

The Newsletter of the Ontario Archaeological Society



Collaborative Archaeology, page 4

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President's Message

Residential School Cemeteries

The recent announcements regarding the identification of unmarked burials at Kamloops Residential School, Kuper Island Residential School and St. Eugene's Mission School in British Columbia, as well as Marieval Residential School in Saskatchewan, was shocking to Canadians and has changed the conversation with respect to reconciliation. These announcements have thrust remote sensing techniques to the forefront as a means of providing the evidence of the location and size of the cemeteries at these institutions.

Dr. Scott Hamilton, 2020 J.V. Wright Lifetime Achievement Award winner, wrote a report for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that outlined the scope of the residential school cemeteries (https://nctr.ca/records/reports/) and shows that there is much more to be done. The TRC lists 17 residential schools in Ontario, disproportionately located in Northern Ontario (http://www.trc.ca/about-us/residential-school.html), some of which have begun the process of documenting the cemeteries associated with these schools.

Over the last few years OAS members have volunteered on the ongoing project at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario to document the archaeological deposits associated with this former residential school and to identify potential grave sites. Importantly, this project has been done in partnership with community and survivors.

Several members have reached out asking what the OAS is doing to support communities in their efforts to document these cemeteries. The OAS Board of Directors has issued a statement regarding these discoveries in which there was a commitment to assist communities should assistance be requested. This commitment

is in recognition that initiatives to document these cemeteries must be led by the communities. If requested, the OAS will provide assistance, advice or support to communities. To request assistance or support from the OAS please contact OAS President Elect Jill Taylor-Hollings at presidentelect@ontarioarchaeology.org. For survivors and those who have been affected by the recent announcements regarding residential school unmarked burials a national crisis line is accessible 24-hours at 1-866-925-4419.

Archaeological Training for Community Members

The spring has been a busy one with the delivery of archaeological training for community representatives. In April, OAS volunteers once again gave generously to share their knowledge with community representatives. The program was a great success with 26 students participating from several communities including Oneida of the Thames First Nation, Chippewas of the Thames First Nation, Kettle and Stony Point First Nation, Caldwell First Nation, and Munsee Delaware First Nation (https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/london/first-nations-archeology-monitoring-training-program-1.5989035).

This spring also saw the delivery of the "Train the Trainer" program with funding from the Ontario Trillium Fund. This program was in partnership with the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation to train three community representatives to deliver training to future Field Liaison Representatives (Program seeks to broaden Indigenous participation in archeology training | Brantford Expositor). Jordan Jamieson, Adam LaForme and Matthew LaForme worked with OAS volunteers to develop

and deliver a wide range of training modules. Congratulations to Matthew, Adam and Jordan on the successful delivery of the virtual training! Thanks to all the volunteers for making this an incredible success.

This summer the training program for community representatives in Northeastern Ontario has resumed after being paused last summer due to COVID. This program is also supported by the Ontario Trillium Fund and has been led by Alicia Hawkins and Sarah Hazell. The first year was an overwhelming success with students getting hands on experience. With the current pandemic it was necessary to pivot to a virtual training in 2021, but I have no doubt it will be equally as successful and look forward to having the results shared later this year.

Sundries

As Ontario begins to re-open, there is a desire to return to in person activities. However, I encourage everyone to continue to observe physical distancing over the coming months. The OAS Symposium being hosted by the Ottawa Chapter will be virtual again this year. Should Chapters be considering a return to in-person meetings in the Fall I would encourage you to reach out to Greg Braun, Director of Chapter Services.

Each year we recognize individuals who have made significant contributions to Ontario archaeology and the Ontario Archaeological Society. The application deadline for award nominations is fast approaching and I encourage members to submit applications that recognise the hard working and dedicated members of our community. And lastly, enjoy the summer.

