

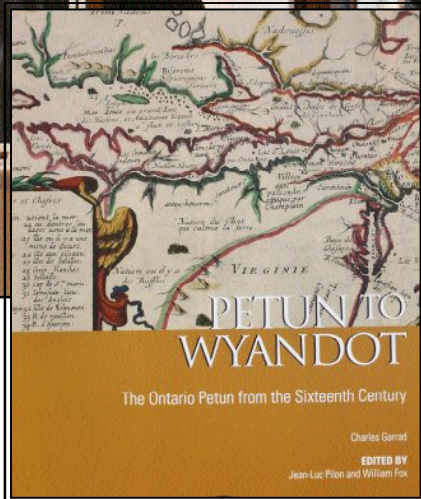


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Charles Garrad is honoured at the launch of his seminal work on the Petun, on May 27 at Massey College with (L to R) Dr. Rob MacDonald (OAS President), Dr. Ron Williamson, and Bill Fox looking on. For more on the event, see page 11.

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PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

What Goes Around, Comes Around: Forging Links in the Chain of Mentorship

For the last decade or so, I have combined two long-standing passions of mine, archaeology and pedagogy, in the rewarding pursuit of occasional teaching and student mentoring opportunities at the post-secondary level, primarily at the University of Waterloo and Trent University.

While I have been paid for some of this work, most has been pro bono, although I would argue that I have been as much a beneficiary of this engagement as have the students. For I believe that teaching and learning are inseparable, as not only does the required preparation work help to keep one current with the literature, but the dialogue with students provides a constant exchange of new ideas and perspectives.

I also feel an obligation to contribute to the long chain of mentoring which greatly benefitted me in my younger days, and thereby begin to pay back my debt of gratitude to my own mentors.

I'm sure my experience is not unique, nor are the values which underlie it. Indeed, my experience for more than three decades indicates that these values are nearly ubiquitous amongst OAS members. Take, for example, the 2013 winner of the J. Norman Emerson medal, Rudy Fecteau and his wife Margaret-Ann, two super-annuated teachers whose idea of retirement is to span the province giving archaeological outreach presentations to schools and the public. If you haven't encountered this dynamic duo at one archaeological event or another, I guess you just aren't getting out enough.

Nor are they alone in this pursuit, for just last week I was in a room full of such people during an event honouring one of our master mentors, Charles Garrad, at the launch of his magnum opus on the Petun-Wyandot. Helping me introduce Charlie that night were two of my most important mentors, Ron Williamson and William

Fox, both still very active mentors serving as adjunct professors at the University of Toronto/Western University and Trent University, respectively. I remember all three of these gentlemen assisting me in various ways when I was a newly minted graduate student excavating the Coleman site near Kitchener for my MA thesis circa 1983. For me, participating in this event was both a great privilege and a most delightful turn of the wheel.

I share these thoughts with you in the hope that they will prompt you also to reflect on your own station in the mentoring chain. Whether a brand new student conscript or a member whose 25 year pin is now showing years of wear, we all have important roles to fill. We are, after all, the Ontario Archaeological Society, and like all societies, we depend on recruitment and retention of members for our continuing existence.

Amongst our most important sources of new members are the ranks of students enrolled in archaeology programs at Ontario universities, especially the 10 schools where Ontario-focussed archaeologists are teaching. Traditionally, these have been the wellspring of generations of Ontario archaeologists, both avocational and professional. Indeed, the OAS itself was created by a cohort of keen University of Toronto students and their mentor, Dr. J. Norman Emerson, more than half a century ago.

Imagine, then, my surprise and sadness earlier this year when attending a meeting of the Toronto Chapter—which meets in the Anthropology Building at the University of Toronto—and finding no students in attendance. While I'm sure there are student members of the chapter, and there may be many reasons why they wouldn't be in attendance at this particular meeting, this observation should raise a red flag for us all.

In the same vein, I have had OAS members express their concern over the demographic shift in our society which should be obvious to anyone who has attended our annual symposium lately. While the shift naturally mirrors the post baby boom aging of Canadian society in general, this should not be grounds for complaisance, but rather a signal that youth recruitment and retention needs to be ramped up.

Regrettably, this crucial activity is not something explicitly identified in our current strategic plan, although we should not use that as an excuse for inaction. One obvious way to support youth recruitment is by strengthening the informal relationships that often already exist between local OAS chapters and the 10 universities noted above. Having raised this issue at the Presidents' breakfast at the OAS symposium last fall, I have received a warm response from subsequent outreach to the academic community. This is not surprising, given that many academics are already thoroughly engaged in local chapter activities. Two examples that come immediately to mind are Wilfrid Laurier University professors Gary Warrick, president of the Hamilton Chapter, and Bonnie Glencross, treasurer of the Grand River Chapter. The on-going involvement of folks like this not only facilitates linkages with on-campus anthropology and archaeology societies, but it provides continuity, which is a chronic problem with the transient student population. One of our challenges, as a society, is to maintain connections with students after they have moved on to grad schools or jobs, and OAS Directors Nicole Brandon (Student Services), Dana Millson (Membership), and Lindsay Foreman (Member Services) currently have student recruitment and retention high on their agendas, as must we all.

The benefits of strong academic support for student engagement in Ontario archaeology were showcased very clearly at the recent Canadian Archaeological Association conference in London. Not only was the conference itself largely organized by a team of graduate and undergraduate students from Western University, but student papers and posters from across the province were very much in evidence. While I didn't have an opportunity to attend many of the sessions myself, being pre-occupied with managing the OAS table and meeting with delegates, I did make a point of sitting in on a session involving Professor Scott Hamilton and a number of his students from Lakehead University. It was a very impressive session indeed, and Scott confessed to button-popping pride in the work of his protégés—a most justifiable emotion,

from what I saw.

