
Living Landscapes of Granville Lake, Manitoba

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Thesis Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of Lakehead University in
partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Environmental
Studies: Northern Environments and Cultures

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December 2011

Abstract

This thesis addresses aspects of indigenous knowledge held by members of the community of Pickerel Narrows, located on Granville Lake, Manitoba as part of a larger community-based heritage research project led by Kevin Brownlee of the Manitoba Museum. Consistent with other Cree communities in Subarctic Canada, indigenous knowledge has been the primary means of inter-generational transmission of cultural knowledge. Over the past 150 years this cultural system has been increasingly challenged by acculturation, and such transformation has accelerated in recent decades through exposure to mass-media, more regular and pervasive contact with non-Aboriginal Canada, and modern development projects within northern Manitoba. Of great concern for community members is the documentation of elements of the Cree cultural landscape in anticipation of future development. The objectives of this research are to explore the dynamics of the cultural landscapes of Granville Lake; identify what makes Pickerel Narrows and surrounding areas on Granville Lake a meaningful place for community members; and to explore patterned variation in stories and story-telling, to help uncover the root of variations among shared indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge acts as a oral recitation of a community's history, used to maintain community identity and ensure cultural continuity over generations. The integration of indigenous knowledge and landscape studies can help to facilitate the cultural survival of a particular group over time. In the case of Pickerel Narrows, oral traditions have aided in the transmission and preservation of the socio-cultural and spiritual basis of their culturally important landscapes.

Acknowledgements

I had the opportunity to live and work with many great people in the community of Pickerel Narrow on Granville Lake Manitoba. I must personally thank Brenda and William Anderson as well as Keith and Bertha Anderson for providing me with a place to stay and an unending supply of support. I must also acknowledge the hard work of Brenda Anderson for her assistance and patience as my community research assistant and interpreter. Special thanks goes to Leslie Baker (Headman of Pickerel Narrows at the time) for giving me permission to conduct research within the community and providing a warm cabin and a boat during our bush adventures. The biggest thanks of all, goes out to all the participants involved in the research project. Without their participation, this research would not have been possible.

The research was partially funded by a graduate scholarship from the Manitoba Museum's Granville Lake Project: (*Social Science Humanities Research Council {Protection, Preservation and Promotion, Culture Heritage of the Asiniaskaw Ithnewak of the Churchill River}*). Kevin Brownlee, Curator of Archaeology for the Manitoba Museum and the Granville Lake Project's principal investigator deserves a heartfelt thank you for giving me the opportunity to be involved with the project and providing support and guidance every step of the way. Funding was also obtained to share this research at multiple conferences from Lakehead University's Professional Development Bursaries.

I would also like to acknowledge the support and encouragement I received from my advisor Dr. Scott Hamilton and my committee members Dr. Rob Robson, Dr. Martha Dowsley and Dr. Margaret Hanna. Thank you all!

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Chapter 1 - Introduction

“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, 1994: 7)



“A Home Away From Home”

Subject: Camp Teepee

Photo By: Holly Cote

1.0 Introduction

Cultural landscapes are not just places in and of themselves, but include the social and cultural processes of which they are a manifestation (Robertson and Richards 2003). Size, geographic character and spatial area serve to outline a physical landscape, but a cultural landscape is represented by locations and events meaningful to the specific culture or group of people. This research is focused on learning about the cultural landscapes of Granville Lake through the words of community members of Pickerel Narrows. It explores the interaction of people with their environment and how people make their environments meaningful. Specifically, I examine five areas with local cultural meaning located throughout the Granville Lake area.

The term cultural landscape has been described as a way in which perceptions, beliefs, stories, experiences and practices give shape, form and meaning to the landscape (Lennon 2001). This research examines how community-imposed elements related to the landscape impart a sense of place among community members, thereby encouraging a sense of identity and belonging among community members. Places are concrete physical locations that become centers of felt value as people interact and become acquainted with the landscape (Tuan, 1977). The meanings and importance associated with a place can help researchers gain a holistic understanding of landscapes, one that provides insights into a community's emotional, spiritual, and physical relationships with place. The main focus of this thesis is to document the cultural landscapes of the Granville Lake Cree. Secondly, this thesis strives to explore the cultural transmission of indigenous knowledge, more specifically how similarities

and variations in the narratives occur between family, gender and generations of storytellers.

1.2 Research Purpose and Objectives

In cooperation with Pickerel Narrows community members, this research sought to identify and document the activities, values and meanings associated with a handful of cultural landscapes located throughout the Granville Lake area. Community members' cognitive and physical attachments to cultural landscapes can signify a sense of place and identity among community members, helping researchers comprehend significant community-landscape relationships.

Aboriginal cultural landscapes are “expressions of a worldview that sees land in essentially spiritual rather than material terms and regards humans as an integral part of the land, inseparable from its animals, plants and spirits” (Buggey, 1999, p.1-2). For Aboriginal people these places are “distinctive features on the landscape that are linked by paths, movements and narratives” (Oetelaar and Meyer, 2006, p.357). A more detailed examination of cultural landscapes will be discussed in subsequent chapters. The term indigenous knowledge describes knowledge that people in a given community have developed over time, and continue to develop. “It is the information base for a society, which facilitated communication and decision-making. These indigenous information systems are dynamic, and continually influenced by internal creativity as well as by contact with external systems” (UNESCO, 2002) This thesis uses the term indigenous knowledge to describe a community's foundation of knowledge, which is

made up of various forms of culturally important information and is transmitted among community members.

It is important to define the two main subdivisions of what this thesis refers to as indigenous knowledge: oral history and oral tradition. Oral history is best defined as the verbal memoirs of firsthand observers, while oral traditions are the verbal memoirs that firsthand observers have passed along to others (Echo-Hawk, 2000). Put more simply oral histories make up accounts that have been experienced by or happened within the lifetime of the individual, while oral traditions are narratives that have been passed down from previous generations which occurred prior to the lifetime of the informant. The culturally significant sites highlighted within this research project shed light not only on cultural and historical landscape data, but also on the role and transmission among the indigenous knowledge shared between community members.

This research project sought to uncover variations in the transmission of indigenous knowledge, as well as uncover how the transmission of indigenous knowledge promotes a 'sense of place' among community members. It is hoped that sharing elements of the indigenous knowledge obtained from the community regarding the surrounding landscape will help preserve traditional language, cultural heritage and the oral transmission of indigenous knowledge in future generations.

The objectives of this research were to:

- Explore the dynamics of the cultural landscapes of Granville Lake.
- Identify what makes Pickerel Narrows and surrounding areas on Granville Lake a meaningful place for community members.
- Identify and document the cultural connections related to the various landscapes discussed within this research project.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions drove my interest in indigenous knowledge regarding cultural landscapes, and how these places evoke a sense of place among community members.

1. What gives meaning to a place?
2. How do perceptions regarding the landscape build a sense of place among community members?
3. How does patterned variation in the details and telling of stories about these places occur (whether the details of the narratives vary with context, family, gender or generation).

These questions focus on the ways people are physically and emotionally linked to their environments and how this cultural information is acquired and passed on within the community. Interviews with community members will reveal indigenous knowledge regarding historic use, importance, practices, stories, and site vulnerability related to proposed development among the five sites.

1.4 Background

Aboriginal populations living in Manitoba, whether residing on the rolling plains, the dense boreal forest, or the open subarctic all share a common link; a strong connection with their surrounding environment. This connection with the land is deeply rooted within the history and culture of Manitoba's Aboriginal people, especially with the Cree people that I have had the pleasure of working with, and epitomizes surviving elements of their traditional lifestyle. However, in recent decades, technological advances and industrial development have weakened the relationship between Aboriginal groups and the surrounding landscape in even the most remote of communities (Loney, 1995). In light of the forestry and hydro-electric development projects in Manitoba, which in some cases are changing the surrounding landscape completely, contemporary Aboriginal people are making an effort to re-enforce and maintain that once strong connection with the land. The community of Okawamithicani, also known as Pickerel Narrows, located on the shoreline of Granville Lake, Manitoba has chosen to participate in this research project to do exactly that.

The concept underlying this thesis stemmed from the Granville Lake Archaeology Project, headed by Kevin Brownlee, the curator of archaeology for the Manitoba Museum. The project was a joint initiative between the Manitoba Museum, the University of Manitoba, and the community of Pickerel Narrows. The Granville Lake Archaeology Project took place during the summers of 2006 to 2010. A series of teaching workshops, student projects, archaeological surveys, testing, and excavations were implemented. The objective was to educate community youth, and to identify and document archaeological remains and cultural sites surrounding the Pickerel Narrows community in order to develop a more extensive cultural and historical record for this remote area. Aboriginal experience and connection with the land can provide a context to better understand the archaeological remains and cultural values within a given area. Pickerel Narrows' current residents are part of a long tradition of occupancy and land use practices within the Granville Lake area. This continuous occupation of the area has maintained a strong cultural legacy related to the surrounding landscape. The way people see and use the land in modern times may provide insights into the traditional belief and utilization of particular landscapes. The five sites revealed within this research project were chosen with the help of community members on the basis of their cultural, historical, and resource importance.

1.5 Study Area

This research focuses on the community of Pickerel Narrows, Band No. 311a, located on a raised peninsula on the south shore of Granville Lake. Granville Lake is located within northwestern Manitoba along the Churchill River system (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Granville Lake in a Manitoba Map

(Source: <http://www.geology.com/canada/manitoba.shtml>. Accessed October 2010)

A more detailed map of Granville Lake can be seen in Figure 2 below.

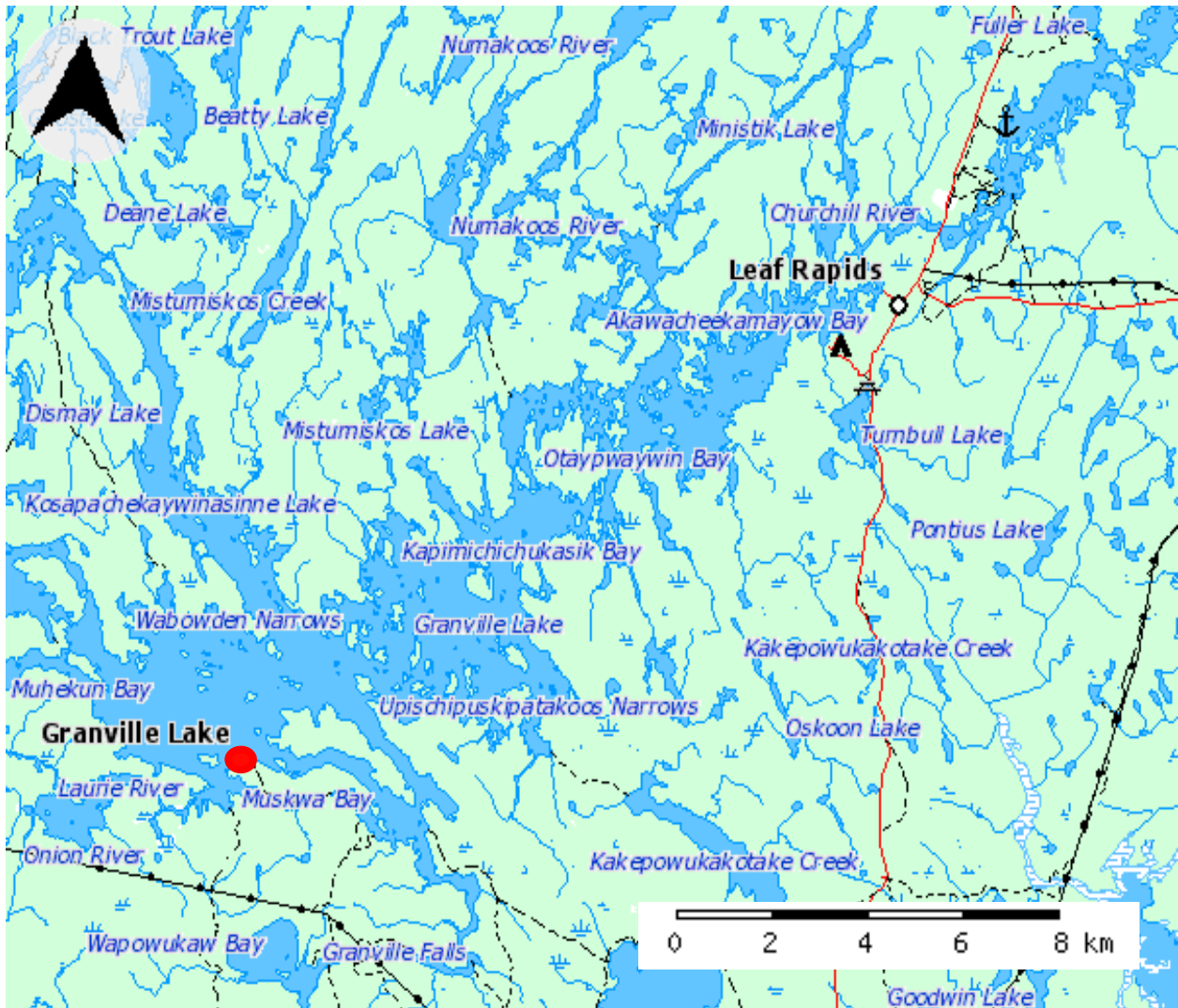


Figure 2. Close-up View of Granville Lake (Community Located at Red Dot)

(Source: <http://atlas.nrcan.gc.ca>. Accessed October 2010)

Although the community of Pickerel Narrows is not situated on reserve land, many of the residents are members of the Mathias Colomb First Nation from Pukatawagan. The community of Pickerel Narrows was officially recognized in August 1971, and is governed by a mayor and council under The Northern Affairs Act (Northern Community Profiles, 2010). Occupancy of Aboriginal groups throughout the Granville

Lake area predates the arrival of Europeans. According to some Elders' accounts, Granville Lake was the traditional territory for early Cree hunter-gatherer groups, who over time slowly spread out to surrounding areas. Some Elders also cited a historical tradition that control over the area was highly sought after, and that it was routinely fought over for its favorable transportation routes and access to the lithic raw materials found within the area, either for use or trade. Granville Lake continued to be an important area after the arrival of Europeans. The Hudson's Bay Company established a Trading Post where the community of Pickerel Narrows resides today, which was in operation from 1794 to 1796, and managed by a young Englishman by the name of George Charles (Granville House Post Journals, B/83/a).