Collaboration in Ontario Archaeology

Collaborative and community-based archaeology has been gaining traction over the last few decades. Increasingly, archaeologists are becoming aware that in many cases, they have been acting as stewards, and sometimes gatekeepers, over a heritage and history that was not their own. Engaging and working with descendant communities has been argued by many as a way to help the discipline move away from its colonial roots. In this issue contributors reflect on their experiences with collaborative archaeological projects in Ontario.

The Long Road to Collaboration: A History of ASI Relationships with Indigenous Communities with a focus on the Huron-Wendat Nation

By Ron Williamson¹, Rob Mac-Donald¹, Martin Cooper¹, Louis Lesage², and Susan Pfeiffer³

Beginnings

In 1977, Ron Williamson, founder of Archaeological Services Inc. (ASI), woke up Christmas morning to find a copy of Bruce Trigger's Children of Aataentsic under the tree. Reading these two volumes over the next month or so was to lay the foundation for Williamson and ASI's commitment to Indigenous engagement throughout the company's history. Aataentsic is considered one of Bruce Trigger's masterpieces. It is an incredibly detailed narrative of the events of the 16th and 17th centuries in what is now Quebec and Ontario and surrounding regions and was constructed to give the Huron-Wendat and other Indigenous leaders their own voice in what had up to that point been very much history written from a colonial perspective. Trigger, of course, went on to write other internationally significant books and articles and helped to lead the way in North America in bringing archaeologists to an awareness of their responsibilities to Indigenous peoples whose past they were examining.

The experience reading that was followed later that year by Williamson receiving a license and Ontario Heritage Foundation (later OHT) grant to examine the Liahn 2 site, a threatened Meadowood cemetery near Mitchell's Bay, Ontario. With the assistance of Bill Fox, who had worked closely with Indigenous communities in the north in the early

1970s, and motivated by the events at the Neutral Grimsby cemetery the year before, Williamson approached Chief Robert Williams of Walpole Island for permission to excavate the site and to arrange for some of the Nation's students to work at the site. This was Williamson and Martin Cooper's

first experience with a fully integrated Indigenous monitor working on a site.

Williamson had been at the Draper site in 1975 and returned to the New Toronto Airport Project Lands for the following field season to participate in surveying the proposed airport lands.In 1978, he returned to the Draper site for the second full season of excavation. The following year, he returned to the airport lands to excavate the Robin Hood site, a pre-coalescent Huron-Wendat village, for his MA research, when incidentally, he first met Konrad Sioui at the Spang



Iroquoian village (*Tawiscaron*) constructed on the shore of a former quarry lake at Frontier Landing, Fort Erie, Ontario, 1983.

¹ Archaeological Services Inc.

² Huron-Wendat Nation

³ University of Toronto



Complete longhouse constructed by Haudenosaunee students at *Tawiscaron*, Frontier Landing, Fort Erie, Ontario, 1983.

site, a mid-sixteenth century Huron-Wendat site. Sioui, with his brothers, would go on to win a unanimous decision at the Supreme Court of Canada in 1991 that affirmed that the Huron-British Treaty of 1760 was still valid and supported their claim that Huron-Wendat people could carry on their traditional activities on Crown Land. He later became Grand Chief of the Nation between 2008 and 2020 and advanced significantly his Nation's interests in their archaeological record on their Ontario homelands.

ASI - The Early Years

In 1980, in the second year of his PhD research, Williamson founded ASI and in 1982, he and Martin Cooper began consulting with a group of four recently retired British Naval officers, who came to Canada and went into business with a Fort Erie entrepreneur named Jack Barton, to build and operate an Indigenous-themed entertainment park in Fort Erie. Barton's wife, Joan Barton, was the President of the Niagara Branch of the Ontario Native Women's Association with deep routes in the Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre (FENFC). While Cooper focused on his PhD investi-