I gather from talking to Thunder Bay chapter vice-president Bill Ross that Lakehead University and the local chapter continue to have a very collegial relationship, exactly as one would want. I encourage all members to solicit and welcome the involvement of students in your local chapter, and to cultivate and renew the traditional linkages between the OAS, our chapters, and our universities, which have always been the lifeblood of our society.

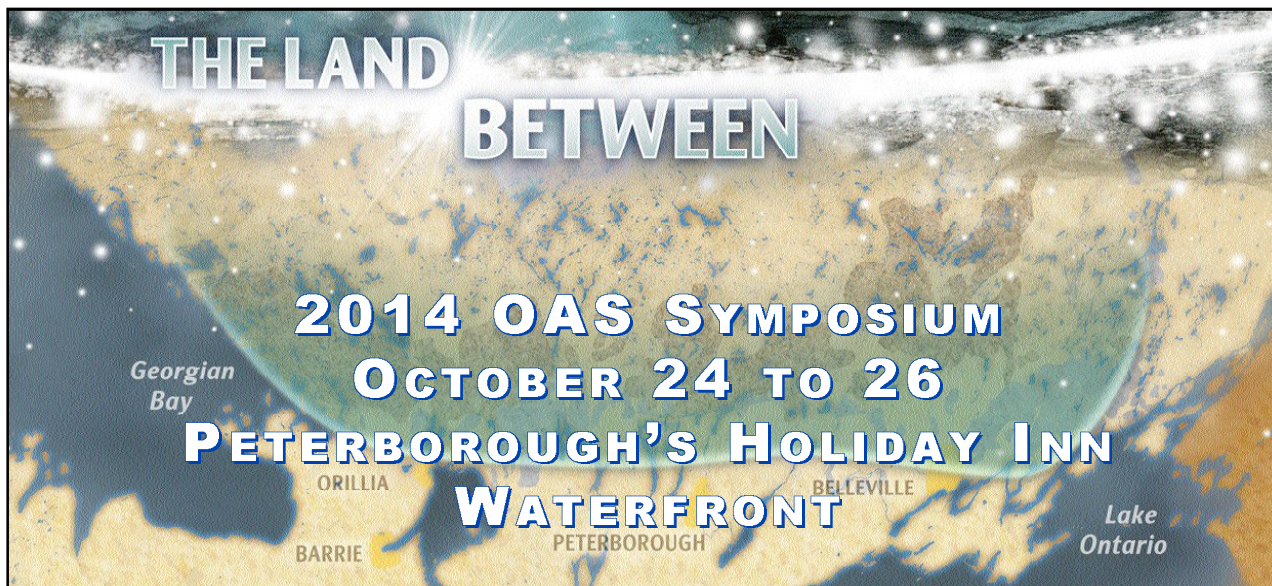
I'm very much looking forward to seeing all of this in action at our annual symposium this fall, which will display the efforts of the Peterborough chapter with contributions from my alma mater, Trent University. I expect to see many fresh young faces there who will remind me of a fateful trip I took in the fall of 1980,

when Professor Richard Johnston loaded a bunch of us undergrads into the Trent Anthropology Department van and drove us to our first OAS symposium in London. It was at that symposium that I 'discovered' Ontario archaeology and first encountered future mentors, including Bill Fox and Ron Williamson. Now I hope to turn that wheel full circle by bringing a van load of students from Waterloo to Peterborough next October.

Road trip, anyone?

Rob MacDonald
President

Editor's Note: If you have any mentoring experiences you would like to share, please write up a short account and email it to aneditor@ontarioarchaeology.on.ca for inclusion in a future issue.



SYMPOSIUM UPDATE FROM THE PETERBOROUGH CHAPTER

By Tom Mohr, POAS President

Things are really gearing up for the upcoming 2014 OAS Symposium, to be held at Peterborough's Holiday Inn Waterfront on October 24-26! Our theme is 'The Land Between', in recognition of this region as a transitional zone between shield and lowlands, incorporating those elements while creating its own special character. Geographically,

ecologically and culturally, it is unique and we are working to capture that quality in both our sessions and our side-activities.

Peterborough Mayor Daryl Bennett has agreed to declare October 20-26 as Archaeology Week in the city. Programming includes a CCI workshop at Fleming College; dedicated archaeological displays in local museums and at the Curve Lake First Nation Cultural Centre; special participation by Trent University; a Friday

Field Trip to the famed Peterborough Petroglyphs and a visit to the Kawartha Lakes Winery on the rocks of the Shield.

Our sessions are almost complete, our Banquet/Awards speaker will be noted Indigenous playwright and humourist Drew Hayden Taylor – Peterborough 2014 promises to be a dynamic event and I hope you see you all there!

One more thing...don't forget a Chapter gift basket for the Silent Auction!

NEW DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF 19TH-CENTURY EXCAVATIONS OF ANCIENT ABORIGINAL BURIALS AT ‘HULL LANDING’: NEW LIGHT ON OLD QUESTIONS

by **Randy Boswell and Jean-Luc Pilon**

INTRODUCTION

On May 20, 1983, then-prime minister Pierre Trudeau paddled from the south side of the Ottawa River to Parc Laurier on the opposite shore, at the time a vacant stretch of land in downtown Hull, Que., the city now known as Gatineau. Flanked by fellow dignitaries, Trudeau was handed a spade, dug into the ground and dumped a pile of dirt into a mechanical screen — symbolically launching a rescue archeology project that was required in advance of the construction of the new Canadian Museum of Civilization.

