

Archaeological Native Internships at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

E. Leigh Syms

We, at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, have recognized for a number of years that there has been a need to develop museum internships for Aboriginal people. The Museum has a long tradition of museum internships, accepting two or three each year from small museums and interpretive centres across Canada. These people use the environment of the larger museum, and the assistance of the various staff, to develop skills and expertise in such areas as collections management, public and school programming, exhibit development, conservation, marketing, and administration. There has been, however, a notable absence of Native applicants to the program.

The introduction of the Access to Archaeology Program provided an excellent opportunity to develop a new internship program for Native applicants who were interested in archaeology and/or some aspect of museum work. The Access to Archaeology Program was a federal initiative developed through the Museums Assistance Program of Canadian Heritage to provide opportunities for archaeologists to work with Native people, and to provide training/expertise for Native people in archaeology. Despite being very effective, the program was terminated in 1995 as a budget-slashing exercise.

The Native Archaeological Internship at our institution began as a one-year pilot project in 1991. Two six-month internships were set up and completed in 1992 and 1993. This internship program was different from the Museum's regular internship program in that the interns had to be Aboriginal, had to have an interest in archaeology, and had to develop awareness of some aspect of archaeological heritage among the Aboriginal communities.

This chapter discusses the development of the Native archaeological internship and its long-term impact on the Museum's archaeology program. Not only did two Native students develop new museological and archaeological skills, but new and important links were made between archaeologists and the Native communities; a new focus was made on hiring Native staff; the Archaeology Laboratory became an on-going educational area for Native people; and I developed a different perspective on working with Native communities.

DEVELOPING THE NATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

As an initial step, the Museum's regular internship program was reviewed in order to develop guidelines. A budget was established that provided the Native intern with a monthly stipend, a small materials and supplies budget for photocopying and for exhibit development materials, and professional development funds to cover the costs of attending one archaeological conference. During this early phase of the program, the full monthly stipend was covered by the Access to Archaeology Program. The Museum provided the staff time from several departments, as well as and some materials, supplies, and work space.

The Program Goals

The need for a training program such as this has been evident for some time; various Native communities have expressed a desire to build cultural centres, and some have already completed feasibility studies. These communities need trained Aboriginal museum staff to help plan and design these centres so that they not only fulfill the interests of the community members but ensure that they meet desirable museum criteria in terms of collections management, conservation, exhibit development, public and school programming, fund-raising, and administration. In addition, Aboriginal people want to fill positions in the established museums, as identified in the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples, the importance of training was identified: "The need for training for both First Peoples and non-Aboriginal museum personnel is critical. To work in established museums, or to develop museums in their own communities, First Peoples need training in all phases of museology" (Hill and Nicks 1992: 5).

To address these needs, our program had four goals:

1. To provide a training opportunity for Aboriginal people to work in a museum setting;
2. To provide training in local archaeology;
3. To have the intern develop an appreciation of the ancient Aboriginal heritage as discovered through archaeology; and
4. To have the intern develop effective methods for presenting information on their heritage.

There are relatively few Aboriginal people who are trained in archaeology or are otherwise knowledgeable about those aspects of their ancient heritage that have been discovered through archaeology. Our program thus had to develop a learning environment that would provide optimum exposure both to the current findings in local archaeology and to broader developments in northern North American archaeology. The focus of the interns' training on local archaeology encouraged them to develop an interest and to take ownership of it (i.e., to incorporate the knowledge as part of their personal heritage).

The program also focussed on developing an appreciation of the ancient heritage. Rather than emphasizing cultural history chronologies, taxonomies, and typologies, the interns investigated such topics such as the complexity and sophistication of the atlatl and dart; the skill, beauty, pride of craftsmanship, and symbolism in ceramic production; and the knowledge, skill, and effort required in the mining for and production of Old Copper-style artifacts. Recent recoveries from northern Manitoba of ornate works made from antler and bone provided an opportunity to emphasize additional skills of ancient Cree craftspeople.

Finally, the program was designed to ensure that the interns would present their new knowledge and skills to other Native peoples. They were encouraged to bring members of their families, and their communities, to the Archaeology Laboratory. They were also required to develop a project that involved displaying and interpreting materials specifically for Aboriginal groups.