In 2006 Pickerel Narrows had a population of 98 individuals (Statistics Canada, 2006). When oral history interviews were conducted in the summer of 2009 the population had dwindled to less than 70 individuals, more than half of which were children under the age of eighteen. The community consists of fifteen houses, most of which have been abandoned and boarded up, a nursing station, an outdoor ice rink, and a school which houses grades kindergarten to eight. The major economic choice for community members is commercial fishing that is supplemented by hunting and trapping. The Pickerel Narrows community is quite isolated and is not accessible by an all-weather road. Access to the community in the summer is limited to boat or floatplane, or by a skidoo trail in the winter. The isolation of the community is one of the reasons that there are few Elders living in Pickerel Narrows. In order to have easy access to healthcare, Elders tend to move to surrounding communities such as Pukatawagan, Leaf Rapids, Nelson House or Lynn Lake.

1.6 Importance of Research

While the five significant sites are not in immediate danger of destruction, indigenous knowledge relating to these sites held by Elders and community members is currently undocumented and vulnerable to loss. Time is of the essence as the Elders who hold knowledge of the landscape are aging. The narratives collected regarding these places shed light on the cultural importance of indigenous knowledge and cultural landscapes for Cree cultural continuity by strengthening a sense of place and identity among community members. Collecting and codifying these narratives through this research project will provide an important resource for the future in the event that some Elders die without otherwise passing the information on.

Indigenous knowledge, through oral history and oral tradition, can affirm cultural identity, which can be derived from the surrounding landscape and features, but these places can be altered or disappear completely due to natural resource development. Within northern Manitoba hydro-electric development has had an unfavorable impact on renewable resources, land and inhabitants (Waldram, 1983; Loney, 1995; Hertlein, 1999). The significant flooding that derives from such hydro-electric development has resulted in the loss of some culturally significant landscapes in surrounding communities. Documenting these landscapes by recording their associated oral histories and traditions can help preserve culturally important information that can continue to be transmitted to future generations, even if such sites are physically lost.

Furthermore, the knowledge recorded during this research project can be compared and contrasted, and can be integrated with future projects from Pickerel

Narrows and surrounding communities to create a regional collection of oral literature. Developing a method to record and preserve culturally significant landscape data and indigenous knowledge in one community could possibly lead to replication in other communities.

1.7 Limitations of Research

It is particularly important to note that much of the information provided by community members during interviews was told in confidence. This confidentiality restricts particular details of stories to be shared for fear of compromising individuals who wish to remain anonymous. Given the short list of participants interviewed and the small size of the community, in order to maintain anonymity it was necessary to omit particular portions of interviews. The omission of data regrettably limits the ability to offer substantive examples to support arguments offered within this thesis. However, a separate non-thesis writing project will be conducted for the community and housed at the Mary Newell School in Pickerel Narrows. This written work will include the transcripts and notes collected during the interviews and will be available to community members as a cultural education resource. The information gathered during this research project has added to the sparse landscape information previously known for this remote area. The insights derived represent a community-led narrative of the Granville Lake landscape, and it is hoped that it will be beneficial to community members for future educational and developmental initiatives.

1.8 Organization of Thesis

The thesis consists of seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, chapter two provides an overview of literature I felt was important to include to help explore and contextualize my research questions. Chapter three describes my research methodology that was utilized in order to achieve my research objectives. Chapter four highlights the indigenous knowledge obtained from community interviews regarding the five culturally significant sites chosen for this project. Chapter five investigates the variations in transmission of the indigenous knowledge gathered from community members. The discussion section of this project comprises in chapter six, where I aim to answer the project's specific research questions. Lastly, Chapter seven provides a summary of the research and presents final conclusions and recommendations for future study.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

“The landscape plays a social role. The named environment, familiar to all, furnishes material for common memories and symbols which bind the group together and allows them to communicate with one another”
(Lynch, 1973)



“Stretching & Scraping”

Subject: Traditional Culture Workshop Activity

Photo By: Holly Cote

2.1 Introduction

This research project deals with cultural landscapes and the varying forms of indigenous knowledge associated with them. This chapter commences with an overview of the boreal forest environment in Manitoba, followed by a glimpse into the past traditional lifeways of the Cree people, more specifically the Missinippi Cree, occupying areas of Northern Manitoba. Chapter 2 also reviews previous ethnographic studies written specifically about the Missinippi Cree regarding their culture, practices, and beliefs. It is important to note that there has not been a great deal of literature previously written specifically about the Missinippi Cree. Indigenous knowledge, the third topic discussed within this chapter is an extremely important component of this research project considering the type of information being gathered and the methods that were employed. Cultural landscape research is another equally important topic covered within this chapter. The final constituent of this literature review deals with a 'sense of place' as a social construct. Each of the topics mentioned above embody the central themes of this thesis research, and each topic is discussed in further detail in the following sections of this chapter.

2.2 The Boreal Forest, Manitoba

The Boreal Forest extends across Canada from British Columbia to Quebec, and consists of open lichen woodlands, northern coniferous forests, and mixed forest areas containing both deciduous and coniferous tree species (Scott, 1995). Among the mixed vegetation, marshes, rock outcrops, and muskegs are other common environmental features found throughout this region. The Boreal Forest is the largest vegetation zone

within the province of Manitoba (Figure 3). Nestled within this vast forest of northern Manitoba lies our research area, Granville Lake; one of the many lakes located along the Churchill River. The Churchill River emerges in northwestern Saskatchewan, flows east across Manitoba, and eventually drains into Hudson Bay.

The Boreal Forest's rich and diverse terrestrial and aquatic environmental zones allow for diverse plant and animal life to flourish, giving the people occupying this area a variety of resources on which to subsist. Community members utilize various local plants, including wild rice, mint, and onion. A variety of berries grow abundantly within the area, as well as an array of local flora such as lily pads, sweet grass, and wild flowers that continue to be utilized by some for medicinal purposes. Large ungulates, mainly moose and sometimes caribou are found within the area, making up a main source of wild meat for local inhabitants. Fish is another main food source within the Granville Lake area, as well as a major source of income for many community members who rely heavily on commercial fishing. Species found here include jackfish, pickerel or walleye, whitefish, perch, tullibee, cisco, suckers, and sturgeon. A full examination of the fauna of the area was conducted by Kroker (1990:29-34), and the reader is referred to this work for a more comprehensive overview. Clearly, the Boreal Forest of Manitoba provides the resident population with a variety of resources on which to base their subsistence and economy.

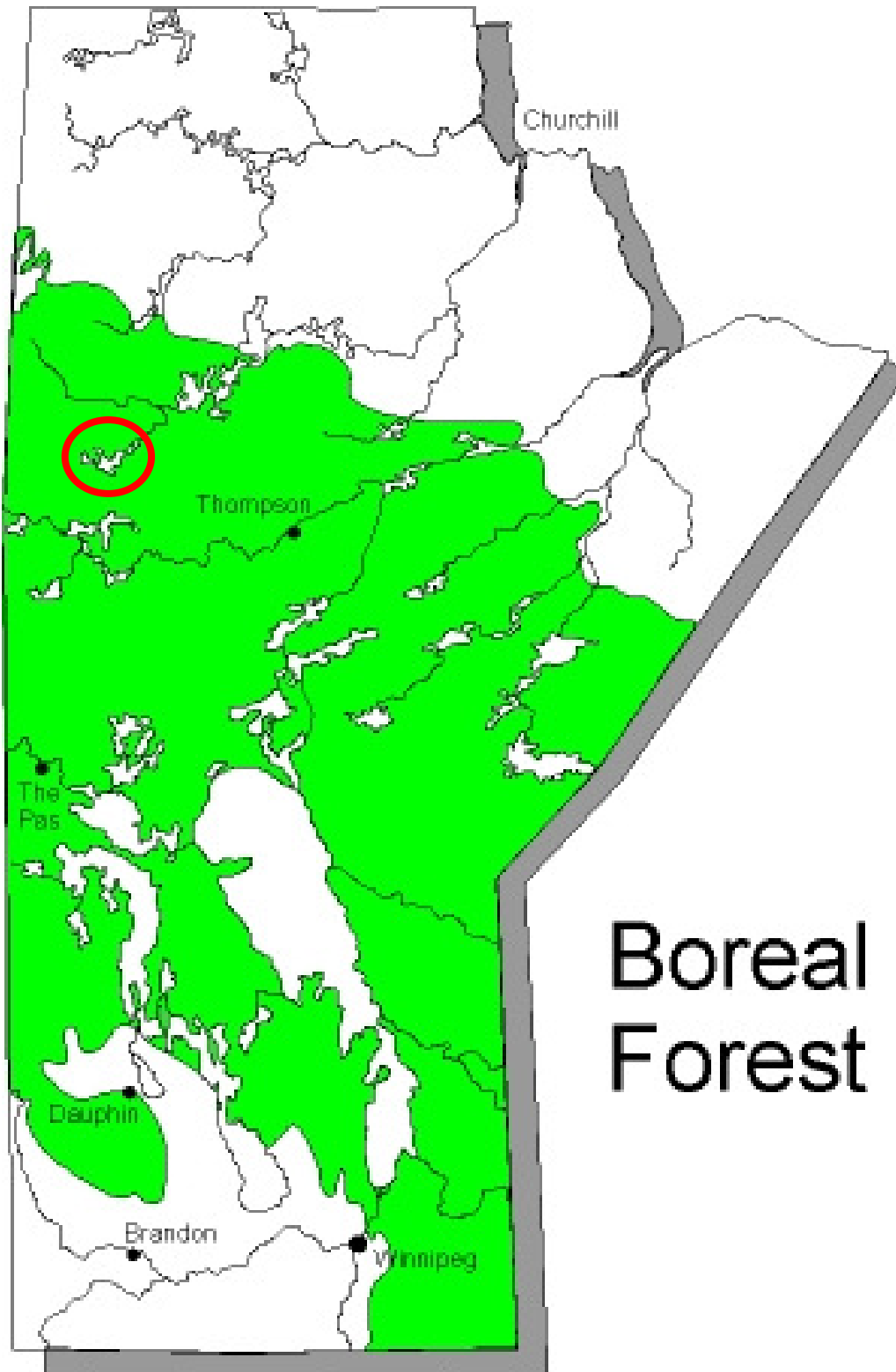


Figure 3. Extent of the Boreal Forest in Manitoba (Granville Lake Circled)
(Source: <http://www.gov.mb.ca/conservation/sustain/images/boreal.jpg>. Accessed October 2010)

2.3 The Cree of Northern Manitoba

The Cree of Northwestern Manitoba have “inhabited the Churchill River drainage of the Canadian shield since at least A.D. 1200 and probably much earlier” (Brightman, 1990, p.111). Being self-sufficient and self-governing, subarctic hunter-gatherer groups hunted, trapped and fished, as they followed their seasonal rounds. “Communities were, in terms of production, almost self-sufficient and, in the case of most, able to survive and even prosper without trade at any given moment, over a season or even over years” (Hickerson 1973 p.21). Communities were based strongly on reciprocal bonds, autonomy, and self-reliance to ensure cohesion and prosperity.

Traditional Cree groups were formed on a patrilineal basis. For the Cree populating the Hudson Bay Lowlands, broader “group identity was maintained through marriage connections and other social relationships such as feasts, spiritual gatherings, ceremonies, warfare and trade” (Lytwyn 1993 p.29). While Lytwyn (1993) was addressing the Swampy Cree, similar generalizations can be offered about other Cree groups found on the Canadian Shield. Before the arrival of Europeans, Aboriginal societies organized themselves in a variety of ways, varying in terms of the roles both individual members and subgroups performed in work, decision-making, ceremonies, and the many other aspects of everyday life (Cadwalader, 2001).

Aboriginal societies were essentially egalitarian, no one person held a significantly higher level of status than anyone else. Within this egalitarian structure, people with the most knowledge were the Elders, who had earned the most respect and

commanded the most authority through a lifetime of demonstrated ability. Elders were perceived as the keepers of the cultural values that underpin the well-being of the family and the community (Cook, 1999). The size and composition of a group varied throughout the year, “directly related to the environmental exploitation and seasonal adaptations” (Smith 1981 p.259). Although both sexes could perform one another’s tasks, a loose gendered division of labour was present within traditional Aboriginal society. Males’ major responsibilities generally involved providing subsistence for the group including making and repairing tools as well as hunting and fishing. Some of the female duties included looking after the house and family, gathering water, cooking, processing animal skins and making clothing (Drage, 1982).

The Cree do not differentiate or separate themselves from nature the way most European views of the world do, but instead, consider themselves one with it. Traditional Cree values were centered on a respect for nature, both physically and spiritually. The Cree people believe in the abstract power of the Manitou, “according to Cree cosmology, the universe was created by Kichi Manitou, the Great Spirit, who is also referred to as Opihmahcihiwew, the creator or the giver of life” (Linklater, 1994, p.33).

Shamans were an important element in traditional healing practices and Cree belief systems. Shamans were renowned for their divination, curing, and sometimes sorcery. Not all curing of the sick depended on the shaman; both traditionally and presently the Cree utilize a variety of herbal medicines gathered from the surrounding

environment (Drage, 1982).

Traditional Cree groups possessed technology manufactured by hand generally from materials that were readily available. These technologies were readily replaceable, and often expedient, thereby allowing highly mobile people to abandon or cache materials, and manufacture new objects at their next destination. Since these small groups moved frequently to follow the local abundance of seasonal resources, all aspects of material culture had to be easily transportable. Before the introduction of European technology Aboriginals fashioned most of their tools from stone, including knives, scrapers, axes and adzes. Other implements created and used included bone and antler awls, needles and fleshers used to make clothing from caribou and other animal skins (Smith, 1981). Cord and line were also utilized, and were usually made from rawhide, sinew, willow bark or spruce roots. Earthenware pots, birch bark baskets, bags that were woven, twined and netted and soapstone vessels were used for cooking and storage. Various sorts of shelters were made from skins, bark, wood and moss. At first glance the above toolkit may appear simple, but required considerable skill and innovative design and many tools were utilized in more than one way.