gations into the Neutral occupation of the Niagara Frontier but also helped with the project, Williamson began an intensive collaboration with the five business partners and the FENFC to design and construct a palisaded village with one completed longhouse and three other frames surrounded by a palisade. We also helped to design and oversee construction of a modest log-cabin style resource centre with AV capabilities and a large stone fireplace. Educational and public programs in pre-contact Iroquoian life were designed and offered in both the village and resource centre. The houses and palisade were constructed entirely by Indigenous builders, mainly Haudenosaunee young men from Fort Erie and Buffalo. All of the staff, for the three partial years that educational programs operated from 1984-86, were young Haudenosaunee men and women. For a discussion of longhouse construction as "Replication or Interpretation," see Williamson (2003). This building experience and the educational programs in Fort Erie were the model for the later village construction and program offerings at Pinetree Native village in Brantford that were run, for the most, by the local off-reserve community. Both programs failed due to loss of continued operational funding after governments, who were willing to pay to build the facilities, very short-sightedly refused to help fund their operations, a problem that continues in that sector today.

ASI's constant presence in Fort Erie in the 1980s led to our retention by the Town for the Snake Hill project, which was an emergency investigation of lakeshore lots to the south of Old Fort Erie where human remains had been found by home builders and reported to the media. It was soon discovered that the remains related to the construction of a battery and a small American field hospital and cemetery south of the Fort in 1814. Following the exhumation of the American soldiers found in the cemetery, some of them terribly mangled by battle injuries, 29 American soldiers were repatriated to Bath National Cemetery in New York (Pfeiffer and Williamson (eds) 2001; Litt et al. 1993).

This continued presence in Fort Erie led to 13 continuous years of excavation at the Peace Bridge site, on behalf of the Town of Fort Erie and the Public Bridge Authority of Buffalo and Fort Erie. The Peace Bridge site is a large quarry, occupation, and burial site encompassing an area of over 80 acres, represented by a buried paleosol beneath the streets, parking lots, and residences of Fort Erie near the Peace Bridge. In some parts of the site, the density of artifacts reached levels in the thousands per square metre. These 13 years of investigation involved reinvestigation of the Surma site, a Genesee and Transitional Woodland period occupation and cemetery discovered in 1965, and work on and around the Orchid site, where the year before, Marian White had documented a Neutral cemetery surrounded by historic period burials and others dating to 1500 years ago. It is now known that these sites are places where burial events occurred over a 3500-year period that are all encompassed within the huge Peace

Bridge site (Williamson and Cooper 1996; Williamson and MacDonald 1997, 1998; Robertson et al. 2006; Williamson et al. 2011). In September of 1995, Williamson was invited to attend and aid in the repatriation of all of the hundreds of ancestors remains and grave goods from Orchid into a deerskin-lined pit on the grounds of Old Fort Erie. He was also invited to the "Feast of the Dead" where he was charged with the responsibility to ensure that all of the grave goods that had been excavated at Orchid were returned by the National Mugy Award. Several years later, Williamson teamed up with Mohawk Traditionalist William Woodworth, a student of legendary Haudenosaunee Traditional Chief Jacob Thomas, to create a video about the Peace Bridge site based on the book (Douglas 2006). In that same year, in an innovative and evocative evening, the ASI Peace Bridge team attended an evening celebrating the recovery of a complete late 7th century ceramic vessel that had collapsed in a feature on the site and that had encapsulated the remains of a soup. Based on the food

debris fin-Vogel,



med up to recreate the soup, which was then prepared and presented to over 100 members of the public at an event sponsored by the Greater Fort Erie Chamber of Commerce and the Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre. The evening ended with Beverly Hill, who gave a tear-filled speech relaying how honoured she felt to have recreated a soup prepared by her ancestors 1300 years previously. To get a recipe of the "Ten-Fish Soup," either see the book or go to https://asiheritage.ca/ancient-ten-fish-soup-recipe/.