Focussing on Objectives

In addition to the goals defined for the program, the interns entered the program with their personal objectives, such as learning to teach the archaeological heritage in the classroom and to incorporating this heritage as part of their course work and career development. In order to fulfill the general program goals and to meet the interns' specific interests, a number of specific program objectives were developed. These included:

- Learning about collections management by processing one or more small collections through all stages, including entering the data into our microcomputer collections management program;
- Doing background research on a small collection with a variety of artifacts;
- Attending professional development workshops organized by the Association of Manitoba Museums (A.M.M.);
- Attending an archaeological or museological conference, such as the Plains Anthropological Conference;
- Building a display; and
- Meeting with a variety of archaeologists to develop networks and learn about current activities and developments.

GETTING STARTED: BUILDING COMMUNITY LINKS AND ELECTING CANDIDATES

Since this was the Museum's first program that required building a network with many Aboriginal communities, I was faced with the daunting task of how to develop widespread awareness of it. In 1991, there wasn't a high visitation rate among Native people, and I assumed that there was generally a negative stereotype of "archaeologists as grave diggers". To inform the communities of the new program, I sent letters to every band council north of 50 degree latitude, and to every school principal in Frontier School Division, the public school system of northern Manitoba. In hindsight, an important resource that I overlooked was the two Native newspapers, *Weeta-*



Figure 1. Eva Linklater in front of her temporary exhibit, showing overall display. (Photo: E.L. Syms)



Figure 2. Close-up of Eva Linklater's temporary exhibit showing the two panels that show the cultural chronology and oral history chronology. (Photo: E.L. Syms)

mah and *The First Perspective*. They would have disseminated knowledge broadly and more quickly and will certainly be used in the future.

Applications started to trickle in as word spread slowly throughout the communities and to students who were in the urban centres and at the universities. Awareness of the program spread gradually from person to person. The slowness of this initial reaction is in marked contrast to the subsequent and current Aboriginal training programs in which a mailing of posters resulted in a large number of applications from many communities, including some from outside of Manitoba.

Internship applicants were prioritized on the basis of three main criteria. First, they had to have had several years of university courses. Second, they had to have had courses or experience in archaeology, or courses in such related or relevant areas as Western Canadian history or anthropology. Finally, they had to have a demonstrated interest in learning about the archaeological part of their heritage. Applicants were assessed on a graduated scale (Appendix 1).

The Interns And Their Programs

The first two interns accepted into the program were Eva Linklater and Gilbert Chartrand. Each intern was accepted for a six-month term, with their internship customized to their interests, needs, and backgrounds.

Eva Linklater's Program. Eva Linklater is a Cree (*Ethiniwak*—"the people") from Nelson House First Nation in northern Manitoba. In 1991 she was completing a Masters program in archaeology at Simon Fraser University. She had undertaken some field work in archaeology near her home community with Dave Riddle when he was supervising a burial recovery and site survey program (Riddle 1994a, 1994b, 1994c). She had at least one course in Boreal Forest archaeology.

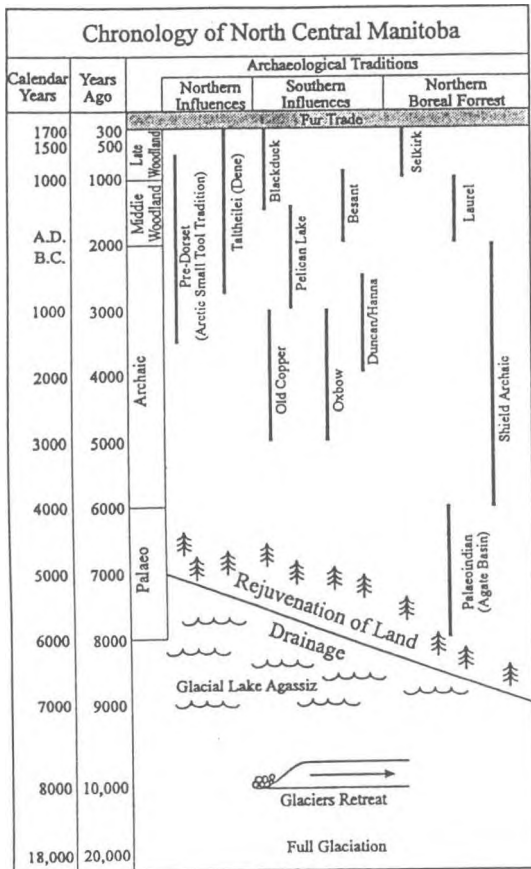
For her internship, Eva worked on both archaeology and ethnology collections, attended the 50th Plains Anthropological Conference and several workshops presented by the Association of Manitoba Museums (A.M.M.), assessed several exhibits for their strengths and weaknesses, and completed an exercise in collections management that included entering the data into our department's microcomputer collections management program which interfaces with the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) database, Canada's national heritage database in Ottawa.