Traditional subsistence strategies were based on group movements throughout different seasons to take advantage of the abundance of resources in different areas at different times. “Traditionally, Cree worked when they needed transport, shelter, or food, or when they discovered traces of the activity of food animals” (George and Preston 1987 p.452). For some Cree groups “the quest for food and shelter was a circular

journey, leading them to traditional places of seasonal resource availability that had sustained their ancestors for countless generations” (Lytwyn 1993 p.198). Fishing, which involved a variety of techniques and implements, was a popular subsistence activity and a main element in the traditional diet for the Cree. Subsistence also involved big game hunting. Large terrestrial animals such as moose, bear, beaver, and in some areas caribou were important for food, tools and clothing. Large game hunting usually involved cooperative techniques that included all able-bodied members of a group. The spring and fall yielded the largest game such as moose and caribou, and the latter would be the time when traditional Cree groups stocked up on meat and resources before the winter. Smaller game such as martin, fox, rabbit and various waterfowl were taken when available but not relied upon as a main food staple. The spear as well as the bow and arrow were the principal hunting weapons for Pre-contact Cree groups, but deadfalls and snares were also utilized for smaller game (Smith, 1981).

2.4 Previous Ethnographic Studies

There are few ethnographic studies previously written which focus specifically on the Missinippi Cree of Granville Lake and Pukatawagan. First contact between Europeans and the Cree of Northern Manitoba occurred during the initial fur trade period in the seventeenth century (Ray, 1974). One of the first pieces of historical literature specifically addressing the Granville Lake area consists of the Hudson’s Bay Post Journals for Granville House written by George Charles. This fur trade post was situated where Granville Lake community resides today and was only in operation from 1794-1796. While specific Aboriginal individuals or groups are not named within the

journals, the reader gains a sense of what life was like at that time. It provides information about weather, travel routes, wildlife, popular trading goods, relationships with Aboriginal groups, as well as correspondence with other trading posts operating at that time. The Hudson's Bay Company was not the only European influence at the time, since the North West Company and independent European traders were also operating throughout the area. However, the Hudson's Bay Company produced and preserved the majority of historic records for the region.

The first ethnographic studies for the area were written by American anthropologist Robert Brightman, known for his work among the Cree in northern Manitoba. Brightman arrived in Pukatawagan in 1977, and after working with community members for some time, decided to make the trip out to Granville Lake, known to the residents of Pukatawagan as a 'remote bush settlement'. *Grateful Prey: Rock Cree Human-Animal Relationships*, written in 1979, is an examination of human-animal relationships, hunting cosmology, and spirituality among the Cree. *Grateful Prey* centers on Brightman's first-hand observations and conversations with community members of Granville Lake and Pukatawagan from the late 70's to early 80's, and is concerned with aspects of traditional Cree practices such as the 'care' of animals after the hunt.

Brightman's second work, *Traditional Narratives of the Rock Cree Indians*, published in 1980, contains stories from different genre of Rock Cree oral literature combined with interpretive and comparative commentary. The collection includes narratives of the trickster-transformer Wisakedjak, animal-human characters, spirit

guardians, the wihtikow or cannibal monster, humorous experiences, sorcery, and early encounters with Catholicism.

The final ethnography relevant to this research is titled *MISSINIPPI-ETHINIWAK*, compiled by Marie Adele Bighetty in 1986. This work is unique in that it is a community-constructed ethnography about the Missinippi people of Pukatawagan. It integrates historical records with the oral histories and traditions from community Elders and brings to life the prehistory and modern history of Pukatawagan and the Missinippi people residing there. Family histories and lineages are also discussed, as well as the influence the Catholic church has had within the community over the past decades. Although Granville Lake is seldom discussed within this literature, other than a brief mention of the fur trade post and their adherence to Treaty 6, it does provide insights into Missinippi culture and practice. Pickerel Narrows is considered to be a remote settlement of Pukatawagan, and Granville Lake residents maintain a more traditional lifeway than Pukatawagan and other surrounding communities, such as Leaf Rapids. This more 'traditional' way of life emphasizes Pickerel Narrows preference for utilizing and relying on elements of the surrounding landscape for various purposes, including subsistence and economy.

2.5 Indigenous Knowledge

The passing on of indigenous knowledge has been a key way that Aboriginal people have preserved important information for numerous generations, linking the past to the present and vice versa. Careful observation of the world combined with

interpretation in various forms is the foundation for indigenous knowledge (Cruikshank, 2001). For the purposes of this thesis, indigenous knowledge will be defined as “knowledge that derives from or is rooted in the traditional way of life of Native people” (Legat, 1991, p.1). Indigenous knowledge represents the accumulation of generations of experience and understanding passed down through oral history and oral tradition. Oral histories are first-hand information within this institution of knowledge and are made up of individual histories, or aspects of history that have been personally experienced by the individual recounting the story. Oral traditions are oral histories that have been passed down beyond the lifetime of the individual that initially experienced the narrated events. Indigenous knowledge studies often make comparisons with scientific knowledge in an effort to determine the "accuracy" of indigenous knowledge (Huntington, 2000). Other studies use indigenous knowledge in the generation of new hypotheses or for the identification of geographic locations for research (Johannes, 1993). For the purposes of this thesis it is the oral histories of community members that are being collected, and the oral traditions that are attempting to be understood, including how they are spread among community members.

Oral histories and traditions serve multiple purposes within Aboriginal culture and society. Significant events, personal memories, genealogies, spiritual stories, philosophy and worldview, as well as other forms of knowledge can be passed on through oral histories and traditions. Indigenous knowledge can be seen as “expressions of the identity, functions, customs, purposes, and generational continuity of the group of people among whom they arise” (Moss, 1988, p.9). Indigenous

knowledge can explain aspects of the past that can be useful to understanding modern cultural beliefs or practices. Scholars such as Jan Vansina assert “No one in oral societies doubts that memories can be faithful repositories which contain the sum total of past human experience and explain the how and why of present day conditions” (1985, pp. xi). Oral histories can help elucidate how people use the surrounding environment to establish cultural identity. Perks and Thomson suggest that oral history can be used as a powerful tool for discovering, exploring and evaluating the process of historical memory and how people use it to interpret their lives and the world around them (2006, p.2). For Aboriginal groups, indigenous knowledge is a source for understanding and interpreting both the past and present. “Oral traditions are documents of the present, because they are told in the present. Yet they embody a message from the past, so they are expressions of the past at the same time. They are the representation of the past in the present” (Vansina, 1985, p. xii).

For generations the Cree have verbally passed on cultural knowledge to successive generations in the forms of narratives, myths, legends, stories, and other accounts. Indigenous knowledge often extends over several generations and represents the accumulated knowledge of many highly experienced and respected persons (Huntington, 2000). Future generations take in various forms of indigenous knowledge, draw conclusions to figure out underlying meaning, and then utilize their interpretations to fit their current needs and experiences. In these ways, indigenous knowledge is continually evolving (Ingold and Kurtilla, 2000). The transmission of knowledge and skillsets is also achieved through observation and replication. An example of this can be

seen among the James Bay Cree, where the transmission of bush skills and knowledge depend on the amount of time spent out on the land utilizing apprenticeship-based knowledge transmission and hands-on learning techniques (Ohmagari and Berkes, 1997).

Indigenous knowledge is far more than a collection of facts. It is an understanding of the world and of the human place in the world (Agrawal, 1995). Within Aboriginal society it is the Elders who share the oral histories and traditions with successive generations to teach, guide, and pass on the knowledge that they obtained from their Elders throughout their lifetimes. When personal memories and stories are retold to family members, relatives, neighbors, and others, an extensive local record is built (Ingold and Kurtilla, 2000). The importance of storytelling in Aboriginal communities reinforces the recognition of Elders as conveyors of deeply held Indigenous wisdom (Kulchyski, McCaskill, Newhouse, 1999).

While traditional knowledge is passed on through oral narratives and customs, so is the traditional language in which it is told. This highlights the role of indigenous knowledge as cultural institutions, passing on cultural wisdom in various forms to maintain cultural continuity. In her work, Julie Cruikshank notes that “storytellers of Yukon First Nation ancestry continue to tell stories that make meaningful connections and provide order and continuity in a rapidly changing world” (Cruikshank, 1998, p.xiii). This sharing of knowledge has become a key component of cultural survival. In their

article, Jackson et al. (1982, p.6) highlight the link between knowledge production and cultural survival, stating that, “knowledge is fast becoming the single most important basis of power and control. Control over knowledge is, therefore, critical to success of the Native movement”. This emphasis on passing on indigenous knowledge was and still remains a primary way in which to educate future generations on aspects of economy, resources, culture, belief, and practices among the Cree.

Oral narratives are a style of education that requires the audience to listen, visualize and imagine. Storytelling is a shared experience between the storyteller and their audience. “The listener is part of the storytelling event too, and a good listener is expected to bring different life experiences to the story each time he or she hears it and to learn different things from it at each hearing” (Cruikshank, 1992, p.33-34). Storytelling can create, reestablish, or strengthen the connective power of the story. For instance, the retelling of place stories highlights the commonalities of community members, strengthening their relationships between each other and the relationship they share with the surrounding environment. Forms of indigenous knowledge include themes like navigation routes, resource harvesting, and historical events, helping to build a strong connection between community identity and the surrounding landscape. Indigenous knowledge acts as a cultural institution, conveying important information through various modes of transmission that strengthens group identity and stimulates cultural continuity.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, Aboriginal groups exchanged both goods and knowledge with surrounding groups. However, over a long time period, contact with Europeans dynamically contributed to change in Aboriginal traditional lifeways. These pressures date from early exploration, include the various stages of the Fur Trade, and with more pervasive culture change occurring with the arrival of missionaries, the negotiation of Treaties, and increasing intervention by federal and provincial authorities. For many communities, particularly those less affected by non-Native culture, indigenous knowledge remains the dominant way in which education and communication of culture and socialization takes place. Oral traditions in Aboriginal communities are intrinsic to the intergenerational transmission of indigenous knowledge (Cruikshank, 1998). The introduction of 'written history' by Europeans has yet to fully replace the verbal transmission of knowledge among Aboriginals, some who maintain that "oral tradition is respected not only as a legitimate repository of knowledge about the past but, especially when entwined with sacred or religious beliefs, as is more often than not the case, as the sole, genuine, and invariant source" (Mason, 2000, p.240).

Aboriginal storytelling generates rich oral narratives that can broaden previously known information from written texts, images, and the surrounding environment. Aboriginal oral histories can expand the traditional confines of historical research by generating new resources for research projects, broadening cultural understandings and encouraging the use of indigenous languages. Aboriginal indigenous knowledge combined with historical records or previously written ethnographies can not only add to the already available research material, but can lead to production of written documents

that reflect a Aboriginal viewpoint. In the same sense oral histories may be used in conjunction with archaeological evidence that may prove valuable in directing the location of more extensive archaeological excavation, or even better, promoting the protection and preservation of historical sites and culturally significant areas. The combination of indigenous knowledge and archaeology enriches the interpretation and meaning regarding specific places. Examples of this can be seen in recent studies from Nunavut, where oral traditions regarding landscapes are providing information for understanding local archaeological features and their distribution (Stewart et. al., 2004). Another study that has integrated archaeological data with oral records includes research among the Tsimshian people of northern British Columbia, which resulted in distinct, but comparable views of local history (Martindale and Marsden, 2003). While oral narratives can produce varying meanings and context for specific places, archaeological evidence may be used to support or amplify the context. Integrating the indigenous knowledge with archaeological evidence for a specific place can enrich the interpretation and meaning of the area. This multi-disciplinary approach may “integrate knowledge derived from archaeology with knowledge from oral traditions, revealing, in some cases, vastly richer depictions of human history than can be uncovered through the archaeological record alone or oral traditions alone” (Echo-Hawk, 2000, p.270). The use of indigenous knowledge can be a pivotal instrument for any type of research that could benefit from information about individual or group experiences and knowledge.

2.6 Cultural Landscape Research

Practically all landscapes have cultural associations since most landscapes have been affected by human action or conceptualized through human consciousness. The term cultural landscape is used to describe landscapes that have emerged out of complex relationships between Aboriginal people and the land, and tend to include traditional knowledge about place, land use and ecology (Buggey, 2004). Landscapes are interwoven through processes by which people shape, experience and understand the world around them (Robertson and Richards, 2003). In 1992 the World Heritage Convention became the first organization to legally recognize the term cultural landscape, describing it as the “combined works of nature and of man... illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal” (UNESCO, 2008, pp.85). The World Heritage Convention classifies cultural landscapes under three separate categories: 1) landscapes designed and created intentionally by man, 2) organically evolved landscapes, and 3) associative cultural landscapes (UNESCO, 2008, pp.86). An Aboriginal vision of a cultural landscape could technically fall under all three of the above categories, however, Parks Canada and various heritage fields use the term ‘Aboriginal Cultural Landscapes’ to refer to “a place valued by an Aboriginal group (or groups) because of their long and complex relationship with that land. It expresses their unity with the natural and spiritual environment. It embodies their traditional knowledge of spirits, places, land uses and ecology” (Parks Canada, 2009).

It is not hard to see how Aboriginal people consider themselves one with the land when the surrounding landscape remains a constant element within the spiritual, social, cultural, and economic aspects of their lives. Robertson and Richards assert that “the most important meaning attached to landscape is the cultural” (2003, p.2). This connection provides the naturally occurring features found on the landscape with a strong cultural meaning. “Natural features remind people of stories about events in their history and of how important animals, plants and spirits have always been for the people of their community” (NWT Cultural Places Program, 2007). While speaking with community members, one Elder asserted that it was important to remember that the land does not belong to us, we belong to the land. This is a widespread philosophical perspective among Aboriginal people whereby every living and non-living unit on Earth is interconnected and every unit lives according to the Creator’s instructions (Kinsella, 1999). These beliefs and values are the foundation regarding Aboriginal peoples’ moral responsibility and role in respecting and making sense of their surrounding environment.

Recording cultural landscapes can be a means of preserving intangible heritage. The landscape information obtained from narratives, place names, and ecological knowledge, passed on through multiple generations sharing this indigenous knowledge, empowers and preserves relationships with the landscape. In essence, the “landscapes house these stories, and protection of these places is key to their long-term survival in Aboriginal culture” (Buggey, 1999, pp.17). Like many other Aboriginal groups, the Cree of northern Manitoba hold their surrounding environment in high regard, believing landscape is history. Cree customs, traditions, worldview, spiritual beliefs, and

traditional knowledge are all strongly linked to the environment. The surrounding rivers, lakes, forests, and animals are all important regarding the lifeways and identity of the Cree. Indigenous knowledge concerning particular landscapes act as cultural institutions, used to transmit information to successive generations in an attempt to promote or maintain cultural continuity, a sense of place and identity among community members.

