native Education Branch were consulted before beginning the book, and Robson and Cooley evaluated drafts of the first eight vignettes and teachings (Joe Mclellan of Aberdeen School, Winnipeg, evaluated the entire draft in final testing). Because Robson, Cooley, Thomas and other sources had been consulted in preparing the teaching objectives, advisors were in agreement with the approach of the book, and most evaluation centred on problems in editing Native teachings and specific aspects of Native awareness.

The vignettes were repeatedly submitted to archaeologists, to determine whether the concepts and facts of archaeology were accurately and thoroughly presented. Archaeologists also unexpectedly commented on the "readability" of the stories for grade six, and the value of this editorial advice was recognized.

Ideally the text would have been submitted to a variety of school classes and children: urban, suburban, southern rural, northern, and Native self-administered students, all primarily at the grade six level. Because of the limitations of time and funding, testing was limited to a suburban, primarily EuropeanCanadian class (Victory School, grades five and six enrichment class) and an urban primarily Native class (Aberdeen School, grade nine class, with some students reading at a grade six level). Testing was also conducted with a young archaeologists club (from a variety of urban, suburban and rural schools ranging from grades five to ten), and with individual grade six and seven students (one from a rural and one from a suburban school). This mixture of children centred on those reading at a grade six level, but allowed assessment of the methods with children in the surrounding grades.

A variety of assessment techniques were used with children. Observation was used to determine whether the stories were interesting enough to maintain children's attention. Verbal and written questions were used to

assess whether the drafts of the book had been successful in achieving its cognitive and affective teaching goals. Conversations based on the drafts were used to assess whether students could express or develop related concepts, generalizations, attitudes and values.

Three teachers were interviewed to further test the utility of the text. Two teachers (one European-Canadian from Victory School and one Native from Aberdeen School) participated in the use of teachings and vignettes with their classes. The third was a European-Canadian teacher in a reserve school. Teachers evaluated the utility of the book for their curriculum. These comments were particularly useful in improving illustrations and developing questions to accompany the draft book -- an interpretive method which had not initially been planned.

## Chapter IV

### RESULTS

Because the needs of Native people, the education curriculum and archaeologists were taken into account while planning the children's book, testing the book with representatives of these groups repeatedly resulted in positive assessments of the interpretive methods. Commentators were especially satisfied with the concept of mingling archaeology and elders' teachings. Teachers were especially enthusiastic about the approach. As examples of the assessments, Jill Richards (Morley Reserve, Alberta) was delighted that archaeology stories could be made so much about Native people, people that her students would be "proud" of. Jay Buchanan (Victory School, Winnipeg) felt that the draft book matched the grade six curriculum "right on". Joe McLellan (Aberdeen School, Winnipeg) was very pleased with the overall objective of learning from both archaeology and Native teachings.

Instead of repeating similar positive assessments, the following summary of results concentrates more on shortcomings detected by the evaluations. Almost all the shortcomings were addressed by revisions in the methods, found in section 4.1.5, "Revisions in Methods as a Result of

Interim Testing", and section 4.2. The complete written results provided by the Young Archaeologists' Club and Aberdeen Junior High School grade nine class are found in appendices B and C. Other summaries of results are based on written notes in the author's possession.

#### **4.1 RESULTS OF INTERIM TESTING**

##### **4.1.1 Native Education and Archaeology Advisors**

Drafts of the first eight stories were reviewed by Garry Robson and Diane Cooley of the Native Education Branch. Robson and Cooley, satisfied with the general handling of Native awareness, selection of teachings, and writing style commented on parts of vignettes and stories, and aspects of the general methods. For example, vocabulary was unsuitable in the draft of "Respect for Animals", the teaching "The Sacred Pipe" was missing information, the use of proper names for characters ("Hawk" in "A Fall Meeting at Calf Mountain") would be successful with children, and conversation and action would be appealing to children.

The author was having difficulty in finding teachings that were ready to use in a children's book -- inappropriate language level and fragments of teachings were often common in written sources. Robson pointed out that each teaching reveals information in three main areas -- the physical, the emotional and the spiritual. Archaeologists could use

knowledge of the three areas as an organizing principle. Robson warned that combining more than one Native teaching into a single version can cause damage -- for example, by reducing the number of teachings in a story to three from four.

Robson reviewed drafts of vignette 9 ("A Fall Meeting at Calf Mountain") and teaching 10 ("The Sacred Pipe") which are linked by the occurrence of a pipe in each story. The drafts did not mention that archaeologically recovered pipes may differ in form from modern Native pipes. Robson felt that the teaching objectives were correct in stressing the spiritual message of the pipe.

Garry Robson's comments suggested the validity of presenting both archaeology and traditional teachings for their individual merits, without dwelling on exact comparisons between the two sources. The importance of traditional teachings was confirmed to be their information on facts, values and beliefs which complements the archaeological data, concepts and generalizations.

Discussion assessed the appropriate way to name the site of the vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm", now called the Sinnock site by archaeologists. Robson felt that when naming geographic phenomena and people, Native names could be used where they are known. These names are not necessarily the way they were 8000 years ago, but the name

still reflects Native heritage. Given the practical difficulty of using Native names for all sites, archaeologists could use European names as a start and add Native names as research progresses. It was understandable that landowners would appreciate the recognition of sites named after themselves. These comments were less critical of archaeology's practice than the author's comments in the literature review.

The first eight stories were submitted to a number of archaeologists: Leo Pettipas, Dave Riddle, Dave Hems and Gordon Hill, all of the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, and Leigh Syms of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. Archaeologists seemed generally satisfied with the ability of the vignettes to incorporate data and concepts. Comments assessed the accuracy of the archaeological data used as the basis of the stories. Each vignette benefitted from several suggestions. After noting possible factual errors in one vignette, Pettipas suggested that all vignettes should be submitted to archaeologists familiar with the culture or site under discussion in the story. This procedure was followed with each subsequent vignette (see section 4.1.5).

Leigh Syms suggested that the use of bold faced introductions should be assessed with children -- the introductions might be too dry and discourage the interest of readers from the start. Pettipas and Riddle warned that the images used should be familiar to Northern communities.

For example, in comparing archaeology to exploring an old basement, one should consider whether northern houses have basements. Syms pointed out the need for illustrations.

#### 4.1.2 Young Archaeologists' Club of Winnipeg

A pair of stories was tested with the Young Archaeologists' Club. The club members ranged from approximately nine to 16 years of age, and they attended a variety of urban, suburban and rural schools. The group obviously had prior interest and exposure to the subject of archaeology, however the approach to history by the children's book was different than other club activities, which concentrated more on research activities and replication of tools.

The vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" (depicting life at the Sinnock site, approximately 8000 years ago) was presented as an oral story, with blackboard maps of the site location and site plan. Twenty nine club members were in attendance. A series of questions were used after the vignette to assess how well it had appealed to the club members and conveyed the desired cognitive content.

The audience was very attentive. At the close of the story all but two club members wanted to answer the first question. All ages took part in the question and answer session. A complete list of the questions and answers is

given in Appendix A. The club members got a remarkable amount of cognitive information out of the story. For example, club members were able to recall how climate changed and what the effect of climate on vegetation and animal life. They recalled the main source of food for the people at the Sinnock site, why they moved seasonally, and why they left the Sinnock locale permanently. They remembered the different roles of age and sex groups. Participation in the group discussion of the vignette decreased as the session wore on. The club leader, Leigh Syms, suggested that questions involving more discussion were required. The most successful question for stimulating conversation was probably "If you were an archaeologist what sorts of artifacts would you expect to find in the three different terraces of this site?" Questions which required prediction and deduction based on the readings were seen to be a successful technique, and the use of this technique was increased in subsequent revisions (see chapter 4.1.5 and 4.2)

In the next test the Young Archaeologists' Club members were given a copy of the teaching "Respect for Animals", a companion piece to "When the Seasons Were Very Warm", depicting Ojibwe values that complement the economic use of animals depicted in "When the Seasons Were Very Warm". The club members took the story home, read it, answered written questions and returned the story at the meeting two months later.

Out of 24 copies of the story distributed, 10 were returned. Part of the low return could be attributed to the long lag between distributing the teaching and retrieving the comments. Eight of the 10 returns had the questions answered. All of the answers showed that the respondents had at least been able to understand that Ojibwe people should honour animals, but that they sometimes dishonoured them. At least half of the respondents were able to move onto more difficult concepts such as the idea that Ojibwe people formed ideals of knowledge, gracefulness, watchfulness and endurance by learning from animals, that animals and people depend on other parts of the ecosystem, and that there are parallels between traditional Ojibwe relations with animals and modern Canadian relations to wildlife. There was some discussion of the teaching, but few club members joined in. Part of the problem was that questioning went directly to generalizations and comparisons, without an initial review and facts.

In summary, the test results with the Young Archaeologists' Club showed that cognitive teaching goals were well achieved by an' archaeology "vignette". Affective teaching objectives could be successfully introduced, but questionnaires had to be improved to build from facts to generalizations, comparisons and deductions.

#### 4.1.3 Individual Students

Drafts of the first eight vignettes and teachings were submitted to Rhiannen Putt (grade seven, Jewett Elementary School, village of Meadow Creek, B.C.) and Krista Wasney (grade six, Dr. Hamilton School, East St. Paul). The students were questioned to see which teaching goals had been achieved. As in classroom testing, a more thorough representation of sexes, cultures, and geographic locations was beyond the scope of the practicum. However the two students selected did represent decidedly rural and suburban schools, and together they performed the important function of providing a detailed assessment of several drafts, resulting in changes in methods which continued to the end of the work on the children's book.

In general, Rhiannen had no trouble distinguishing between archaeology vignettes and elders' teachings, and she found the language level satisfactory, observations which were all reassuring to the author. Rhiannen definitely liked vignettes that had lots of people, activity and named characters. The more of these features she found in a vignette, the more cognitive content she retained. After discussions the author had the impression that revisions of the drafts should make them still more lively and simple.

Rhiannen was able to discuss some affective content, concepts and generalizations. For example, in reviewing the

teaching "Respect for Animals", she speculated about how people would honour animals and compared the values of Christianity to the values in the teaching (Christianity "wouldn't have messages about animals"). She was able to make comparisons between her own life and Ojibwe teachings, commenting that in Meadow Creek "some people kill animals for nothing" and logging destroys the environment for animals. When discussing the vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" Rhiannen compared the warming climatic trend in the story to her own experience of snowmelt in the village and her limited knowledge of the greenhouse effect.

Rhiannen was very interested in projecting what residents of Meadow Creek would do if the warming climate of the story occurred there -- whether they would move away, or stay and do something else, "like orange farming". When discussing "When a Big Lake Covered Manitoba", Rhiannen was interested in speculating about what might have been over her village 12,000 years ago -- a lake? a glacier? Apparently the technique of asking the student to imagine their home or their life under past climatic circumstances was an effective method, which could be used further in the book.

Krista Wasney read vignette 5 ("When the Seasons Were Very Warm") and Teaching 6 ("Respect for Animals"). Krista was given the teaching and vignette about a month before the interview. When it was time for the interview she had to rapidly re-read them to refresh her memory.

Because of the month-long delay before the interview, the rushed re-read, and problems with the readings themselves, the readings failed to achieve many cognitive teaching goals. It was significant that Krista knew the facts revealed by the actions of individuals in the story, as opposed to those provided by a general prologue or narrative. For example, she did not know why bison moved back and forth from the plains to the valleys, which was discussed in the prologue to a vignette. On the other hand she could provide a complete list of the roles of the sexes and ages in a group, and a list of food sources, as revealed by the actions of the story characters. She emphatically enjoyed some small comments in the story, such as the fact that people hunted rabbits, "fat ones!". As with all the interim testing there were no illustrations to accompany the text. Like other advisors and students, Krista commented on the shortfall, especially the need for an atlas.

An exercise which had been successful with the Young Archaeologists' Club was relatively unsuccessful with Krista -- after reading the vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm", Krista could only partially complete a sketch map of the artifacts which would result from the events in the vignette.

Parts of the Ojibwe teaching "Respect for Animals" which appealed to Krista's imagination elicited emphatic responses. Krista was able to begin a list of the uses of

wildlife in contemporary society, and compare it to the values placed on wildlife in the teaching. She suggested that modern hunting and trapping were comparable to the Ojibwe disrespect for animals. Contrary to the intent of the teaching, Krista felt the people in the story "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" did not respect animals, because they killed them. The teaching was encouraging Krista to express values about wildlife and ecology, but not necessarily ones that might be expected!

After the interview with Krista the author knew that simpler more lively text was required, and had concrete suggestions for effective illustrations and questioning methods.

#### **4.1.4 Teachers**

The first eight drafts were submitted to Jill Richards, teacher at Morley Community School, Morley Reserve, Alberta. Morley is a Nakota reserve. Richards currently teaches adult classes and grade three students aged 10 to 13 (i.e. grade six age level, usually below grade six reading level). She assessed the draft book as successfully prepared for classroom use (her students would find the content "great"), and pointed out shortcomings in questioning methods and lack of illustrations.

Questions included with the stories could be much more specific and less open ended. For example, instead of asking "why do we value wildlife?", the question could be "List three ways that we value wildlife". She recommended that the book have a very brief introduction to explain its overall layout and purpose. Richards suggested that children illustrate the stories. She suggested many improvements in sentence structure and vocabulary. She pointed out the most vivid vignette of those given to her, indicating an example which the author could follow.

Drafts were also given to Jay Buchanan, grade five science teacher and grade five and six social studies "enrichment program" teacher, Victory School, Winnipeg. Buchanan indicated that the concept and content of the draft book was ideal for curriculum use. He particularly emphasized the importance of the explanation of archaeology as a science and the revelation of the findings of the science throughout the vignettes. Buchanan recommended maps and illustrations of archaeological sites, and pictures of archaeologists working. He provided very detailed suggestions for exercises, questions and activities to be included in the book. Like Richards, Buchanan requested a short clear introduction to the structure of the book, describing the two sources of knowledge and the purposes for including them.

#### 4.1.5 Revisions in Methods as a Result of Interim Testing

Interim testing showed that the interpretive methods were generally satisfactory to students, teachers, archaeologists and curriculum advisors, including Native advisors.

As a result of specific recommendations the following changes were made in the draft book:

1. a brief introduction to the structure of the book was added.
2. when elders' teachings were transcribed from original sources, the author attempted to recognize and maintain the physical, emotional and spiritual aspects of the teachings.
3. more names were used for characters and places. In some cases the symbolism of personal names was described in the stories. Rivers in the stories were given the same names as they have today. In some cases the names of modern towns were used to give the reader a reference to modern geography.
4. the author attempted to develop more characters, personalities and action.
5. simplifications and improvements in vocabulary, grammar and sentence structure were made throughout.
6. the use of bold-faced introductions was carefully observed in subsequent testing to determine whether readers found them too dry and boring. Information in the introductions was immediately limited to information about archaeologists and elders who researched a topic or gave a teaching. Dates and other introductory information were moved into the body of the vignette or teaching. In some cases the introductions were removed and replaced with a footnote. The effect of the shorter introductions was observed during final testing.
7. archaeology vignettes were submitted to archaeologists personally involved in the data, as a more thorough check of content accuracy.

8. work was begun on assembling illustrations. Archaeology illustrations were selected to depict both scenes from the vignettes, and site plans, maps and illustrations of artifacts, showing the scientific origin of the vignettes. The need for maps to orient readers to the geography was clear. Archaeologists were consulted to ensure that the content of illustrations was accurate. The author requested two artists interested in Native history to prepare illustration proposals for elders' teachings.
9. questions (which had originally been intended only to test the success of the book) were prepared to accompany the vignettes and teachings. Questions were made more specific, and included modelling exercises, projects and discussion suggestions. Ideally every story would have accompanying questions, which would be designed to provide teachers with a readily usable teaching package. Students needed questions to add variety to the reading material, to reinforce and add to the learning process.
10. questions were designed to proceed from factual recall to comparisons, generalizations and discussions. Model methods of questioning were suggested by existing children's publications, particularly a series of children's history books by Elma Schemenauer (1978, 1979, 1981) and a Peigan children's history book (Pard et al 1985). Appendix C includes a list of some of the questioning methods used when preparing questions for vignettes and teachings.
11. the success of questions and exercises were assessed in a classroom setting during the final testing of the book.

#### **4.2 RESULTS OF FINAL TESTING**

A second round of testing was done after drafts of all 14 vignettes and teachings were complete. As before, Native teachers, non-Native teachers and archaeologists were generally satisfied that the use of ethnological and

historical data, use of elders' teachings, use of terminology, and development of lively personal detail successfully achieved the teaching objectives.

#### **4.2.1 Native Education and Archaeology Advisors**

Since archaeologists were consulted before vignettes were started, their comments on the drafts were mostly corrections of grammar, structure and omissions and corrections in facts. The archaeologists Dave Hems and Dave Riddle, both of the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, were particularly helpful in refining teaching goals and assessing content of the resulting vignettes.

Hems assisted in planning and assessing the success of vignette 13, "Iron Mouth at Brandon House", and vignette 11 "Leggings, the Gardener's Son". He was satisfied with the teaching objectives such as the connection of nations by trade, interdependence of Native nations and Europeans during the fur trade, the role of marriage in trade, the effects of disease and liquor, and many specific facts concerning trade methods, family structure, corn agriculture and other lifeways. During subsequent assessment of the vignettes most comments were limited to problems such as the identification of a fish species or date of a structure.

Hems was dissatisfied with the success of the "Leggings" vignette in dealing with enough significant topics

pertaining to corn agriculture. Hems comments suggest the difficulty or conflict in achieving lively interpretation, which the author felt required limiting the number of teaching objectives.

Vignette 7, "Morning Star and the Clay Pot", was based on a draft book by Riddle and Leo Pettipas, therefore Riddle was satisfied with the objectives, but he suggested facts and wording that better achieved them. For the vignette "Iron Mouth at Brandon House", Riddle suggested changes in wording that emphasized the teaching objectives -- motivations for trading, interdependence of European and Native people, the challenge of trading, involvement of children and women in fur trade, effect of disease, and departure of the Nakota from Manitoba.

The entire draft of the 14 teachings and vignettes was submitted to Joe McLellan, teacher at Aberdeen Junior High School, a core area school with many Native students. McLellan is himself Native (Nez Perce). He was very pleased with the objectives and methods of the book, especially the use of both archaeology and Native teachings. He remarked that the interpretive methods used might be useful to encourage Native students to take up archaeology. He encouraged the publication of the children's book, and he would use the result in his own classroom.

McLellan was specifically requested to assess Teaching 8. "The Clan System". The author was concerned that the combination of writings by Ojibwe teachers Basil Johnston (1976) and Eddie Benton-Banai (1979) had resulted in inaccuracies, since Johnston's system of clan naming did not match Benton's. McLellan acknowledged the problem, but stressed that the objective should be to emphasize the general role of the clan systems among many Native nations -- fulfilling many needs of the societies. His own grandmother, a Nez Perce, had taught him a different clan system than the one described by Johnston and Benton-Banai.

McLellan was also requested to assess the teaching objectives of the vignette "Iron Mouth at Brandon House" and the teaching "Alfred Patrick's Story". The author was concerned over the difficulty of the teaching objectives, which dealt with use and abuse of alcohol, and church and government power over Native education. McLellan felt that the teaching objectives were necessary to discuss with students, and did not object to the handling of the topics in the vignette and teaching.

#### **4.2.2 Aberdeen School Grade Nine**

The draft book was provided to Joe McLellan for use with his grade nine class. Some students in the class were at a grade six reading level. The purpose was to test the success of the interpretive methods in achieving the teaching objectives with urban, primarily Native, students.

McLellan used the package to compare and study the findings and methods of archaeology and the role of elders. He reported that his students were immediately interested ("excited") by the science and methods of archaeology, especially as a result of the lesson "How Archaeology Works". McLellan commented on the importance of illustrations and exercise showing how the vignettes were developed from archaeological methods and data.

The author attended the class to present a discussion of "How Archaeology Works", including slides, samples of artifacts and a demonstration of flint-knapping. Through discussing a stone pipe bowl brought to the class, students were encouraged to compare what archaeology can teach and what elders can teach (emic and etic phenomena). The exercise was clearly successful -- students recognized that archaeologists could not learn about spirituality from the pipe alone, and at the end of the class they suggested that archaeologists be taught about the care of the pipe according to its spiritual importance.

Students provided remarkable written answers to questions based on the lessons "How Archaeology Works" and "How we Learn From Elders". The questions asked children about who the elders were in their life, the advice the student would give years from now to their great-grandchildren, and finally asked the student to imagine themselves 1000 years

from now, excavating their home city buried by an earthquake in 1988. The full text of the questions and answers are found in Appendix E.

The questions tested the success of the teaching methods in achieving the teaching objectives for the two lessons. Seventeen out of 18 students handed in answers. Almost all students answered the three questions about elders. For example, 18 out of 18 students answered questions one and three. Question 3, which asked students for advice for their great-grandchildren, elicited particularly creative answers. Clearly the role of elders was well-understood and interesting to these students, partially as a result of thorough lessons on the subject prior to the visit of the author. The importance of including elders' teachings in archaeological interpretation for Native students was confirmed. Unfortunately, the end of the class came when students were still completing the question on archaeology -- 2 partial and 8 complete answers were returned. Four answers showed that the students could now successfully describe some methods of archaeology -- searching for clues, comparing "feature" trees to trees in the forest and artifacts to artifacts of the future, using books and conducting experiments, and finally making an explanation. The remaining complete answers showed that students had successfully learned how difficult it would be for archaeologists to interpret today's symbolic artifacts in the future.

The questions clearly showed that the lessons had successfully encouraged the students to think about values. Question 3 in particular elicited profound messages and warnings about respect for people, nature, elders, history, and the importance of trying hard, avoiding prejudice and helping each other.

In summary, testing at Aberdeen School stressed and suggested illustrations and exercises which would link interpretative recreations to archaeological methods and data. The testing showed that the interpretive methods were interesting to Native students and appealed to their previous experience and knowledge of Native culture. Interpretation definitely intrigued students about archaeology, and the limited response to one written question showed that cognitive information about archaeology was successfully conveyed. Questions definitely showed that the interpretive methods encouraged the students to think about values. More questions would be required to help students review archaeological methods.

#### **4.2.3 Victory School Grades Five and Six**

The draft book was provided to Jay Buchanan for testing with the Victory School grades five and six enrichment class -- students performing at an advanced level.