The project yielded no significant prehistoric discoveries, but that moment can now be seen in the light of new knowledge that on at least two occasions more than a century earlier, a pioneer medical doctor and amateur naturalist and archeologist named Edward Van Cortlandt (Figure 1) stood close to the same place, shovel in hand, and disinterred the skeletal remains of dozens of ancient aboriginals (Van Cortlandt 1853). While its exact location has been one of the enduring mysteries of Ottawa-area history, the pre-contact aboriginal burial ground unearthed in 1843 within a relatively short distance of the mighty Chaudières Falls is generally considered one of the most important archeological sites in the National Capital Region.

As in other North American settler communities where such finds were frequently made in the 19th or early 20th centuries, the discovery of this ‘first’ evidence of the prehistoric human occupation of local lands would come to be seen as a milestone moment connecting the pioneer present to a distant, ‘vanished’ past — even though the aboriginal people still resident in the region at the time represented a direct, living link to those archaic burials, or at least symbolized the continuing presence, after many millennia, of hundreds of non-European nations across the continent.

Van Cortlandt collected skeletal remains, stone tools and other objects and added them to a growing ‘cabinet of curiosities’ that he maintained at his home near the site of today’s Library and Archives Canada headquarters in downtown Ottawa. This discovery is routinely highlighted in writing about the history of the Ottawa-Gatineau area and prominently referenced in both academic and popular literature on the archeology of the Ottawa Valley. It is also noteworthy in the broader chronicle of Canadian archeology as one of the country’s first formally documented prehistoric places (Boswell



Figure 1: Studio photograph of Dr. Edward Van Cortlandt, Septembre 1870. Topley Studio / Library and Archives Canada / e002505152.2

2002a-d; Brault 1946:38; Jamieson 1999:16; Jenkins 1996:134; Moffatt 1973:20; -17; Pendergast 1999:96; Pilon 2003; Pilon and Young 2009:182, 196-198; Sowter 1909:98-100).

There have been, however, many unresolved questions about the ossuary site, principally its precise location. For most of the past 170 years since the burial site was discovered, the little that was known about it was contained in a brief article that appeared in February 1853 — nearly 10 years after the find — in the *Canadian Journal*, a scholarly publication produced by the Toronto-based Canadian Institute. Both the organization and its flagship publication are described as having played seminal roles in the origin and early evolution of formalized Canadian archaeology, (Killan 1998:16; Hamilton 2010:21), but the institute also appears to have contributed to the confusion surrounding the location of the cemetery dug up in 1843. It would seem that Van Cortlandt's *Canadian Journal* article was an earnest response to the Canadian Institute's 1852 appeal for additional examples of "accurate and complete information on such interesting revelations," and generally for a more scientific approach to investigating, recording and interpreting all archeological finds in the Province of Canada (Anonymous

1852).

While the article submitted to the journal by Van Cortlandt is an important early document for both Ottawa Valley history and Canadian archeological scholarship, it nevertheless failed to adequately specify the location of the burial ground. The burial site was situated, according to Van Cortlandt, "on a projecting point of land directly in rear of their encampment, at a carrying place, and about half a mile below the mighty cataract of the Chaudière." But Van Cortlandt's inexact reference to the site's location as "half a mile" from the waterfall, compounded by his scanty sharing of other useful facts, has long limited scholarly analysis of the ossuary find. Furthermore, the fate of the human remains and objects that he recovered in 1843 was unknown.

THE LOCATION CONTROVERSY

Following the publication of Van Cortlandt's 1853 article on the burial ground, the first well-known documented references to the site can be found in the writings of Ottawa-area avocational archeologist and palaeontologist T.W. Edwin Sowter. He stated in a 1909 overview of Ottawa-area archeology sites that Van Cortlandt's ancient burial site was



Figure 2: North entrance of the Rideau Canal from the Ottawa River, Thomas Burrowes, 1845. This watercolour clearly shows Hull Landing in the background opposite from the canal entrance locks. This is approximately what the Hull shoreline, including Bédard's Hotel and other ferry landing facilities, would have looked like at the time of Van Cortlandt's excavation of the burying ground "immediately in the rear of Bédard's Hotel" in 1843. Archives of Ontario, I0002132.3



Figure 3: View of the Ottawa River below the Chaudière Falls. The point where Hull Landing was located (within the red circle) juts out in front of the Canadian Museum of History, on the right, deflecting the strong currents flowing from the falls towards the Ottawa side of the river. The broad embayment protected by the point was a natural place to begin the portage around the falls. Photo by Keith Walker, Peak Experience Imagery.

situated on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River to the west of the Parliament Buildings, “on the spot now occupied by the Capital brewery” — at or immediately west of the Library and Archives Canada building on Wellington Street. (Sowter 1915:50)

The Annual Report of the Canadian Institute for 1887-88, including its comprehensive summary and bibliographic listing of archeological finds in Canada and Newfoundland — a resource compiled by Canadian Institute member A. F. Chamberlain — cites Van Cortlandt’s 1853 journal article with the notation: “Describes an Indian burying ground and contents discovered at Bytown (Ottawa) in 1843.” (Chamberlain 1889:57) This official record of a ‘Bytown’ burial ground — written in phrasing identical to that first used by Sowter in 1909 — must have given rise to or strengthened Sowter’s belief in an Ottawa location for Van Cortlandt’s cemetery, an assertion that would come to frame all published references to the site for nearly a century (see Brault 1946:38; Jamieson 1999:12, 17; Jenkins 1996:134; Pelletier 1997:48; Pendergast 1999:96).