Eva also completed a temporary exhibit that presented knowledge and awareness of the importance of the ancient Native heritage. Her exhibit consisted of a culture chronology for the northern Boreal Forest of northern Manitoba (which includes her homeland) that incorporated: an oral history chronology; images that revealed the diversity of ancient Native cultural history; and a presentation on both the on-going destruction of Native heritage through the destruction of sites and the need for Native self-government to include taking responsibility for this ancient Native heritage (Figures 1-4). Eva prepared this exhibit for a meeting of representatives at the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, at which several hundred people had gathered to initiate self-government while the Charlottetown Accord was being considered. She was able to set up at a prime location across from the registration desk and spent three days discussing archaeological heritage and the importance of preserving and recovering ancient Native cultural heritage. The exhibit has subsequently been used as a laboratory display for a number of touring groups.

For the exhibit, Eva developed a poster-sized cultural history chart for her local area in northern Manitoba (Figure 3); nothing like this had been done by archaeologists. Although this chart was initially only a draft copy on graph paper, it proved very popular¹ (several hundred copies had been distributed), particularly for Native individuals and groups such as school classes. This cultural history is the first that has been produced in Manitoba by a Native researcher, and members of the Aboriginal community are now looking for additional materials created by Native researchers—they want the products of research done by their own people.

In addition to the cultural history chronology, Eva produced a chronological chart based on Cree oral traditions (Figure 4) that was based on her own work with elders plus that of others such as Brightman (1989). This oral history chronology provides some points of comparison with the archaeological cultural history in that it included periods of relative antiquity (e.g., old, older and oldest) and included references to mythological events of *Iyas* that incorporated ancient technology, (e.g., a tiny ceramic bowl that never emptied). This is one of the few accounts of ceramic

¹ This chart was subsequently modified for her M.A. thesis (Linklater 1994).



Figures 3 and 4. Cultural chronology for northern Manitoba based on archaeology (left) and cultural chronology based on Cree oral history (right) from the original internship poster (Linklater 1994:11). (Photo: E.L. Syms)

use in pre-contact times.

Eva's program was very busy, highly diverse, and very productive. During her internship, she also introduced numerous friends, relatives, and acquaintances to the Archaeology Laboratory and the heritage that was being discovered at the time.

Gilbert Chartrand's Program. Gilbert Chartrand is an Ojibway (Anishinabe) from Pine Creek First Nation in western Manitoba. He had previously held Métis affiliation and been active in Métis heritage before regaining Aboriginal status. At the time of his internship, he was completing a Bachelors degree, had courses in classical archaeology, and even had dug in the Mediterranean, but still lacked a background in local or general Canadian archaeology.

Gilbert completed many of the same kinds of activities involving collections management and A.M.M. workshops as did Eva. He attended a conference sponsored by the A.M.M. on getting the museums and Native people in Manitoba to work together to present more new exhibits on Native heritage. Gilbert also worked on an interpretive booklet on local pre-contact Native horticultural practices for the Kenosewun Interpretive Centre, north of Winnipeg, Manitoba, located near the Lockport archaeological site, and which has the only evidence of major Native horticultural activities in the province.

Since he was considering a career in teaching, Gilbert's program was created with a focus on educational programming skills. His main project was the development of an educational program that incorporated a guided tour of parts of the Museum's galleries and of displays in the Archaeology Laboratory (Figures 5, 6). In order to accomplish this project, I set up about one-quarter of the Archaeology Laboratory as a long-term display on ceramic variability, lithic technology, bone and antler technology, continental trade networks, and fur trade developments. Since Gilbert had no prior background in local archaeology, he was given an intensive course in all aspects of local archaeology in preparation for the tours.

We organized 14 tours for Native university student associations, classes from the Children of the Earth School (a school for Native children), classes from elementary schools that have a large percentage of Native students, students of Business Learning Opportunities (B.L.O.)—an office training program for Natives, and students in a Continuing Education course on Economics for Small Communities—a course for band administrators. As Gilbert led these groups through the tours, I evaluated his presentation skills and helped him to tailor his presentations of the archaeological information as important heritage to these groups of different ages and backgrounds. As a result, several hundred Aboriginal people discovered that there was a whole new area of their ancient heritage that they had never heard about.