The students read "How Archaeology Works" independently, and discussion showed that most students had successfully learned concepts such as "sites", "artifacts" and "features", and had some idea of archaeological methods. As a class exercise the students analysed a collection of artifacts from a historic site, as though they were archaeologists. They sorted the artifacts into categories and listed the artifacts in each category. The entire class then used the artifacts and the site plan to reconstruct the lifeways of the original site occupants. The students identified a house with chimney, windows, fireplace and a family with boy and girl children and a dog, who farmed for a living or were possibly blacksmiths. They drank beer, pop, tea, ate chickens, and hunted.

The ability of students to solve archaeological "problems" showed that the interpretive methods had successfully taught "How Archaeology Works". For example, some explanations of the artifacts were tenuous -- the iron "might" have been from a blacksmith, or some teeth "might" have been dog's teeth. When questioned, the students proposed "further testing" by going to a modern blacksmith, a veterinarian, or a museum.

Questions and artifacts, similar to those used with Aberdeen School, allowed students to discuss the difference between archaeology's socio-economic information and Native beliefs and values.

The author read the teaching "How We Learn From Elders" to the class. By the end of the teaching there seemed to be general fidgeting. Although a more effective technique might have been students reading the teaching aloud, it appeared that the vocabulary and method of speech were still too difficult for grade six.

The author told the vignette "When an Icy Lake Covered Manitoba" as a story, using illustrations borrowed from the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch. The goals of the vignette were to provide information about glaciation, Lake Agassiz and the first Native people in Manitoba. The students were shown a map of Manitoba with glacial lake Agassiz superimposed. They were asked to pinpoint modern places in Manitoba relative to the location of the former lake. The students were shown an illustration of a woman who was cooking by using hot stones in a skin container. The students were asked what an archaeologist would find of the cooking scene and then compare that to what would be left of cooking in their own homes. The students compared the travelling methods in the vignette to what is needed today for a "camping trip" -- "TV, tent, walkman, RV, lantern, radio, grilles, icebox, cooler" etc. As predicted by the interim test results, these maps and comparisons successfully achieved a high response from students, reinforced the vignette and encouraged respect for past technology. The ability of the students to answer the

questions showed that the teaching methods were successfully achieving their goals.

Finally, the students were able to discuss where climatic change is occurring in the world today, and how people's lives would change if there was a new ice age in Northern Manitoba.

After all the discussion of the Icy Lake vignette was over, one student asked "what did that story have to do with archaeology?", suggesting that still more work was required to show how the vignettes were based on fact.

Students read the teaching "Weesakaychak and the Flood". Buchanan then led a discussion with the students. Students were immediately able to pick out the power of Weesakaychak, and one of the teaching messages -- "where the strong fail, the weak succeed".

The discussion led by the teacher suggested that he was oblivious to the cognitive information hidden in the Weesakaychak teaching, such as information on the behaviour of water animals. The teacher referred several times to the teaching as a myth. His discussion included inaccuracies, such as the statement that the Cree people did not fish. Also, Cree names of animals, such as wajusk, or muskrat, were confused for proper names. While some of these problems could be corrected by minor changes in the book, others suggested the need for teacher orientation which was beyond the scope of the interpretive methods proposed.

In summary, the Victory School tests reviewed four teachings and vignettes. Students consistently achieved the cognitive teaching objectives, but improvements in vocabulary and sentence structure were still required. The results were very useful in the further development of illustrations, questions and exercises. Observations of the teacher leading class discussion suggested changes in the use of Native language, but also suggested the need for teacher orientation which was beyond the scope of the interpretive methods.

#### **4.2.4 Other Assessments**

Section 3.1.8 and Appendix A of the practicum outlined the teaching objectives of the children's book. The book would be a series of vignettes and teachings, alternating in complimentary pairs. The book would set vignettes in each of Manitoba's physiographic regions -- grasslands, aspen parkland, boreal forest, northern transition zone, and tundra, to show how Native lifeways could vary between regions. Furthermore, there would be vignettes depicting lifeways in each major archaeological "period" -- Early Prehistoric, Middle Prehistoric, Late Prehistoric and Historic, showing changes over time. Finally there would be teachings from most of the Native nations represented in Manitoba today -- Dene, Cree, Ojibwe, Dakota and Metis to

suggest the distinctive nature and heritage of the nations. The teachings and vignettes would together give a full picture of socio-economic lifeways, beliefs and values.

The results did not achieve the full range of physiographic regions, periods and Native nations which were planned. In reality the author was unfamiliar and uncomfortable with the archaeology and environment of the northern transitional forest and tundra. After several unsatisfactory writing attempts, the transitional forest and tundra were omitted from the vignettes. In choosing Native teachings the author was again hampered by a lack of familiarity with the Native nations. Most personal experience was with Ojibwe and Cree people, and the selection of teachings reflects the comfort of familiarity -- there are no teachings by Dene or Metis.

The manuscript began to stretch the limits of reasonable length for a children's book and there was still no vignette for the Middle Prehistoric Period. Therefore the plan for coverage of all the archaeological periods had to be abandoned. The author is still concerned that the manuscript and the individual teachings and vignettes are too long for grade six level.

In retrospect it is safe to say that the draft book adequately depicts a variety of Native nations, cultural change and adaptation, without fully adhering to its

original framework. An important conclusion is that authors of interpretation should strive for personal familiarity with the Native nations, physiography and archaeology they are trying to depict. The results suggest that substantial training would be required before a non-archaeologist could write interpretive material.

The use of vocabulary and sentence structure are inconsistent in the manuscript. Some manuscript portions use vocabulary and structure which are still too difficult for grade six. The manuscript lacks the humour which would strongly appeal to a grade six student, with most teachings and vignettes taking on a very serious tone. The manuscript needs the critical advice of a children's book editor to solve some of these problems.

There was continuing difficulty in adhering to the original wording of Native teachings. Although there were problems with the length, vocabulary and fragmentary nature of some teachings, Native advisors stressed the importance of retaining the original wording, and the author could sense the adverse effects of making changes (even the smallest changes seemed to introduce a different way of thinking and speaking). This experience reinforces the importance of working directly with Native elders and advisors who can provide suitable teachings and guide revisions.

While testing provided very specific recommendations for illustrations, the preparation of illustrations was much more problematic than the author expected. Many illustrations of life scenes were provided by the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, but some were unsatisfactory. Problems included negative stereotyping, such as heavy crude limbs and features, and more rarely positive stereotyping, such as a happy crowds of idyllic travellers. There were also errors of fact, such as a man wearing very little clothing while standing beside a glacial lake, in a cold wet climate.

The author requested submissions from two artists interested in Native spirituality -- Annette Loutit and Martin Lewis. Their submissions are found as figures 8, 13, 20 and 23. Again problems occurred -- figure 13b, by Martin Lewis, is graphically strong, but uses the motif of a stereotypical childlike warrior. Drawings of people by Loutit have much more characterization, but include errors of fact -- a muskrat too small and clothing not historically accurate. Artists should be given written guidelines on how to guard against stereotypes, and each illustration requires substantial research of factual content.

The point of view of women is inadequately represented in the draft book. While many women are featured in the archaeology "vignettes", their actions and achievements are often described from the point of view of the male characters. There are no teachings by women elders.

## Chapter V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 SUMMARY OF LITERATURE AND METHODS

Chapter 1 suggested that the general problem is a lack of interpretation relative to other aspects of archaeology. Two major aspects of the problem appeared to be a shortage of interpretation for children and a lack of communication with Native people, preventing interpretation for Native Education.

#### Themes in the History of Interpretation.

Chapter 2 reviewed the history of interpretation in Manitoba. The review showed six trends:

1. Interpretation using original artifacts. Since the earliest archaeology, artifacts have appealed to viewers through their beauty and connection to the original makers. However, interpretation is unsuccessful when artifacts are presented alone, without revealing the lives of the makers.
2. Interpreting the activity or science of archaeology. The activity of archaeology appeals to the public because archaeology is active, tangible and has a familiar scientific point of view. However, the interpretation of archaeology sometimes takes place at the expense of the interpretation of past lifeways.
3. The use of scientific terms and concepts in interpretation. Most interpretation in Manitoba uses technical terms, theoretical concepts and an advanced general vocabulary. Interpretation for children and many adults would require new ways of speaking.

4. Interpretation addressed to children. There have been no Manitoba publications intended for children. There have recently been an archaeology club, course and museum tours for children. Archaeologists are working more to get archaeology into the curriculum.
5. Interpretation that relates to the experience of visitors. Archaeology deals with the gradual change of large groups over time. Hence interpretive publications seldom give an "on the scene" account of an individual or small group, which would appeal to the experience of an individual reader. Archaeology needs to strike a familiar chord in the viewer, partially by drawing on ethnology and history, to depict lifeways fully.
6. Interpretation that reveals larger truths. Interpretation seldom relates archaeology to modern attitudes and concepts, such as ecology, and fails to show its connection to modern Native people. Interpretation has sometimes trivialized and stereotyped Native culture, or completely failed to mention Native people.

#### **Proposed Aim & Methods of Interpretation**

The six trends identified in interpretation suggested new interpretive aims and methods for archaeology. First, a clear aim should be to help lay people see how archaeology relates to their own lives. Archaeology should help us question and develop our understanding of aspects of modern culture, such as our appreciation of modern Native culture, ecological issues, and social processes. The objectives of interpretation should be clearly planned.

Pursuing the objectives above, the following methods of interpretation were proposed:

1. interpretation should continue to use artifacts, but they should be a complement to other depictions of the lifeways of people

2. the activity and science of archaeology should be interpreted, but not at the expense of findings about lifeways
3. history without "people" should be avoided, and interpretation should depict the lives of people in a way that is familiar for the viewer
4. ethnology and history should be used to make interpretation full and lifelike
5. complex language, technical terms and theoretical concepts should be avoided or introduced with care
6. unique methods of interpretation should be devised for children.

### Proposed Application of Archaeology to Native Education

Native education seemed to be a constructive area for archaeology to promote a better understanding of Native cultures, and a venue to test new methods of interpretation. Chapter 2 showed that recently, and with strong will, Native peoples are assuming self-control of Native education. Archaeologists planning for Native education should be aware of current issues in the field. There is a need for new curriculum resources, to replace the biases and stereotypes of older materials.

### Proposed Consultation with Native People

Since Native peoples are assuming self-control of education, and can be expected to request their own interpretation, interpretation should include Native people in planning. The criteria of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood suggest that interpretation is currently biased and unsatisfactory to Native people. The use of European names for sites and

cultures, emphasis on artifacts instead of lifeways, reference to Native people only as massive impersonal "populations", and the failure to interpret beliefs and values are similar to objectionable biases in older school texts. Native people have strenuously objected to archaeologists' management of burials, a problem spilling over into other attitudes towards archaeology, including interpretation. Native people wish to share their history and values with others. Including traditional Native values in interpretation would would make archaeology more acceptable.

Thus, a seventh interpretive method can be recommended:

7. Native people should be participants in archaeology, contributing to the planning and provision of interpretation.

### **Benefits of Interpretation**

Archaeologists and Native leaders agree that archaeology has a role in promoting the understanding of Native heritage. To obtain maximum benefits interpretation should share archaeology and Native knowledge at the same time -- a form of cross-cultural interpretation. Cross-cultural interpretation would help students understand perceptions of other cultures. Cross-cultural interpretation would help students understand sciences in general, and introduce the concepts of emic and etic phenomena. Depicting archaeology's views and traditional Native views together

would allow students to understand the concept of world views and the validity of different world views. Cross-cultural interpretation can use teaching and learning methods from Native and European cultures, allowing students to draw with equal ease on the strengths and abilities inherent in each culture. Increasing the involvement of Native people in the interpretation of archaeology, whether in education or elsewhere, will promote mutual understanding between Native people and archaeologists. Native support for archaeology will increase.

#### Experimental Application of Interpretive Methods

The author approached the Manitoba Native Education Branch and proposed development of interpretive material suitable for Native education.

Interpretion had to meet the curriculum needs of several "stakeholders" -- Native students, non-Native students, parents, teachers, archaeologists and the provincial curriculum. The grade six level of the provincial social studies curriculum seemed the most suitable for the preparation of new interpretive material, although curriculum material should repeat or lead to concepts taught in other grades.

The aims and interpretive methods proposed by the literature review could be used by all media. For ease of production and as a test, this practicum concentrated on

preparing a draft of an illustrated children's book. This particular application of interpretive methods serves as a test with applicability to other media in addition to publications. To prevent a voluminous narrative of 12,000 years of history the book was composed of a series of archaeology "vignettes", showing people involved in daily life, emotions and decision-making, in a manner that children could understand. Archaeology vignettes were alternated with teachings written by Native elders. The vignettes and teachings were chosen to complement each other, providing a well-rounded picture of socio-economic information, beliefs and values.

Teachings from elders were based on published sources and the attendance of the author at Native awareness classes, education conferences, meetings and the advice of Native education advisors. Ethnology and history were used. A variety of children's books were used as models for style and children's exercises. Technical terms and theoretical concepts were to be avoided, except where a conscious decision was made to introduce a new concept. The plan was also to avoid the use of European names for sites and geographic features.

The methods were to avoid stereotypes by showing several Native nations, showing people involved in many different roles, showing people planning ahead and making intelligent decisions about the use of the environment in the face of

change, emphasising values such as respect, sharing and honesty, countering stereotypes of moral degeneracy, laziness and improvidence. The vignettes and teachings were planned to progress into the modern era, to link the qualities of people long ago with modern Native people.

The general objective of interpretation was to use archaeology to help us understand modern culture -- Native cultures, and social processes, lifeways and ecological issues common to all cultures. Detailed teaching objectives were planned for 14 vignettes and teachings, by consulting the Manitoba K-12 Social Studies program, Native awareness Program plans, and the objectives of archaeology. The children's manuscript would begin by teaching about the science of archaeology and the way we learn from elders, followed by vignettes and teachings describing lifeways and changes over time -- ways of meeting needs, interacting with the environment, forming social groups, running affairs, conducting trade, achieving comfort, facing ecological dilemmas, using resources, using technology, speaking languages, organizing families, changing technology, defining cultural identity, defining male-female roles, defining age roles, impacting on other cultures and explaining origins, values and beliefs.

#### **Testing the Success of the Interpretive Methods**

Evaluation and testing were conducted when the first eight stories were drafted and when the draft book was complete, to assess how well the seven recommended interpretive methods:

1. achieved teaching objectives of the grade six provincial studies curriculum
2. satisfied the objectives of Native advisors and the criteria of the Manitoba Native education Native awareness program
3. met the needs of teachers
4. satisfied the objectives of archaeologists
5. appealed to the interest of children, encouraging them to learn.

The draft book was evaluated by archaeologists, Native education advisors and Native and non-Native teachers, and evaluated and tested by using the draft with Native and non-Native classes, individual students and Native and non-Native teachers. Written and oral questions were used to test the effectiveness of the vignettes and teachings in teaching facts and concepts. Affective learning is difficult to measure, however the success of the draft book in achieving affective teaching objectives was assessed as well as possible by observing children's ability to discuss affective issues rising from the book and make relevant comparison and generalizations.

Suggestions from interim testing were incorporated into the teachings and vignettes as the draft children's manuscript was revised and completed.

## 5.2 SUMMARY OF RESULTS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Testing confirmed the value of the interpretive methods proposed by the literature review, and added further recommendations.

### Objectives of Interpretation

The objectives of testing were to use the interpretive methods proposed by the literature review to teach about modern social concerns such as environmental stewardship, technological change, and the role of Native people in Canadian society. The results showed that students were very interested and thoughtful about comparing the decision of past societies to modern issues -- interpreting archaeology could indeed achieve the proposed teaching objectives.

Evaluations by teachers and advisors confirmed that clear interpretive objectives were required and that the inclusion of Native awareness objectives was successful. The children's book showed that interpreting archaeology could counter stereotypes about Native people, showing people with skill, imagination, humour, decisiveness, strong families and strong economies, but still with human weaknesses. The children's book was even able to deal with modern issues such as alcohol abuse and government imposed education, and depict many values based on elders' teachings. However, testing showed that imaginative questions and activities are

required to challenge and "provoke" children, to help them search archaeology and Native teachings for their meaning to our modern lives, to achieve the teaching objectives.

**Recommendations:**

- the main objective of interpreting archaeology should be to challenge and develop society's understanding of significant current issues. Archaeology could teach about Native cultural awareness, processes of cultural change and society's relationship to the environment
- interpretation should include challenging questions and exercises to achieve its teaching objectives

**Consultation With Native People**

Native people are achieving self-control of education, and across North America are requesting participation in the museum interpretation of Native culture. Test results showed that archaeologists can indeed search out qualified Native advisors among elders, government institutions, and other agencies, finding advisors with whom they can work in planning archaeology and its interpretation. Teachers and Native advisors were emphatic about the value of including elders' teachings with archaeological interpretation. Ideally, elders would help plan and provide interpretation, but archaeologists can also learn major concepts and principles of Native teachings, to guide their work in interpreting topics pertinent to Native awareness. Other advisors and guidelines, such as those of the Manitoba Education Native Awareness programme, are useful.

Combining Native awareness and archaeology made archaeology very attractive to a test class of Native students, creating an interest among the students in becoming archaeologists -- a desirable objective for archaeology.

Testing with classes and individual students showed that although archaeology can convey Native awareness teaching objectives, teachers can continue to work contrary to the objectives -- archaeologists must educate teachers as well as students.

Although the literature review suggested that European names of sites, geographic features and cultures might be objectionable to Native people, further evaluation suggested that European names could be used, and where possible Native names could be added. The handling of geographic names in the draft text is still confusing, and should be improved.

#### **Recommendations:**

- archaeologists should approach Native people to participate in planning and providing interpretation. There are other qualified sources of information and guidance, but archaeologists should include working relationships with Native elders. Ultimately, we may expect Native archaeologists to participate in interpretation.
- archaeologists should advise teachers about Native awareness aspects of teaching archaeology
- archaeologists should increase the use of Native names for sites and cultures

#### **Interpreting the Activity of Archaeology**

True to expectations, testing showed that the science of archaeology is interesting and familiar, even to children. Teaching archaeology helped students understand general scientific methods, while testing which compared the knowledge and methods of archaeology and Native elders showed that students were able to learn from and compare both sources of information. The inclusion of elders' teachings seemed especially important to a test class of Native students.

Using archaeology "vignettes" without clearly showing their source in science left children wondering what the vignettes had to do with archaeology; students need to know how reconstructions of lifeways originate in archaeology. Exercises and illustrations seemed especially important to help students learn about archaeological methods. Teachers stressed the relevance of the "science" of archaeology to the curriculum.

**Recommendations:**

- depictions of lifeways should be accompanied by interpretation of archaeological methods and data
- archaeology and Native teachings should be interpreted together, to obtain the benefits of cross-cultural education
- illustrations and hands-on exercises should be used to aid the interpretation of archaeological methods

**Use of Original Artifacts**

Classroom testing showed that original artifacts had a great appeal to students. Artifacts were an example of archaeological data which helped students understand the scientific origin of the vignettes. The artifacts were also a tangible connection to the people of the past.

**Recommendations:**

- artifacts should be used in interpretation

**Use of Terminology**

The literature review proposed that complex language and terms be avoided. Students at the grade six reading level were generally able to read the children's book, the test application of methods, and the use of simple language did not prevent the achievement of significant teaching objectives. Some vignettes and teachings still failed to hold the interest of children, suggesting that further improvements are required in the draft book. A children's' book editor would be useful to further adjust wording, sentence structure, and length of the vignettes and teachings.

The need to use simple language in interpretation presented problems, since Native teachings often contained terms, concepts, or sentence structures which would be unfamiliar to the casual reader. Archaeologists lack relationships with Native elders which would allow elders to contribute teachings suited for children, and in editing

published teachings the author ran the risk of altering their meaning.

**Recommendations:**

- complex language can and should be avoided, unless the objective of interpretation is to introduce a new term
- to obtain suitable language in elders' teachings, interpreters should keep changes to a minimum, consult with advisors about the validity of changes, develop a greater knowledge of teachings, and develop working relationships with elders

**Use of Ethnology and History**

Ethnology, history, and the results of experimental archaeology allowed lively vignettes depicting pottery making, corn farming, fur trading, marriage and even songs that children used to tease each other. Native people's teachings could themselves be considered a form of ethnology, and they clearly added to the well rounded picture of life in the children's manuscript. The use of the "fictionalized" style of writing allowed the inclusion of reconstructions based on ethnology without long explanations of the origin of data. The vignettes which result form a "verbal diorama". Ethnology advisors and sources should be further consulted as the editing of the draft book is completed.

**Recommendations:**

- interpretation should draw on ethnology and history to provide a lively well-rounded depiction of past lifeways.

**Appealing to the Experience of the Viewer**

The results showed that ethnological and historical data help depict events in daily life which are universal to all cultures. The use of history and ethnology helped prepare fictionalized vignettes with many scenes of daily life, instead of interpretation by lists and static descriptions. Major cultural changes, such as migration, adapting to a changing environment, and adopting new inventions, were shown as the result of people making decisions. This approach allowed children to imagine and discuss similar modern decisions, and at the same time created a positive identity of Native people as decision makers -- not buffeted by the whims of diffusion, migration and climatic change.

The use of fictional depictions of past life runs the risk of distorting Native history. It may encourage us to project modern attitudes on depictions of the past. Ethnography, archaeology and history should be used to ensure the accuracy of the interpretation.

The success of the ethnological and historical details was reflected in the interest of students in the vignettes and teachings. The depiction of daily life did not lessen the students' ability to achieve cognitive and affective learning objectives, to recall facts or deal with concepts such as climatic change and ecological stewardship. The ability of students to personally relate to the interpretation actually encouraged their ability to achieve significant learning objectives.

### **Recommendations:**

- history without "people" should be avoided, and interpretation should depict the lives of people in a way that is familiar to the viewer
- "fictionalized" accounts of archaeology seem to be a successful means of depicting daily life. Their further use should be examined
- "fictionalized" interpretation should avoid projecting modern values and attitudes on depictions of past life
- significant cultural changes should be depicted as the result of decisions by people

### **Unique Children's Interpretation**

Fictionalized vignettes were used as an interpretive method for children. Testing with individual readers suggested that the more active and personal the narrative the more the interested the children were. Testing also suggested that vignettes with named characters were more effective than those without. Accordingly a method of naming characters was based on ethnology, history and Native writings.

While the fictionalized narrative was successful, it is not a method unique to children -- other authors have used a similar method for adults (e.g. Lalor 1986). The features of the draft book which were uniquely for children were the illustrations, questions and exercises, which asked children to imagine and create in a way that many adults would not find appropriate. The questions were very .

effective in reinforcing cognitive learning and challenging students to deal with the complex concepts and affective teaching objectives of the manuscript.