Who could argue with these authorities? In May 2002, as the National Capital Commission (NCC) was preparing a property on LeBreton Flats to become the site of the new Canadian War Museum, a pre-construction archeological assessment

highlighted the possibility of unearthing prehistoric aboriginal remains in the area because of its presumed proximity to Van Cortlandt’s Ossuary (Boswell 2002a). However, later that same month, the discovery of a previously undocumented *Bytown Gazette* newspaper article from June 15, 1843 — which gave a ‘real-time’ report on Van Cortlandt’s excavation of what was described as an ancient aboriginal burial ground “immediately in the rear of Bédard’s Hotel, at Hull” — prompted both popular and scholarly reappraisals of accepted knowledge about the capital’s best-known archeological site.

While there were significant similarities between the anonymous 1843 newspaper article and Van Cortlandt’s 1853 description, there were also disturbing discordances, prompting one of us (Pilon 2003) to express important reservations about the whole-hearted acceptance of the contents of the newspaper article regardless of how inviting such a proposition might appear: “While the 1843 article may, in fact, provide a seemingly accurate location for the ossuary... The [anonymous] 1843 article will always remain tantalizing but... it has the weight of hearsay evidence... [and must be]... considered as unsubstantiated and suspect.” (ibid.:26). Yet Boswell took up the challenge of seeking out additional, irrefutable evidence to substantiate the *Bytown Gazette*’s claim that Van Cortlandt

made his discovery on the north side of the river.

Such documentation is now available, and it confirms beyond any doubt that the location of Van Cortlandt's 1843 dig was, indeed, the same point of land that served as the beginning of a canoe portage around the Chaudières Falls for ancient indigenous travelers and early European explorers, then as a ferry landing for the pioneer inhabitants of Bytown and Hull. After about a century of use for various milling operations at the heart of Bytown/Ottawa's lumber and pulp-and-paper industries, that site is now home to the Canadian Museum of History, and encompasses adjacent riverside properties owned by the NCC.

THE NEW EVIDENCE

Since 2002, three unequivocal statements published by Edward Van Cortlandt have been located, all of which bear directly on the location of his initial 1843 discovery and a later 1860 visit to that same site, where additional finds were made. These will now be presented as they pertain to the site's location, but we hasten to point out that a fuller presentation of all pertinent data relating to the ancient burial ground at Hull is currently being prepared for publication elsewhere.

Front page of *The Globe* newspaper in Toronto (Van Cortlandt 1860a) & Letter to the Editor – *Ottawa Citizen* (Van Cortlandt 1860b).

In a letter to the editor of the *Ottawa Citizen* signed by Edward Van Cortlandt, dated June 25, 1860, and published on July 7, 1860 (by an odd twist, this letter was actually first published the day before — July 6, 1860 — on the front page of Toronto's *The Globe*, described as having been sent to the *Ottawa Citizen*, which at that time only published on Saturdays, i.e. July 7), Van Cortlandt stated that: "On Thursday of last week a gentleman apprized me of several Indian skeletons having been that morning accidentally discovered at the Hull landing, and I lost no time in repairing with him to the spot... It proved to be a detached portion of the same burial place which I visited and examined some years since, and an account of which will be found in the first volume of the *Canadian Journal of Science* (sic)." (Van Cortlandt 1860b). These introductory details alone, through their direct reference to Van Cortlandt's (1853) *Canadian Journal* article, make it clear that the 1843 excavation had indeed taken place — as reported at the time by the *Bytown Gazette* (Anonymous 1843) — next to Bédard's Hotel at the Hull ferry terminus or "Hull landing" (Figure 2). The opening lines of the letter additionally clarify that Van Cortlandt's belated, 1853 description of the burial place as being situated "about half a mile below the mighty cataract of the Chaudière" — while vaguely worded and open to misinterpretation — was also meant to refer to the Bédard property, the sandy stretch of shoreline on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River that, by the 1870s, would be covered by sawmill buildings and stacks of lumber.

The British American Journal

In addition to the 619-word *Ottawa Citizen* letter, the doctor also submitted an almost identical account of his latest dig at

Hull Landing to a short-lived scholarly publication based in Montreal: *The British American Journal*.

His 610-word journal description of the newly exposed burials at Hull (Van Cortlandt 1860c) varied only in exceedingly minor ways from the July newspaper item (it was essentially the same text) — demonstrating that popular and scholarly publications were not always as sharply differentiated in the Victorian era as they are today. Regarding the contents of the newly excavated graves, Van Cortlandt's account of the skeletal remains unearthed at the Hull Landing site suggests internments of considerable size and significance — particularly when the 1860 finds are combined with the human remains and other objects documented from the 1843 dig on the same point of land. Many of the remains, Van Cortlandt noted, conformed to a burial pattern he had witnessed in 1843, namely the extensive use of red ochre and secondary burials. However, in 1860 Van Cortlandt also described a pit, "the sand of which was of a jet black colour," which, he observed, "was soon accounted for by discovering sundry fragments of charred human bones — conclusive evidence that the aborigines of the country were in the habit of resorting to human cremation, whether of a living enemy or a deceased kinsman." Van Cortlandt also noted several animal finds — a dog's skull, a bear's teeth and jaw, a beaver's tooth and shoulder bone — while "the only weapons and implements found were one flint spear-head, a most primitive dagger, 12 inches long, and a fish spear, both composed of bone, and in excellent preservation."