Human activities shape and play an important role in creating and altering landscapes (Farina, 2000). Hydro-electric development along the Churchill River has resulted in the loss of some culturally significant landscapes (Waldram, 1983). With proposed development in close proximity to the community, Pickerel Narrows community members fear that many aspects of their cultural landscape may be lost due to the flooding and subsequent erosion. This causes great anxiety for the majority of community members who want nothing more than to be able to show their children places their Elders had once taken them to educate, teach life skills, and instill cultural knowledge. Indigenous knowledge acts as a medium for the survival of cultural landscapes and visa-versa, and both the landscape and indigenous knowledge influence a sense of place and promotes individual and group identity. Community members of Pickerel Narrows are conscious of the potential loss of both significant landscapes and the indigenous knowledge associated with them, and although they agree that a written account is an inferior record compared to the physical feature, they support this recording of knowledge as at least something that can be done to preserve the cultural landscape.

2.7 Sense of Place

This thesis promotes the idea that indigenous knowledge related to cultural landscapes acts as a dynamic social institution that invokes a 'sense of place' as experienced by residents living in Pickerel Narrows. Place can be defined as a geographical entity that has become meaningful due to its social, cultural, ideological, or political attributes (Duncan, 2000). Places are integrations of nature and culture (Creswell, 1994). Within this thesis it is suggested that indigenous knowledge shared among community members of Pickerel Narrows invokes a sense of place for the culturally significant sites discussed. The term 'sense of place' reflects why specific places are special and unique. The indigenous knowledge associated with specific places provides insight into personal or community attachments with the area. A sense of place is "connected to individual human and social processes producing deep emotional connections with specific locations" (Cosgrove, 2000, p.732). A community's attachment to a place can aid in developing a sense of identity and belonging among community members and future generations. The following section offers a brief summary of place theory to illustrate how it might be useful in elucidating how specific locations in the local landscape impart a sense of place and thus, promotes individual and group identity for community members of Pickerel Narrows.

This thesis treats an Aboriginal 'sense of place' as being socially produced and stemming from personal experiences and indigenous knowledge. In the simplest terms, a sense of place is socially constructed out of physical space (Tuan 1977) and can be

defined as “the collection of meanings, beliefs, symbols, values, and feelings that individuals or groups associate with a particular locality” (Williams and Stewart, 1998 p.19). This relates to the way people feel, think and act toward the environment in which they live. Over time, place can acquire deep meaning through the steady accumulation of sentiment over the years (Tuan 1977). People become attached to certain places through a number of different ways; involvement within the community, employment, culture history and time spent in the area. Within every community there are places that people can connect with and see as a positive representation of themselves and/or the people who live there. Hazel Easthope states that “... ideas of ‘place’ are intertwined with the ideas of community, collective memory, group (and individual) identity” (2004, p.128). The interaction between a community and a culturally significant area is key in encouraging cultural identity and pride within a community, highlighting that “...the process of interaction between people and setting are what largely influence meaning” (Dovey, 1985, p.93). Cross (2001) suggests that sense of place is drawn from two aspects: relationship to place (the type of bond individuals have with a specific place) and community attachment (the depth/type of attachment a individual has to a particular place). Based on her research, Cross (2001) distinguished various types of relationships to place including: biographical, spiritual, ideological and narrative. Biographical relationships or attachments are based on a person’s history with a place. Spiritual relationships are based on intangible connections and a sense of belonging with the place. Ideological relationships are built on values and beliefs associated with particular places. Finally, narrative relationships are places with stories used to teach the history of a place and a group’s relationship to it. These relationships will be used

within the methodology and analysis sections of this thesis to compare the experiences and insights of community members regarding cultural landscapes and their various meanings for them.

A sense of place is a complex concept that relates to meaningful experiences, cultural beliefs or spiritual bonds an individual or group has for a specific area. A common bond shared among community members can strengthen group identity as well as an individual's sense of belonging to the group. A sense of belonging is formed through a sense of place, "a person's sense of place can provide them with a sense of belonging" (Easthope 2004: 131). The more an individual associates with a place, be it physical, verbal or from memory, the more they feel connected to it. Sharing narratives regarding a specific place can strengthen or re-establish a community's sense of place with the surrounding landscape. A community's perception of the surrounding environment and their relationship with it are not only reflected in the landscape but are also created by and closely linked to it (Davidson-Hunt and Berkes 2003). Since a sense of place is a social construct it can change over time as landscapes evolve or as boundaries are redefined. Lynch argues that since a sense of place may be altered it is important to adapt and replicate past memories and feelings towards it so that a sense of place can be carried throughout generations (1973).

Chapter 3 - Research Methodology

*“Every time an Elder dies, it is like a library has burned down”
(Allan and Montell, 1981, p.xii)*



“Joking Around”

Subject: Tom Bird and Holly Cote

Photo By: Brenda Anderson

3.1 Introduction

This research utilizes a qualitative study model, whereby the researcher interacts with those being studied, and the research aims to study human ideologies and interactions (Creswell 1994). The following study can be described as a cooperative research approach (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty 2007). Cooperation of community members is necessary within this type of study to record knowledge that will be beneficial to a variety of people and groups both within and outside of the community.

Like many community-based studies, plans continually changed, requiring adaptable methodologies and shifting objectives in keeping with the sorts of information provided in the interviews. Before research began, it was necessary to obtain permission to conduct the research within the community and get an idea of the number of community members who would agree to participate. My research was undertaken only after verbal approval was given by Leslie Baker, Headman of Pickerel Narrows at the time of research. As I had numerous previous conversations with him regarding this project, he readily agreed.

3.2 Methods

Research was divided into four main stages, described in more detail below. The first was the planning stage, which involved pre-fieldwork planning and receiving consent from the community. This included undertaking an ethical review process at Lakehead University. The second stage of research was the fieldwork. Research methods utilized included unstructured interviews with community members and

participant observation. The latter involved participating in daily activities with community members. For example, I went fishing, collected local plants, and 'tagged along' on hunting trips. I resided in Pickerel Narrows for 21 days while conducting research and spent 5 days traveling to surrounding communities to interview Elders from Pickerel Narrows who no longer reside there full time due to medical needs. Analysis of data (stage 3) began in Pickerel Narrows in order to access my community assistant (Brenda Anderson) to help translate some interviews, and verify the spelling of Cree words. The fourth stage involved thesis writing and verification of information.

3.2.1 Stage 1- Initial Planning

Before field research began, preparation including the construction of a research proposal, receipt of ethics approval and formulation of a set of topics to be discussed throughout the interviews with community members. It was also imperative to develop methods for the management and analysis of the data collected during this project (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). The five cultural landscapes addressed within this project were chosen with the help of community members in an effort to include areas that were significant to the entire community.

Originally I hoped to construct a detailed map illustrating all of the cultural landscapes throughout Granville Lake for both community reference and future research projects undertaken in the area. However, many community members expressed concern and discomfort about the public distribution of large quantities of their information. After much deliberation with community members it was agreed that if

maps were produced they would become property of the community and would not be included within publications or subsequent presentations outside of the community.

3.2.2 Stage 2- Interviews and Primary Data Collection

The indigenous knowledge used in this thesis was gathered using two main methods: participant observation and interviews, both described in separate sections below.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is a commonly utilized method in many research disciplines. It is through participating in the everyday activities with research partners that a researcher can most accurately observe and describe phenomena (Dewalt and Dewalt 2002). Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) outline different levels of participation that vary in the degree of involvement. My involvement with the community throughout this research relates closely to what Dewalt and Dewalt (2002) refer to as 'complete participation' (where the researcher becomes a member of the group), as opposed to researching from an outside position. In certain activities, such as hunting, I took on the role of outside observer since I was unlicensed, non-aboriginal, and usually the only female included in what is usually a male activity. Since I sought to observe the male group interaction I limited my direct participation in the hunt. However, I was actively involved with helping cut up moose meat, lifting nets with commercial fishermen, cleaning and processing fish, collecting berries, picking medicines, and helping out at the Mary Newell school. It is important to utilize participant observation while studying

cultural landscapes. In order to understand a group or society's cultural landscape, it is recommended that one enter that landscape under the guidance of people who are intimately aware of the landscape (Ingold, 2000).

Interviews

Since I have been working closely with members from Pickerel Narrows over the past several years, I have built friendships and relationships of trust with the majority of local residents. These previous personal relationships helped immensely with the interview process, and I believe that it also directly affected the nature and detail of the narratives shared. Specifically, I believe that these pre-existing personal relationships resulted in some people sharing information that could not be included in the thesis.

The first step of the interview process was to visit every household (seven at the time) to explain to each family the reason I was there, what I was trying to accomplish, and to ask if they would be interested in sharing their knowledge. This process was executed smoothly since I knew, or was at least previously introduced to, almost all community members. At every household I left a cover letter explaining the project (see Appendix A), and for those interested in participating, a time was set up for me to return for an interview. I personally conducted all the community interviews in English, with the exception of two interviews that were conducted in Cree. For the Cree interviews I enlisted the help of Brenda Anderson, a Pickerel Narrows community member who assisted in the translation throughout the interview and facilitated interview transcription into English.

A total of ten interviews were conducted with community members, two of which were with Elders who no longer lived in the community in order to be closer to medical facilities. Since some Elders were unable to travel out on the land, and many community members were busy commercial fishing, traveling to the five cultural sites with participants was not feasible. Instead, photographs of particular locations were used within the interview process to elicit information regarding that particular area. When collecting indigenous knowledge from community members I decided to use unstructured interviews, which involved working with a list of topics instead of asking structured questions (Bryman and Teevan, 2001). I believed that this method of interviewing would work the best within the Pickerel Narrows community, where social norms perceive direct and very personal questions as impolite and bad manners. The use of unstructured interviews did not restrict participants to specific questions, enabled the conversation to flow smoothly, and allowed the interviewee to share any information they believed was relevant to the topic of conversation. This open-ended approach led to important information being shared that I would have not thought to inquire about. Along with locating culturally significant sites, participants were asked open-ended questions about traditional knowledge they possess that is associated with specific areas, including myths, legends, stories and other accounts regarding important places, as well as how or from whom they learned the information. At the end of each interview participants were given a small honorarium and a pouch of tobacco as a thank you gift.

When permission was granted, the interviews were recorded with an audio recorder, to be able to give my full attention to the interviewee, and the recordings were later transcribed. Community members' responses to the various interview topics drew out the history and importance of the landscape under discussion. With the completion of the interviews, I had an understanding of how each individual viewed their surrounding landscape through the narratives they had shared, and I began to analyze the interviews and categorize them into themes. Every interview regarding a specific landscape revealed topics discussed by all interviewees, as well as specific topics unique to individual story-tellers. Topics relevant to specific landscapes included: medicine, hunting, fishing, family, personal accounts, lessons and spirituality to name a few. The topics deriving from the various interviews were grouped and classified by theme. These themes include biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative, subsistence and ecological and will be explained further in the following sections.

As required by ethics guidelines at Lakehead University, after the study is finished, the primary data for this thesis will be stored in a secure location for five years. The recordings will not be used for other purposes except after receiving prior written permission from participating community members. After five years, the audio files will be erased. A summary of written research results and recordings of the collected stories will be made and copies will be given to the Mary Newell School. These copies will become property of the Pickerel Narrows community which will have authority over the use and access of the data.

3.2.3 Stage 3- Analysis and Verification

Throughout the fieldwork process, analysis began as I recorded my thoughts and observations in a personal field book for the duration of the project. This helped me keep a record of the activities I took part in, lessons and stories I learned that were not recorded in a formal interview setting and personal reflections regarding specific landscapes discussed within this project. The formal analysis of collected information began with the transcription of community interviews. I personally transcribed the majority of interviews, with the exception of the interviews recorded in Cree. The time spent transcribing the individual interviews allowed me to develop an understanding of the ideas and meanings shared within each interview. As more interviews were transcribed, patterns and themes began to emerge from the underlying meanings and ideas of specific places.

Most of the data collected was organized to identify and group recurring ideas and themes while I was in Pickerel Narrows. However, after returning home I reorganized the various themes, drawing several themes from the research of Cross (2001) that distinguished various types of relationships to place. The themes utilized by Cross and incorporated into this research include biographical, spiritual, ideological and narrative information (2001). I also include another theme not used by Cross, subsistence, a common theme throughout the interviews with community members.

Verification and feedback were ongoing throughout the course of the research. During subsequent visits to various participating community members, they helped me verify spelling, place names, and any incomplete information within the research. Like many quantitative studies, a main goal of qualitative research is to maximize the validity of the study. Jackson (1999) refers to validity as the extent to which the observations (results) accurately reflect the actual reality. Individual interviews could not be discussed with other community members, as per the ethical guidelines and explained in the community members' consent forms.

3.2.4 Stage 4- Final Output

The indigenous knowledge gathered from community members regarding cultural landscapes, activities, cultural ideology etc. was used together with a literature review and my observations during participant observation to create the interpretive materials presented in chapters four and five. It is hoped that these materials will be used in the Mary Newell School for educational purposes, or by community members in the event of future development within the area.

Chapter 4 - Cultural Landscapes of Granville Lake

“For many, a sense of personal relationship to nature or place evokes an ethical commitment to practical action to protect and care for the natural environment...”
(Holmes, 2003: 31)



“Tucked Away Across the Bay”

Subject: Pickerel Narrows Community

Photo By: Holly Cote

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present some aspects of Aboriginal narrative extracted from community indigenous knowledge, as a source of cultural, environmental and archaeological facts and symbols concerning how the community members interact with and perceive their surrounding landscape. Narratives are analyzed as a set of structures that reflect biological, cultural and physical elements of the Granville Lake landscape. The interview process allowed community members to reflect on their landscape, leading to insights into landscape uses and changes over time. These insights may prove valuable for future efforts at conservation, land entitlement, and archaeological or environmental impact assessment studies within the area.

The history of Pickerel Narrows as with other Aboriginal communities, has been passed down from generation to generation since time immemorial. In this way, indigenous knowledge acts as a cultural institution, passing on culturally important information to shape identity and promote cultural continuity. The following chapter details the five culturally significant sites located throughout Granville Lake and highlights the indigenous knowledge associated with them. The five sites were chosen by the community because of their cultural and physical value held by community members. At the request of community members, the interview information within this thesis is anonymous, and each interviewee is identified by an assigned number.