The children's book seems written largely from an adult's point of view -- serious, with many messages, lacking the humour and the detail's of a child's daily life that would appeal to children. Archaeologists should place more emphasis on researching the role of children in past societies, and continue trying to prepare interpretation uniquely for children.

**Recommendations:**

- archaeologists should use methods of interpretation which are uniquely for children, and should conduct further research into the role of children in past societies
- interpretation should use exercises and questions suited to the imagination and creativity of children

**Future Use of Draft Children's Text**

Only parts one to six, 10 and 11 of the draft text were tested with classes and individual students, and the choice of classes and students was limited. Furthermore, some of the teachings and vignettes were only tested by oral presentations. Several teachings and vignettes (e.g. "How We Learn From Elders" tested with Victory school class, and "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" tested with Krista Wasney) seemed to baffle or fail to hold the interest of children. More testing is required, with a selection of schools from

across the province. Editing by advisors is needed to ensure that the draft text is made the appropriate length and vocabulary for grade six. The revisions and additions to the draft should be thoroughly assessed by Native advisors, and archaeologists must still be consulted according to their expertise.

The draft text could present a stronger image of women, and needs copyright permission for the use of some illustrations and text. The illustrations have errors of fact which must be rectified. Sources of data must be better acknowledged.

The draft manuscript and illustrations are sufficiently successful to justify their further development. The manuscript should now be submitted to an editor and publisher. The Native Education Branch might be approached for support of publishing costs. Grants to support the publication have already been made available by the Manitoba Heritage Federation and Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Foundation Fund.

The resulting children's book should be made available as a curriculum resource for Manitoba schools. The resulting use of the book would be its final test.

#### **Further Use of Interpretive Methods**

The success of the test of the children' book suggests that archaeologists should review and evaluate the methods employed, considering their use for further interpretation. The methods proposed by this practicum should be adaptable whether the medium is a publication, exhibit, club, tour, video, class presentation or news appearance.

Topics for further research arise from the study. In light of past problems in interpretation, archaeologists should develop a body of review and criticism of interpretive publications, exhibits and other media, examining the methods and objectives of each new piece of interpretation. Archaeologists should examine how other disciplines have incorporated Native input, searching for ways to involve Native people in archaeology. Archaeologists should examine current literature in museum studies, which emphasises the need for interpretation to incorporate the point of view of many cultures, reflecting a sense of community and ecological stewardship (e.g. 41st CMA Annual Conference in Saint John, Canadian Museums Association Museogramme, August 1988). This practicum proposed a similar emphasis, and the approach seemed very appealing to students, causing more animated discussion than cognitive learning about facts. Interpretation according to the wishes and needs of Native people and Native education seemed particularly welcome, and would be a fruitful area for further work. Indeed, the objective of addressing

modern social concerns, expressed in the practicum, could be valid for all aspects of archaeology, serving as a new focus for both research and interpretation.

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## Appendix A

### DETAILED TEACHING OBJECTIVES

#### LESSON 1. HOW ARCHAEOLOGY WORKS

- Period - modern
- Vegetation zone - not applicable
- Native nation - not applicable
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: science, archaeology, artifacts, features, scientific method, emic and etic phenomena. Generalizations: all archaeology should follow a method; archaeology is similar to other sciences. Specific facts: specific methods and definitions
- Affective content - value of knowledge from the past; science tries to improve its explanations; other explanations are possible

#### TEACHING 2. HOW WE LEARN FROM ELDERS

- Period - modern, historic and pre-fur trade
- Vegetation zone - not applicable
- Native nation - Ojibwe, Dakota, Lakota, Dene, Cree
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: elders, Native nations, wholistic view. Generalizations: some aspects of culture are universal. Specific facts: Native nations in Manitoba, details of role of elders.
- Affective content - respect for elders, value of knowledge of the past, value of explanations other than scientific.

#### VIGNETTE 3. WHEN AN ICY LAKE COVERED MANITOBA

- Period - Early Prehistoric (11,000 B.P.)

- Vegetation zone - Grasslands (formerly forest vegetation)
- Native nation - unknown
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: climate, animals as food sources, technology. Generalizations: Native people were the first explorers, people and their environment are interdependent. Specific facts: details of climate and physiography, stone technology, bison, glacial era, glaciers, glacial lake, towns in Southwestern Manitoba.
- Affective content - not applicable

#### TEACHING 4. WEE-SA-KAY-CHAK AND THE FLOOD

- Period - not applicable
- Vegetation zone - boreal forest
- Native nation - Cree
- Cognitive content - Generalizations: people can have "conflicting" character traits. Specific facts: the water animals, details of animal behaviour, destruction and recreation, Wee-Sa-Kay-Chak
- Affective content - respect for the least among us, tolerance for differing views, the value of cooperation.

#### VIGNETTE 5. WHEN THE SEASONS WERE VERY WARM

- Period - Early prehistoric (8000 B.P.)
- Vegetation zone - grasslands, parklands, boreal forest
- Native nation - unknown
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: climate, climatic change, "roles" in society, culture change. Generalizations: climate affects all people; people change their cultures over time, sometimes in response to climate; there are many roles for individuals in society; people in all cultures find pleasure and relaxation; homes fulfill the same basic needs in all cultures. Specific facts: the people's knowledge of animal behaviour; bison seasonal migrations; multiple sources of food; people's seasonal planning; size and composition of group; roles of different group members; tool technology; ways of relaxing; characteristics of

the home; ways of hunting and butchering bison; the altithermal; changes in the people's lifeways over time.

- Affective content - respect for the knowledge, skill and decisions of historic Native people.

#### TEACHING 6. RESPECT FOR ANIMALS

- Period - modern, historic and pre-fur trade
- Vegetation zone - boreal forest (?)
- Native nation - Anishnabe
- Cognitive content - Generalizations: nations have different names in different languages; people, animals and the environment are inter-dependant. Specific Facts: the names Anishnabe and Ojibwe; things Native people got from animals
- Affective content - respect for animals; the value of animals is educational and spiritual, as well as physical; people can kill animals and still respect and value them.

#### VIGNETTE 7. MORNING STAR AND THE CLAY POT

- Period - Middle/Late Prehistoric
- Vegetation zone - boreal forest
- Native nation - Algonkian speaking
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: invention. Generalizations: "inventions" are sometimes adoptions from other cultures; adoption of inventions depends on tradition and the "fit" with lifeways; marriage and friendship link people. Specific facts: marriage customs, patrilocal residence, extended family, abundant fall food resources, fall meetings, camp chores, pleasant atmosphere of winter lodge, fishing methods, ceramic making methods, wild rice.
- Affective content - ingenuity and perseverance are valuable qualities in any society.

#### TEACHING 8. THE CLAN SYSTEM

- Period - modern

- Vegetation zone - not applicable
- Native nation - Anishnabe
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: social structure, clan. Generalizations: every society has certain basic needs; societies organize differently to meet their needs. Specific facts: basic needs, clans, membership of clans, duties of clan members, totems, chiefs, leaders, warriors, police, teachers, medicine men and women, hunters.
- Affective content - there are many forms of effective social organization; everyone has a role in society

#### VIGNETTE 9. A FALL MEETING AT CALF MOUNTAIN

- Period - Late Prehistoric
- Vegetation zone - grasslands
- Native nation - a Siouan speaking people
- Cognitive content - generalizations: death, burial and mourning are events common to all (or many) cultures; societies have different economies according to their resources and traditions; people are interconnected by trade and friendship. Specific facts: occurrence of occasional meetings in very large groups; continental trade networks; fall food abundance; various food sources; role of children; burial customs; various technologies; difference between hunting and farming economies, trail travel network.
- Affective content - sadness for death; thankfulness for what we learn from our elders.

#### TEACHING 10. THE MEANING OF THE PIPE

- Period - Modern
- Vegetation zone - grasslands
- Native nation - Lakota
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: religion, religious symbols. Generalizations: the use of religious symbols is common to many cultures. Specific Facts: construction of pipe, symbolism of pipe components, detailed description of pipe origin.

- Affective content - the earth, plants and animals are valuable gifts, with much to offer; people have a shared "spirit"; expressions of religion should be treated with respect; people should not be ruled by their emotions.

#### VIGNETTE 11. LEGGINGS, THE GARDENER'S SON

- Period - Late Prehistoric
- Vegetation zone - grasslands
- Native nation - unknown
- Cognitive content - Generalizations: different societies may have different family structures; mischief and humour are common to all cultures. Specific facts: the first farmers in Manitoba, use of many resources, extended family, reference to mother's sister as mother, typical daily routine, storage methods, farming methods, cooking methods, leisure activities.
- Affective content - humour

#### TEACHING 12. THE MAGIC POWER OF CORN

- Period - Modern (ca. 1918)
  - Vegetation zone - grasslands
  - Native nation - Hidatsa, Mandan
  - Cognitive content - Generalizations: many crops originated with Native peoples of North America; mischief and humour are common in all cultures. Specific facts: variety of crops; use of ash for seasoning; ways of playing; threshing method; roles of men and women.
  - Affective content - cultures enrich each other with their inventions; men and women should help each other.
- #### VIGNETTE 13. IRON MOUTH AT BRANDON HOUSE

- Period - historic (ca. 1808)
- Vegetation zone - grasslands, parklands
- Native nation - Nakota, Cree, Metis

- Cognitive content - Key concepts: trade. Generalizations: nations are connected by trade; trade is mutually beneficial; Native nations and Europeans depended on each other during the fur trade; marriage and friendship promoted greater trade between Native nations and European traders; European diseases struck Native and European people hard; Native people and Europeans were trading equals; historic events displaced Native people to new lands; both Europeans and Nakota drank to excess; liquor had a ceremonial role. Specific facts: goods traded, frequent movement of trading houses, marriage, trading ceremony, advantages of marriage "alliance", role of Native women in fur trade life, clothing, impact of fur trade on environment, European diseases, movement of Nakota to Alberta, excess drinking, ceremonial role of liquor, seasonal movements of Nakota and Europeans.
- Affective content - nations and people are equals; different nations and people depend on one another in many ways;

#### TEACHING 14. ALFRED PATRICK'S STORY

- Period - Modern
- Vegetation zone - grasslands
- Native nation - Anishnabe
- Cognitive content - Key concepts: political power, legal power, oppression. Generalizations: social groups with political or legal power sometimes enforce their will on smaller groups. people can rebound from harsh experiences to achieve success. Specific facts: residential school, enforced separation of children and parents, punishment, hunger, self-motivation, R.C.M.P. career.
- Affective content - oppression of social groups is unacceptable.

## Appendix B

### YOUNG ARCHAEOLOGISTS' CLUB TEST RESULTS

The vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" and the teaching "The Disappearance of the Animals" were submitted to the members of the Young Archaeologists' Club of Winnipeg during two meetings in January and March, 1988.

The archaeology vignette "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" was told as a story at the January club meeting. 29 club members were in attendance. The questions and answers discussed with the group are transcribed below. Usually only one answer was taken for each question, although for the initial half dozen questions many club members wanted to answer:

1. Why did the bison go back and forth between the Winnipeg River and the plains?

To Keep warm and stay out of the cold.

2. Why did the people go back and forth between the Winnipeg River and the plains?

To follow the bison.

3. What were the people using as their main source of livelihood?

Bison.

4. What were some of the different responsibilities of men and women, adults and children?

Men hunted and made spears. Women made a lean-to, cooked food, picked berries. Kids learned to be quiet.

5. What were some of the other foods or resources used besides bison?

Rabbits, berries.

6. When the people left this campsite, why did they never return?

Because the the climate got too warm. The bison didn't come.

7. What sort of new life did the people take up?

They hunted moose and deer. They moved into the woods.

8. What is the difference between the plants and animals at the Winnipeg River now and those that were there 8000 years ago?

[This question was not discussed, since the club members were losing interest].

9. What sorts of artifacts would you expect to find in the 3 different terraces of this site, if you were an archaeologist? [The term "terraces" was explained in the vignette].

By the river -- spears. By the campfire -- broken pots, baskets, etcetera. Some discussion ensued about when ceramics were first made. At the top of the hill -- spear points, lots of flakes. [This question received enthusiastic response].

The companion to "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" was a draft of the Ojibway teaching "The Disappearance of the Animals". After discussing "When the Seasons Were Very Warm" 25 club members took home a copy of "Respect for Animals". Each copy of the teaching had questions attached. 10 club members returned the stories with the questions at the March club meeting. Eight of the questionnaires had been answered. The questions and answers were as follows:

1. What did the Anishnabeg people get from animals besides food?

-clothing, materials to make shelters, tools

- clothes and tools

-the Anishnabeg people got tools and clothing from the animals

-they also got clothing and tools

-clothing, tools, the endurance and strength of the moose, graceful and watchful caribou

-they also got clothes and the changing of the seasons

-they also got clothing, tools, and examples of qualities

-clothing and tools, endurance, strength, and the ideal of the grace

2. How did the Anishnabeg dishonour the animals?

-they treated them without honour at death, wasted their flesh and bodies, and spoiled their land

-they wasted the flesh, bodies, spoiled the lands of the animals and dishonoured them at death.

-they wasted their bodies and flesh and spoiled their lands

-they have wasted their flesh and spoiled their lands

-the Anishnabeg people dishonour the animals

-they wasted the animals that they killed. They ruined the land

-by wasting their meat and skins, destroying their land, not respecting them when they were dead.

3. How should people honour animals?

-by honouring their death, using all of the animals they kill

-by respecting the land. Do not kill them if not necessary

-people honour animals by their rights and ability

-by leaving them alone and not bugging them

-honouring their lives

-by respecting the animals lives

-honour and respect their lives, their beings, during life and death

-by using them wisely and try to protect them

4. This teaching about respect for animals says that animals and people depend on each other for a good life. What else do animals and people depend on?

-they can depend on friendship and for food and clothing

- weather, crops, habitat
- weather and ecosystems
- food, clean water
- on food, friends, on a good place to live, etc.
- plants

5. In Canada today why do we value wildlife, such as animals?

-we value animals like we do because if we don't they will vanish

-it's because in Canada wildlife is part of our every day lives.

-yes we do respect their died

-because many species are becoming extinct

-if we don't respect them, they may become extinct. Wildlife is needed in the food chain.

-yes, because we have areas where people can't hunt.

-no, we take them for granted.

6. How do the traditional Anishnabeg warnings about respect for animals compare to modern findings about the effects of people on animals?? .point What things in Canada today cause damage to wild life?

-pollution, hunting, starvation

-both say we must look after natural habitat both will become extinct. Pollution and overhunting damage wild life.

-hunters, pollution, guns, traps

-smoke, forest fires, polluted water, and many other things

When the stories were returned to the March meeting there was some discussion about the questions. The discussion was not widely shared by the club members, apparently because the questions went immediately into comparisons and generalizations, instead of beginning with simpler recall of facts.

## Appendix C

### ABERDEEN SCHOOL TEST RESULTS.

Vignette 1 "How Archaeology Works" and teachings 2 and 10, "How We Learn From Elders" and "The Sacred Pipe" were tested with the Aberdeen Junior High School grade 9 class on May 10, 1988. 17 of 18 students completed questionnaires. The questions and answers were as follows.

#### **Question 1 Who Are The Elders in Your Life? Answers:**

-My Mom, Grandma and Dad -Aunts and Uncles, Grandparents, Mom, Sister. -Father. Sisters and Brothers. Aunts, Uncles, Cousins. -Mom and Dad -Dad, Mom, my Grandma Somers and My Great Aunt -my Mom and Dad -my grandfather and grandmother -Grandmother, Grandfather, great aunt and uncle etc. parents. family. -My Grandpa and Mother. -My Grandparents, mom, aunts, uncles -GRANDFATHER. MOM. DAD. -Dad, Mother -Mom -Mother, father & teachers -My mom and dad -My mother, Father, uncles, and Aunties. -My mom and dad. And my teachers and my older brothers and sisters, and grandparents

#### **Question 2 Who Teaches You About [each of the following things]: Answers are listed after each part of the question:**

justice - Mom & Dad; cops! Judges; Judges; mom & dad; mom; mom; grandfather; mother; father; mom; a judge; mom did.

history of the family - Grandma & mom; mom; no one; dad & Grandma; Dad; grandfather; grandmother; grandfather; grandfather; father; mom; parents; dad.

courage - Dad; Mom; friends; dad; dad; dad; mother; grandfather/Uncles; grandfather; father; mom; the teachers; me.

good - Mom, Dad; Mom; mom - dad; mom; mom & dad; family; mother; grandfather; mother; mom; teachers; mom, dad.

how to settle arguments - Dad; No one; nobody; mom; Dad; Dad; family; Mother; Grandfather; my-self; mom; teachers; dad.

how to be kind, friendly, merciful - Mom & Dad; my aunt did; mom; mom; grandmother; family; mother; grandfather; my-self; mom; teachers; mom.

medicine - No-one; my aunt did; mom; mom; grandmother;  
family; mother; grandfather; mother; mom; doctor; mom.

spiritual teaching - Dad; nobody; great aunt; don't know;  
grandfather & grandmother; grandmother and grandfather great  
aunts and uncles; grandfather; no one; mom; priest; don't  
know.

leadership - Mom & Dad; no-one! ; mom, dad; Dad and mom;  
Mother & Father; parents family; Mother/Grandfather; Father  
and my self; Mom; cadets; dad.

**Question 3** Imagine it is 60 years from now and you are with  
your great-grandchildren. What advice will you give them?  
**Answers:**

-I would tell them the things I was taught. But most of all  
I would tell them how important it is to respect other  
people & their needs. And to respect nature because one day  
we might not have it, and their elders & heritage.

-I would tell them about my life as kid right now. Things  
that are happening to me now. I would tell them not to do  
the dumb things I did.

-listen to your elders & go to school. Make sure they don't  
do the mistakes I did in my life!

-I'd tell them to respect other people around him and don't  
lead them the opposite way. Just don't turn the person down  
just cause you don't like the person or just cause of his  
colour.

-I would tell them to respect their elders, because they can  
teach you about life before your time. I would tell them to  
be the best they could be and to respect their heritage and  
their people.

-Watch out in this world.

-I would tell them to respect your elders. I don't know I  
guess I would tell them when the time comes.

-The advice that I was told and the advise that was taught  
to be the best way.

-To help each other and respect our elders. Help one  
another to get through life and respect your brothers. and  
sisters.

-Be wise, have courage, be smart, get along with people.

-The same advise that my Elders gave me.

-To be proud of yourself.

-To listen to their parents.

-Never give up. If you want something you're gonna have to take it. The world doesn't meet anybody halfway.

-They not to have sex. Because AIDS if you get it you will die.

-To be kind to others and to forgive people that do you wrong never hold a grudge.

-To respect their elders and all things listed in number two. And the advice my elders gave me.

**Question 4** You are an archaeologist from another planet, 1000 yrs. from now. Many years ago on Dec. 24th, an earthquake swallowed up Winnipeg, preserving everything perfectly. While excavating you notice many houses have green trees with stars on top of them and parcels underneath. You have never seen anything like this. How will you explain what the trees mean? **Answers:**

-I would probably think it was some kind of fad. And that everyone on this planet were gooks!

-look at the fossils from the trees and the ornaments, and by looking at the kind of ornaments I would see that they had to do with some kind of holiday. I would look for decorations like "Merry Christmas" and think that people here were weird because I wouldn't know what Merry X-Mas meant.

-I will think that they are growing them in their house for house plants.

-The trees mean that there was life. That's all I really can say from what I would be able to see.

-I think maybe it would hurt me because of the points. First I would go maybe in the forest and find the same thing and get a clue. Cause they come from earth and then I do experiments and look other places and see a book. And I would keep on getting clues and solve it!

-A CELEBRATION

-I would search and search until I find some clues.

-The stuff on the tree are symbolizing something and the stuff on top and on it are little decorations of some kind. So I would say that the boxes or parcels that are under the trees meant something so it should be a holiday, a special holiday, it's what we have at home, it's Christmas.

-The trees would

-Saying If I came down and found these funny looking trees  
it

**Appendix D**  
**DRAFT OF CHILDREN'S BOOK**

MY GRANDPARENTS REMEMBER:  
TEACHINGS FROM OUR HISTORY

#### WHAT THIS BOOK IS ABOUT

This book is about the history of Native peoples. It's about the history of Manitoba and Canada. It has six stories based on archaeology, and six written by Native elders. Read the two stories at the beginning to find out how archaeologists work and elders teach!

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1. HOW ARCHAEOLOGY WORKS
2. HOW WE LEARN FROM ELDERS
3. WHEN AN ICY LAKE COVERED MANITOBA
4. WEESAKAYCHAK AND THE FLOOD
5. WHEN THE SEASONS WERE VERY WARM
6. THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ANIMALS
7. MORNING STAR AND THE CLAY POT
8. THE CLAN SYSTEM
9. A FALL MEETING AT CALF MOUNTAIN
10. THE SACRED PIPE
11. LEGGINGS, THE GARDENER'S SON
12. THE MAGIC POWER OF CORN
13. IRON MOUTH AT BRANDON HOUSE
14. ALFRED PATRICK'S STORY

## D.1 HOW ARCHAEOLOGY WORKS

### Clues to the Past

Archaeology explains the signs of earlier times that we sometimes find around us. Signs of the past rest in the soil and on the land. Clues to the past can be the remains of old houses, broken dishes, bone scraps, bottle caps and stone spear points. We find these things everywhere -- lying in yards, fields, streets and forests.

The places where clues are found are called sites -- imagine that the yard of your home is a site. Large clues to the past are called features -- if an archaeologist studied your home, the foundation, path or sidewalk would be a feature. Features can be seen, but can't be picked up and carried away. Smaller clues are called artifacts -- things like spoons or broken toys found in a yard would be artifacts.

Of course, an archaeologist usually studies sites that are much older. In Manitoba artifacts can be 12,000 years old.

How did the old artifacts come to be where we find them? Who made the old artifacts that we find? How did the people who made them live? What happened to the people as the years went by? What can we learn from them that will help us in our life? These are the things that archaeology tries to explain.

### How an Archaeologist Works

Archaeologists work like other scientists. Suppose you found an old basement or foundation left over from long ago, near your home. You would probably want to know what it was used for. If you were an archaeologist, how would you find the answer to your question?

You could start by describing the basement. An archaeologist would write down its size and describe the cement of which it was made. You would make drawings of its shape and the thickness of its walls. You would photograph the basement. An archaeologist might show the pictures to other people to ask them about the basement. You would write down what people knew about the basement.

Next you would try to explain who made the basement and how it came to be abandoned. Let's say that you heard that a store burned down in your neighbourhood, 10 years ago. You might say that the basement is from the store.