FURTHER RESEARCH

It has now been established that Van Cortlandt excavated both communal and individual graves in 1843 and 1860 on the point of land now occupied by a plaque and flower garden dedicated to the photographer Malak Karsh, a children's park complete with a tub boat once used to move log booms along the Ottawa River, and a nearby parking lot (Figure 3). At present, the whereabouts of the human remains and objects found by Van Cortlandt, who died in 1875, are unknown. However, the certainty of the site's location could prove useful in eventually locating some of these. For example, in the 1930s, the Redpath Museum of Montreal received a number of items attributed to Dr. Edward Van Cortlandt and said to have been found at Bédard's Landing, Hull, in 1866 (at least, that is what is written in now fading ink on a unilaterally barbed harpoon in the collections of the McCord Museum in Montréal).

Were these from yet another fruitful visit to the location by Van Cortlandt? Is Bédard's Landing at the same location as Hull Landing? Under what circumstances would these items have found their way to the Redpath Museum 60 years after the death of Van Cortlandt and retained the link to their discoverer? We may now have the key to orient new research into this old enigma.

Importantly, the discovery of critically valuable information in period newspapers underlines some important points. While those publications do not pretend to fulfill the same roles that scholarly publications claim to themselves, they sometimes,

inadvertently, do preserve crucial information about the past. One criticism of the digital age that is often levied at students is that online search engines remove or greatly reduce the possibility for the chance discovery of important sources that is afforded by browsing bookshelves. On the other hand, with so much ready access by digital means to more and more archival materials that are now often difficult to access in their original, printed form, opportunities to efficiently review greater volumes of information have increased the possibilities of finding pertinent and obscure data. Old news can acquire a new life all its own.

**APPENDIX:
TEXT OF TWO 1860 ARTICLES BY
DR. EDWARD VAN CORTLANDT**

*Text appearing in both articles appears in this style.

Text appearing only in the July 7, 1860 issue of the Ottawa Citizen appears in this bold style.

Text appearing only in the August 1860 issue of the British American Journal appears in this bold, italicized style.

CORRESPONDENCE

Ottawa, June 25 1860

(To the Editor of the Ottawa Citizen)

Mr. Editor: —

PHYSICAL DEPARTMENT

ART. XLII.—Discovery of an ancient burial ground in the neighbourhood of Hull.

**By EDWARD VAN COURTLANDT, M.R.C.S.L.
Ottawa.**

Conceiving that any information which is calculated to throw light upon the habits and manners of the aborigines of Canada would not prove uninteresting to your readers, I am induced to forward the accompanying communication to your **very** valuable journal *as it does not profess to be purely medical*, hoping thereby to induce other parties residing in the Valley of the Ottawa, and who have had superior opportunities for archaeological pursuits, to give the public the advantage of their researches.?

**I am your most obd't serv't,
Edward Van-Cortlandt**

INTERESTING DISCOVERY

On Thursday of last week On June 21st a gentleman apprized me of several Indian skeletons having been that morning accidentally discovered at the Hull landing, and I lost no time in repairing with him to the spot. It proved to be a detached portion of the same burial place which I visited and examined some years since, and an account of which will be found in the first volume of the *Canadian Journal of Science*. When the work of digging was fairly begun, every eye was directed to the upturned sand in quest of archaeological

specimens, with what result will be seen.

After meeting with the remains of a few detached skeletons, we came to what appeared one common pit, where several bodies, both of adults and children, had been miscellaneously thrown. Some of them had evidently been placed there in a doubled up or cross-legged posture. The everted heads of the Femurs from their glenoid cavities, and the cruciform position of the Tibiæ shewed this clearly and unmistakeably. Except with the Iliæ, some of the large long bones, the petrous portion of the temporal bones, some lower jaws, and a number of patellæ, all the others, especially the crania, some of which were of unexampled thickness, crumbled into dust on exposure to the atmosphere. In many instances the bones were found very thickly coated with red iron ore, with which material it is well known the chiefs amongst the aborigines were in the habit of being bedaubed, both during life and after death. Another and smaller pit was then found, the sand of which was of a jet black colour, was soon accounted for by discovering sundry fragments of charred human bones — conclusive evidence that the aborigines of the country were in the habit of resorting to human cremation, whether of a living enemy or a deceased kinsman. I was fortunate enough to obtain the perfect cranium of one dog, together with the lower jaw (the teeth being quite perfect, and almost complete in both,) five large tusks, proper to the upper jaw of the bear, together with a portion of one left ramus of the lower jaw, and a few other detached portions of the skull of the same animal, and the scapula and one molar tooth of a beaver. The only weapons and implements found were one flint spear-head, a most primitive dagger, 12 inches long, and a fish spear, both composed of bone, and in excellent preservation. A large piece of extremely lustrous mica, which evidently had served the purpose of a breast ornament, was found amongst the spoils; but no pipes or cooking utensils of any description were met with.

Inferring from the extremely and uniformly perfect condition of the teeth, there can be no doubt that these interesting specimens date back to a period long antecedent to the white man's visit, and to the introduction of salt pork and alcohol, which two baneful agents have done more towards the extermination of the primitive red-skinned denizens of the forest than have the combined influences of war, pestilence and famine. EVC

Ottawa, July 20 1860.

The above specimens may be seen at the residence of Dr. Van-Cortlandt.

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ARCH NOTES

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Lorie Harris, left, Executive Director of the OAS, and Rob Leverty, right, Executive Director of the Ontario Historical Society, congratulate Charles Garrad on the launch of his book.