4.2 Research Themes

As discussed in the analysis section of the previous chapter, a community's relationship to place can emerge through various themes of indigenous knowledge

shared by community members during individual interviews. Themes within the indigenous knowledge, adapted from Cross (2001), include biographical, spiritual, ideological and narrative information. I also incorporate a subsistence theme to highlight commonly offered information gathered from community members regarding the five significant landscapes discussed. Table 1 outlines the various connections with the landscapes and the common themes emerging among the indigenous knowledge collected.

Table 1: Connections with the landscape emerging from the indigenous knowledge of community members

Connection With The Landscape	Themes Associated With the Connection
Biographical	Historical or ancestral connections with the land
Spiritual	Emotional or intangible connections with the land
Ideological	Beliefs or moral connections with the land
Narrative	Storytelling or mythical connections with the land
Subsistence	Economic or sustenance connections with the land

Individual community members have various connections with the landscape depending on age, experience, employment, gender, and family lineage. The five sites discussed within this project have various groupings of connections associated with them. Some sites only have one type of connection associated with them, while other sites have multiple connections that signify their importance and identity among community members. The following section reveals some of the indigenous knowledge regarding the five significant sites and community members' connection to specific landscapes.

4.3 Significant Sites of Granville Lake

4.3.1 PICKEREL NARROWS COMMUNITY



Figure 4: Pickerel Narrows Community (Main Road and Houses)

To the members of Pickerel Narrows, the community is “*a peaceful living*” (Interview 3, 2009) and Granville Lake itself “*a paradise*” (Interview 4, 2009). Pickerel Narrows, located on a small peninsula in the south side of Granville Lake, is considered by some to be one of the oldest places occupied by the Cree people within the area. “*From what I understand all the people from Nelson House, South Indian Lake and Pukatawagan originated from Granville Lake then they spread out with their own lives*” (Interview 2, 2009). Prior to the arrival of Europeans within the area people would travel all over the lake but, “*this was the original, cuz people used to stay here all over the*

place...this is one of the places that we live now, right here, right here is where the original place was. This was the place cuz my grandfather told me and his grandfather told him” (Interview 3,2009). The Aboriginal residents of the area were always moving, “people used to live um all over the place they didn’t, they didn’t stay in one place they used to go where there was a lot of fish, good fish. And uh they used to go camping all over Granville Lake, if they killed a moose they would stay there and um harvest. And then after they harvest they would come and spend their winter here” (Interview 4, 2009).

Before the construction of the modern prefabricated houses found in Pickerel Narrows today, the peninsula contained log cabins, which were inhabited by more than one family. Community relationships were reciprocal, *“Back then the days were good, everything worked well, everyone got along, everybody was happy. If you were my neighbor and you ran short of something there was no hesitation, your neighbor would offer and give you a helping hand, everyone worked together and everything was good” (Interview 2, 2009). As an isolated community most people lived off the land, “my grandparents um lived off the land we ate fish all the time, moose meat, ducks, geese in the springtime and fish all summer long and moose meat” (Interview 4, 2009). For other resources community members worked together, “There used to be a group of men, they go by dog team with their sleighs, bring back what the community needed and spread it out. They would go trapping and bring their furs out and get money, the fur buyers were over there and they would bring back the groceries. That was one of the jobs in the community; people would get paid to go shopping. People would be given*

things like fishing rods and nets or get paid sometimes to do the shopping for them”
(Interview 2, 2009).

After the arrival of Europeans, the Hudson’s Bay Company built a trading post where the Pickerel Narrows community garden resides today, *“this is traditional land way before the trading post came here, I heard about that from my grandfather this was uh traditional land before the post people came here and set up their own stuff here, they said they cleared them out, they chased them out of here, so they could uh build a store here and whatnot and they had to move somewhere else”* (Interview 3, 2009).

One Elder recalls, *“my grandfather was a, his grandfather was a Hudson Bay Company worker you know, his last name was Eketor and the white man changed it to Linklatar. The people from the company came and changed our names, we didn’t understand why, they came from Churchill”* (Interview 5, 2009). Most community members interviewed know of the HBC Post, and that it used to be located where the community garden is today, but cannot recall hearing anything about the original post. Many remember it being owned in the last fifty years by an independent trader by the name of Mike Chuiack, who operated the post in recent times before it was burned down in the early nineteen-eighties.



Figure 5: Pickerel Narrows Mary Newell School (Grades K-8)

The Mary Newell School was recently built in Pickerel Narrows in the nineteen-eighties. Before that if you wanted your children to go to school they were sent to Pukatawagan. When I asked one Elder if there were any teachers when he was young he replied, *“No, I don’t remember there being any.... You learned what you learned from your home. I still follow what my parents taught me, not to disrespect anybody”* (Interview 2, 2009).

Various connections to Pickerel Narrows emerge from the information shared by community members. Indigenous knowledge gathered from community members revealed biographical, ideological and subsistence connections to the Pickerel Narrows community. A biographical connection to the community can be seen through the knowledge regarding the past people occupying the landscape, their movements and

activities. Stories passed down from family members also reveal a biographical connection with the community. Historical insights into the lifestyles after the arrival of Europeans and the construction of the HBC post is another common theme among various interviews, including the changing of Aboriginal names described by one Elder. Ideological connections to the community were also shared among the interviews, including the communal sharing of goods and reciprocal working relationships of community members. Subsistence was the final connection associated with the community, including what types of resources were available both before and after the arrival of Europeans. How community members made a living, supporting their families and other members of the community were common themes discussed by community members.

4.3.2 HIGH ROCK



Figure 6: High Rock (Across from Pickerel Narrows Community)

This area is known locally as High Rock, not to be confused with the once occupied High Rock community, which was located between Pukatawagan and Pickerel Narrows until it was burnt down in a bushfire. This area is located across the bay from Pickerel Narrows and can be reached by foot from the community along the shoreline. This is where the mimiguisuk (the little people) once lived. *“Before there was a lot of people the mimiguisuk used to live there. They made caves but the more people come the mimisuk moved, they moved to Manitou island”* (Interview 1, 2009). Others recall, *“Yes, the mimiguisuk lived there. The high rock across Granville Lake is where they first lived. They use to pick the rock for their fire. A company had a house on top of the hill, this way (motions to the top of the hill). The Elders used to dream and told the mimiguisuk they had to move because the white man stunk (laughs)”* (Interview 5, 2009). The mimiguisuk (mimisuk for singular) are also known as ‘the fish people’, ‘underwater people’ or ‘the star people’, and are described as having a *“flat face and no nose just they, they only had holes, but um they had hands like us and feet like us but they had uh they their face they didn’t have a nose just holes right here (points to nose), and then uh they lived underwater”* (Interview 4, 2009). The mimiguisuk are regarded as a mischievous bunch, *“my grandfather was um out lifting nets or paddling towards his net, he found one, he found one mimisuk lifting his net taking fish outta their net, and when the mimisuk saw them he took off”* (Interview 6, 2009). Many narratives are told by all community members about the mimiguisuk lifting nets, stealing fish, and scaring people.



Figure 7: Brenda Anderson in one of the High Rock Caves

The caves found along the High Rock are said to be the work of the mimiguisuk. *“That’s where they dug, the mimiguisuk”* claimed one elder (Interview 5, 2009). From an archaeological perspective, the caves at high rock appear to be quarries used for the extraction of quartz, possibly for the production of cores and preforms in stone tool manufacturing. When some community members were questioned about the caves, some indicated that they had asked their Elders about them, *“to my grandmother I said, why is this hole here? And then she said oh long time ago people used that for to um to make knives and whatnot”* (Interview 4, 2009). Another community member recalled a time when he was out on the land with his grandfather, *“he said my grandson uh you see this big hole here, and I said yeah, yeah I see that I told him, he said you know a long time ago people use to make knives and they used to make knives and*

arrowheads out of these things, I never used to believe him you know that, I never used to believe him” (Interview 3, 2009). It is said that there are some caves underwater roughly fifteen feet below the current waterline that resemble the caves that can be seen today. *“It’s one of those caves that goes like this, it opens like this but once you get under there, there’s a surface under there, you can breathe once you get under there... we used to disappear for so long people used to think that we’d drowned but we were under there (laughs) just relaxing under there”* (Interview 2, 2009). Today, the High Rock area is still used by some community members as an area for picking different types of medicines.

Multiple connections to High Rock emerge from the information collected from community interviews that include biographical, narrative and subsistence connections. Biographical connections are visible through the family stories passed down regarding the mimiguisuk stealing fish from community members’ nets and how the caves at High Rock came to be. Narrative connections are clearly evident through all the stories regarding the mimiguisuk, their movements and their mischievous ways. High Rock can also be seen as having a subsistence connection to community members through the various medicinal plants collected there.

4.3.3 GRANDFATHER ROCK & GRANDFATHER QUARRY



Figure 8: Grandfather Rock

Grandfather Rock and Grandfather Quarry are considered culturally significant among the community members of Pickerel Narrows. This large boulder that sits atop of the high granite rock outcrop is said to be one of the Grandfathers who watches over the nearby quarry, the Churchill River, or the Pickerel Narrows community, depending on whom you talk to. The Grandfather Rock is said to be “*the keeper of the quarry*” (Interview 6, 2009) who watches over the area, “*he is supposed to be the man that sat while everybody was working, and, before the white people started coming he use to sit*

and not only watch out for um things that could harm them but uh also watch for um caribou and moose and you know just keep an eye on things” (Interview 7, 2009). When the trading post was established in Pickerel Narrows and the Aboriginal people were chased off (Interview 2 and 3, 2009) one Elder said, *“when everybody got chased off, people say he stayed behind to, um, watch over everything, he’s still there today”* (Interview 5, 2009). Some people believe that the Grandfather rock was once a powerful man who turned himself to stone to watch over the area, while others believe that the rock was placed there, *“An old man dreamt that he put a big rock there, you can see the rock right in front of you. My grandfather used to tell me about Edward Bighetty, he’s the one that put the big rock there”* (Interview 5, 2009).

The Grandfather Quarry is situated in close proximity to the Grandfather Rock. The Grandfather Quarry has been the site of archaeological excavations (between 2007 and 2009), headed by Kevin Brownlee of the Manitoba Museum. This multi-year investigation of Grandfather Quarry sought to determine the extraction techniques and the date range for quarry use. The reports for the archaeological investigations of the Grandfather quarry are still in the process of completion at the time of writing this thesis, and the results for samples sent for dating are still pending. Although a date for the quarry has not been scientifically established, its sheer size suggests its antiquity. Grandfather quarry measures 12 meters long by 4 meters wide and roughly 2 meters deep, giving the quarry a dimension of 96 meters³. Grandfather Quarry has been filled in with the debitage (lithic waste) produced during the process of quartz extraction over time. This quartz debitage has an average density of 2.5 grams per cubic centimeter.

Based on the estimated size of the Grandfather Quarry, it roughly holds 240 metric tons of quartz waste flakes. The size of the quarry and volume of lithic debitage it contains demonstrates the extensive utilization of the quarry and suggests its great antiquity.

Some community members describe the quarry as the root of much controversy between Aboriginal groups. In the past control over this area and the lithic materials found there was highly sought after, resulting in territorial battles and unfortunately the loss of many lives. *“Yeah, I heard about a few of them, I heard about uh Grandfather Quarry about uh the uh they used to they used to uh fight over that thing a long time ago, because they got overpower from this place here, the High Rock, so Nelson House went over and were fighting over, that’s what I heard. Cuz Nelson House came over to try and fight for this and they used to have a little bit of uh battle”* (Interview 9, 2009). Some Elders believe the Grandfather Quarry is, like High Rock, the work of the Mimiguisuk, *“Yah, the little people did that they used that rock to make fire”* (Interview 5, 2009).



Figure 9: Grandfather Quarry

Although the Grandfather Rock and Grandfather Quarry were among the recommended areas to include within this project by community members, during the interviews there was little information shared by participants, even Elders, regarding these massive features. What's intriguing here is what has happened to the narratives regarding these two places. Is it possible that these areas are considered culturally valuable and their histories are only shared among community members? Or, have the stories been lost over time? Another possible reason for the lack of shared information may be that the use of lithic materials in tool making declined after the arrival of Europeans and the introduction of non-lithic weapons. This decrease in demand for raw lithic material may have resulted in the loss of stories relating to the quarry over time.

Multiple connections with both Grandfather Rock and Grandfather Quarry are visible through the information shared from community interviews. Biographical, ideological and narrative connections are key themes at these two sites. Biographical connections can be seen through the historical stories passed down regarding the conflict resulting from control over the area. Ideological connections can be seen through the ideas and beliefs surrounding how the Grandfather Rock came to sit in its present location. Narratives regarding the mimiguisuk creating the Grandfather Quarry are present in the interviews that contained information regarding the quarry.

4.3.4 MANITOU ISLAND

The most mysterious location in all of Granville Lake has to be Manitou Island. Manitou Island is a small, dome-shaped island with a narrow rocky beach around its shoreline. The trees are quite dense around the base of the island, but thin out as the terrain peaks, roughly one hundred feet or so above the waterline. Manitou Island is a very respected place among community members, so out of respect I did not feel comfortable taking a picture.

One of the first lessons I learned upon first visiting Granville Lake was that you should never point at Manitou Island. This social taboo of pointing is known and followed by even the youngest children in the community. *“When you point at the Manitou island the wind blows, I’m amazed by that, it’s crazy, it’s dangerous. Even if you get off of the Manitou island it doesn’t matter, things can go very wrong with the weather”* (Interview 1, 2009). If somehow it slips your mind, and you even point in the

general direction of Manitou Island there is always someone around to slap your hand away and be ever-willing to remind you for the rest of the day about bringing bad weather. *“If you point at the island the wind will come up”* (Interview 8, 2009) is the concurrence among community members. This belief is not taken lightly among a community whose subsistence activities and main mode of transportation is based on the conditions of the waterways.