RESULTS

The Native Archaeological Internship Program was successful beyond all expectations. Not only did it provide training for two Aboriginal interns, it also made hundreds of Aboriginal people aware of archaeological heritage. The program also resulted in a number of on-going links with the Native communities, and triggered changes within the Museum, including an accelerated commitment to hiring Aboriginal staff. Prior to this program, there had been only the occasional Aboriginal visitor to the Archaeology Laboratory. Once the program was underway, several hundred were brought into the Laboratory for the tours or came for informal visits. Many of the visits were information sessions while others involved special activities. On one occasion, the grandmother of Gilbert Chartrand asked to be allowed to visit the Laboratory; she purified and blessed the Laboratory with burning sweet grass and also conducted an associated ceremony outside of the city where there was no urban disruption. The cleansing ceremony was conducted to bring good health and well-being to those who were working in the laboratory.

On another occasion, Eva Linklater brought Chief Francis Flett, Chief of the Opaskwayak First Nation Reserve, into the Laboratory. We had just received a collection of unusual artifacts recovered with a burial that was found during house construction on his reserve. After two visits to the Laboratory, he asked that the artifacts be cast, dated, and photographed. Chief Flett also telephoned his reserve to make certain that all the pieces of all the artifacts were sent to the Museum, and later demonstrated the use of the atlatl in front of Eva's display during the meeting of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs mentioned earlier. Not only were Native people learning about their archaeological heritage, they were incorporating it into their heritage in a modern context.

The laboratory display has been left set up for on-going use. The instructors from the B.L.O. continued to bring in each new class of Native office trainees every three months until that program was disbanded in 1994. The instructors of the Continuing Education Program on Economics for Small Communities still bring their classes of band administrators for the tour of the galleries and laboratory. I continue to use the display to explain the importance and excitement of ancient Native heritage to such Museum visitors as a group of 45 teachers from four northern reserves, a group of 58 students from two northern reserves, urban school classes, and interested individuals. Although it is impossible to maintain the high rate of groups that was possible during the internship program, hundreds of additional people, many Aboriginal, who continue to learn about the ancient Aboriginal heritage.

As a result of the internship program, I made a commitment to accelerate my policy of increasing the hiring of Aboriginal people. I now usually hire at least two Native and Métis researchers on contract to process and analyze archaeological collections coming in from the Churchill River Archaeological Project (Francois et al. 1995; Smith 1995; Riddle 1994a, 1994b, 1994c) These individuals not only receive employment, but also have the opportunity to learn



Figure 5. Gilbert Chartrand (left) discussing the diorama of the Métis bison hunt during tour of the galleries at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature. (Photo: E.L. Syms)



Figure 6. Gilbert Chartrand (right) discussing a display in the Archaeology Laboratory on Mississippian trade items and their symbolic importance. (Photo: E.L. Syms)

about their archaeological heritage in detail. Some are preparing themselves for the day when they can be leaders in the museum field on behalf of their communities.

The impact of this program has had a domino effect. Through having several Native people working in my laboratory, I have developed on-going relations with various Native communities and organizations. I developed good rapport with the Chief of Opaskwayak First Nation Reserve who, along with the Chief and several councilors of Nelson House First Nation, visited my laboratory on several occasions; Fort Nelson House representatives have flown to Winnipeg specifically to seek advice in their negotiations with Manitoba Hydro for flood compensation. These linkages started with having Eva Linklater in the laboratory, followed by Native students working on northern materials. Now, councilors from Nelson House are requesting that students who come to Winnipeg must include the Archaeology Laboratory as part of their tours. Furthermore, I now approach the staff of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs to discuss issues relating to developing awareness of archaeological heritage. I have also been asked to go to the Nelson First House First Nation Reserve to give slide presentations on local archaeology to 17 classes of students, and two public presentations, thus reaching some 300 people. Finally, I recently accepted an invitation to make two presentations to members of the Native Brotherhood (a cultural revival group) at the Stony Mountain Penitentiary.

Another spin-off of these developments has been the hiring of a group of Native and Métis staff, at least during certain times of the year, at the Museum. In addition to these developments in Archaeology, Dr. Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Ethnology, has developed an Aboriginal Internship Program that is now in its third year; hired Native programmers for travelling exhibits with an Aboriginal theme (e.g., "Fluffs and Feathers: An Exhibition on the Symbols of Indianness;" produced by the Woodland Cultural Centre at Brantford, Ontario); and hired Native researchers.