Incorporated into the Buffalo and Fort Erie Public Bridge Authority's administration building is an exhibit that is usually open to the public from 9:00 AM to 4:00 PM, Monday through Friday. It is called "Mewinzha - A Journey Back in Time" - an archaeological display and interpretive centre located in the building atrium. It was a collaborative effort by ASI in partnership with the Town of Fort Erie, Fort Erie Native Friendship Centre, Fort Erie Museum Services, and the Buffalo and Fort Erie Public Bridge Authority and features both ancient and contemporary Indigenous art (see https://asiheritage.ca/portfolio-items/the-mewinzha-gallery-exhibit/).

ASI - AMPs, Ossuaries, Redhill Expressway, and Northern Ontario

The year before work began on the Peace Bridge site, ASI initiated a program of regional survey and excavation at the Paleo Sheguiandah site (with Peter Storck and Pat Julig) as part of an archaeological management plan for the Township of Howland, Sheguiandah First Nation, and the Ojibways of Sucker Creek First Nation (now Aundeck Omni Kaning First Nation). This study involved working very closely with the Chiefs and elders of the communities as, in addition to archaeological sites, traditional use sites were also mapped to help the communities with their long-term protection (Robertson et al. 2002). In one interview, the Chief's mother, speaking in Anishinaabemowin, described a quartz knob on the Georgian Bay shore as a lookout for the Iroquois, a place of importance obviously passed down for almost 300 years. Not long after, ASI also carried out a similar plan for the Township of Muskoka and the Wahta Mohawks, again collecting and mapping information about traditional places and routes. It was those studies, along with similar ones at Christian Island, Walpole Island, and Oneida Nation of the Thames, conducted by other consultancies, that led Jane Kelly and Williamson (1996), in a discussion of four-field anthropology in Canada, to comment that CRM archaeologists in Ontario and perhaps nationwide were working with and for Indigenous communities securing information that had previously been collected by cultural anthropologists.

It was about this time as well that



Tobacco Ceremony (FENFC) at Peace Bridge Site in 1992

seum along with the ancestors' remains (Williamson and MacDonald 1998:21).

All of ASI's work at the site was coordinated with the FENFC, whose Executive Director at the time was Wayne Hill (no relation to the current HDI Supervisor). Hill in consultation with Six Nations Council had many difficult decisions to reach regarding the hundreds of ancestor burials on the site. Across the road from the Surma site, for example, a new Canadian commercial customs facility had to be redesigned by the famed architectural firm, Moriyama and Teshima Architects, to stand on piers in order to avoid dozens of burials. Williamson and MacDonald (1998) were exceedingly grateful that Hill agreed to author the foreword to their book Legacy of Stone, which was the basis for the 1998 OAS Peggy Armstrong Public Archaeolo-

discussions about consent in advance of archaeological projects were central to country-wide, provincial, and territory-based workshops that preceded the CAA adoption of the Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Heritage (CAA 1996). The Ontario discussions were co-chaired by Williamson and Sylvia Thomas of the Chiefs of Ontario. The Principles in the resultant statement acknowledge our responsibilities to negotiate and respect protocols, developed in consultation with Indigenous communities, relating to the conduct of archaeological activities affecting their culture. The requirement of explicit consent, however, was not agreed to by the archaeological community. That reticence, in part, came from government agencies regulating the general land use development system in most parts of Canada - agencies that had not yet recognised the legitimate Indigenous interest in land planning and stewardship. Before the last election in Ontario and the election of a new regime disinterested in Indigenous concerns that might slow development, the Ontario Ministries of Municipal Affairs and Housing and Indigenous Relations were discussing with municipalities the process by which free and informed prior consent might be obtained from appropriate Indigenous communities by municipalities in advance of all land use change.