OAS HONOURS CHARLIE GARRAD'S NEW PUBLICATION

By Claire van Nierop

On Tuesday, May 27th at University of Toronto's Massey College, The Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS) hosted a book launch for the new publication *Petun to Wyandot: The Ontario Petun from the Sixteenth Century*, which features five decades of research by acclaimed archaeologist and past OAS president Charles Garrad.

A recipient of the Order of Ontario, the Queen's Golden Jubilee

Commemorative Medal and the J. Norman Emerson Silver Medal, Mr. Garrad is widely regarded as the leading academic authority on the archaeology and contact period history of the Petun (Tobacco) First Nation, now also known as the Wyandot.

The evening brought together much of the archaeological community from Toronto and the surrounding areas, members of the OAS and the Ontario Historical Society (OHS), and the editors and publishers of the book. Speakers included the author, Mr.

Charles Garrad, Dr. Robert MacDonald (President of the OAS), Mr. William Fox (co-editor of the book) and Dr. Ronald Williamson (Chief Archaeologist at Archaeological Services Inc.).

Publishers from the University of Ottawa Press were on hand to sell the book and over 60 copies were sold at the event. Charlie undertook the task of signing each individual copy – a token of his appreciation for supporting his life's work.

LEST WE FORGET...

THE COLONIAL NATURE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

By Dr. Julie Kapyrka

Disclaimer: Indigenous peoples and archaeologists are not two mutually exclusive categories. There are indeed Indigenous peoples who practice archaeology as there are non-Indigenous people who practice archaeology guided by Indigenous perspectives. This paper (and the terminology herein) serves to highlight the general climate of archaeological practice in Ontario.

Recently in a conversation I was having with a colleague I mentioned that I thought it was amazing that Indigenous people are willing to work with and share their knowledge with archaeologists – despite the fact that the discipline engaged in and arguably is still engaged in colonialist and assimilative activities. He took exception to this sentiment and pointed out that he does “not engage in either colonialist or assimilative activities” and does not “know of anyone who does.” After several years of Master’s research and many more years of Doctoral research, as well as having the privilege to be immersed in Anishinaabe community and ceremony, I can unequivocally state that archaeology is absolutely a colonial endeavour. Whether cognizant of this fact or not, archaeologists are engaged in a practice that is inherently colonial. The best we can do is to acknowledge this fact and move towards decolonizing the discipline.

A plethora of texts attest to this fact (Atalay 2012; Bruchac, Hart, and Wobst 2010; McGuire 2008; McNiven and Russell 2005; Nicholas 2010, 2014; Smith and Wobst 2005; Zimmerman, Vitelli and Hollowell-Zimmer 2003) – and this is just a small list. The titles of some of these texts also expose this reality: *Appropriated Pasts: Indigenous Peoples and the Colonial Culture of Archaeology*; *Indigenous Archaeologies: Decolonizing Theory and Practice*; *Indigenous Archaeologies: A Reader on Decolonization*, and so on.....

Most archaeologists are simply not aware that they are engaging in colonialist practices, and this is part of the complexity of the reality of this conundrum. “At heart, archaeology is a colonial endeavour. It is based on, and generally perpetrates, the values of Western cultures. Privileging the material over the spiritual and the scientific over the religious, archaeological practice is solidly grounded in Western ways of knowing the world” (Smith and Wobst 2005:5). This fact, mixed with the reality that upwards of 80% of the material culture uncovered by archaeological endeavour in Ontario is of an Indigenous context (Kapyrka 2011), not only presents some complex interpretive challenges but also many deep ethical considerations. It is clear to me that there still exists a major gap in archaeological practice in terms of its

relationship with Indigenous peoples and perspectives.

This gap is characterized mostly by a lack of inclusivity. Many archaeologists are cognizant of these challenges and are interested and eager to involve themselves actively in the changes required to transform the discipline. Archaeology in Ontario has indeed come a long way in recent years. Some examples of this progress include the archaeological monitoring training programs offered in Indigenous communities, the consultation mandates by the Ministry, and Indigenous archaeology courses being included in some academic settings. While these occurrences seem to be heading in a positive direction, archaeology is still largely exclusive, especially to Indigenous peoples, their communities, and particularly to Indigenous Knowledge systems.

I contend that this occurs because there exists a general lack of awareness (on the part of archaeologists) about Indigenous culture and history as well as a lack of understanding of the impact of colonization and the discipline of archaeology upon Indigenous peoples and communities. Critics would argue that this statement paints with too broad a brush and does not take into account the current realities of the archaeological consulting industry and the fact that for proponents and consultants, ‘time is money’ – there is simply no time to spend on becoming informed about the historical context or to create lasting meaningful relationships with Indigenous communities.

I argue that yes indeed, time IS money, and in light of this fact, having relationships with Indigenous peoples and communities actually facilitates the CRM process greatly. Laurie Jackson and Cathy Crinnion, both professional CRM archaeologists, and members of the APA, cognizant of these issues took the time to work with Indigenous communities and wrote a successful grant application to the (now) Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport and received funding to implement the Archaeological Monitoring Training Program with the Williams Treaty First Nations (see Kapyrka 2005). Thus now, the APA – which is mostly comprised of CRM archaeologists, has a working list of Indigenous archaeological monitors who can be called upon to work on site and consult back to their communities.

As ‘time is money’ some introspection can greatly expedite the process of consulting archaeology. Although we certainly must accentuate the positives, as changes are still being made to archaeological practice, we should not overlook action that can be, and has been taken – and thus question why other archaeologists are not doing similar things?