The development of the program has intensified or accelerated activities that we had already started. For example, we have been concerned about the correct use of terms; we routinely use *Aboriginal*, *First Nations*, or *Native* in place of *Indians* and we use *pre-contact* instead of *pre-historic* for the period prior to European contact. It does not matter how much we try to rationalize the use of the term *prehistoric* since it is considered offensive by an ever-increasing number of Aboriginal people who believe that it either indicates having no history or being lumped in with dinosaurs and other prehistoric animal forms. When one is working with Native interns and staff, these terms become personally unacceptable and repugnant.

Conceptual changes have emerged as well. For example, we often talk about archaeology and cultural resource management. However, we should be talking about *heritage preservation* rather than *cultural resource management* because, as one Native intern noted, the archaeological record is part of her Native heritage, and not just an academic sample or legislative definition that can be arbitrarily evaluated and allowed to be only partially recovered or left to be destroyed. These are some of the changes in perceptions that non-Native archaeologists need to address.²

PERSONAL IMPACT OF THE PROGRAM

The development of this program has not only changed the direction of my department and resulted in new links with the Native community, but has also produced some very significant personal changes. It has personalized, re-internalized, and refocused my efforts in the field of archaeology. Initially, I shared my knowledge and admiration of the archaeological objects with the interns. However, when one works with a person such as Eva Linklater and watches her holding a reconstructed ceramic vessel with the awareness and pride that she is holding a piece made by ancestors of her people, perhaps even a direct relative, the artifacts then become records and symbols of unknown individuals rather than general "cultural" identifiers with irrelevant names such as "Selkirk culture." Working with these items becomes an exercise in seeking knowledge about groups of individuals who are the ancestors of friends and acquaintances whom I have come to know.

Furthermore, this personalization of artifacts has intensified my own efforts to examine artifacts as items reflecting pride, skill, and craftsmanship. I have found, for example, a partially reconstructed ceramic vessel can be studied intensively for evidence of the manufacturing steps,

² For additional examples, see *Other Peoples' Heritage* by Leo Pettipas (1994).

of problems that were overcome, of the superb skill required to make thin-walled vessels, and of the skill necessary to complete a difficult firing. Likewise, a unilaterally-barbed bone harpoon can be viewed either microscopically to determine the construction details or macroscopically to appreciate the skill of undercutting sharp barbs and carving artistically crafted flowing lines that reflect a high degree of craftsmanship and artistic pride.

This transformation to a personalized perspective of the archaeological heritage has re-internalized my concerns. I started in archaeology over 30 years ago as an angry young man, concerned about the general lack of awareness about archaeological heritage, and disturbed by the lack of concern about the on-going massive destruction of heritage sites. In the years that followed, I became jaded due to time constraints; due to being over-extended for too long a period; and due to an emerging sense that it takes too much effort to make even minor accomplishments in heritage preservation. However, after working on the archaeological materials with the Native people whose heritage it represents, a new and intense sense of loss and emergency has emerged and I have now become an angry older man.

The internship program has clearly demonstrated the urgent need to continue to develop training programs for Aboriginal people to become archaeologists and/or to become sufficiently knowledgeable about archaeology that they can develop museum displays, public programs, educational programs, and reference materials on their own ancient heritage. Looking at the magnitude of the on-going loss of this heritage and at the enormity of the steps required both to help Aboriginal people become aware of the archaeological component of their ancient heritage and to develop the skills and funding involved in preserving, recovering, and interpreting their ancient heritage, I am convinced that we must be proactive. There is an urgency to this need. During one of the sessions at the conference at which this paper was initially presented, one archaeologist suggested that we should sit back and wait for the Native community to develop its own agenda. While I agree that this must be done, we as archaeologists still need to be proactive in developing an awareness of the issues and in being available to help them develop their agenda. We do not have the luxury of sitting back and watching their heritage being destroyed if we believe in that heritage!

Finally, the making of new friends and acquaintances in the Native community, and the creation of new networks, had an additional important impact on me. These new relationships have brought pleasure and insights and much greater personal satisfaction to my role as an archaeologist.

THE FUTURE

The future of the internship program is, at this time, unknown. Potential financial support through the Access to Archaeology Program was first reduced to a matching grant basis and then eliminated entirely as the Federal Government made a most unfortunate decision to cancel the program in 1995. It is odd that such a successful program, with its commitment to providing opportunities for Aboriginal people to redevelop an awareness of their heritage and to develop professional skills in new areas, should be discontinued. Despite the cut, the positive results of the pilot program continue to be felt. The Archaeology Laboratory still has the displays created by the former interns; Native and Métis staff continue to be hired on a contract basis and develop their skills as archaeologists; members from various Native communities continue to visit the laboratory and discuss archaeological issues; and the number of requests from Native communities for presentations about their ancient archaeological heritage continues to increase.