But perhaps you also know that there were farms in this neighbourhood, 100 years ago. You would have to test your explanation to make sure that the basement was from the store and not from an old farm house.

To test your explanation you could look for artifact clues around the basement -- old tools, broken dishes, bottle caps, whatever you could find. You could look in old catalogues to find pictures of the artifacts, to tell whether they were used for farming or store-keeping.

You might look at the basements under old houses or stores, to see what they are like.

If the artifacts and basement didn't seem to belong to a store you might have to try a different explanation. Or if the store explanation fits you could find out what kind of a store it was, or why it burned down.

As you can see, the explanations in archaeology come step by step. An archaeologist begins with a question about the past. To make explanations, the archaeologist:

1. describes sites, features, and artifacts that are clues of the past
2. proposes an explanation for the clues
3. tests the explanation to see if it works
4. uses the explanation to say new things about the past.

Have you ever found any old things around your home, neighbourhood or community? Did you wonder what they used to be for? How would you explain them?

### Archaeology Is Like Other Sciences

Archaeology is much like other sciences. All sciences begin with a question. Then they follow the same four steps: describing, proposing an explanation, testing and using the explanation. This is called the "scientific method".

Take medicine as an example of another science. Suppose you go to the doctor with an illness, like a stomach ache. The doctor first talks to you and describes the illness in her notes. Then she proposes an explanation for your illness -- perhaps she thinks you have the 'flu. But you might have just eaten something that disagreed with you, or there might be something else wrong. The doctor asks more questions to make sure it's really the 'flu. She might take

your temperature or another test to make sure. If you really have the 'flu she will give you medicine that suits it. Can you find the four steps of the scientific method in medicine?

### Archaeology Improves Its Explanations

Archaeologists can't be sure that their explanations of a site are absolutely correct. They can't go back in time to see for sure the way artifacts and features were used in the past. Archaeologists always search for new artifact and feature clues to make their description of the past better and better. They talk to modern people to learn about ways of life, history and religion that are difficult to learn from artifacts.

As the years go by archaeologists write more and more history. Archaeology reveals history that goes back 12,000 years in Manitoba. Six of the short stories in this book are based on archaeology.

### Why Study Archaeology?

Archaeology satisfies our curiosity. It explains the things around us. Archaeology also teaches us how people of the past faced the problems of life on earth. It teaches us how people lived and how they changed over time. The lessons of the past help us learn how we can live successfully today.

### THINKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE READ

#### A. For the designer.

When paper, wood, cloth and soft plastic are left on the ground they slowly rot and disappear. Metal, glass, stone, bone, hard plastic and "china" last for years. The things in your desk or your room are "artifacts". Imagine that you are an archaeologist 200 years from now and you dig up these same artifacts. What would be left? Draw a diagram of an artifact as it is now, and as it would be 200 years from now.

#### B. For the archaeologist.

Artifacts are often trash that people have left behind. Have your teacher collect a bag of trash "artifacts" from one school room, and a bag of trash from a different room. Get rubber gloves for everyone.

Sort the trash from each room into separate piles of paper, tins, glass and food scraps. Sort the paper into separate piles of paper with handwriting and paper with

machine printing. Count the "artifacts" in each pile. How would you explain the difference in the artifacts from the two rooms? Can you tell what sort of work went on in each room -- student's exercises, teacher's work, work on computers? Can you tell how much food was eaten in each room, and where it came from -- from home, restaurants, cafeteria, snack machines? Decide which rooms the "artifacts" came from. What else can you tell from the artifacts?

If your teachers don't like garbage, ask them to make another set of "artifacts" from an imaginary site, for you to study.

C. For the map maker.

Imagine your school collapsed tonight and was never repaired. The wood, paper and plastic slowly rotted away. Draw a map of exactly where everything would be left in your classroom 200 years from now.

D. For the mathematician.

Draw a line across the long side of a sheet of paper. Put a zero at the right hand side of the line and a "12,000" at the left hand side of the line. This is a time line, showing 12,000 years of history in Manitoba. 12,000 years ago is at the left and today (zero years ago) is at the right. Divide the line up equally into 1000 year sections. Whenever you read a history story, like the ones in this book, mark its place on the line. Start by putting on some of the things you already know -- when you were born, when your community was founded, when Cartier came to Canada, or other dates you know. How much room do your dates take up on the time line?

E. People to see, places to go.

Ask your teacher to call the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, or a university. An archaeologist might come to your class to show you artifacts and explain how archaeology works. Or ask your teacher to plan a visit to the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. You can see exhibits of how archaeologists work and what they learn.



Figure 1 COOKING WITH STONES.

Long ago, this woman stretched a skin "pot" over wooden stakes, and filled it with soup ingredients. She used red hot stones from the fire to cook the soup. What would an archaeologist find today if the woman walked away and left everything the way she used it? What would archaeologists find 1000 years from now if they found the remains of your kitchen? (Drawing by Larry Jamieson, courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 2 ARCHAEOLOGY EXCAVATIONS: Archaeologists sometimes search for clues by excavating sites. They work carefully, using trowels, brushes, whisk brooms and dust pans. Here, archaeologists are excavating the Sinnock site, where men watched for bison 8000 years ago. The archaeologists' findings were used to write a story which you will find later on in this book.

## **D.2 HOW WE LEARN FROM ELDERS**

Native people have lived in what is now Manitoba for thousands of years. Today in Manitoba there are members of many Native nations, including the Ojibwe, Dakota, Lakota, Dene, Cree and Metis.

Elders are mothers, fathers, grandmothers and grandfathers of the Native nations, who have earned respect for their knowledge. Many years ago, Edward Ahenakew described the place of elders in his Cree nation. The paragraphs that follow are taken from his teachings.

Elders have been part of Native life through all the centuries. They are the historians of the Cree people, who preserve both the distant past and recent events. The teachings of the Cree people are kept intact by the elders, for generations. Elders choose not to use writing, but the accuracy of their memory is superb. Several elders together can remember the smallest details of things that happened fifty years before, even a thing as small as the markings on a horse.

Elders supply a moral code, and they advise wisely about justice. They encourage people to be kind and to live at peace with one another. Elders inspire young people to try hard and be courageous. They are an influence for good, seeking to right wrongs and settle disputes. The elders are well qualified to speak, because of their experience of life.

When Edward Ahenakew was a boy, people might gather to listen to elders on a hillside on a summer evening, or indoors in the winter. Edward could still remember his people gathered into a small home on a winter evening, with the hot stove, and the lamplight, while elders taught of the beginning of all things.

Elders speak with eloquence, warning of the dangers facing youth, encouraging them to be kind and friendly, to show justice and mercy to others. They speak as the grandmothers and grandfathers of the people. Elders use their authority wisely, knowing their responsibility.

The elders could make people laugh, but they also told of sadness and tragedy. An elder would not lie, since to lie would dishonour the truth. Elders have different skills and knowledge -- for example, some have learned about medicinal plants.

70 years have passed since Edward Ahenakew wrote what elders meant to him. Today elders speak in modern homes, schools and meetings. Elders still provide spiritual teaching, history and leadership.

## Teachings of Elders in This Book

This book includes teachings from the elders of several nations. Reading them is not the same as listening to the original teachings, since we miss the voice and expressions of the elders -- listen to elders if you can. The teachings here are only a tiny part of the elders' vast knowledge.

### **D.3 WHEN AN ICY LAKE COVERED MANITOBA**

THIS STORY IS BASED ON THE WRITINGS OF THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS LEO PETTIPAS AND TONY BUCHNER. THE STORY IS ABOUT THE FIRST PEOPLE THAT ARCHAEOLOGISTS KNOW OF IN MANITOBA.

IN THIS STORY, AND IN THE REST OF THIS BOOK, YOU WILL FIND THAT ARCHAEOLOGISTS USE THE WORD "BISON" INSTEAD OF "BUFFALO". WHEN EUROPEAN PEOPLE FIRST CAME TO CANADA THEY MISTAKENLY CALLED THE BISON A "BUFFALO", A NAME WHICH MANY PEOPLE STILL USE TODAY. TRUE BUFFALO, FOUND IN EUROPE AND ASIA, ARE A DIFFERENT ANIMAL.

#### What the Weather Was Like

11,000 years ago Manitoba's land was much different than it is today. As a matter of fact, almost all the land we live on was covered by water, or by ice.

This is what happened. The weather was much colder than it is today, all year round. A cold climate happened all over the world, and it caused huge build-ups of ice and snow, especially in the north.

When ice and snow build up thick enough the mixture begins to move under its own weight. This is called a glacier. In Manitoba the ice and snow slowly began to push themselves along the ground towards the south. The glaciers were thousands of kilometres across and very thick.

Glaciers came from the north and covered all of Manitoba for thousands of years. But 12,000 years ago the seasons gradually became a bit warmer, and the glaciers began to melt. The melting water caused a huge lake over southern Manitoba. 11,000 years ago that lake covered a lot of what is now farmland and cities. It covered the land where Winnipeg, Dauphin, Portage la Prairie and Selkirk are now found. It covered the land where Peguis, Roseau, Fort Alexander and Rolling River are now.

The only dry land in Manitoba was off to the south west, towards Saskatchewan. Here, the land was high enough that the lake could not cover it. The lands that we call our hills and mountains were the shores of the great lake. Towns like Morden, Brandon, Clear Lake and Grandview are near the old shores of the lake. Lakes Winnipeg, Manitoba and Winnipegosis are the small remnants of Lake Agassiz.

#### The Journey

The earliest people were living further away, outside Manitoba. They lived in what is now the United States,

where the seasons were warmer. Let us imagine that a small group of families, perhaps four or five, were living together in the grassy plains and woods where the state of Montana is now. There were two young men among the families, who did not yet have wives.

In the spring of the year the five families had a successful bison hunt. Their homes were restocked with robes, sewing materials, storage bags, meat, lard and lots of other supplies. During the early summer some visitors came to camp. The two young men heard the visitors tell of a different land -- a land to the north and east, with a huge lake. Perhaps they could look there for bison. At the same time they could see this land about which they had heard.

The two young men each made a small pack -- a fur robe, dried food, tools for making a campfire, stone for making tools. Each man carried a spear with a large beautifully made stone point. They each carried a spare spear point in their packs. Even though they were young the two men were skilful toolmakers. Their tools already showed years of practice in the art of tool making.

The young men left camp with full stomachs and the best wishes of their families. They left their family shelter, and set out across the grassy plains, often passing near small woods. They walked at a distance from each other, so that they would have a better chance of finding small game or other food, to help them on their journey. They walked to the north and east for several days. Occasionally they talked. Slowly they left behind the open grass and woods of their home lands.

Each morning the young men carefully chose their route. As the young men came closer to the big lake they found the land and forest less and less inviting. The spruce trees that made up the forest here were packed closely together, not like the open grassy stretches and mixture of trees in their homeland.

The weather wasn't kind to them, even though it was early summer. It was damp and cool, and even though the young men had warm robes and made a fire every night in every new camp, they were often miserable and wet. One day, even though a freezing rain storm covered the ground with a clear hard layer of ice.

The young men knew by now that they would never find the bison they needed in this land. It was too cold, too wet, and too icy for the bison to find food. Besides, the spruce forest that grew in this weather was not good food for bison. Still, perhaps they continued to explore because they were young and adventurous.

One sunny day the young men finally reached the huge lake that covered what is now Manitoba. From the shores they could look far off to the east across the clean blue lake water. In the distance they could glimpse an iceberg, from the far off glacier. The young men stayed near the lake for several days, watching it change from day to day, cold gray and windy, sunny and blue, with ice coming near shore some days.

#### Returning Home

Finally, having learned as much as they could, the young men decided to return southward to their families, in what is now the High Plains of the United States. They would report that the lands they had seen were not a good place for the families to go. The bison couldn't live in the spruce forests, because without bison life would be far too difficult.

But as the young men began their travel home they had a misfortune. While they were walking the ground suddenly gave way under one of them. A muddy hole opened up and the young man collapsed in watery muck. Luckily he wasn't hurt. The other rushed to help his friend out. Muddy and dirty, they stood together laughing, and looking into the hole. A huge chunk of ice left over from the glacier was hidden under the ground. It had slowly melted, and the ground on top of the ice had collapsed when they walked on it.

The young man lost his pack in the accident, including his spare spear point. As the years went by everything rotted away except the stone tools. Perhaps this is what the archaeologists found thousands of years later.

Archaeologists find very few spear points in Manitoba that are 11,000 years old. The artifacts are only in the far southwest of the province. Archaeologists explain that the climate was very cold and wet beside the lake, for a thousand more years after this story. Bison could not live there, so very few people came to live beside the lake.



Figure 3 GLACIERS OVER NORTH AMERICA: North America as it might have looked at the height of the last glaciation, about 18,000 years ago. The areas closed in by dotted lines were the glaciers. The shaded areas were land exposed by a drop in the oceans (illustration courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).

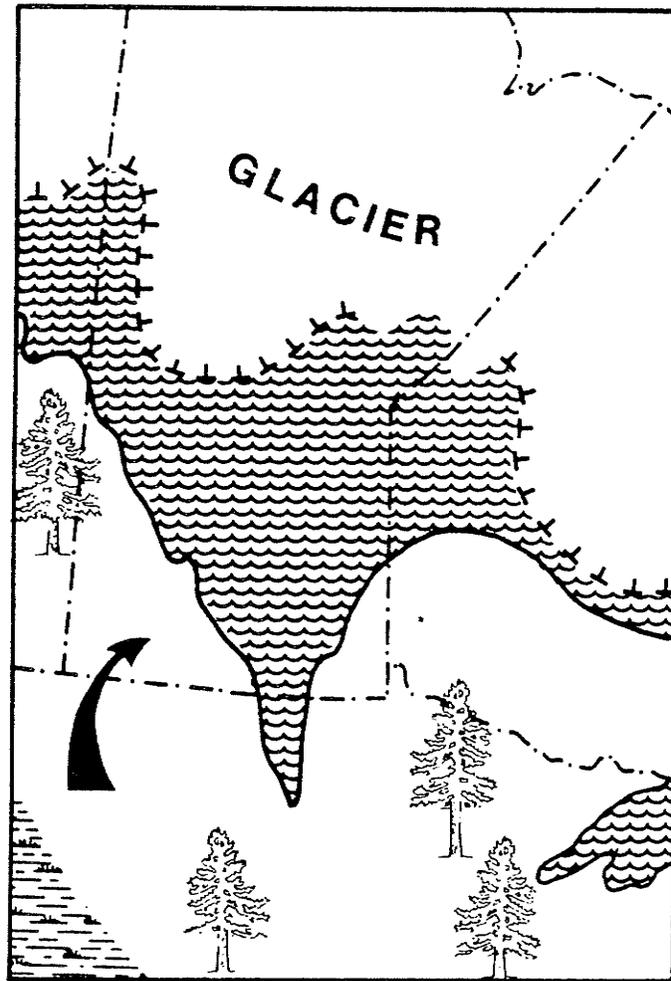


Figure 4 THE ICY LAKE OVER MANITOBA: 11,000 years ago a glacier covered what would later be northern Manitoba, and a huge lake covered much of southern Manitoba. The two young men in this story came from the south-west corner of this map, where grasslands supported the big game they relied on (illustration courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 5 YOUNG MAN LOOKS OUT OVER THE ICY LAKE: After a long journey the two young men reached the shore of the huge lake (drawing by Larry Jamieson, courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 6 ONE OF THE YOUNG MEN LOSES HIS SPEAR POINT: In an accident one of the young men lost his spear point. The spear point was like this one found near Erickson, Manitoba -- one of the oldest tools found in Manitoba. Hundreds of tiny stone flakes were carefully removed to make the perfect spear shape. The point is shown twice its actual size (photograph courtesy of Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature).

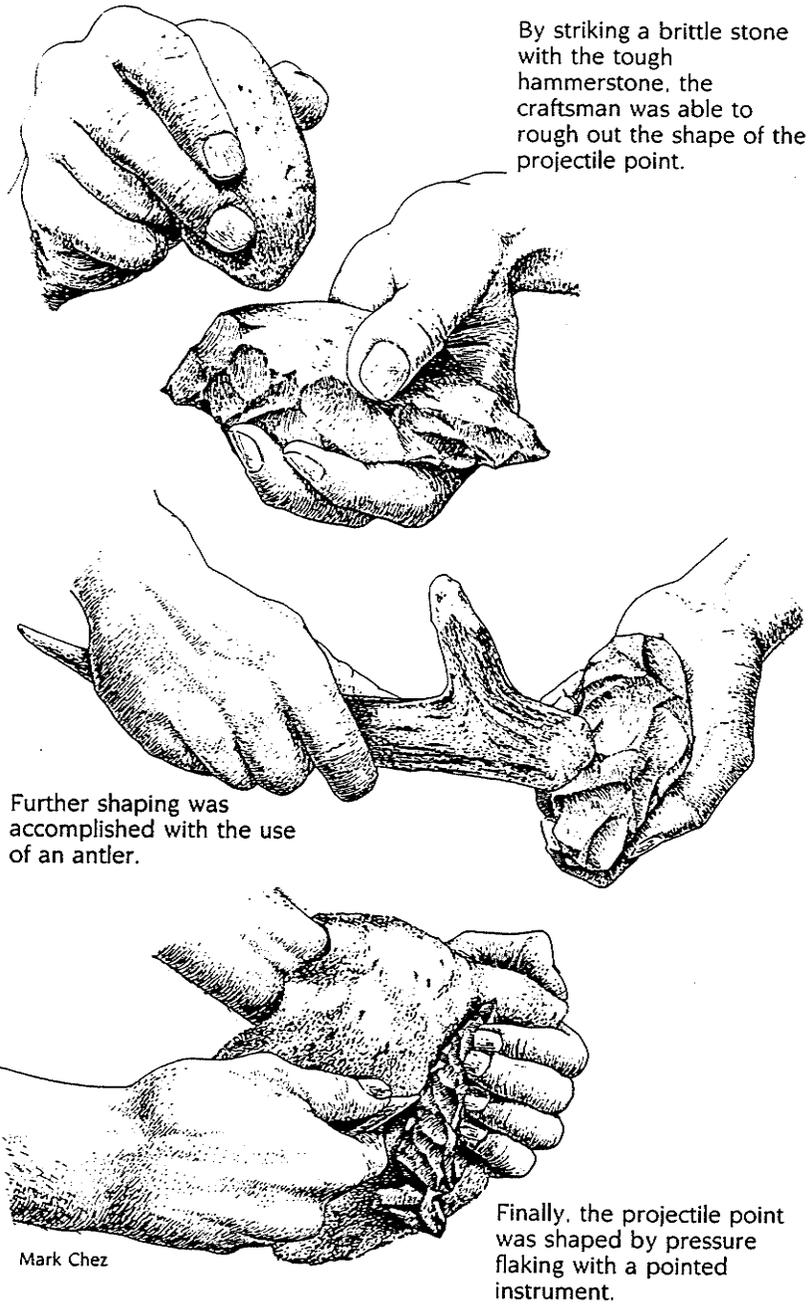


Figure 7 THREE STEPS IN MAKING STONE TOOLS (drawing by Mark Chez, copyright Lone Pine Publishing).

#### **D.4 WEESAKAYCHAK AND THE FLOOD**

Cree elders teach many things about the life of a man named "Weesakaychak". Some say that "Weesakaychak" means "Bitter Spirit".

Weesakaychak had supernatural powers, but he also had the qualities of ordinary people. He could be a creator, but also a destroyer. He could be intelligent one moment, and foolish the next. He could be selfish and evil, then generous and good. If it suited his purpose Weesakaychak could change into something else - a rock or a hummingbird perhaps. Weesakaychak didn't have a permanent home, and he didn't always hunt in the usual way. He was always hungry, but by his cunning he always found something to eat. His vanity and greed would sometimes get him into trouble.

Long ago Weesakaychak lived alone on the earth, with the animals. Weesakaychak and the animals could talk to each other.

Weesakaychak lived with his brother the black wolf, in the northern woods. The black wolf worked for Weesakaychak, and brought him animals to eat. The other animals were unhappy. They did not want to die. They had a big meeting. The sea lion promised to take the black wolf away from Weesakaychak. Weesakaychak warned the wolf to be careful, but one day the wolf chased a deer into a lake. The sea lions lived on an island in that lake. They trapped the wolf in fast water, where he died.

Weesakaychak went to the island where the sea lions lived, to punish them. Weesakaychak and the sea lions fought by the shore of the island, on that northern lake. The water boiled and came up fast where the sea lions went down in the water. The water came up and up. Soon it rose over the island.

At last the water almost covered all the forests. Only a small island was left with Weesakaychak and the birds and animals on it. They worked together to build a great canoe.

Beavers cut down the trees and muskrats tied the poles together with roots. Frogs packed mud between the poles to make the great canoe float. Birds built a huge nest in the canoe so everyone would be warm and comfortable. Weesakaychak built the roof.

It rained and the waters kept on rising. The great canoe floated off. Weesakaychak and the animals had to ride on the big canoe over stormy water and strong winds. The animals were happy while the food lasted. But before long it was gone. There seemed to be no end to the flood. They faced misery in the great canoe.

Weesakaychak said "Oh, my brothers, you are safe from the water but you don't have any food to eat. You will all die unless you have help. I would like a little earth to help make a world for you."

Gladly all the animals tried to help. Amisk, the beaver, was one of the first. He said "I am old and strong. Put a string on my leg to pull me back up, and I will dive down to get earth from the bottom of the water. Pull me up if I don't come back."

So Amisk dove into the water, with a string fastened on his leg. Soon the beaver surfaced, out of breath and without the precious soil. Next Nekik, the otter went down, but though he was out of sight for a long time he came back empty handed. Even though the otter could swim very fast, he said that it was too dark.

The marten, the fisher and the loon - all the water animals tried to bring the precious earth. All failed. All were ashamed.

Finally the least of the water creatures, Wajusk the muskrat, volunteered to dive. At his announcement, the other creatures laughed in scorn. Had not they, who were strong and able, failed to take soil from the bottom of the water? How could he a muskrat, the most humble among them, succeed when they could not?

Still, the string was tied to the Wajusk's leg, and then the muskrat dove. The string went down fast after Wajusk, but it slowed and finally stopped. The onlookers smiled and waited for muskrat to fail. But as the string slowed, stopped, and lay still the animals became worried. They began to despair they would ever have land again.

At last Weesakaychak pulled the string and hauled the muskrat in. He didn't look too good. He looked more dead than alive. He couldn't talk or stand up. But there in the muskrat's paws was a tiny morsel of soil. Where the great had failed, the small had succeeded.