In 1989, Christopher Tilley challenged archaeologists with the following statement: Where does archaeology stand in relation to all this? Where are its values? What is its purpose? In what direction should the discipline develop? Is archaeology

relevant or irrelevant to the world? Is doing archaeology like playing the fiddle while Rome burns? In short, why archaeology? (1989:105) He answered this by saying that archaeology is a form of sociopolitical action in the present. Randall McGuire (2008) suggests that although Tilley accepted that archaeology cannot alter capitalism, or end war, or alleviate global inequality, because it is part of modern culture, changes in archaeology can affect various aspects of culture; therefore, he argued that archaeology can be a source of, and a medium for, critiques of capitalist ideology.

The ‘time is money’ mentality just drips with colonial ideals based on capitalistic processes. Although this is a reality in the ‘business of archaeology’, individual archaeologists can engage in critiquing this model and work towards changing its operation (as Jackson, Crinnion and others have done). As McGuire (2008:ix) points out “by the turn of the twenty-first century, many archaeologists had put down their fiddles and taken up Tilley’s challenge to confront the sociopolitics of archaeology.”

Whether we acknowledge it or not, there will always be tension and friction between archaeologists and Indigenous peoples until genuine understandings of past relationships and their effect on the present dynamics is more clearly articulated. McNiven and Russell (2005:2) argue that: Many of the past and present (and predictably future) problems stem from the colonial foundations of ‘prehistoric archaeology’. It is our contention that the discipline of ‘prehistoric archaeology’, as practiced upon Indigenous cultures, is founded upon and underwritten by a series of deep-seated colonialist and negative representational tropes of Indigenous peoples developed as part of European philosophies of imperialism over the last 2,500 years. These colonial tropes, some explicit, many subtle, continue to have currency in public and academic arenas and thus continue to create friction between Indigenous peoples and archaeologists.

We argue that friction continues because most archaeologists have little historical understanding of the pedigree and pervasiveness of the underlying colonial tropes of ‘Indigenous archaeology’ as practiced in settler colonies. This is why I suggest that archaeologists should inform themselves more about the history and cultures of Indigenous peoples and particularly the impact that the discipline of archaeology has had on their people, belief systems, and ways of life. “A historical understanding of social contexts provides archaeologists with the opportunity to counter stereotypes and to interact more effectively with the social groups affected by our work” (McGuire 2008:232).

George Nicholas, founding Director of Simon Fraser University’s Indigenous Archaeology Program from 1991 to 2005, who has worked closely with the Secwepemc and other First Nations in the Interior of British Columbia and elsewhere in British Columbia states: As Larry Zimmerman, my colleague, points out, the first thing you need to do is humble yourself. To recognize that your position is traditionally one of

great power and authority—you are the scientist. And, yes, that is true at some levels, but the equation changes when you are talking to people about their heritage on their land. Not in the sense that you’ve got to put your real motives aside or you’ve got to defer, or water down, or try to be politically correct. That’s not what I am talking about. It is this notion of recognizing there is this historic power imbalance...when you are talking to them in a meeting, some elders won’t say anything. You cannot assume that silence means agreement. Some Indigenous peoples simply feel that you are the expert and think “whatever I have to say about my own heritage isn’t as valuable as what you the expert have to say.” (Nicholas 2014:4)

As Smith and Wobst (2005:8) argue: “It is time to move beyond the colonial strategy of reducing the significance of Indigenous places to archaeological sites and artifacts as a way of circumscribing and containing Indigenous interests.” Not only are Indigenous communities often left out of the practice of archaeology on their own sacred sites but also on the interpretation of such sites – in which case contextual meanings could be included that expand our understanding of activities that peoples of the past engaged in.

For example, Rudy Reimer (Squamish Nation), conducted a site survey in the alpine and sub-alpine environments of his traditional territory, and his results indicate that without including the traditional use patterns associated with high-elevation sites, land use models remain incomplete and non-representative of the range of activities conducted in the past (Nicholas 2010:186). This is just one example of many, in which Indigenous knowledge can inform and expand archaeological interpretation.

It has been suggested to me that universities hold the key to nurturing a sense of inclusivity in the archaeology students that they graduate and that’s where the connections should be made. I could not agree more! In this respect I have been working for years to address this responsibility on the part of the academy and been getting little to no response from those who hold the power to make change. Again, this is symptomatic of colonial processes still at play and the reluctance of the power structures (in Ontario at least) to let go of their dictatorial control of the discipline.

I would argue that the business of consulting archaeology also holds responsibility in regards to nurturing a sense of inclusivity not just to Indigenous peoples but also to the public in general; and they can begin this process by sharing the vast amount of information their profession yields. Recently, I attended a guest lecture in which the speaker focused upon this issue in terms of CRM archaeologists and that they ought to publish their findings – otherwise, as he stated: “What are we doing?” The response that I most often hear to this question again revolves around capitalistic ideals: Who is going to pay for that? We must also ask then: Who pays academic archaeologists to write up and publish their findings? Yes, academics do receive the luxury of sabbaticals, however, they

do publish articles outside of sabbatical time and many academics who do not have sabbaticals publish material all the time – who pays them? I believe that they do so as part of appearing credible in their professions as well as feeling a moral obligation to share the results of their work. Coming back to questions of payment for services, this also begs the question: Who pays Indigenous communities to consult with archaeologists, developers, environmental companies, governments etc.? In many instances they are not paid to consult and do so in the interest of their communities. Archaeologists should strive to move away from concerns solely of a capitalistic nature and incorporate a deeper acknowledgement to the ethics behind the work they do as professionals.