The need for, and demonstrated success of, the program requires that alternative funding be found to continue the internship. During 1996-1997, a second one-year Native archaeological internship has been funded due primarily to the efforts of a very bright and resourceful Métis archaeology student. Creative, collaborative partnerships are now required since the federal initiative has been terminated. Regardless of the nature of future internships, the outcome will result in additional professional Native archaeologists and additional links between archaeologists and Native communities.

Acknowledgements

I thank the staff of the former Access to Archaeology Program for their financial assistance in making the pilot Native Archaeology Internship Program possible, and especially Paul Antone, the former Director of the program, for developing the program, for providing assistance in our application to the program, and for his interest, support, and enthusiasm. I also thank the interns, Eva Linklater and Gilbert Chartrand, for their participation and contributions. They made the program a success, provided me with new insights, and greatly increased the awareness of the ancient Native archaeological heritage among the Native community.

A number of Museum staff played an important role in making the program a success by working with me and/or the interns. My appreciation is extended to Dr. Katherine Pettipas, Curator of Ethnology, who provided important advice during the planning stage and provided collections and reference materials for the interns. Betty-Ann Penner, our Registration Manager, provided training in automated collections management and collections data. Sandra Sutcliffe, Human History Administrative Secretary, provided important secretarial services. Rob Barrow, Audio-Visual Photographer, provided photographic images for the display and reports.

REFERENCES CITED

Brightman, R. A.

1989 Acadohkiwina and Acimowina Traditional Narratives of the Rock Lake Cree Indians. *Canadian Ethnology Service Mercury Series* No. 113. Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull.

François, R., D.K. Riddle, and E.L. Syms

1989 Short-Term Archaeological Mitigation Conducted on the Churchill River Diversion During 1994. Report submitted to Manitoba Hydro.

Hill, T., and T. Nicks (co-chairs)

1992 Turning the Page: Forging New Partnerships Between Museums and First Peoples Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples. A report jointly sponsored by the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museum Association, Ottawa.

Linklater, E.

1994 The Footprints of Wasahkacahk: The Churchill River Diversion Project and Destruction of the Nelson House Cree Historical Landscape. M.A. thesis, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, B.C.

Pettipas, L.

1994 *"Other Peoples Heritage": A Cross-Cultural Approach to Museum Interpretation*. Association of Manitoba Museums, Winnipeg.

Riddle, D. K.

1994a A Report on the Archaeological Survey and Burial Recovery Program Conducted on Southern Indian Lake during the 1990 Field Season. Manuscript submitted to Manitoba Hydro Mitigation Department.

1994b A Report detailing Archaeological investigations Conducted on Southern Indian Lake and Wapisu, Threepoint and Footprint Lakes during the 1991 Field Season with Recommendations for Further Work. Manuscript submitted to Manitoba Hydro Mitigation Department.

1994c A Report detailing the Results of Archaeological Surveys Undertaken along the Churchill River Between Leaf Rapids and Opachuanau Lake, the Rat and Burntwood Rivers from Wapisu Lake to Wuskwatim Lake and Split Lake during the 1992 Field Season, with specific reference to Burial Recoveries. Manuscript submitted to Manitoba Hydro Mitigation Department.

Smith, B.

1995 Archaeological Investigations within the Upper Churchill River Diversion 1994: Survey and Testing Program: Leaf Rapids Locality, Opachuanau Lake Locality, Southern Indian Lake, Western Locality. Report submitted to Manitoba Hydro Mitigation Department.

APPENDIX A**ASSESSMENT FORM
MANITOBA MUSEUM OF MAN AND NATURE:
NATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM INTERNSHIP 1991-1993****A. Scholastic Training****Advanced Degree**

Complete

Courses in Archaeology

Courses in Anthropology

Courses in Archives, Western Canadian History or related courses

Courses in Native Studies

Other courses

Undergraduate Degree

Complete

Courses in Archaeology

Courses in Anthropology; Courses in Archives

Western Canadian History; Courses in Native Studies

Other courses

High School Degree

Completed

B. Archaeological Experience

Manitoba Fieldwork

Canadian Fieldwork

Other Fieldwork

Identifying Collection(s)

C. Northern Community Experience

Raised in Community

Competent in Cree or Dene

Some ability in Cree or Dene

D. Other

Mature demeanour

Verbally articulate (English)