While the animals cared for the muskrat Weesakaychak took the piece of earth and began to cook it in a pot. That small piece of earth grew bigger, until it foamed over the sides of the pot, and so much fell into the great sea that land was formed.

The next day Weesakaychak asked Geengohongay, the wolverine, to travel around the earth and find out how big it was. The sun had not been in the sky twice before wolverine returned.

"The earth is not big enough yet," Weesakaychak said to all the animals. He boiled the pot again and more earth fell in the ocean. Again Geengohongay travelled round the world. Though he returned huffing and puffing, Weesakaychak was not satisfied. He boiled the earth again and sent wolverine once more to measure his work. The wolverine never returned. The world was big enough.

This was the world that all people later came to live on.

\*THIS TEACHING WAS BASED ON THE WRITINGS OF THE CREE PEOPLE CARL RAY, JAMES STEVENS, BETH AHENAKEW, AND SAM HARDLOTTE. IT WOULD BE BEST TOLD DURING WINTER, THE TRADITIONAL TIME FOR LEARNING FROM WEESAKAYCHAK TEACHINGS.

#### THINKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE READ

##### A. Who Did It?

Write out the numbers 1-6. Beside each number, write the letter that stands for things the character or group of characters did.

1.Wajusk, the muskrat 2.Amisk, the beaver 3.Weesakaychak  
4.the wolverine 5.frogs 6.all the water animals

a.travelled round the world, returning huffing and puffing.  
b.volunteered to dive to the bottom of the water, because he was old and strong. c.laughed in scorn at Wajusk the muskrat d.fell down more dead than alive. e.boiled a pot of earth until chunks foamed into the water and formed land.  
f.packed mud between the poles of the great canoe, to make it float.

##### B. For the artist.

This story doesn't have any pictures at the moment. How would you illustrate it if you were the artist for a book? Illustrate one scene of the story, or make a series of scenes.

##### C. For the storyteller.

This teaching explains how the world was re-created after a huge flood. It also teaches "Where the great fail, the

small may succeed". Write a story about animals helping each other. It could be a true story, another teaching you have heard, or a story you make up on your own.

D. For the biologist.

Biologists use field manuals to learn about the plants and animals they study. Make a list of all the water animals mentioned in the teaching. Give the English and Cree names of the animals where you can. To make a page for a field manual, choose one of the animals and draw its picture on a separate page. Add the animal's names and notes about its habitat and food. Use reference books for help.

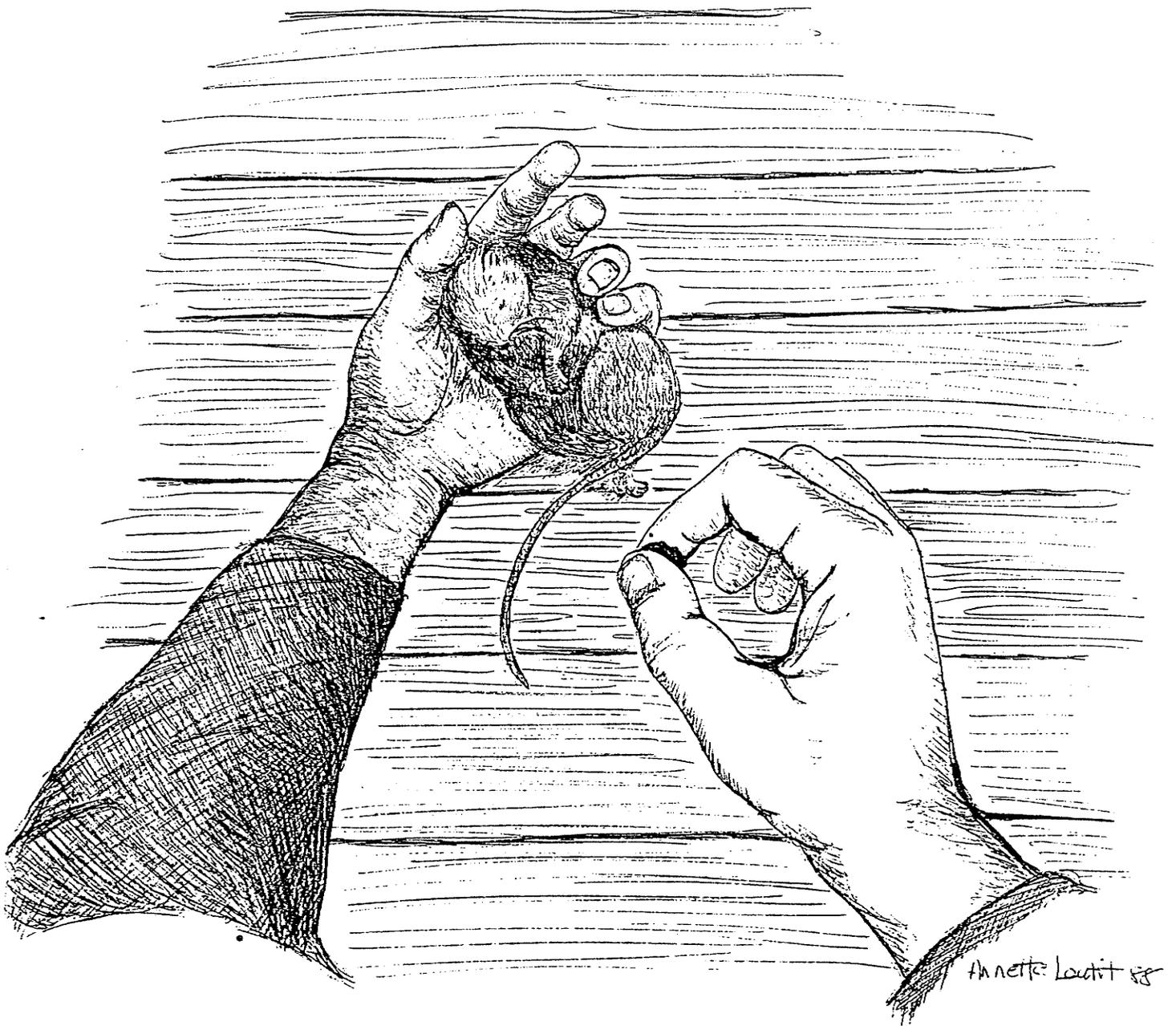


Figure 8 THERE IN MUSKRAT'S PAWS WAS A TINY MORSEL OF SOIL.  
Where the great had failed, the small had succeeded (drawing by  
Annette Loutit).

## **D.5 WHEN THE SEASONS BECAME VERY WARM**

THIS STORY IS BASED ON WORK DONE BY THE ARCHAEOLOGIST TONY BUCHNER, AT THE SINNOCK SITE. IT TAKES PLACE 3000 YEARS AFTER THE STORY "WHEN AN ICY LAKE COVERED MANITOBA". BY THIS TIME THE ICY LAKE HAD DISAPPEARED FROM SOUTHERN MANITOBA. THE STORY EXPLAINS HOW 20 NATIVE PEOPLE LIVED ON THE WINNIPEG RIVER. THEIR TOOLS AND HOME WERE EXCAVATED BY ARCHAEOLOGISTS THOUSANDS OF YEARS AFTER THEY LIVED, AND THE PLACE WHERE THEY LIVED WAS NAMED THE SINNOCK SITE.

### The Weather

The weather in Manitoba changes slightly from one generation to the next. About 8000 years ago the seasons became warmer than they are today. It was much drier than today for thousands of years, all across Manitoba. Archaeologists call the time of warm weather the "Altithermal".

Because the weather was so much warmer than today, the plants were different. If you were to travel anywhere towards Ontario today you would soon find yourself surrounded by forest. But 8000 years ago things were much different. The warm dry weather made life difficult for trees. There was much more grass. There were just a few trees, and many of them were in river valleys.

### Arriving at the Winnipeg River

On a warm fall day 8000 years ago one of the many groups of people in Manitoba was walking towards the Winnipeg River. They had come from far away on the grassy plains, to hunt bison. There were 20 people in all, about 4 families.

The elders, the younger hunters, and the younger women in the group knew the habits of animals and plants very well. They knew that almost every year in the fall huge herds of bison came to the Winnipeg River. The people knew the best places to hunt the bison.

Like the people, the bison came from the grassy plains in the south and west. They came to the trees and hollows near the Winnipeg River, to find shelter from the cold winter winds. Some of the bison came from the direction of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, where Winnipeg and Selkirk now stand.

The people were going to a place very near what is today the town of Great Falls. Here they knew the bison would cross the river, making a perfect place for hunting. Many years later, when archaeologists worked here, they called the place the Sinnock site.

As they walked towards the river the people could see huge steps, or terraces of land, sloping down to the water. A few younger people raced to the highest step above the water. Looking behind them, they could see the vast land of brown grasses and fall flowers they had crossed, spotted with clumps of oak trees. Turning the other way, they saw the wide fast waters of the Winnipeg River. The smell of fresh cool water was in the air. The children were awed by the vast life of creation.

Near the river the land sloped gently down to the water in three huge steps, or terraces, covered by ash, maple and elm trees, with many small bushes and plants below the trees. The highest hill was a great place to be, but not for long! The young people ran after the rest, who were disappearing into the forested terraces.

In the coming days the people would spend much of their time on the three terraces of land next to the river.

#### A Daily Routine

All of the adults were soon busy. The children were busy too, especially the older ones. Some hunters and boys went to the highest terrace to watch for bison. There they had a clear view of the Winnipeg River and its banks. They took their tools to work with, to make good use of their time while they waited and watched. Other men and boys cut branches to make small hiding places down near the river, where the bison would not be able to see them.

On the middle terrace some people, probably mostly women and girls, made the home for the coming stay. Because the weather was still warm and the people were only staying a short time they did not put up a complete tent -- instead they built a home called a windbreak. A windbreak is a home which is open on one side. This one was a curved wall of stones. The people would sleep behind the windbreak, under the sky. They added to the stone wall with other materials which have long since decayed and disappeared.

The people built a fireplace of stones and clay cement inside the windbreak. They put out the warm hides they had carried with them and made comfortable sleeping places. The older children helped set up the home and looked after the younger children.

For the next two weeks life settled down into a routine of chores. Women made the camp on the middle terrace, cooking meals, tending the fire, and supplying the water. If men stayed in camp during the day they did some stone and wood working -- flaking stone tools, cutting and carving wooden tools.

Some hunters went far afield to watch for bison. A few always stayed on the highest terrace, waiting and watching. While they waited they sharpened broken tools and made new ones -- today we find many stone sharpening flakes, just where they fell.

Younger girls played with dolls that their family made. Boys practiced hunting. Older children looked after the younger ones, but they got into mischief too! Sometimes it was very difficult to be patient and quiet. But when the older people were hunting, the children needed to be quiet. The parents and elders used games and teachings to help the children learn patience, intelligence and kindness.

We can only imagine the teachings and stories the people exchanged at nights as they rested around their fireplace. Perhaps men and women continued to work on small projects as they sat together, while boys and girls learned from their games. We do not know what prayers and songs the people gave.

### The Bison

One morning the bison were sighted far in the west. The hunters moved down toward the river bank, into their hidden positions. The children had to be very quiet -- great care had to be taken not to frighten the bison. The bison would cross the river toward the camp, unaware of the presence of the people waiting there. As the bison finished the swim across the river they slipped and struggled to climb the sticky clay river banks. There they were quickly speared by the hunters.

Women and men joined together to skin the bison and cut the meat. The skins were moved to a spot a little further from the water, where the women began the hard work of cleaning, rubbing and smoking the hides, to make them soft and strong for winter clothing and tent coverings. The women cooked delicious bison roasts and soups. They dried a lot of meat, like today's beef jerky, for storage.

The people killed bison several times over the next two weeks, slowly making up an excellent stock of food, tent skins, "thread", furs, and leather, all good to use over the winter.

While waiting for the bison the people spent a lot of spare time hunting fat rabbits and other small game. The women especially caught small game, and gathered herbs, chokecherries and other plants. Some boys and girls were especially good at snaring rabbits. There was a cherry patch in a hollow near the camp, where the women could talk and pick fruit, while the sun poured in and warmed the smell of the fall day.

### Leaving

When their supplies were well stocked, the people moved on to the east, further into the forests for the winter. The next summer was very hot. Few bison would go out onto the hot dry plains -- they stayed in the cooler forests where they had spent the winter. When fall came the bison did not cross the river valley in their usual numbers. As the years passed the warming trend continued, and the bison on the grasslands became very unpredictable.

The grandparents, mothers and fathers decided that the people would spend almost all year north east of the Winnipeg River, in forested land. There they could rely on the forest animals, plants and waterways. So when the people left this camp site 8000 years ago, they would not come back again.

Of course other people used the land around the Sinnock site for new purposes, but no one ever camped there again.

### THINKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE READ

#### A. What happened?

Write out the numbers 1-10. Beside each number write the word that best fits the blank in the story below. Choose the words from the list at the end of the story.

8000 years ago the weather was much (1) than today. If you were to travel towards Ontario at that time you would have found (2). In the (3) the bison went towards the Winnipeg River to find (4). People went to the Winnipeg River to find (5). The people chose a place to camp where bison would cross the (6). After hunting bison for about two weeks, the people left to move further into the (7). They would return to this spot (8). Because the weather continued to get (9) the people decided to live in the (10).

1. colder, warmer
2. mostly grass, mostly trees, a glacier
3. winter, spring, fall
4. shelter, water, a good time

5. deer, moose, firewood, bison
6. river, lake, plains
7. plains, forest
8. next spring, never again, next fall
9. warmer, colder
10. forest, arctic,

#### B. Who Did It?

Write the numbers 1-9. Beside each number, write the letter that stands for things the people did.

1. women 2. girls 3. younger children 4. women and children  
5. hunters and boys 6. all the people 7. older children 8.  
men and women 9. hunters

a. knew the habits of the animals very well b. raced to the highest spot on the ridge. c. went to the highest terrace to watch for bison. d. made tools while they waited and watched e. made a windbreak, fireplace and sleeping places f. kept the camp and made meals g. pretended to do the same things as their parents h. looked after younger children i. killed the bison j. skinned the bison and cut the meat k. cleaned the skins and prepared hides l. made dried meat m. snared rabbits n. picked chokecherries o. kept quiet when they needed to

#### C. For the Archaeologist.

There were three main locations where people did things at this site on the Winnipeg River -- right next to the river, on the middle terrace around the windbreak, and on the highest terrace. If you were an archaeologist, what sort of artifacts would you expect to find in each location? Draw a map of the river and the three locations, showing what you would find at each place

D.

#### For the outdoors person.

Get an outdoors guide, like a camping guide, or talk to someone that works outdoors. Look for more information about a "windbreak", "lean-to" or other temporary shelter. Build a model of a windbreak and show it to the rest of the class.

#### E. For the news reporter.

Can you think of any place in the world today where a changing climate is affecting the way people live? What are people doing because of the changing seasons? Look in magazines or newspapers for stories about changing weather. How do people live where the weather is changing? Write your own news story about a place where the weather is changing.

F. For the historian.

In 1930 the weather in Manitoba became very dry. The dry weather lasted for about five years. The time of the dry weather was called the "Dirty Thirties". Can you find anyone that can remember the "Dirty Thirties"? Grandparents or another elderly person might remember. Write down the most interesting story you can find, and report to the class on what you found out.



Figure 9 TOOLS FROM THE SINNOCK SITE: Two kinds of tools found by archaeologists at the Sinnock site. Spear or dart points (mostly broken) are in the top row, lettered a to g. The rest of the tools were mostly knives for bison butchering. Can you tell which two spear points are still whole? (photo courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 10 EXCAVATIONS AT THE SINNOCK SITE: As archaeologists excavated the windbreak and living area, they left each artifact in place for later mapping (photo courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 11 THE BISON SLIPPED AND STRUGGLED ON THE STICKY CLAY RIVER BANKS as they finished their swim across the river. There they were quickly speared by the hunters (drawing by Larry Jamieson, courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).

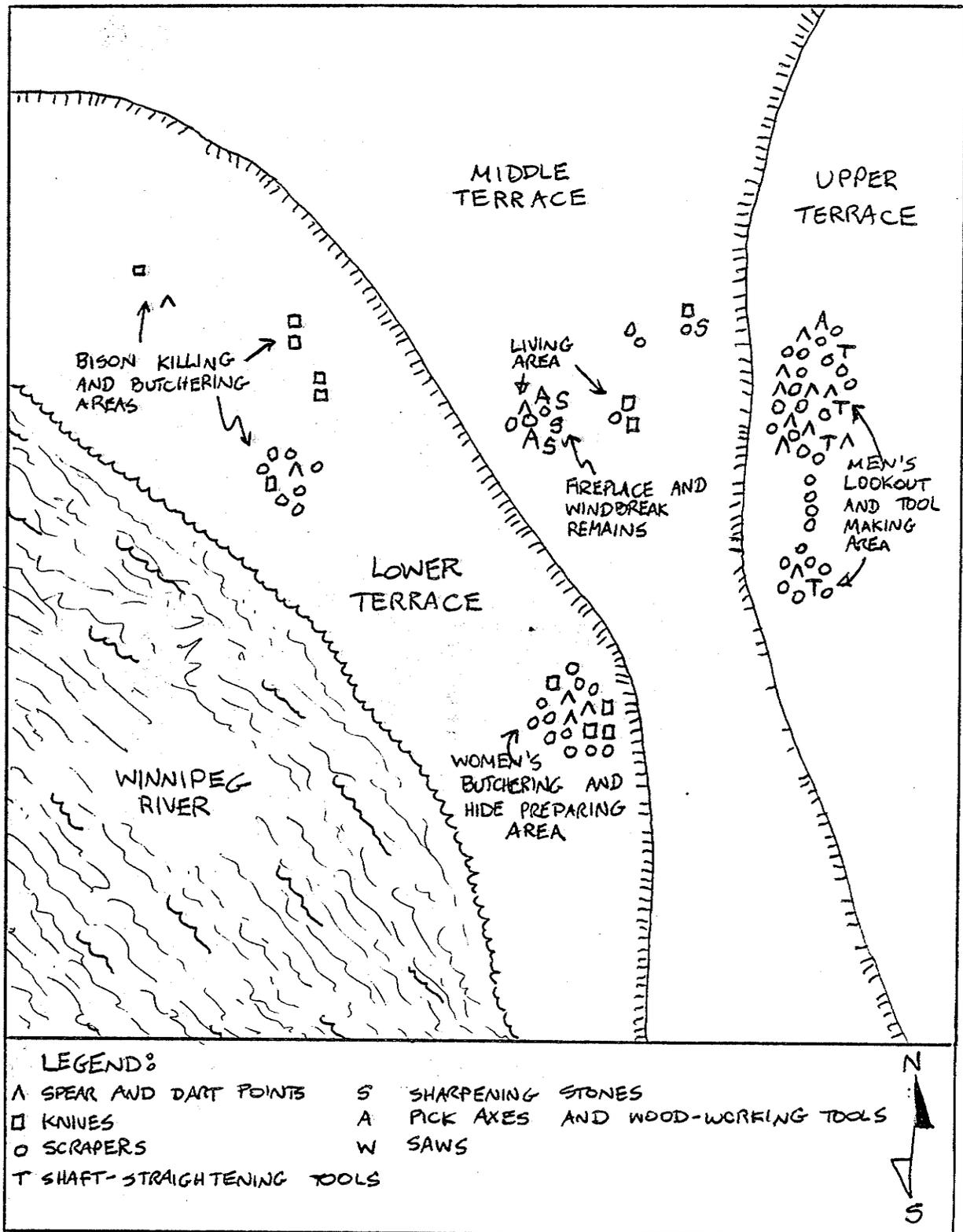


Figure 12 MAP OF THE SINNOCK SITE: The map shows the clues archaeologists found at the Sinnock site. Why would there be so many tools made at the men's lookout area? Why would there be knives and scrapers at the hide preparing area? A shaft-straightening tool is used to make long straight wooden shafts -- what would such a shaft be used for? What did people use to kill the bison?

## **D.6 THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THE ANIMALS**

THIS TEACHING WAS WRITTEN OUT BY BASIL JOHNSTON, IN HIS BOOK OJIBWAY HERITAGE. THE TEACHING IS WRITTEN OUT HERE AGAIN, WITH ONLY A FEW WORDS CHANGED. IT IS ABOUT A TIME WHEN THE OJIBWE, OR ANISHNABEG PEOPLE, COULD STILL TALK WITH THE ANIMALS. ANISHNABEG MEANS "THE PEOPLE WHO WERE LOWERED TO EARTH BY THE CREATOR".

For some unknown reason the deer, the moose, and the caribou once vanished from the land of the Anishnabeg.

With their going the life of the Anishnabeg was not what it had been. The Anishnabeg missed the animals for the food, clothing and tools they had provided. They missed the example of the endurance and strength of the moose. They lacked the ideal of the graceful and watchful caribou. The people found it difficult to learn these qualities without the animals.

The Anishnabeg also needed the deer, caribou and moose to help them learn about the earth and its seasons. The people did not always know as much as the animals. The Anishnabeg went in search of the missing animals, to bring back a better way of life.

Assisted by other animals whose lives had also been changed, the Anishnabeg roamed the world in quest of the vanished deer, caribou and moose. An owl who had gone north to rest came upon the herd of vanished animals confined in an immense fence, as though imprisoned. Yet the deer, moose and caribou seemed quite content, grazing upon the spruce, pines, cedars and balsams.

Curious, the owl flew down to a low hanging branch to question the deer. But as he alighted on the branch, a flock of crows attacked him and drove him from the country. The owl barely got away. That it was night, no doubt, enabled the owl to escape. The owl left the land as fast as he could.

Back in the land of the Anishnabeg the owl reported his discovery immediately. The Anishnabeg speedily organized an expedition to rescue the imprisoned deer. Owl guided the expedition.

But when the Anishnabeg arrived at the very gates of the fence they were attacked by a vast flock of fierce crows. A ferocious battle sprang up and raged for days. But at no time during the conflict did the deer attempt to escape. They simply looked on in curiosity. They did not seem to care. This dismayed the Anishnabeg.

Discouraged, the Anishnabeg asked for a truce. The crows granted the request, and looked on smugly as the chief of the Anishnabeg spoke to the deer. "Why don't you care about our efforts to rescue you from your capture? We have endured hardship, and risked death on your behalf. Still you appear not to care."

The chief of the deer replied, "You have assumed wrongly that we are here against our wishes. On the contrary, we choose to remain here and are quite content. The crows have treated us better than you have ever treated us when we shared the same country with you."