As mentioned earlier in the narratives regarding High Rock, the mimiguisuk eventually moved from High Rock to Manitou Island, *“that’s where the mimiguisuk went after they got chased off High Rock and the Grandfather Quarry, they went into hiding on that island”* (Interview 6, 2009). Some attribute the mimiguisuks’ move to the European traders settling in the area, *“Before there was a lot of people the mimiguisuk used to live there. They made caves but the more people come the mimisuk they moved, they moved to Manitou island”* (Interview 1, 2009). Camping on Manitou Island is not recommended by members of the community, and stories of people camping there are always filled with strange things happening and strange noises throughout the night. *“Uh, if you camp there uh the waves will get big and uh it will start storming, yeah”* (Interview 10, 2009). Some have ignored the warning about spending the night, *“You know like the story about the white guy getting his tent whatever flattened in the middle of the night”* (Interview 7, 2009).

The narratives regarding Manitou Island all suggest that this landscape be respected and not taken lightly, *“you gotta show respect to Manitou, give tobacco, that*

island is, is, funny you know. Out on the water you put tobacco, that's what gets you home, you won't get swamped" (Interview 7, 2009).

Multiple connections with Manitou Island are observable through the information provided by community interviews. Indigenous knowledge gathered from community members revealed spiritual, ideological and narrative connections to the Manitou Island. Narrative connections to the landscape can be seen through the multiple stories, present in all interviews, relating to the mimiguisuks move to Manitou Island. Ideological connections to the landscape can be seen through the strong beliefs shared by all community members that Manitou Island is a place to be respected by everyone who travels throughout Granville Lake, both community members and outsiders. Spiritual connections associated with Manitou Island can be seen in the emotions and beliefs shared by community members. Responses to questions regarding Manitou Island were taken very seriously by community members who showed deep reverence for the island.

4.3.5 GRANVILLE FALLS

To Pickerel Narrows community members, Granville Falls is both spiritually and economically significant since it provides both subsistence and medicine. Located southeast of the community, Granville Falls is a broad, low sloping falls with a portage linking Suwannee Lake with Granville Lake.



Figure 10: Granville Falls

Having recent pictures of Granville Falls really helped jumpstart community members' memories, especially for the Elders who have not been to the falls for decades. *"Oh boy it looks different. Granville Falls used to be really high, the water would fall from the top, straight down. The water now is so high I barely recognize it. I used to guide there, around Granville Falls"* (Interview 5, 2009).

Before the water rose as a consequence of downstream damming of the Churchill River to the point that the shorelines of Granville Falls are flooded, it was a popular place to pick herbs and medicines. *"My Grandmother took me and my, my sisters there to get herbs for tea and medicine and to help people and my Grandpa cuz he was sick. We would pick the crusty black ones, you know the ones and she, she would tell us about herbs and give us the baskets to carry them all in, she taught us*

lots” (Interview 4, 2009). Some community members were concerned with the decreased availability of medicinal plants due to the flooding of Granville Falls, *“It’s all under water now, I don’t think we’ll ever see the herbs anymore what we used to have, they are gone, they are dead”* (Interview 7, 2009).

Granville Falls was also important for subsistence, and later economically when commercial fishing was introduced. Groups of men would travel to the falls and get fish to feed the community with, *“My grandfather told me they were spearing uh they were spearing uh sturgeon long time ago, they used to get about thirty-seven thirty-eight sturgeon and bring them back here, yeah. It was a tradition, so that tradition carried onto my grandfather whoever that was living here in Granville Lake, so they went and got the fish from there, my grandfather told me a long time ago, they teach it to the young guys and they used to go spear the, spear the sturgeon. And still they used the harpoon”* (Interview 3, 2009). One elder remembered a trip he made to Granville Falls with his Grandfather when he was a young boy, *“he showed me, he said look down and I looked down and I looked down and there was fish swimming everywhere, the water was so clear that time when we were, when I was about ten years old. I looked down and I looked down at the fish eh, yeah they were swimming all over the place it was spawning season”* (Interview 2, 2009).

Most interviews revealed that Granville Falls has always been an important fishing area, however in the past the emphasis was not so focused on pickerel as it was

sturgeon, with community members describing the falls as an important place for both sturgeon spawning and fishing. *“There was lots, lots, lots at Granville Falls. There was lots of sturgeon fishing, we had plenty on our nets, that’s when they started disappearing. People used to go fish as far as twin falls, there was sturgeon there as well. Back then white people were already around”* (Interview 5, 2009).

Granville Falls is now threatened by proposed hydro-electric development, which is why I believe community members suggested it as one of the significant sites to include within this project. This is not the first time Granville Falls has been jeopardized by hydro development. One Elder remembers, *“Sheritt Gordon came and brush cut because they wanted to come and block off Granville Falls but they quit. They decided to dam the Laurie River instead”* (Interview 5, 2009). Pickerel Narrows community members have such a strong connection to and reliance on Granville Falls I wanted to know how they would feel if the falls was developed into a dam or generating station. Not one community member agreed with it and two interviews became so emotional that a break was needed before we could continue. One community members argued, *“For me it wouldn’t be a good idea, people from other communities would lose everything, their fishing, their trapping, the land. There will be nothing left even here, this place. I am still here today just for that reason, there is lots of food, big game, small game for me to trap, this is why I’m here. If they come in they will ruin that, that is not a good idea”* (Interview 1, 2009).

Fear and worry are two feelings community members shared during this interview question, *“I think it would destroy everything, what what little bit we have in Granville Lake I think it we’d have nothing. I think that the graveyards will be underwater, that’s the most sad part of the, to see my um, my relatives underwater”* (Interview 9, 2009). Some community members were concerned for their children and future generations, *“I think I would feel kinda mad for building that dam there and for them to, to destroy what, what I seen when I was a kid, I’d like to see my kids see clear water not the murky waters and polluting and everything like we see right now, that’s what I would like”* (Interview 3, 2009).

Multiple connections with Granville Falls are visible through the information shared through the interviews. Indigenous knowledge gathered from community members revealed biographical and subsistence connections to Granville Falls. Biographical connections can be seen in the stories from Elders regarding the appearance of the falls in the past. Both biographical and subsistence connections can be seen from the multiple stories passed on through community members regarding previous generations utilizing Granville Falls for fishing. Subsistence connections to Granville Falls continue with community members today, some of which to continue to use the falls to fish, either for recreation, personal subsistence or commercial fishing for employment. Additional subsistence connections can also be linked to Granville Falls, where certain medicinal plants were gathered in the past and continue to be utilized in present times.

4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the research findings from unstructured interviews with Pickerel Narrows community members. Five major connections with the five cultural landscapes discussed within this project emerged throughout the interviews, including biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative and subsistence. A table highlighting these connections is illustrated below. These connections to an area help to build and strengthen the importance of a cultural landscape over time. The following chapter discusses variations in transmission from interviews with community members. The next chapter attempts to uncover one of the thesis' main research questions, how patterned variation in the details and telling of stories regarding these places occurs.

Table 2: Granville Lake sites and their associated connections

Site Name	Connections
Pickerel Narrows Community	Biographical, Ideological and Subsistence
High Rock	Biographical, Narrative and Subsistence
Grandfather Rock and Grandfather Quarry	Biographical, Ideological and Narrative
Manitou Island	Spiritual, Ideological and Narrative
Granville Falls	Biographical and Subsistence

Chapter 5 - Patterned Variation

“Oral traditions are broad understandings of the past that arise organically in and out of the cultural dynamics of an evolving society” (Moss, 1988: 9).



“Experimental Rock Art”

Subject: A moose, a thunderbird, and handprints from Leslie Baker, Brenda Anderson and Holly Cote

Photo By: Holly Cote

5.1 Introduction

This thesis treats indigenous knowledge as a social institution that, through oral histories and traditions, functions to perpetuate culturally important information over successive generations and thereby enable cultural continuity. The repetition of oral narratives has educated numerous generations regarding social practices, spirituality, resource harvesting, environmental knowledge, entertainment, and culture history. While the sharing of knowledge through oral traditions serves as an educational device, the stories do not remain unchanged over time. “Oral traditions are not normally the direct, immediate, personal experiences of those who hold them in memory but rather the experiences of a whole ethos of previous generations, acquired from the last immediate one, and retold in the present as they are understood by the present generation” (Moss, 1988, p.9). Although some details among the oral traditions may vary slightly, the underlying morals and themes remain consistent.

Richard Bauman suggests that “if we are interested in the place of narrative in social life, it is the dynamics of variability that we should investigate” (Bauman, 1986, p. 11). With this in mind, this chapter examines variation in the Pickerel Narrows oral narratives to document variation based on the narrator, gender, age, family lineage, or the intended audience. The variations within particular stories emphasize oral narratives as an organic historical and cultural record, ever changing to be suitable for the surrounding circumstances. Observing the variation among the oral accounts may shed light on the situational context of the story telling process, where the narrator is adjusting particular elements including the allegory, tone, language and theme to adapt the story to suit the situation in which it is told. The examination of variation among the

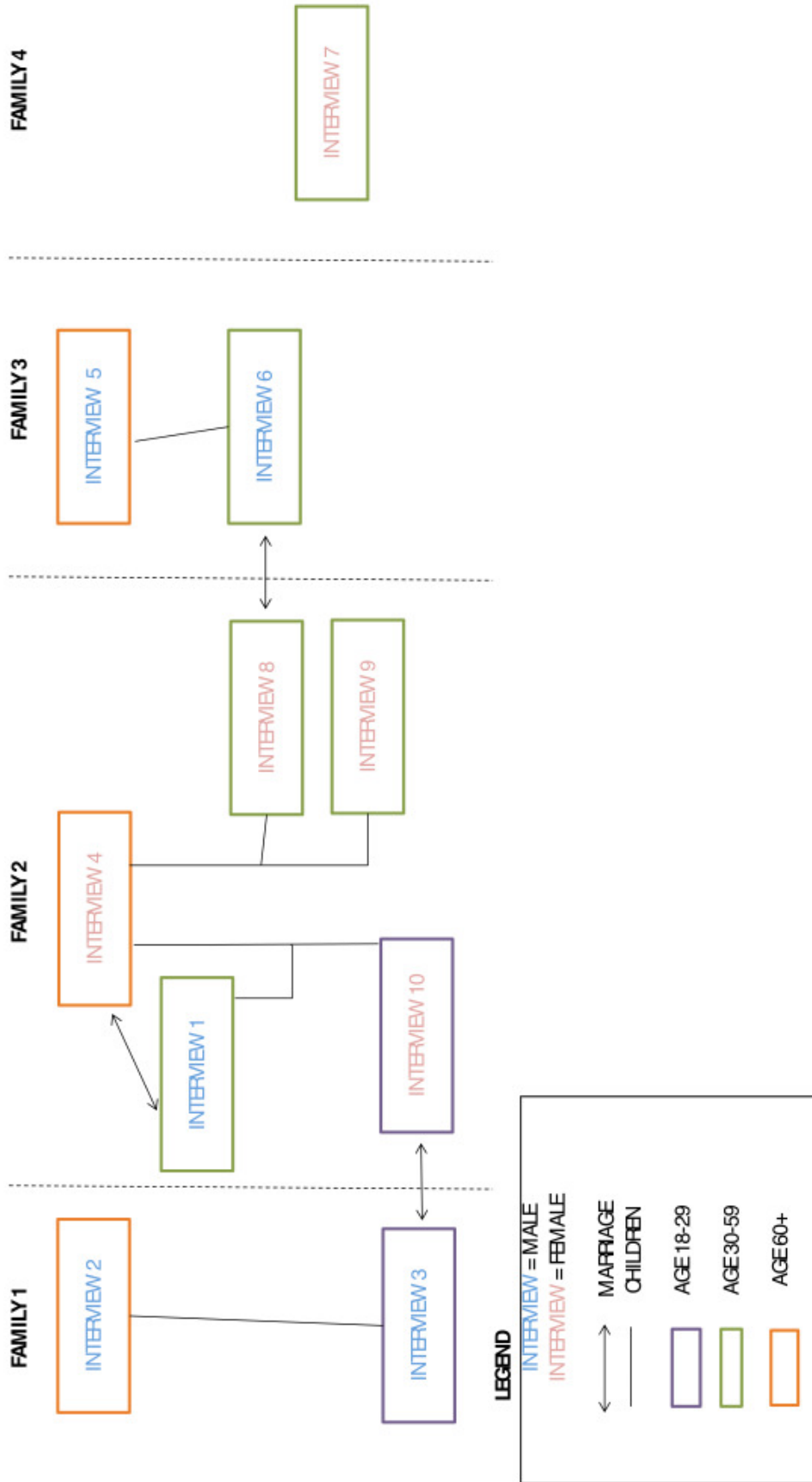
oral accounts demonstrates the endurance of storytelling, serving educational, spiritual and recreational purposes over time.

Oral accounts and narratives addressing particular landscapes were given by ten community members during the interview stage of this thesis. A chart illustrating the gender, family and age-range of participating community members can be seen in Table 3. The gender of the sample population is split evenly, with five women and five men represented. The interviewees constitute members from four different family lineages currently residing in Pickerel Narrows. The age cohorts that are represented within the sample population are as follows: age 18-29 consists of two individuals, age 30-59 includes five individuals, and age 60 and above makes up the remaining three individuals. As a side note, each age group includes both male and female contributors.

5.2 Variation Based on Age

Within the oral narratives collected at Pickerel Narrows, variations emerged that reflect the age of the narrator. Not surprisingly, interviews with Elders were lengthy and yielded a wealth of knowledge, with a focus on traditional lifeways and activities. The narratives shared by individuals representing the younger generations were mainly concise and focused on personal experiences at particular landscapes. The length of individual interviews showed considerable contrast between the various age groups, particularly between 18-29 and 60 and above. While the 18-29 interviews were roughly 20 to 30 minutes in length, those with individuals 60 and above lasted for a minimum

TABLE 3: PICKEREL NARROWS INTERVIEWEE FAMILY CHART



of an hour. In addition, Elders' stories were far more detailed, perhaps related to their experiences.

An example of this can be seen in the type of information shared by community members of different age groups from Pickerel Narrows. When I inquired about stories related specifically to the community of Pickerel Narrows, participants from age 18-29 cohort were more inclined to contribute stories based on their own personal experiences within the community, including contemporary stories regarding recent gatherings and events that had taken place within the community. One individual within the younger age group chose to talk about a successful hunting trip that resulted in the collective efforts of multiple community members to process the numerous animals procured during the expedition (Interview 3, 2009).