“...ethics in archaeology are not simple. They are very complex, conflicted, and confusing. Today, ethical questions and dilemmas are more about relations among people than about things” (Zimmerman, Vitelli, and Hollowell-Zimmer 2003:vii). Therefore, archaeologists should be concerned about building relationships with Indigenous peoples and making their discipline more inclusive and thus more accessible to Indigenous peoples and communities as well as creating relevancy and credibility to the larger public in general.

What has not been mentioned much in this article is the politics of archaeology – everything archaeologists do can be arguably characterized as a political act, whether they are aware of this or not. This is another area of interest that is pertinent to this discussion but would necessitate another article entirely. Suffice it to say Randall McGuire (2008) reminds us, archaeology is always political. He argues that “scholars should not try to deny this fact or obscure it behind a veil of false objectivity” (2008:xii). Thus, again, this comes back to the importance of having an awareness of the history and cultures of Indigenous peoples, particularly where archaeology intersects with Indigenous heritage, and responding to that knowledge accordingly and ethically.

Of course not all Indigenous peoples are willing to share their knowledge, or work with archaeologists at all (I have had experience with this first-hand) but it is becoming more rare and when it does occur, it is almost always as a result of the underlying ‘colonial tropes’ of archaeology and how their communities have not benefitted from and in some cases have been harmed by archaeological practice. Archaeologists can work to change negative attitudes towards their discipline by demonstrating cultural sensitivity and compassion in their practice as well as offering and identifying benefits to Indigenous communities. To achieve this, archaeologists must first become educated about the colonial history of archaeology and its impact upon Indigenous cultures. In this way archaeologists can make informed decisions about meaningful benefits to communities as well as how to properly engage in ethical protocols surrounding culturally sensitive issues. I have heard in recent discussion that changes are being made in museum policy and in particular how they are proposing to deal

with de-accessioning artifacts. Selling or auctioning off these items had been suggested as a method. The mere suggestion of this method calls into effect a myriad of ethical considerations especially in terms of Indigenous interests and rights to material culture. This proposed new museum policy just further illustrates the fact that colonialism is still very much alive and well in our (Western) systems.

The purpose of this article was to act as a gentle reminder to archaeologists that their discipline and profession is at its core a colonial endeavour. There is nothing we can do to change that fact. What we can do, and I repeat, is to acknowledge this fact and try to move towards a more decolonized archaeological practice. What has been suggested is to become more informed about ‘the colonial tropes of archaeology’ – how the discipline has affected and still affects the lives and cultures of Indigenous peoples as well as to begin the process of creating lasting, meaningful relationship with Indigenous peoples and communities.

More action can be taken to make archaeology more inclusive to Indigenous peoples in general and some of these concepts will be addressed in a forthcoming article that I will be co-authoring with an Anishinaabe Elder – exemplifying an act of inclusivity in itself. As Nicholas (2014:4) so aptly suggests: “ – first thing is to listen, to shut up and listen—to recognize that for much of the conversation that goes on with Indigenous peoples that they are the experts and not you.” And with that, I reiterate that it is absolutely amazing that Indigenous peoples are willing to share their knowledge with archaeologists despite the fact that archaeology engaged in and arguably is still engaged in colonialist and assimilative activities. Thus, we all could use a good lesson in gratitude. To this end I say “miigwech” and “nia’weh” to all Indigenous peoples of Ontario who are willing to work with a younger brother who is still in a formative state of learning.

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NOTES AND NEWS

THE IROQUOIS CONFERENCE

Francis Scardero sends along a reminder that the Conference on Iroquois Research will take place at the Beaver Hollow Conference Center, Java Center, New York from Oct. 3-5, 2014. The second call for papers, information on poster sessions and other information can be found at <http://www.iroquoia.org>

CAA IN LONDON

The OAS congratulates the Canadian Archaeological Association and its London Organizing Committee for a very successful conference, held from May 16 – 19, 2014 at the Hilton Hotel in London. Many OAS members were there, gave papers, and caught up with acquaintances.

President Rob MacDonald and Vice-President Sheryl Smith along with Deb Pihl, Margaret-Ann Fecteau and others, spent time looking after the OAS table in the book room – an excellent way to see just about everybody over the course of several days.

About 350 delegates shared elevator space with ‘hockey folks’ attending the Memorial Cup at the same time. Our personal thrill was riding down to breakfast with Brendan Shanahan (the recently named President of the Toronto Maple Leafs) one morning!

FINAL CALL FOR NOMINATIONS FOR OAS AWARDS

Director Lindsay Foreman reminds us that the deadline for award nominations is July 1st. Submission guidelines can be found on the OAS website.

You can reach Lindsay at memberservices@ontarioarchaeology.on.ca

A BIRTHDAY WORTH CELEBRATING

Mrs. Ann Emerson, widow of OAS founder Dr. J. Norman Emerson, marked her 100th birthday in May! Congratulations to her from everyone in the Society, on this special occasion.

HELP WANTED – WHO ARE THEY?

Mrs. Ann Emerson, via our wonderful Charlie Garrad, has given the OAS a photo of Dr. Norm Emerson with a gaggle of students, probably at a dig site in the fall.

With his trademark guitar and fedora, Dr. Norm is easy to identify. But who are all the others?

If you can help solve this mystery, please be in touch with Lorie in the OAS office. The photo is also posted on our Facebook page and you can reply there as well.





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