"How did we offend you?" asked the chief, astonished.

The deer chief spoke quickly and sadly. "You have wasted our flesh and bodies, which we gave to you for food and clothing. You have spoiled our lands, so that we can no longer live there. You have treated us without honour at our death. You dishonoured us and yourselves. Without you we can live. But without us, you cannot live."

"How shall we make amends? Our carelessness was not ill will. How can we make up for your grief? Tell us," said the Anishnabeg chief.

Again the deer chief spoke. "Honour and respect our lives, our beings, in life and in death. Do what you have not done before. Stop doing what offends our spirits."

The chief promised and the crows released the deer, the moose, and the caribou from their bondage. The animals who had been in captivity willingly followed the Anishnabeg back to their homeland.

The Anishnabeg learned through this and other teachings:

All life must be honoured.  
The plants and animals, the earth and people all depend  
on each other for a life of good quality.  
Life for one sometimes means death for another.  
By honouring death, life itself is honoured.  
Animal beings deserve life. They deserve honour.

#### THINKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE READ

A. Who am I?

Write the numbers 1-5 on a piece of paper. Beside each number write who is saying each of the following sentences.

1. I said 'Without us, you cannot live' 2. I taught the Anishnabeg about endurance and strength. 3. I immediately reported my discovery to the Anishnabeg. 4. I taught the Anishnabeg how to be graceful and watchful. 5. I was astonished and said 'How did we offend you?'

B. How did the Anishnabeg dishonour the animals?

C. How should people honour animals?

D. This teaching about respect for animals says that animals and people depend on each other for a good life. What else is there on the earth that both animals and people depend on in order to live?

E. For the business person.

Suppose you were a business person who ran a tourist lodge on a lake. What do tourists do to enjoy wildlife? How many different things could tourists do to enjoy wildlife at your lodge? Write a brochure for your tourist lodge telling people all the different things they could do in the wild. You could telephone Manitoba Tourism for information about the tourism business.

F. For the Biologist.

This teaching gives Anishnabeg warnings about "spoiling the lands" where animals live. What things in Canada today cause damage to the lands where wildlife live? Write a news report on one of the ways that wild lands are being damaged. You could find out more by talking to your teacher or an elder, or by looking in books and newspapers. You could write to Ducks Unlimited or the Manitoba Forestry Association.

G. This Anishnabeg teaching says that people and animals depend on each other for a good life. How did the previous story, "When the Seasons were very Warm", show that people depended on animals? What happened to the people when the bison and the climate changed?



Figure 13a THE ANISHNABEG ARRIVED AT THE GATES OF THE FENCE, where they were attacked by a vast flock of fierce crows (drawing by Annette Loutit).



Figure 13b THE ANISHNABEG ARRIVED AT THE GATES OF THE FENCE, they were attacked by a vast flock of fierce crows (drawing by Martin Lewis).

## D.7 MORNING STAR AND THE CLAY POT

THIS STORY IS BASED ON THE WORK OF ARCHAEOLOGISTS SUCH AS MARY ANN TISDALE AND VERA SLOBODIAN. IT IS ALSO FROM A MUCH LONGER STORY CALLED THE OLDTIMERS: THE FIRST PEOPLES OF THE LAND OF THE NORTH WIND, WRITTEN BY DAVID RIDDLE AND LEO PETTIPAS. IT'S ALL ABOUT HOW A WOMAN CALLED MORNING STAR HELPED BRING THE USE OF CERAMIC POTS TO NORTHERN MANITOBA, 2000 YEARS AGO.

Morning Star was born along the eastern reaches of the Winnipeg River, and grew up with her family in those wooded lands. Her name meant endurance and faith.

One fall her family gathered with many others in the abundant rice fields of the Whiteshell. A small group of people from the north arrived, to trade and share in the harvest. Among them was a handsome young man, named Shell. Shell's name was a reminder of creation, and the breath of life. Before the northerners returned to their home lands, Shell and Morning Star were married. Morning Star departed with Shell. Her family were sad to see her leave, but happy that they would now have relatives among another people.

Morning Star travelled with Shell's people by canoe, down the Winnipeg River, north along the shores of Lake Winnipeg, to Shell's home lands around the Poplar River. For the first winter she settled in Shell's parents' lodge, and took up her life as a married woman. She cleaned furs, made clothing, mended, brought firewood and cooked. She cared for the dogs that helped with some of her chores. It was a favourable winter, with many hours spent in the warm lodge, seated on fragrant spruce boughs, listening to stories, history and teachings.

But Morning Star noticed Shell's family didn't have the clay pots she knew from her home land. As the winter passed she missed the sight of pots resting around the fire and pots stored in the corner. Shell's people had many other useful containers - woven baskets, leather bags, net bags and birch bark boxes, to name a few. Shell's father, the leader, had a special beautiful black and white bag made of feathered loon's throats. But of clay pots there were none. With a clay pot you could store food absolutely dry and sealed. You could easily put a stew right in the fire to simmer and bubble. Without clay pots Morning Star cooked stews and soups by making stones red hot in the fire. She dropped the stones in a birchbark container with the food, to make it boil. That was slower than cooking with a pot, and it left grit and ashes in the food.

When spring came Shell's family gathered with four other family lodges at the mouth of the Poplar River. There they caught fish with spear and net, during the spring fish

migration up the river. Morning Star gradually came to know the women in the other lodges. As the busy spring fishing slowed down the men were sometimes away hunting. Morning Star decided she would try to make some pots.

She asked her sister-in-law, Middle of the Stream, to help her find the right clay. They dug the clay in lumps, and carried it back to the lodges in a fresh wet moose hide. Middle of the Stream had two young children, so as they worked they watched the children. The youngest child, still a baby, was wrapped in a snug bundle on a specially built cradle board, with a toy dangling where she could see it. Middle of the Stream used moss "diapers" for her baby, inside the cradle board.

Morning Star took a rock that had been broken down and made gritty by the heat of the fire. She rubbed it with her hammer to get pieces grit. These she mixed and kneaded into the clay, working on the wet moose hide. Morning Star knew that without grit in the clay her pots would explode when she put them on the fire. Middle of the Stream watched and helped, but she also had to tend to her baby. Morning Star was hoping she would soon have her own baby to care for.

Next Morning Star spread the hide out smoothly, and took a lump of clay mixture in her hand. She rolled it out on the hide into a long thin sausage shape, with her hand. She made the coil of clay longer and longer, and gradually began to spiral it up in the shape of a pot. She took a heavy flat paddle that she normally used for cooking, and a small stone of just the right shape. She put the stone inside the pot, like an anvil, and she paddled the pot from the outside, against the stone anvil. This gradually smoothed out the coils and made the pot just the right shape. Middle of the Stream was amazed by the skill and speed of Morning Star's hands, but she was still curious about how the wet clay pot would be finished. She had seen pots, and they weren't quite like this one! She teased Morning Star.

Finally, to finish the pot, Morning Star wet her hands in a basket of water and slipped them over the surface of the pot until it was perfectly smooth. Then she took her hair comb and made a pattern in the outside of the clay pot, just as her mother and grandmother had shown her, in a time that seemed many years ago. She pressed the teeth of the comb in the soft wet clay, to make the pattern.

Morning Star put the pot aside in a safe place, to the side of the lodge under the sun shade awning. She and Middle of the Stream went on with their other work for a couple of days, while the pot dried. People going by looked at it and wondered what this woman from the south would do next!

After it had dried the pot looked finished, but it needed one more crucial step. Middle of the Stream and Morning Star moved to a big fire pit where they had been burning old spruce bough bedding for a couple of days. They used some sticks to scoop a place in the hot coals, and gently placed the pot in the heat. Then they scooped some more coals into the inside, and piled them up all around. If firing the clay pot went well, the result would be a sturdy waterproof container, good for a multitude of uses. If the firing went poorly the pot might explode, or come out with one side broken out.

When Morning Star returned to the fire the next morning it had died down to warm ashes. Holding her breath in anticipation, she dug out the pot and dusted off the ashes. It was excellent - a warm reddish brown colour, just the shape and decoration she had always learned. She carried it to the lake, rinsed it out, and brought back a drink for everyone. Everyone nodded approval, even the women who had doubted her.

As the years went by, Morning Star made many more pots. Middle of the Stream and some other women began making them too. All of the people of the north began to use clay pots. They were very convenient for cooking and storing food and water. They were perfect for making lard, an essential food ingredient. Clay pots had one drawback - they were heavy and breakable when the people moved camp. The other lighter containers were still the best for many tasks, and the clay pots would sometimes be left behind when the people moved.

Morning Star lived many years. Like Shell, She always did her best, whether the years brought abundance, happiness, illness or hunger. As the years passed Morning Star had her own children, and when they had children she became a respected grandmother. She taught her children and her grandchildren to make pots, just the way she learned herself. In this picture, Morning Star the grandmother is looking at the first pot her granddaughter has made. It is decorated exactly like the first pot Morning Star made in the north.

Broken pieces of pots are still left where Morning Star, her people and her descendants live. If we look at the pieces closely, we can still see the fingerprints she left in the wet clay of the pots, 2000 years ago.

#### THINKING ABOUT WHAT YOU HAVE READ

A. What did we say?

Imagine what Morning Star, Middle of the Stream and the other people would be saying during this story. Write a script for a play showing what each person says, beginning where Morning Star goes to get the clay. You and your partner can read the play to each other, dividing up the parts between yourselves. Don't forget to make Middle of the Stream tease Morning Star!

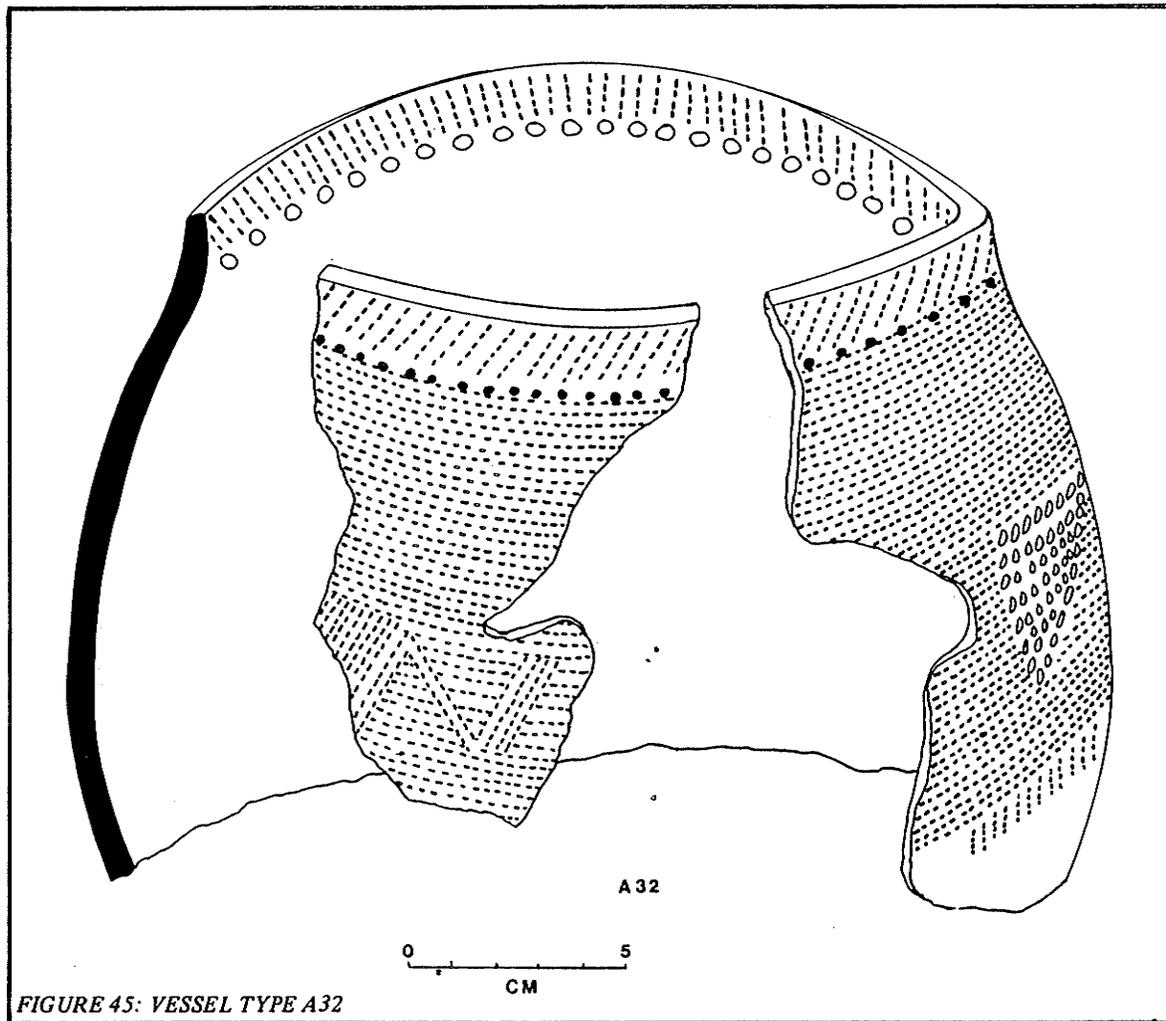


Figure 14 FRAGMENTS OF A CLAY POT: This pot was excavated by archaeologists, in the Lake of the Woods area. Morning Star's pot was much like this one. The excavation of many pot fragments at many sites allows the telling of the story of Morning Star (drawing by Scott Hamilton).

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Figure 15 MORNING STAR, THE GRANDMOTHER: Morning star looked at the first pot her granddaughter made, and she was pleased. It was decorated exactly like the first pot Morning Star had made in the North many years before (drawing by Larry Jamieson, courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Figure 16 AS THE YEARS WENT BY, MORE WOMEN OF THE NORTH BEGAN TO MAKE CLAY POTS: all used the same method of coiling the clay, and then paddling it to make the smooth pot shape (drawing by Martin Lewis).

## D.8 THE CLAN SYSTEM

THIS TEACHING IS FROM THE WORDS OF BASIL JOHNSTON, AND EDDIE BENTON. EDDIE BENTON GAVE A TEACHING MUCH LIKE THIS TO THE CHILDREN OF GINEW SCHOOL, IN ROSEAU, MANITOBA. BASIL JOHNSTON AND EDDIE BENTON ARE BOTH MEMBERS OF THE ANISHNABE OR OJIBWE NATION. THEIR TEACHINGS EXPLAIN HOW THE OJIBWE NATION WAS ORGANIZED INTO CLANS, AND WHAT A CLAN DOES. WHILE THEY ARE NOT IDENTICAL, MANY OTHER NATIVE NATIONS HAVE CLAN SYSTEMS THAT SERVE A SIMILAR PURPOSE.

The people of every nation need leadership, protection, food, education and health. A legend tells how totems came to be in the Anishnabe nation, to care for these needs. The legend tells how six great creatures emerged from the sea. When one was exposed to the light and heat of the sun it expired, sinking back into the sea. The survivors came to the shores of the Land of the Anishnabe and there they were made welcome. In appreciation the five spirit beings offered to guide the Anishnabe in the use of clans.

The Anishnabe nation was divided into five large groups. The five groups were the clans. Each clan was responsible for one of the needs of the nation -- the provision of government, defense, food, education or medicine. Each group was responsible for one duty. Every person was part of a clan from the moment of birth and from that time forth they would learn to fulfill their duty.

The clan was one of the most important parts of life, even more important than a person's family or community. Wherever people went in the huge Anishnabe nation they would always find other members of their clan. They would always be at home with their skills and abilities; they would always have a role. Many Anishnabe people today work to fulfill the roles of their clans.

Each clan was symbolized by an animal emblem known as a totem. Having a clan, or a totem, gave people their purpose and meaning in life.

From the CRANE clan came chiefs and leaders. Because birds show courage and vision in life they were the totems of leadership. People born into the crane clan are trained in history, tradition and public speaking. The training brings eloquence, wisdom and generosity. Leaders must also learn to put the needs of other people before everything else.

From the BEAR clan came the defenders. Bears are strong, with a fierce disposition. The men of the bear clan became the police and warriors. Warriors would defend a village. Being a warrior was a way of gaining and showing courage. Warriors would not fight just to kill people, enslave them

or occupy their land. If they did these things warriors could cause hatred and bitter fights between peoples.

The people of the FISH clan are the teachers and scholars. The fishes are hidden behind rocks, live unseen in the dark depths, but remain steadfast in the swirling current. Like the fishes, teachers work without attention, but remain true to their noble role. They are responsible for developing children with skills and healthy spirits. People seek teaching all their lives -- from their parents, from other adults, and from the elders.

The original clans of medicine men and women were the OTTER and TURTLE. Among some of the Anishnabe there were later other medicine clans. Birth into these totems did not necessarily mean that a person would be a medicine man or woman. Healing was a unique and special gift, which was noticed in boys and girls by older medicine men and women. If a boy or girl was chosen there would be years of teaching and guidance for them. Medicine men and women studied all their lives about plants, dreams, and the human mind and spirit.

The MARTEN clan included the hunters and providers of the Anishnabe nation. Hunting took skill and patience to track and stalk the deer and moose. Training in hunting and fishing was long and hard for every boy. Boys had to learn about the character and nature of the different animals. They had to learn how to make and repair their own equipment and how to survive alone. Young women learned to harvest many plant foods and smaller animals, and a multitude of ways to prepare and preserve foods. No people were more honoured than the providers. The best hunters and providers were sought after for marriage.

Clans united the Ojibwe speaking peoples across a vast land. The members of a totem were like brothers and sisters. So strong was this bond that members of the same clan would not marry one another.

## **D.9 A CEREMONY AT CALF MOUNTAIN**

THIS STORY IS BASED ON THE WORK OF THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS HENRY MONTGOMERY, KATHERINE CAPES, W.B. NICKERSON AND LEIGH SYMS. IT TAKES PLACE ABOUT 1000 YEARS AGO, AT A PLACE CALLED CALF MOUNTAIN, WHICH IS NOW NEAR THE TOWN OF MORDEN. MONTGOMERY AND NICKERSON EXCAVATED SITES AT CALF MOUNTAIN, AND SYMS EXPLAINED SOME OF THE ARTIFACTS. BECAUSE OF THE ARTIFACTS THEY FOUND, ARCHAEOLOGISTS THINK THE PEOPLE IN THIS STORY MAY HAVE SPOKEN A SIOUAN LANGUAGE. DAKOTA AND LAKOTA ARE SOME OF THE MODERN SIOUAN LANGUAGES.

Hawk could hardly wait for his father to come back from visiting. His father had promised to take him to see some of the men from far in the south.

Hawk waited impatiently in the shade beside the tent. Tents stretched off to the west and south in all directions, for a half a kilometre or more. This was the annual fall meeting of all the people in what is now southern Manitoba. If Hawk could have seen everyone he would have counted hundreds or thousands of people there at the ceremonies.

The people were assembled for ceremonies of thanksgiving for the successful spring, summer and fall. It was also a good time for trading, visiting and enjoying good food. Also, more than one marriage was made at these fall meetings!

Calf Mountain was a place where many trails came together. Trails from the Red River, Pembina River, Missouri River, Tiger Hills and the forks of the Red and Assiniboine all came together there. Calf Mountain was near the old shore of a giant glacial lake, now long gone. It was a bit higher than the surrounding land, so it made a good place for the defenders and hunters.

Hawk looked after his little brother and his cousin while he waited by the tent. They were playing with one of the dogs, trying to make it pull a bundle of sticks, but the dog wasn't cooperating much.

Hawk's mother and aunt were cooking at a fire outside the tent. Hawk loved this season's tasty dishes of saskatoons, cherries, bison, prairie turnips, hazelnuts and all his other favourite foods.

Hawk enjoyed this chance to see all his cousins, aunts and uncles, and his clan relatives. Once a year he saw almost everyone he knew at this gathering. It was one of the best times of the year for food and visiting and fun. When the ceremony ended everyone would break up into much smaller groups which would get along by themselves for the winter.

Hawk's little brother ran off with a new friend, and Hawk was left to wait by himself. The edges of the tent were rolled up off the ground so the breeze would pass through and keep it cool inside. Hawk rolled under the edge and put his back against a rest. Soon he was half asleep in the cool shade. He began to dream and think of his grandfather.

Two years ago Hawk had watched sadly as his grandfather was buried at the sacred ground of the Calf Mountain, near its highest point. Hawk's grandfather was buried in his finest clothes, in a large mound. The men and women placed grandfather's small cup with the spiral design beside him. They placed his shell beads and pendant around his neck, and some more things beside him.

Hawk's grandfather had gone on to a better place, and now Hawk remembered him in a good way. Hawk thought of the things that he had learned from his grandfather, and the teachings he had heard.

Hawk's thoughts of his grandfather were interrupted when his father finally walked up! Father asked his mother for a good bag of pemmican, and he gave it to Hawk. Hawk's father took a few bison hides from the lodge. Hawk and his father then walked off together to meet the men who had travelled here from far in the south.

Hawk visited several tents with his father. Everywhere they went Hawk heard stories about distant lands, which he had yet to see.

Every year Hawk's people divided their time between the grassy plains around Calf Mountain in summer, and the wooded lands to the north east in the winter. But here at these fall ceremonies were families from lands much further away.

There were families from the nations along the rivers of the south, bringing corn, flint for making tools and stone for carving pipes. There were families from the nations of the northern forests and lakes, bringing wild rice, smoked fish and dry venison meat in many delicious forms.

Some of the people from the south had travelled far and wide and they brought things from still more distant lands. The people of the south brought big sea snail shells, all the way from what is now called the Gulf of Mexico. They brought volcanic glass from the Rocky Mountains. It was excellent for making tools. They brought more sea shells from the Pacific Ocean, past the Rocky Mountains. They brought stone for making pipes, from what is now South Dakota.

Hawk's father looked for a friend from the south that he had known for many years. Hawk's father needed some Knife

River flint, from what is now North Dakota. It was a shiny brown stone, excellent for making cooking tools, leather-making tools, and hunting tools. Hawk's father traded the pemmican and buffalo hides for good big chunks of flint, shaped like bricks. The other man would use the hides for building a lodge.

But he and his friend would not bargain for the red pipestone. Hawk's father received that as a gift. During the winter Hawk would watch his father working on the stone in their warm tent. Hawk's father would carefully drill the bowl of the pipe, and then carve and smooth its long slim tube shape. Perhaps Hawk would do some of his own wood carving while he watched and waited!