In contrast, participants that ranged from age 30-59 shared stories that took place when they were younger and compared them to current community conditions. Several individuals within this age group emphasized that, in the past, Pickerel Narrows housed a larger population than the current situation, with community members being more prosperous through their efforts at living and working off the land. *"when I was young there were lots of moose, every other or two days someone would shoot one sometimes two. Now you have to be out for a while you know to even see one"* (Interview, 6). It was a common theme for participants of this age group (30-59) to compare what life was like in the community when they were young as opposed to the current conditions their children are experiencing. *"When I was little we did lots of work,*

help work, help clean. My oldest daughter helps me sometimes but she wants money. We just did things when we were told, my kids just want to watch (points to the kids watching television) very different from when I was young” (Interview 8, 2009).

The final participant age group, 60 and above, also contributed personal accounts related to the community, but were more inclined to share oral traditions connected with Pickerel Narrows that they had learned from previous generations. Their own personal memories were secondary in favor of those received from their ancestors. In addition, the senior participants offered narratives that incorporated a lesson or moral. For example, one Elder spoke of a time when resources in the area were scarce and travel to the closest store took several days, and *“one family was lazy, they never did anything themselves, no hunting, no fishing, nothing. They had a hard time. My grandparents couldn’t help them, they had very little too. That family had a hard time. You gotta do things to survive, you don’t rely on others, well maybe sometimes you do but you gotta make sure you can take care of your family” (Interview 5, 2009).*

The difference in subject matter among the various age groups may reflect the level of knowledge the participant possessed, their skill in storytelling, and their perspective that story telling involves something more than merely conveying information. Elders generally took their time to explain details of the oral traditions, making sure I understood exactly what was being talked about. In contrast, younger participants seemed to share their story version at a rapid pace, racing through various topics and remaining vague on many details, even when questioned further regarding

specific topics. The speedy interview process and reduced depth and detail among the oral accounts of younger generations may suggest the younger generations have less life experience and can not articulate as detailed a story as an Elder might. As a result, younger generations may relate a landscape or topic with a recent event or personal experience in order to share information they are more familiar with and thus are able to articulate a detailed account.

The variation of stories based on age was predicted by one Elder in the community. *“My children won’t know, I tell them the stories, like when we go, go out on the land, they don’t listen, I always listened to my Grandparents, that’s how I know it. They want the new things, even at camps, watching t.v., man, these young people they don’t they haven’t experienced any of these things that have happened in the past that’s why um most of them don’t know the places like we do”* (Interview 2, 2009). It can be speculated that the intergenerational differences in story telling within Pickerel Narrows can be attributed to more than the usual generation gap. An ever increasing European influence over time has influenced a more town-based lifestyle and has led to the acculturation of younger individuals, which has had adverse effects in the role of storytelling within the community, hindering its utility as a tool for cultural reproduction and transmission. The younger generations currently residing in Pickerel Narrows continue to maintain strong connections to their families, but have become somewhat disconnected from the surrounding landscape as compared to the community’s previous generations. Many of the 18 to 29 year olds residing in Pickerel Narrows also seasonally live in neighboring communities such as Leaf Rapids. The young adults of

Pickerel Narrows spend the most time within the community for several months in the spring and fall, when they are commercial fishing. When the commercial fishing season comes to an end, most young adults move their families back to town and settle back into their more modern lifestyle. This differs from the adults aged 30 to 59 who, with the exception of one individual, live primarily in Pickerel Narrows and only travel to town for basic amenities. The majority of individuals within the 30 to 59 age range are employed as commercial fishermen, but also utilize trapping to supplement their income and food stocks. This extended time with others on the land allows for story telling practices to occur more regularly and allows for more time out on the land to develop and maintain a deeper understanding of and connection with the surrounding landscape. This is similar to the way the Elders have lived their lives, continuously working and living off the land and developing a deep appreciation and connection with it.

5.3 Variation Based on Gender

As previously mentioned, within the ten individuals interviewed, five were male and five were female. Each of the three age groups also had both male and female community members. The interviews revealed that the gender of the narrator explained some of the variations among the topics and themes of the oral accounts.

An example of this can be seen in the community responses to inquiries regarding Granville Falls. When asking reasons why Granville Falls was so important to the community, the main theme was resources. The male and female participants regarded Granville Falls as significant, but for various resources. The female

participants more often shared narratives regarding the gathering of plants and herbs for making traditional medicines, and the best season for resource harvesting at the falls, such as picking certain types of edible plants and berries. *“I remember going when we were young, lots of us. My mom or whoever would show us what to get, like like the tall ones with the white, I can’t remember what it’s called, or the mint or whatever. We would run around and try and find it, we tried to get the most”* (Interview 10, 2009).

Other female participants chose to talk about traditional lifeways, such as the various ways of processing fish procured at the falls, activities they experienced with their Elders that they now share with their children. *“I remember so many tubs of fish, we cut up so many, sometimes late in the night, we smoked lots of it. My Aunt showed me how to cut them up and sometimes she would give us the eggs if they had them.....my girl is good at it too, her cousins, they all like to do it”* (Interview 8, 2009).

The male participants tended to share stories about Granville Falls relating to hunting, fishing and traveling. *“You can catch most of your fish in nets, lots of white fish and pickerel at the falls, you never see sturgeon anymore. I haven’t seen one since i was small, but I remember it was big, they will put big big holes in the nets”* (Interview 6, 2009). Male narrative tended to focus on where and how to catch certain types of game or fish, as well as descriptive accounts of traveling through the area, like how to get there. Both men and women of the older generations tended to focus on describing how the appearance of Granville Falls has changed since they were young, from a narrow flow of water with a steep drop to the modern widely spread and low-sloping falls as discussed in Chapter 4.

The difference between what the two genders chose to share within their interviews may be reflective of the traditional Cree social structure in which women typically held the role of primary care giver and men typically held the role of provider, although it must be noted that traditional gender roles could be and were interchangeable.

5.4 Variation Based on Family

One commonality among the narratives shared throughout the interviews was related to family affiliation. Four different lineages are represented among the current Pickerel Narrows resident community. The narratives were reorganized to reflect family affiliation of the informant, and then examined to evaluate patterns of similarity and difference within and between the lineages.

Some oral accounts did overlap between different lineages. These similar stories were intended to teach a social, cultural, or life lesson and were consistent across multiple families within the community. Examples of this can be seen in the oral traditions relating to the Manitou Island. Every family lineage represented within the sample population had stories to share regarding Manitou Island. Individuals from various families shared common themes among their known oral traditions such as the taboo against pointing at the island, the bad weather that will result from disrespecting the Manitou Island, and the significance of the mimiguisuk who are said to inhabit the island.

Other oral accounts were unique to each particular lineage, and involved oral history stories based on the experiences of particular family members. *“My grandpa went to the Manitou Island once, my mother says when he came back he was white and never talked about it, he just said don’t go there, don’t go there. I never went, I can’t go, sometimes if I go past, you know by boat, I pray and won’t look”* (Interview 6, 2009). These unique stories included personal narratives regarding the Manitou Island and involved either a personal experience a community member had on or with the island, or an experience that happened to one of their family members within the storyteller’s lifetime.

It is important to note here that different lineages are familiar with other families’ oral traditions. When questioned about them they can provide basic elements of particular stories but generally an informant would suggest that further information should be sought from an individual from the specific family who is associated with that oral tradition. This may be seen as either a general courtesy to a specific individual or family or as an inability of the narrator to recount the exact events of a particular narrative that derives from outside their own lineage or both. This recommendation of appropriate narrator of particular stories may suggest family or individual rights to specific stories, such as those seen in northwest aboriginal groups where, “not everyone knows the same stories to the same degree, nor does everyone have rights to tell those that they may know” (Thom, 2003, p.9). However, further community research is needed to justify such a suggestion.

The similarities in the narratives of a family lineage likely reflect how individual community members acquired particular oral narratives, more specifically who they learned the oral accounts from. During the interviews I asked each participant who they had learned the information they shared with me from. Interestingly nine of the ten participants indicated that they had learned what they knew from their parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents. What is interesting here is that female participants indicated that the knowledge they held came from their female Elders, such as their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. The male participants attributed their traditional knowledge and narratives to their male family members, such as their fathers, uncles and grandfathers. From this insight it may be safe to conclude that the ideas around who should share a story are based both on gender and family. A man may know about gathering herbs but consider women to be the experts regarding such knowledge and thus the proper person to pass on such knowledge.

5.5 Variation Based on Narrator

Clearly, variation in the substance of the oral accounts is shaped by the age, gender, and family lineage of the narrator. Another source of variation is related to the socio-economic role and identity of the narrators themselves. The occupation, personality, age experience, and social role of a narrator can all play a factor in how a story is told and what themes are included. An individual's occupation can play a key role in the types of stories they share with others. Narrators who are or who once were commercial fishermen tend to relate their oral histories regarding the landscape to their

experiences out on the water. An individual's personality also contributed to variations among the oral accounts. Community members who are known for their humour tended to inject details into certain narratives to enhance a more comedic theme to the story. On the other end of the spectrum are those individuals (more often older community members) who maintain a more traditional way of life, and who utilize oral histories not to entertain, but to teach. The oral histories collected from such community members tended to be more serious and were largely centered on traditional activities performed at the five culturally significant locales, and the cultural beliefs associated with specific areas and aspects of history.

The narrator's social role within the community can also reflect the variations among individual accounts. For example, participants who were actively involved with making traditional medicine tended to focus their stories around the collection of medicinal plants found at particular landscape features, such as High Rock and Granville Falls mentioned in the previous chapter.

Additional examples of narrator variation can be seen in the stories gathered from community members regarding Grandfather Rock and Grandfather Quarry. As previously mentioned in chapter four, stories of the Grandfather Quarry were rare among community members. The two individuals representing the young adults of the population sample (18-29 years) had never visited the quarry, nor heard any stories related to it. With the exception of three adults (30-59 years) who had worked on the archaeological excavations in the previous summers the middle range group of

participants revealed that they knew of the quarry but had never been there and didn't remember hearing any stories related to it. The majority of information relating to the Grandfather Quarry came from the older generation (60 years and above), whose stories although brief, were the only source of narrative. Community Elders, as the keepers and transmitters of knowledge, generally ensure cultural continuity and intergenerational information transmission.

It is puzzling here as to why the younger generations are unfamiliar with the narratives of an area held in such high regard. It is possible that the location and stories started to come about when recent bush fires exposed the Grandfather Quarry. This reexposure may have caused some Elders to recall vague narratives that would now have context and relevance to future generations. These newly reintroduced narratives can develop and evolve now that the quarry is developing as an important location within the cultural landscape again.

In sharp contrast to Grandfather quarry, Grandfather Rock is widely known among all participant age groups. This may be attributed to the fact that Grandfather Rock can be seen from the water as one travels to the community. Multiple generations of community members have had various opportunities to pass by the distinct feature and share stories associated with it during their time spent out on the water. As the narratives of Grandfather Quarry develop, the stories of the Grandfather Rock evolve and gain new generational information.

5.6 Variations Based on Audience

Throughout my three years of working with community members from Pickerel Narrows I have had the opportunity to sit in on many storytelling sessions with various audiences. Consequently, I have heard the same narrator tell essentially the same story in different circumstances. I found that while the basic elements of the narrative remain the same and the moral or message is unchanging, details within the story are altered to suit particular audiences.

The way in which a story is told to a group of children will be different from the way in which it is told among a group of adults. Listening in on the same story retold to the two separate age groups demonstrated the variations among the same oral account. One example is the story about how the lynx came to have a flat face/nose. The narrative, when told to a group of children, was presented mainly in English, with a few basic Cree words intertwined. The children's version contained numerous gestures and sound effects to retain their attention and promote the story's repetition. With this level of entertainment incorporated into the story it was not hard to understand why, after the story was finished, the children took turns retelling the story to one another. Days later I was still being asked by some of the children if I wanted to hear the new story they had learned from their Grandpa.

In the following days I had the opportunity to listen in on the same story, from the same narrator, this time told among a group of adults. This second version was unlike the G-rated one I had previously been privy to. The adult version differed in that more

elements of the story were told in Cree, which I was able to comprehend through Brenda Anderson translating particular parts of the story. The adult version lacked the extensive use of gestures and sounds like the children's version, and instead incorporated adult subject matter and 'dirty' jokes as part of an entertaining story.

Like the stories told to various age groups, the narrative told to fellow members of the community as opposed to an outsider show considerable variation. Throughout the interviews I found that the community members I was closest to shared more details regarding certain narratives. The participants that I was not as familiar with were reluctant to share certain details, preferring to only share the basic elements of the narratives. In effect, a community member's perception of me was affecting the narration process. Narratives that I had heard numerous times were 'cleaned up', omitting the raw humor that is usually a staple part of conversations among acquainted adults. This was particularly the case when interviewing some Elders, which may be seen as a respectful gesture, cleaning the story up out of respect for the interviewer or for the benefit of the interview itself.

Chapter 6 - Discussion

“What begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value.” (Tuan, 1977: 6)



“Landscape Erosion”

Subject: Shoreline eroding into the Churchill River

Photo By: Holly Cote

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter the information presented in the previous chapter is synthesized by drawing upon the literature review and original research questions. This will aid in a better understanding of Granville Lake's cultural landscapes, specifically the patterns and themes emerging from community interviews and reviewed literature. This information will then be considered from the 'sense of place' theoretical literature. Finally, my personal observations and reflections regarding the study are conveyed.

6.2 Place Meaning

This study examined the indigenous knowledge relating to five culturally significant sites among the Granville Lake landscape, as well as how this indigenous knowledge promotes a 'sense of place' among community members. The key research questions for this study focused on the ways community members were physically and emotionally linked to their environments and how this cultural information is passed on within the community. Interviews with community members revealed indigenous knowledge regarding historic use, importance, practices, stories, and site vulnerability related to proposed development among the five sites.

A meaning of a particular place can be derived from multiple facets. Meaning can be acquired through historical events and activities. In the case of Pickerel Narrows this can be seen in the narratives regarding the Fur Trade Post and verified by historical Hudson's Bay documents. Meaning of place can also be acquired through personal experience. Throughout the community interviews, personal experiences were the main

subject matter for particular landscape stories. Community members discussed fishing activities, medicinal plant utilization, family camps, hunting trips and daily life within the community. Family narratives were found to also give meaning to place, involving stories that had been passed down through generations such as those concerning past movements and activities, as well as narratives regarding other beings inhabiting the area such as the mimiguisuk.