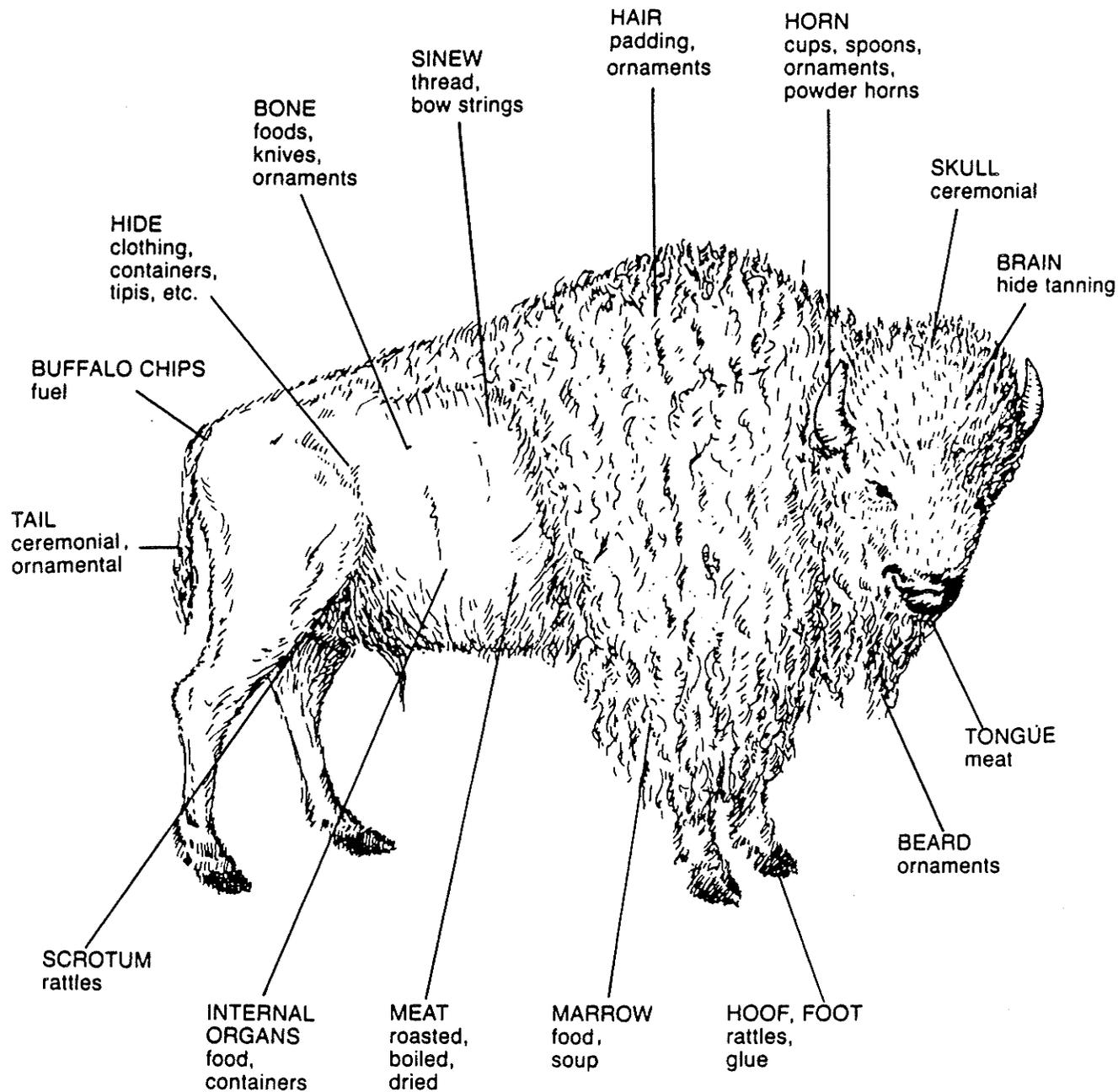


Figure 17 THE BISON, SUPPLY HOUSE OF THE PLAINS: The bison supplied all these things to Hawk and his people. What form would these supplies take today, and where would your family buy them? (drawing by Ewa Pluciennik, copyright Lone Pine Publishing).



Figure 18 BUTCHERING BISON: Near Calf Mountain, Hawk's people killed eight bison. butchering them was hard work, but this would be food for the fall gathering.



© TANNING HIDE

Figure 19 HAWK'S MOTHER AND AUNT TANNED BISON HIDES FOR TRADING: The skin had to be worked with tools and stretchers to give it a nice plump softness. Hawk's mother is stretching a small bison calf skin (drawing by Larry Jamieson, courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).

## D.10 THE SACRED PIPE

THIS TEACHING WAS WRITTEN OUT BY JAMES LAPOINTE, A LAKOTA SIOUX ELDER FROM SOUTH DAKOTA, IT IS REPRODUCED HERE ALMOST EXACTLY AS HE WROTE IT.

A long time ago, far back in the most ancient times a sacred pipe was brought to the Lakota. It was a gift from Taku Wakan, the Creator and was presented by Ptesan Winyan, White Buffalo Woman.

A long time ago two young friends from a large encampment of Lakota, both strong and fine to look upon, decided to go on a hunt by themselves. So, taking their bows and arrows, they wandered far away over the rough terrain scouting for game.

The two men, though good friends, were opposites in nature. One was impulsive and the other was friendly but quiet.

After roaming around a while, they chose a high knoll upon which to rest and view the broad landscape. They could see many animal trails, all leading toward a full-flowing river some distance away. As they sat, leisurely scanning the rolling hills, they became aware of a moving object coming toward them at a slow trot, leaving a light trail of dust in the soft breeze. As it came nearer they saw that it was a lone buffalo, quite unusual, since buffaloes run together. On and on it came. Soon they saw it was a white buffalo cow, a very rare animal. "Must we kill it? We are taught that they are sacred. The Elders would be displeased," they said to one another.

Scrambling out of sight, they readied their bows and waited. Nothing happened. Stealthily they rose from their hiding place and there it was! What they saw was beyond belief. Instead of the white buffalo cow, there stood before them the most beautiful woman they had ever seen. She was immaculately dressed in the softest of buckskins. A headband circled her lovely hair from which white plumes swirled in the breeze. The young men stared in open admiration. The woman, sensing their feelings, was first to speak. "You with the human longing, come to me." The impulsive young man eagerly stepped forward and was about to embrace the woman when suddenly a fog and whirlwind enveloped them. The other man, brave though he was, stood unmoving.

As suddenly as it had come, the fog and whirlwind disappeared. There upon the grass lay the young man, anguish upon his face, his bones exposed. Worms attacked his flesh. Again the beautiful woman spoke: "It is the will of the Creator that men and women desire each other,

but he also decrees that men and women must not be ruled by their desires. Your friend lives not by his mind but by his emotions: he now lies consumed in his own passions. You being of sounder mind, will now act as my messenger. Return now to your people and tell your chieftain what you have seen. Tell him I will be coming again, bearing a gift. A Tipiyokihe (two or more lodges joined together to provide lots of space) must be erected so that many people can gather there.

A big meeting house was erected, in obedience to the command. The people anxiously waited, but nothing happened. The skeptics said the young man was crazy, and the crowd became restless. Then an extremely unusual event happened.

A Tahinjila (light brown buffalo calf), apparently lost, wandered through the village, and as the young boys gleefully chased it all over, and just when they had it cornered, a startling thing happened. Instead of the buffalo calf, there stood the beautiful woman, with a bundle upon her back. A deep hush fell upon the crowd.

The young man who was accused of being crazy knew who the beautiful woman was. He rushed forward, eagerly took her by the hand, and led her to the east door of the large tipi. Once inside there was complete silence except for the deep thunder roll on the heavy drums. The beautiful woman made formal bows to the chieftain and to the other dignitaries.

In the center of the tipi there was a circle of hallowed ground covered over with sweet grasses, scented herbs and sage, all properly blessed by the medicine men. Upon this hallowed ground the beautiful maid laid the bundle from her back.

"This is a gift from Taku Wakan, the Creator" she said. "At all times be aware of its mystic powers. From now on humble yourself before this gift and be guided by its rules." Unwrapping the bundle she displayed a long pipe. The bowl was of red stone. The long stem was of wood. Tied at the joint of the wood and the stone were twelve eagle feathers, all symbolic of products of the earth. (It has been said that the twelve feathers also represented the twelve moons of the year cycle.)

From the bundle she also took out a round stone. "This," she said, "represents the earth, your mother, with all its living creatures, its vegetation and its waters. It is as important as the pipe. Hold it in respect and at all times be conscious of the earth, your mother."

She took a pinch of tobacco and filled the pipe. From the perpetual fire kept in the lodge she lit the pipe. She took a strong draw and held the stem upward. A thin curl of

smoke rose from the stem into the air. "For you, Taku Wakan!" she declared. Then , with short prayers, she held the pipe by the bowl and pointed the stem to four directions of the earth, then once again upward, and then down to mother earth. "These are to be your revered gestures whenever you use the sacred pipe. Use it often. You will be happy people."

Now the woman carried the pipe to the chieftain and all the dignitaries. As she did so she explained the carvings on the bowl of the pipe. On the end of the bowl there was a carving of a buffalo calf's head. "This reminds you always to respect the four legs which inhabit the earth with you. Never waste them or molest the mother with her young. The circles carved on the bowl are symbols of ceremonies you must practice as part of your lives. Taku Wakan will always answer your wants. Now I must go."

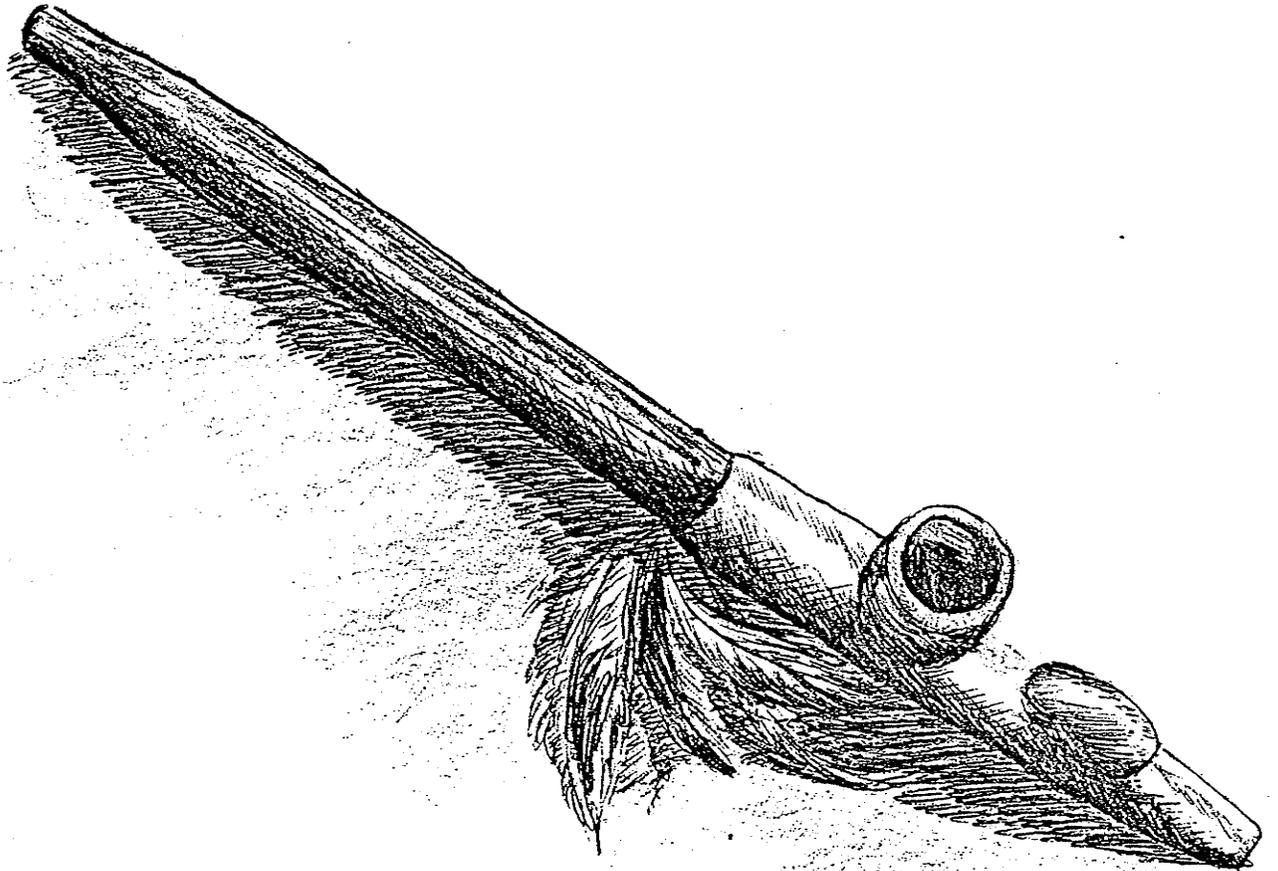
The people opened a way for her to the east door. The immaculate woman walked away with dignity, as the audience watched in awed silence. After walking some distance she was transformed again into a little brown buffalo calf trotting away.

Thus did the sacred pipe come to the Lakota.

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The Pipe is symbolic of the universe. Its bowl is made of red stone signifying mother earth. The wooden stem represents all growing things. The eagle feathers hanging from the Pipe symbolize the heavens and all things that fly. The center of the bowl represents the universe itself. In every ceremony, the Pipe is always filled in the same way.

A pinch of tobacco is offered to the four directions, to the earth and to the sky. Only then is the tobacco placed in the Pipe. A small cherry stick is used to tamp the tobacco in the bowl. The ritual of filling the Pipe signifies the joining of all the forces of nature, the creatures on earth and in the air, and people. The Pipe is to be used daily, and in every sacred ritual, to assure the blessings of the Creator. In prayers of the Sacred Pipe and in all other prayers, one ancient prayer is said: "Wakan Tanka onchimnela ye oyate wakan wachin cha." Creator, be merciful to me that my people may live."



Annette Loutit 88

Figure 20 THE SACRED PIPE (drawing by Annette Loutit).

**D.11    LEGGINGS, THE GARDENER'S SON**

THIS STORY IS BASED ON EXCAVATIONS AT KENOSEWUN, OR PLACE OF MANY FISHES. KENOSEWUN IS NEAR THE TOWN OF LOCKPORT, ON THE SHORE OF THE RED RIVER.

THE STORY TAKES PLACE ABOUT 500 YEARS AGO.

Leggings was 11. He lived in a lodge with the rest of his family -- his mother The Gardener, his mother's sister Otter, his father Goodbird, his older sister Want-to-be-a-Woman, and his older brother Bear Looks Up. Both The Gardener and Otter were like mothers to Leggings.

Leggings woke up early, as he usually did. Leggings could see Bear Looks Up was awake too. Bear Looks Up stretched in his place, and after a few minutes rolled over and picked up his fish spear. He tested the bone points for sharpness. Satisfied, he walked out the lodge door into the dew of the August morning. Leggings put his bedding aside, got up, and followed behind, carrying his digging stick.

They headed down to the river together. Bear Looks Up picked a reedy place by the river side, where he could wait quietly for the fish to rise. They were in the habit of feeding early on these hot August days, and Bear Looks Up hoped to spear a few here on the shore.

Leggings watched Bear Looks Up quietly for a few minutes. Then he moved away and began to explore the muddy river banks. He poked around with his stick in the mud just below the surface, in a spot where he saw some bubbles. With a twist and a flick Leggings popped out a mussel -- a flat brown clam-shaped shellfish, about as big as his fist. Soon Leggings had six big mussels out of the shallow river bottom.

Back up the stream Bear Looks Up was still waiting patiently for a fish. He wasn't having much luck. Leggings decided to leave him there. He gathered up his digging stick and the mussels and went back up to the lodge.

Otter was up, cooking corn for the first meal of the day. Leggings gave her the mussels. She was pleased with them, and she said she would use them for the next meal. She laughed when he took a taste out of the cook pot, while she was looking the other way.

After breakfast Leggings sat outside with his father, Goodbird. Goodbird was mending a fish net. While Goodbird mended the twine of the net, Leggings worked on a pile of old mussel shells. He took each shell and gave it a tap in the middle with an antler tool and a small hammer. The point of the antler tool broke right through the shell,

leaving a circular hole in the flat part of the shell. After he was finished his mending Goodbird took the shells and put them on strings along the bottom of the net. When the net was under water the strings of shells would weigh at the bottom, so that it would be fully stretched out for the fish to get caught in.

Bear Looks Up came back up from the river. He was very excited. He told Goodbird about a huge catfish that swam up. It had come almost within spear range, only to turn around and leave. Goodbird laughed. Want-to-be-a-Woman teased Bear Looks Up. She said "What a fisherman you are. You can't eat the one that got away. Your sweetheart won't be impressed with you!"

The day was getting hotter as it wore on. Leggings picked up his bow and wandered over to the next lodge. He met up with a couple of boys his age. They decided they would go over to the corn gardens, just to see if they were all right. They saw a couple of squirrels on the way. They took careful aim at those squirrels with their bows but the squirrels saw them coming and got away, scolding madly. When the boys arrived at the gardens they found a girl there at every family field. The girls sang out to the boys, teasing them. They said "You're worse than the crows, we know you came here to steal a sweet cob of corn". They sang:

You bad boys, you're all alike! Your bows are as crooked as basket handles: You poor boys, all you do is run barefoot on the prairie: Your arrows are only good for shooting in the sky!

Still, Legging's cousin was there at her garden, with her mother. They did give Leggings a drink of water and a taste of sweet corn stew.

Leggings and his friends spent the rest of the afternoon hunting gophers on the prairie near the village. Towards evening they came down for supper. Leggings saw that his mother and his sister had been busy. They were digging one of the storage pits for corn. Leggings realized that the harvest was coming soon, and remembered that he would be asked to help.

Legging's sister, Want-to-be-a-Woman, was down in the storage pit. She stood on the floor of the pit, underground. Her nose came to the top of the pit, so she could just see out when she was standing up. The mouth of the pit was narrow, just large enough for her shoulders to fit through. But below the mouth the pit opened up into a wide circular shape, as though a bell was buried underground, and the earth was hollow underneath. Want-to-be-a-Woman disappeared completely into the pit. She dug

with long even scoops of her hoe, giving the floor of the pit its final smoothing. She smoothed the last few scoops into her basket and passed them out to her mothers. She passed out her tools. Otter and The Gardener helped her out.

The pit was ready for its lining and lid, which were needed to keep the corn snug and dry. The Gardener was pleased with this progress. Otter and The Gardener thought that the next day they could go berry picking, since their work on the storage pit was almost finished.

That evening was long, as the summer sun was still fairly high. Bear Looks Up and Goodbird met with other older boys and men to plan a trip. But by dark everyone was in bed in the lodge.



Figure 21 BEAR LOOKS UP WAITED QUIETLY: he was planning to spear a big fish.

**D.12    THE MAGIC POWER OF CORN**

IN 1918 MACHIDIWIASH HELPED TO WRITE A BOOK ABOUT FARMING. MACHIDIWIASH WAS A HIDATSA WOMAN. HER NAME MEANS BUFFALO BIRD WOMAN. SHE LIVED IN NORTH DAKOTA MANY YEARS AGO. HER BOOK SPOKE ABOUT HOW THE MANDAN AND HIDATSA PEOPLE FARMED WHEN SHE WAS A GIRL.

THE 3 TEACHINGS AND MESSAGES THAT FOLLOW ARE JUST A TINY PART OF WHAT MACHIDIWIASH, AND HER RELATIVES AND FRIENDS PUT IN THE 1918 BOOK.

There are five plants in the garden vegetable family: corn, beans, squashes, sunflowers and tobacco. The seeds of all these plants were brought up from beneath the ground by the Mandan people.

Now we believe the corn has an enemy -- the sun who tries to burn the corn. But at night, when the sun has gone down, the corn has magic power. The corn magically brings the night moisture -- the early morning mist and fog, and the dew. You can see for yourself in the morning from the water dripping from the corn leaves. Thus the corn grows and keeps on until it is ripe.

The sun may scorch the corn and try hard to dry it up, but the corn takes care of itself, bringing the moisture that make the corn, and also the beans, sunflowers, squashes and tobacco grow.

The corn possesses all this magic power.

The Mandan people brought corn up from beneath the ground. Our Mandan corn must now be all over the world, for we gave the white men our seeds. And so it seems we Mandans have helped every people.

-told by Wounded Face in 1918

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In the old days we used to thresh the corn by hand. We would strike a heap of corn cobs with a strong pole to separate the ripe corn kernels from the corn cobs. All day long as we threshed, we watched that no horse got at the pile of empty cobs to trample and nibble them. No dog was allowed to run over them and no children were allowed to play in them. Then, in the evening, if the weather was fine, my mothers and I would carry the cobs to a grassy place outside the village, and pile them in a big heap.

In our prairie country, on a fair day, the wind usually dies down about sunset. Then we would light the cob pile. As the pile began to burn, we could usually see the burning piles of two or three other families lighting up the gathered dusk.

We wanted the fire to be clean, because we used the ashes to make a seasoning salt. I had to stay and watch the fire, to keep any mischievous boys from coming to play in the burning heap. Boys and girls from ten to fifteen years old were a pest at cob-firing time. They had a game they were fond of playing. Each would cut a long, flexible, green stick, and at the edge of the Missouri River they would get a ball of wet mud and stick it on the tip of their stick. Then that boy or girl would sneak up on the burning pile with the stick, and slap that ball of mud into the burning coals. Some of the coals, still glowing, would stick in the wet mud. Then, using the stick as a sling, the child would throw the mud ball into the air. Other children would be throwing mud balls at the same time, and with the glowing bits of charcoal clinging to them they would go sailing through the dark sky like shooting stars. Sometimes they would sail past another child's head. Knowing very well that the children would get into my burning cobs if I even turned my back, I was careful to stay by to watch.

-told by Machidiwash in 1918

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In our nation in the old times, some men helped their wives in their gardens. Others did not. Those who didn't like to help their wives spoke out against the ones that did help their wives, saying "That man is like a servant for his wife!".

The ones who did help retorted, "Look, that man makes his wife do too much hard work".

Men were not alike. Some did not like to work in the garden at all, and cared for nothing but to go around visiting or be off on a hunt.

My father, Small Ankle, liked to garden and often helped his wife and her sisters. He told me that that was the best way to live. "Whatever you do", he said "help your wife in all things!" He taught me to clean the garden, to help gather the corn, to hoe and to rake.

My father said that the man who lived best and had plenty to eat was the one who helped his wife. A man who did not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food.

- told by Wolf Chief in 1910

## D.13 IRON MOUTH AT BRANDON HOUSE

THIS STORY IS BASED ON EXCAVATIONS AT BRANDON HOUSE. THE EXCAVATIONS WERE LED BY THE ARCHAEOLOGISTS DAVE HEMS AND SCOTT HAMILTON. IT IS ALSO BASED ON HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADE WRITTEN BY VERA PYBUS, JENNIFER BROWN AND SARAH CARTER.

THE STORY IS ABOUT A FAMILY OF NAKOTA PEOPLE WHO HAVE RELATIVES IN A HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY POST. THE STORY TAKES PLACE IN 1808 NEAR WHAT IS NOW BRANDON.

THE NAKOTA PEOPLE ARE SOMETIMES CALLED THE STONEY, OR THE ASSINIBOINE. THE NAKOTA PEOPLE ARE ONE OF MANY PEOPLES WHO SPEAK THE SIOUX LANGUAGE GROUP.

### Iron Mouth's Family at the Winter's End

In the winter and spring of 1808 Iron Mouth and his son trapped 50 beaver. When the winter's snow began to melt Iron Mouth's family gathered with 10 others at Birdtail Creek. They hunted the first bison coming down from the Riding Mountain woods onto the plains pasture. Iron Mouth's wife and daughter dried 20 packages of bison meat over fires, and sewed it into skins. They made the skins of the bison into robes.

After the long winter Iron Mouth needed gunpowder and shot. His wife needed new kettles. She also wanted some cloth for making clothing, and a silver pin for her beautiful black hair. Iron Mouth, his wife, son, daughter-in-law, daughter-in-law's sister and grandchildren left the other families behind and set out to trade at the joining of the Assiniboine and Souris Rivers. Iron Mouth and his wife thought of his son's wife and her sister as daughters.

### Travelling on the Yellowquill Trail

Iron Mouth and his family followed the Yellowquill trail, along the Assiniboine River, travelling first south and then east. Iron Mouth's son walked far ahead, watching for game. Iron Mouth too was ahead of the rest, and he was followed by his wife, the other women and children. The dogs trotted patiently along among the women and children, dragging tent poles loaded with bison robes, beaver furs, dried meat, clothing and household tools.

On the fifth day they were approaching their destination. The trail dipped behind a bluff of poplars, into a refreshing pocket of sunny warm air. Last year's fallen leaves were wet with melting snow. The poplar buds added a sweet sappy smell to the air.

The remains of MacDonnell's old trading house came into view on the trailside ahead. All that was left of the house were piles of rock and clay from the broken down chimneys and fireplaces. The buildings and their logs were all gone, moved across the river to a new fur trade post. Even though the trader's lodges took so much work to build they were always moving them. The traders wanted Nakota business and they would move wherever they could get it.

In the old days Iron Mouth had his choice of trading places. One summer there were seven different trading houses at this place where the rivers joined. Traders were here from the south, north and east, almost mad for Nakota business. Iron Mouth scarcely brought any goods in the old days, but he could still trade for whatever he needed. The posts almost ruined themselves in the competition. Most of them moved away. Now there was only one trading house left -- Brandon House, and the trading was much more difficult. Brandon House was a Hudson's Bay Company house.

#### Arriving at Brandon House

One more bend in the trail, up a rise, and Brandon House came into view. There was a pallisade of pointed poles around the outside. The buildings inside were smaller than MacDonnell's old house. There were two small log houses, a storage shed and a low ice shed. As Iron Mouth passed by the gate the trader's men recognized him and hailed their post master to pass the news of Iron Mouth's arrival. The family dropped their bundles on a camping spot east of the post, glad to finally reach their destination.

Almost before they stopped a young woman came running out of the post gates calling greetings. It was Bethsy, Iron Mouth's daughter. She was delighted to see her family. It was six months since they were last at Brandon House. Bethsy was married to a post worker called Cheepi, named John Pritchard in English. She lived with Cheepi at Brandon House.

Iron Mouth laughed to himself about Cheepi's name. Three years ago Iron Mouth was hunting near his lodge at Turtle Mountain when he saw what looked like a moccasin waving in the air on a stick. When he investigated he was shocked to find a starving white man waving the stick, so naked and weak that he looked like a corpse. That man was John Pritchard. He had been lost for 40 days. Helpless as a

baby, he was covered with mosquito bites, and spear grass seeds were stuck all over his skin. Iron Mouth and his family, including young Bethsy, carried John Pritchard to Brandon House. There the post master, John McKay, nursed him back to health.

Ever afterwards the Nakota called John Pritchard "Cheepi", which means Corpse. Cheepi and Bethsy were eventually married. Iron Mouth smiled to himself, happy about the marriage. There were several Nakota women married to the fur traders.

Over the next few hours Iron Mouth's family relaxed and unpacked. One by one Cheepi and other men and women at the post came to greet them. The women set up the lodge. The post master John McKay raised the flag in honour of the arrival of Iron Mouth and his family.

#### Trading With the Big Shot

To get ready for trading Iron Mouth put on his Hudson's Bay Company clothes. He wore a long-tailed black cloth coat, a white shirt, and a felt hat. Iron Mouth heard from Cheepi that the post was low on food after the winter. Iron Mouth knew he would be able to get a good price for the dried buffalo meat, and the beaver skins were always in demand.

Iron Mouth was a well-respected trader, and McKay treated him in the proper fashion. McKay came out of the post and invited Iron Mouth in to the Master's house. Bethsy and McKay's secretary also came to the house. Iron Mouth and McKay could understand a bit of each other's language, but they needed an interpreter for business. Bethsy was experienced at this job.

McKay was dressed in clothes like Iron Mouth's. Iron Mouth sometimes called him Big Shot. McKay and Iron Mouth began with speeches, welcoming each other to trading. Each of them described the excellent quality of their goods and their generosity. They complimented each other. Then the whole group smoked a pipe, according to Iron Mouth's ancient Nakota ceremony. Iron Mouth picked out three of his best beaver furs and gave them to McKay. McKay gave Iron Mouth an iron knife, tobacco, and a half pint of rum and water. After the exchange of gifts the two men felt committed to trade. They moved outside and settled down to harder bargaining. Iron Mouth's wife and daughters joined them.

Iron Mouth was happy that his daughter Bethsy lived at the post. He knew that her interpreting was fair. Iron Mouth and McKay worked hard to get the best deal. First Iron Mouth traded for powder and shot. Then he traded for

other necessities - hatchet heads, wool cloth and cotton cloth. Iron Mouth's wife and daughters got beads for working on clothing, and his wife got a silver brooch. Iron Mouth was unhappy at the poor selection of iron products. The blacksmiths from the old neighbouring posts were all gone. Because there was no smith the brandy kegs came with wooden hoops instead of metal ones. That was important, because the iron hoops were good for making tools when the keg finally wore out.

McKay was anxious to get Iron Mouth's dried bison meat. He was trying for permission from his superiors to build a blacksmith shop so that he would have better trade goods. In the meantime he traded with what he had, and trading went fairly well. McKay felt his Hudson's Bay Company goods were better quality than those sold by the other companies. McKay was also happy that Bethsy lived in the post. She was a good interpreter, and she made all her people, not just her family, welcome at Brandon House.

Trading went on for hours, and ended towards evening. Iron Mouth kept some furs, looking forward to another day of testing Big Shot's trading skill.

#### Settling in For the Summer

Over the next few days the family discussed their plans. They decided to stay at Brandon House for the spring and summer. They gradually built up their camp. They put in stakes to tie up the dogs, a platform to store goods, a rack to dry meat, and a shady outdoor shelter for summer. They were joined by five or six other lodges as the summer wore on.

Many of the Hudson's Bay Company men had Nakota wives, or wives of other Native nations. John McKay, the Big Shot, was married to Mary Favel, whose mother was Cree.

A few days after Iron Mouth's family arrived, while it was still early spring, Bethsy and other women gathered sap for maple syrup. The men helped. They collected sap from the Manitoba maple trees in buffalo horn cups and birch bark boxes. They boiled the sap in a big iron kettle, and poured the syrup into little greased birchbark boxes. The little ones carried the sap to the kettle, but they couldn't stay out of the sweets. Their faces and hands were sticky smears of syrup. It was a festival after the long hard winter at Brandon House, especially with the food that Iron Mouth and other Nakota were beginning to bring in.

After maple syrup season was over Bethsy and the Nakota women made fish traps. Later in the spring the Nakota men used the traps to catch huge sturgeon in the river. Meanwhile, Iron Mouth, his son, and the men in the other

lodges provided the post with a steady supply of bison and elk kills. The women processed the meat into dried flakes, or pemmican. The Nakota traded these supplies for a good profit, since the Hudson's Bay Company needed pemmican to feed men all over the land -- from the Saskatchewan River to the Winnipeg River.

Bethsy and other Nakota women made moccasins and Nakota clothing, that they sold to the Company and to the English and French men who worked there. The traders and the Company depended on the Nakota clothing, because it was the best for the country, for their kind of work. Bethsy traded at a good return.

#### Trouble at Brandon House

In late spring McKay and many of the post travelled down the river in boats, carrying the fruits of a whole year's trading towards Hudson's Bay headquarters. While they were gone the rest of the English and French workers constantly drank brandy. Iron Mouth's family disapproved, because the women were abused when the men were drunk. When McKay and the men returned up river in their canoes they brought all sorts of new trade goods. The Nakota camp grew to 30 lodges, waiting for the new trading season. To start the new season McKay gave everybody too much brandy. The entire post, English, French and Nakota, was drunk.

In late summer Iron Mouth's son cut logs with other men, for a new blacksmith's shop. McKay had finally got the blacksmith he wanted.

In the fall Iron Mouth's family moved back north to Riding Mountain. They didn't want to stay by Brandon House, because the post had used up all the forest around for fuel. All those people in one place had also disturbed the animals needed for food:

The next spring when Iron Mouth returned to the post he found his daughter Bethsy very ill. She had what the English called "consumption". Neither the medicine of the Nakota or the Company could save her. She died quickly. Iron Mouth and his wife adopted Bethsy's baby daughter into their lodge. This granddaughter became their favourite.

As the years went by Iron Mouth's family came to Brandon House less and less. Bethsy was gone, and in 1810 John McKay and his wife Mary Favel died, also of consumption. Without the master, Brandon House was in a turmoil. Iron Mouth's family took their business elsewhere. Eventually Iron Mouth's family and many other Nakota moved west, where the disruption of the land and people was less. For years now, many Nakota have lived in Alberta. There are some large Nakota communities near Calgary.

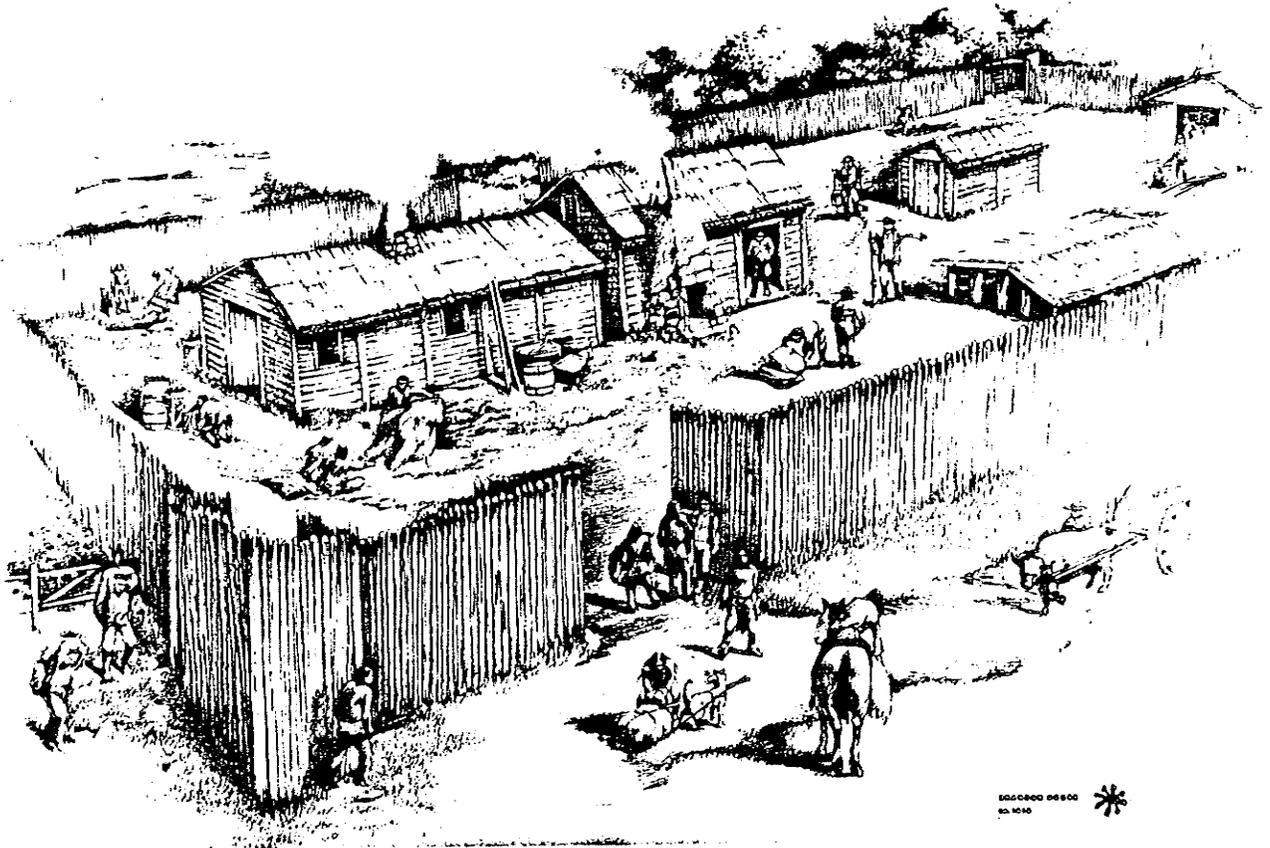


Figure 22 BRANDON HOUSE IN 1810: When Iron Mouth came to Brandon House he came from the west, along the same path as the oxcart. He camped to the east of the post, near where the two men are carrying packs. Can you see where the three people are trading furs? (Drawing by Larry Jamieson, Courtesy of Manitoba Historic Resources Branch).



Anne H. Louie 1958

Figure 23 BETHSY: Bethsy was proud of her life at Brandon House. She was an excellent interpreter, she made tough, comfortable clothing for the fur trade, and she loved her daughter and husband.

#### D.14 ALFRED PATRICK'S STORY

ALFRED PATRICK TOLD THIS STORY IN 1976.

When I was a boy my home was here in Roseau River. I went to school quite a few years back, in a residential school.

A residential school is a place where you stay for all the school term. You would stay there about nine months, maybe a little longer. You live there.

I didn't live at home and go to school there because at the time there was no school in Roseau River. I went to Pine Creek Residential School. That's up north in the Dauphin area. The priest at Roseau River arranged with my parents for me to go.

The school was run for the government by Roman Catholic priests. I went to a Roman Catholic School because I was Roman Catholic. There was a Roman Catholic Residential school and a Protestant residential school. My parents were Catholics so I had to attend a Catholic school. All the teachers were nuns.

I was only six years old when I left home and went to school. I can hardly remember. School was totally different from home. My mom spoke English when she wanted to, but we used our own language at home. So I was totally lost when I first went there to school. The hard part was being away from my parents. It was really difficult. You've never been away from your parents for six years and suddenly you're gone and don't know when you'll see them again.

There was no one else at the school that was like a parent. If you needed someone or felt sad you went and cried by yourself. All you had was other boys your age. I don't know -- I shouldn't say this but it was like a concentration camp; just like a jail. When I was eight years old (that's as far back as I can remember) we got up at six. We didn't have any breakfast. Whether you liked it or not you went to mass at 6:30 and about 8:30 you went for breakfast.

There was no talking in the dining room. I don't know why -- I never asked. But if you talked too much they told you to go to the classroom without eating. After breakfast everyone went to class. At noon again a bell rang. Every time a bell rang you went to something else. There was a bell that rang after 4:00 and you went straight to the playroom. About 5:00 the bell rang and you had to wash up. Another bell rang and you had to line up, and so on.

I was there about five years. The classes were very strict. I enjoyed the recreation. There was baseball and hockey.

I used to get into trouble at school. Getting into trouble was like a game, seeing what we could get away with. That was the best part. If you didn't get away with it the punishment was very strict. I remember one guy who ran away from school -- they caught up to him and shaved his head for punishment.

You couldn't talk with the girls, even your sister. I know when I was 12 years old you couldn't even look at girls. They had a separate part of the school for the girls to stay. They had one big dining room with a boys' section and a girls' section. There was to be no communication. I don't know why they did it that way. They only had visiting time between boys and girls on Saturday and Sunday. You had to have visiting hours to talk to them. There was a separate visting room and a Sister there to watch us. Maybe they didn't trust us.

Sometimes at night we snuck out. The lights were to be out by 9:00 and all were to sleep. We used to go out and play outside, or maybe sneak into the kitchen and make sandwiches.

When I was about 14 I went to a dance. I snuck out about 11:00 with three other guys. We went to a reservation -- we walked for about three miles. I think we came back about 4:00 in the morning. They must have had a bed inspection while we were gone. So they found us missing. We came through the door and the principal was waiting for us -- he was a priest. They told us we couldn't go to dances and they sent us back home. I was kicked out.

That wasn't the first time I was in trouble. We used to get caught stealing apples and so on. I don't think I was a bad guy. That's what most of the guys did. We were hungry. You know, they had apples by the cases and we got an apple once a week. I don't know what happened to the rest of the apples, because it didn't seem like we got to eat them. I think our best meal was baloney, so we used to steal that too.

After Pine Creek Residential School I attended school in Winnipeg and finished grade 8. Then I worked on a farm and hitchhiked all over the States. That was still a way of learning. Then I came back to Canada and finished grade 10, and worked some more. Now I'm a police constable. I work for the R.C.M.P. here at Roseau River.

## Appendix E

### MODELS FOR CHILDRENS QUESTIONS AND EXERCISES

This appendix contains suggestions for questions and exercises to accompany the vignettes and teachings in Appendix B. The questions are of two types: review and recall exercises, and exercises to encourage further exploration.

#### Cognitive Review and Recall Exercises

1. Provide a glossary list or word list. Suggest that the reader use it.
2. Why did it happen? Provide a series of written statements from the story, each statement having the structure "A happened because B". Ask the reader to indicate if the statement is true or false. (Schemenauer 1979:18).
3. What happened? Make up a short summary of the story, but insert several incorrect details. Ask the reader to list the wrong words (Schemenauer 1979:30).
4. What happened? Make up a short summary of the story, but give three optional words at several places in the story. Ask the reader to choose which word best fits the story summary (Schemenauer 1979:40).
5. Building vocabulary by reading a skit. Make up a short skit using terms introduced in a story. Leave blanks where the terms would go, and list the terms in a glossary. Ask the reader to insert the terms where they belong. Suggest that the readers (2 or more, depending on the skit) read the skit out loud together (Schemenauer 1979:41).
6. Building vocabulary by solving scrambled letters. Make up sentences using new terms from a story. Scramble the letters of the new terms. Ask the reader to unscramble the letters.

7. Who am I? Make up an imaginary sentence for each character in a story (e.g. "I did the following..."). Ask the reader to show who the "I" refers to in each sentence (Schemenauer 1979:56).

8. Vocabulary building by choosing antonyms and synonyms. Prepare a list of terms from a story. Prepare an equal length list of words which are either similar (opposite) in meaning to the first list. Ask the student to match the words with similar (opposite) meanings (Schemenauer 1979:57).

9. Vocabulary building by fitting in words. Make up sentences which put terms from a story into a new context. Leave the spaces for the terms blank. Ask the reader to choose the terms that fit each sentence, from a list (Schemenauer 1979:57).

10. Who did it? Give a list of characters and groups of characters from a story. Give a second list of events. Ask the reader to match the characters with the events in which they took part.

11. Follow the author's plan. Number the paragraphs of the story. Divide them up into segments according to the events that are happening in each section. Ask the reader to write a sentence or two to sum up what is happening in each section (Schemenauer 1979:69).

12. When did it happen? List the events of a story in random order. Ask the reader to sort out the order of the events (Schemenauer 1979:84).

13. What evidence can you find? Give one or two statements characterizing a person, event or phenomenon in a story. Ask the reader what evidence there is in the story to support the statements (Schemenauer 1979:100).

14. What was the reason? Write two lists -- one of events from a story and one of the reasons why they took place. Ask the reader to match each event with its reason (Schemenauer 1979:118).

### **Generalizations, Values and Further Explorations**

15. For the artist. Draw or paint a scene from a story.

16. For the artist/model builder/architect/engineer. Build models of things that are mentioned in the reading (e.g. atlatl, clay pot, travois, conical lodge).

17. Skits and plays. Ask the class to prepare a skit or play from a story.

18. For the storyteller. Ask the readers if they know any other stories that remind them of the one they are reading. Ask the reader to write it down or tell it to the class. The story could be real or made up.

19. For the historian. Guide the readers to interview grandparents or other older people. Have them report to their class on the most interesting stories they find.

20. For the map maker/geographer/archaeologist. Guide the readers to make maps of relevant subjects (e.g. what is at an ancient site today, what towns and cities would be under water today if Lake Agassiz was here, what would a map of the site in the reading look like).

21. For the news reporter. Ask students to report on events today that are similar to those of the past (e.g. invention, climatic change, drought).

22. For the biologist. Ask readers to write down what they learn about animals from a reading, and then add further research. (e.g. make a field manual about the animals in a story).

23. Further research. Ask the reader to interview their parents, grandparents or other elderly person about their general memories or a particular topic. Make notes on the most interesting part of the person's stories, or make a tape. Share the best stories with the rest of the class.

24. For the archaeologist. Ask the reader to imagine the future excavation of a familiar modern site. Have the reader write a story about how the archaeologists excavate and explain their findings.

25. For the archaeologist. Guide the reader (and accompanying adults) to do a mock excavation or data analysis.

26. For the storyteller. Ask the readers to imagine that they are characters in a reading (e.g. elder, hunter, fur trading woman). Ask the readers to tell a story where the character teaches us how to do something.

27. Compare to our own lives. Point out a lifeway in a reading and ask the reader to describe a comparable modern lifeway (e.g. how we get our foods, how we cook, how we organize our government, how we learn from elders, how tools are manufactured). Questions could be phrased as: for the cook, for the politician, etc.

28. For the ecologist. Ask the reader to report on the modern use of a wild animal.

29. More things to read. Suggest the literature on which the teachings and vignettes were based.

30. Places to go, people to see. Suggest museums, sites and resource people who can fulfill further teaching goals.