Different landscapes have various meanings and significance depending on whom you ask. It is the variety of meanings that makes these areas important. It is the community members who give meaning to their cultural landscapes and promote its cultural continuity overtime.

6.3 Cultural Landscapes Promoting a Sense of Place

Inhabitants of Pickerel Narrows contribute to the identity of their surrounding cultural landscapes through stories, actions and beliefs. Interviews with community members suggest that cultural landscapes not only represent a physical landscape and features, but also evoke meaning and emotions that community members associate with particular areas. Over time individuals become attached to particular places through experience, either physical or narrative and over time develop a sense of place based on their experiences with a particular area. Cultural landscapes develop personal importance in “the way we define ourselves in relation to them, as places with stories, memories, meanings, sentiments, and personal significance” (Kruger, 2001, p.178). The importance of a cultural landscape can vary from person to person, for example, some

community members highlighted Granville Falls for the fishing resources, while others focused on the abundance of medicinal plants. In this way a sense of place can be seen as a product of combined meanings that individuals give to particular places (Jorgensen and Stedman, 2001). It is this combination of individual meanings that weave together to impart a sense of place and animate a cultural landscape within a community.

A cultural landscape's importance and stories do not remain unchanging over time, however, many key themes may remain present over generations. Physical aspects and uses of a particular landscape can change over time and actively shape the associated narratives and significance of particular landscapes over generations.

6.4 Exchange of Indigenous Knowledge

A knowledge-holder's selection of story will be based on the key messages he/she wishes to communicate, the target audience, and the desired outcomes. The storyteller plays a dramatic role within the story, using gestures, sound effects, repetition and extended pauses to illustrate and enhance the details of the story. For example, Aboriginal storytellers share personal hunting narratives and utilize dramatic elements to signify the movement of the prey, the slow approach from the hunter, the aim of the weapon, and the sounds of the wounded animal, which are all acted out as a story develops. The dramatization of the story captures and retains the audience's attention and encourages retelling, making it easier for future replication.

The act of storytelling is highly variable. In a sense, the story is organic, evolving and transforming to suit the appropriate context. There can be multiple variations within a single story, however, these variations “revolve around a core of truth and that the variation on details, even embellishment of details, helps dramatize that core” (Allen, 1988, p.24). This variation in the details stems from “emphasizing certain elements and eliminating others to ensure that there is a degree of internal coherence and consistency that will serve to convey the meaning” (Allen, 1988, p.21). Despite the variations, the heart of the story remains a faithful representation of the central moral or lesson that the story is intended to convey. In a sense, the stories “contribute to the social cohesion, dynamic evolution, and durability of the culture they represent. They (the stories) are changed by the changes in the culture around them, and in turn they serve to shape and mold the evolving culture” (Moss, 1988, p.9).

A key question discussed throughout all community interviews was ‘how did you learn the knowledge you shared today?’. Many community members revealed that personal experience played a major role in acquiring knowledge, either physically experiencing situations on the landscape or observing activities that had taken place. Other community members attributed their knowledge from narratives that had been passed down to them from previous generations. Interestingly nine of the ten participants indicated that they had learned what they knew from their parents, aunts, uncles and grandparents. What is interesting here is that female participants more often than not indicated that the knowledge they held came from their female Elders, such as their mothers, aunts and grandmothers. The male participants attributed their traditional

knowledge and narratives to their male family members, such as their fathers, uncles and grandfathers. This suggests that indigenous knowledge shared among community members of Pickerel Narrows is somewhat gendered. Since task groups tend to be gendered, the girls and boys helping the men and women work would gain access to narratives with a gendered spin to them. This is not to say that males and females are only privy to certain forms of knowledge, but that different genders are considered more knowledgeable on various types of information and its transmission to future generations will differ depending on the gender of the storyteller.

6.5 Personal Observations and Reflections

As previously mentioned I have had the opportunity to work closely with community members from Pickerel Narrows over the previous summers prior to this thesis project. These past several years have allowed me to make great friends and develop a trusting relationship with community members that aided in gathering information and obtaining interviews with community participants. This thesis project has changed significantly from its original proposal, but has been modified with the help of community members to respect their wishes and concerns while still allowing for a comprehensive research study.

Throughout my time spent at Pickerel Narrows and out on Granville Lake I was able to keep a personal journal of my experiences out on the land and interactions with different community members and families. This journal helped me to recall events and thoughts I experienced while visiting certain cultural landscapes. Although this thesis

outlines the basic definitions regarding cultural landscapes, I believe that cultural landscapes need to be experienced to reveal its grandeur, value and importance. It is these experiences with Granville Lake's cultural landscapes that have developed a strong sense of place that I too now share with community members.

Chapter 7 - Conclusions & Recommendations

“A generation which ignores history has no past and no future”
(Robert A. Heinlein)



“Another Amazing Sunset”

Subject: Granville Lake

Photo By: Holly Cote

7.1 Summary of Findings

Based on the findings of this study, community members of Pickerel Narrows impart meanings and importance of their cultural landscapes in different ways. As many researchers have suggested (Tuan 1977, Dovey 1985, Kruger 2001), specific places become meaningful because of experiences and interactions. This study has shown that within Pickerel Narrows personal experience and the intergenerational transmission of narratives are the main modes for acquiring and passing-on cultural landscape information. It was revealed in the previous chapter that indigenous knowledge is mainly passed on by family members of the same sex, however this is not always the case depending on the topic of conversation.

This research attempted to identify what makes a place, specifically cultural landscapes of Granville Lake, meaningful to community members. It has also outlined the various connections with specific landscapes shared by community members and how these connections impart a sense of place. Through community interviews the indigenous knowledge recorded during this study showed that connections with cultural landscapes included biographical, spiritual, ideological, narrative and subsistence. Within cultural landscape studies it is important to understand what factors contribute to an individual's or community's connection to place and how these connections form. This may help to understand how cultural meanings regarding place are acquired and maintained over time.

The extent of variation in the transmission of indigenous knowledge was the final research question this thesis attempted to uncover. It was found that factors such as

gender, generation, family, as well as the context of narrator and audience played a factor in what types of stories were shared and how they were shared.

7.2 Study Conclusions

This research project explored the dynamics of the cultural landscapes of Granville Lake; to identify what makes Pickerel Narrows and surrounding areas on Granville Lake a meaningful place for community members; and examine how patterned variation in the details and telling of stories regarding these places occurs.

This research contributes to a further understanding of the social and community importance of cultural landscapes. It relates to previous findings (Robertson and Richards 2003, Buggey 1999), particularly that cultural meaning is the most significant aspect of landscape and that the stories related to landscapes aid in cultural continuity. This research demonstrates a cooperative research approach (Davidson-Hunt and O'Flaherty 2007), where the cooperation of community members is necessary to record knowledge that will be beneficial to a variety of people and groups both within and outside of the community.

This study showed that with community help it was possible to outline various connections community members held with specific places and what aspects of a landscape made it meaningful. The themes of information that have special meaning and relevance for community members included indigenous knowledge sharing, personal experiences, cultural beliefs, subsistence activities, spirituality and family histories. Community interviews revealed that individuals were culturally, emotionally,

physically and spiritually attached to their cultural landscapes, and that “sense of place” theory and attachment to place should be taken into consideration during future landscape studies. This research also suggests that over time the community members of Pickerel Narrows have become attached to their cultural landscapes through a number of different ways. This attachment has invoked a sense of place among community members, encouraging cultural identity and pride among residents, which some researchers believe (Easthope, 2004) allows for the development and maintenance of a shared sense of identity and thus promotes cultural continuity over generations. It is important to highlight that present-day cultural continuity is being eroded by the acculturative pressures that younger generations are facing. When speaking with individuals of younger generations it is apparent that they have developed a sense of place with their surrounding landscape and that they do pass on important narratives and forms of indigenous knowledge. However, the information gathered from community members suggests that the depth and richness within the stories decreases within the younger generations versions. This may reflect both the effects of acculturation and the minimal life experience of younger generations are limiting their understanding of indigenous knowledge. The acculturation pressures faced by the young mean that they spend less time on the land and less time being exposed to and immersed in the old methods of cultural transmission.

The culturally significant sites highlighted within this research project shed light not only on cultural and historical landscape data, but on the role, transmission and variation among the indigenous knowledge shared between community members. Age

played a role in the amount and extent of knowledge shared by community members. Gender and family affiliation were also main factors in the type of information shared, including specific information of stories reserved for a select gender or family. Interviews with community members highlighted that the transmission of indigenous knowledge acts as cultural institutions and serve multiple functions within society in the form of education, entertainment, life-skills, history, and healing. While some stories are serious and are retold to teach lessons, others are more of a performance piece, designed to engage the audience and reinforce lessons while entertaining. As stories are retold over generations they do not remain unchanged, various generations leave their own imprint on the narratives. As an individual retells a story over time they gain a deeper association with each telling and thus a sense of connection and identity with the narrative.

7.3 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions of this research that examines Granville Lake's cultural landscapes and the meanings associated with them by community members of Pickerel Narrows the following recommendations are proposed and may be beneficial for an expansion of this research topic with more interviews, analysis and reflection.

- **Further community research with Pickerel Narrows youth (under the age of 18)**

Future studies with community youth may provide a further understanding of landscape knowledge as seen by the youth of the community. Studies such as these could also focus on the youth's understanding and comprehension of traditional

indigenous knowledge to explore to what extent the generation gap revealed by community Elders exists.

- **Further community research to explore possible ecological studies.**

Studies that research the local ecology, including changes over time and resource harvesting practices may be beneficial to environmental studies within the area. In particular, medicinal plant studies could incorporate aspects of environment, traditional knowledge, cultural healing practices and landscape data. Future ecological and ethnobotanical research might be locally valuable as a means of collecting information as part of an ecological and cultural impact assessment for prospective hydro-electric development projects.

3) Incorporate this research with local archaeological research

The results from this study could be integrated with the findings and results from the Granville Lake Archaeological Investigation to enrich both interpretation and meaning. The integration of archaeological evidence into future research projects can amplify the community's indigenous knowledge.

7.4 Concluding Remarks

This research study interviewed a relatively small number of people (n =10) and their indigenous knowledge related to five specific cultural landscapes. All of the participants were community members of Pickerel Narrows, a remote community located along the Churchill River in northern Manitoba.

This qualitative study showed that a cooperative research approach can uncover valuable cultural data regarding landscapes deemed important by members from specific communities. This data may prove valuable for communities who face future environmental or natural resource development, to be used as one source of information to base decisions and planning for development that protect the community and their cultural landscapes from severe impact.

It is suggested that future landscape studies, especially those dealing with cultural landscapes and indigenous knowledge, need to be written in collaboration and consultation with Aboriginal communities. Only then can we hope to develop a clearer understanding of the past, one with Aboriginal input. Indigenous knowledge obtained from Aboriginal Elders can supplement, compliment, and even contrast with previously written records and as a result highlight an Aboriginal perspective of history and thus a more comprehensive understanding of the past.

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Appendix A. Participant Cover Letter



Master of Environmental Studies Northern Environments and Cultures

COVER LETTER

Name of Researcher: Holly Cote, MES Northern Environments and Cultures (candidate)
Supervisor: Dr. S. Hamilton
Title of Project: Legends Form Landscapes: Oral Histories of Granville Lake Manitoba

Dear Potential Participant,

I would like to thank you in advance for taking the time to read the following information and extend an invitation for your participation in the following study. Please take the time to read this carefully and feel free to ask me any questions.

Purpose of the Study I am collecting stories from Granville lake community members about the surrounding landscape, places, and landmarks that are considered to be culturally important. The collected oral histories will be combined with historical records and previous studies to produce a history of the landscape and its people.

What Will I Be Asked to Do? As a resident of Granville Lake, I wish to interview you because of your knowledge on this subject. This will require about 1 to 2 hours. Your participation is voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time, in which case records of your comments will be destroyed.

What Type of Personal Information Will Be Collected? I will be asking you to share stories about the landscape that you have learned from your parents and grandparents, as well as stories you tell your children. I will also be asking questions about family, specifically who you are related to within the community. You may decline to answer any question throughout the interview. Responses given in the interview will be considered confidential outside of the community and your comments will be reported anonymously in the Master's Degree Thesis, research presentations, and future papers I plan to write on this topic. With your permission I will record the discussion, using an audio recorder, to improve the accuracy of my work.

Are there Risks or Benefits if I Participate? I do not expect any risk to you in participating in this study. Information collected through this study can be used by Granville Lake School to educate new teachers and be used for lessons on local geography and history. The information may also be a value to the community for future development and management studies dealing with Granville Lake and the surrounding area.

What Happens to the Information I Provide? I will keep the interview notes, drafts and audio files in a locked drawer at Lakehead University or my home office. As required by ethics guidelines at the university, after the study is finished, they will be kept by my supervisor for five years. The recordings will not be used for other purposes except after receiving prior written permission from you. After five years, the audio file will be erased. Audio copies given to Granville Lake School will become property of the Granville lake community who will have authority over the use and access of the data. A summary of written research results and recordings of the collected stories will be made and copies will be given to the Granville Lake School, and any participating community member who wants a copy of their own audio recording will receive one.

I would like to thank you again for taking the time to read the above information; I hope you will consider participating in this study.

Questions/Concerns If you have further questions concerning matters related to this research, please contact: 1) Holly Cote (204) 232-7865 hcote@lakeheadu.ca 2) Dr. S. Hamilton (807) 343-8742 shamilto@lakeheadu.ca. If you have any concerns about the way you've been treated as a participant, please contact Lisa Norton, Research Ethics and Administration Officer, Lakehead University at (807) 343-8283; email lisa.norton@lakeheadu.ca.

Master of Environmental Studies

Northern Environments and Cultures

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Name of Researcher: Holly Cote, MES Northern Environments and Cultures (candidate) Supervisor:
Dr. S. Hamilton

Title of Project: Legends Form Landscapes: Oral Histories of Granville Lake Manitoba

This consent form, a copy of which has been given to you, should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about anything mentioned here, or information not included here, please feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and feel free to ask me any questions.

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I grant permission to be audio taped: Yes: ___ No: ___

Signatures (written consent), your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. You are a volunteer within this study and are free to withdraw at any time.

Participant Name	Signature	Date	Investigator/Delegate's Name	Signature
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Date

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