While we are unaware of any other regular interaction on the part of Ontario archaeologists with the Huron-Wendat Nation after their participation at the Spang site in the late 1970s, the Nation was integrally involved and were full collaborators in the 1999 repatriation of the ancestors from the 1947-1948 excavation of the 1636 Ossosanné ossuary excavated by Ken Kidd of the Royal Ontario Museum (ROM) (Kapches 2010). Mima Kapches, a former Curator of New World Archaeology, ensured ROM collaborated with the Chief and Council of the Huron-Wendat Nation.

CRM practice before and after that time concerning burials found on ancestral Huron-Wendat sites in southern Ontario was to contact Six Nations Council who would represent the deceased as they had with the Huron-Wendat Tabor Hill ossuary in 1957. The rationale for this was that Six Nations represented the geographically closest Iroquoian-speaking nation to the ancestors, somewhat following the guidance of the Cemeteries Act at that time. It was for that reason that ASI worked very closely with Six Nations and in particular Councillor Ervin Harris in moving the Moatfield ossuary that had been so terribly impacted by a lamp post on a community soccer pitch in north Toronto (Williamson and Pfeiffer (eds) 2003). Bev Garner's (2003) poignant epilogue in the Moatfield volume describes that process of reinterment and our learning from the elders, in particular Barry Longboat, a Haudenosaunee faithkeeper. The excavation of Moatfield led to discussions among many southern Ontario nations at the Native Canadian Centre of Toronto about the excavation of burial sites. A best practices document was developed with support from the First Nations Burial Committee of Toronto to

assist with understanding the existing Cemeteries Act processes, with all its horrible colonial language, and to quide archaeologists and communities in how to address the accidental

human remains in Ontario. Our work at Moatfield also led to a close working relationship over the ensuing decade with Barb Harris, to whom we will return below.

Contemporary with the Moatfield work, ASI undertook extensive archaeological assessment and mitigation work for the City of Hamilton's Red Hill Valley Parkway project. The survey work began in 1996 and this led to the salvage excavation of numerous sites through the early 2000s, including the Mt. Albion West early Paleo site. Like many large infrastructure projects, it was contentious in Hamilton and beyond, ultimately coming to the attention of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy Chiefs Council (HCCC).

In the spring of 2001, Onondaga Chief Arnold General and Cayuga environmentalist Norm Jacobs confronted the ASI crew led by Rob MacDonald starting the salvage excavation of the Mt. Albion West site and insisted that they leave the premises. After many days of mediated negotiation with City of Hamilton officials and the project team, work resumed at Mt. Albion West under the watchful eye of Six Nations monitor Wayne Hill (now Archaeology Supervisor for the Haudenosaunee



accidental Moses Mandamin, Whitefish Bay Elder, Martin Cooper and Zeeshan Abedin discovery of (ASI), TEK workshop, Whitefish Bay Nov 4, 2011, Lake of the Woods (photo by Nick Walker)



Mary Baxter, Marten Falls FN Elder smoking sturgeon, Baxter Family Camp, Washi Lake (Albany River) (photo by Martin Cooper)

Development Institute (HDI)). Professor Gary Warrick of Wilfrid Laurier University served as technical advisor to HCCC. The project was carried to conclusion concurrent with a series of many challenging discussions between HCCC and the City of Hamilton with participation by ASI. These negotiations helped to lay the foundation for Indigenous monitoring programs subsequently implemented by HCCC through HDI and by Six Nations of the Grand River and other nations. They also yielded a series of agreements between the Haudenosaunee Confederacy and the City of Hamilton, including an Agreement Concerning Respect for and Protection of Human Burials in the Red Hill Creek Valley and Assurances Concerning Archaeological Work in the Red Hill Creek Valley (October 22, 2003) and an Agreement Respecting the Human Heritage of the Red Hill Valley (January 9, 2004). Finally, they led to the establishment of a Joint Stewardship Board for the Red Hill Valley (http://jointstewardshipboard.com/).

While all of this work was occurring

in southern Ontario, ASI was undertaking a number of significant projects in northern Ontario, led by Martin Cooper, often interacting closely with, or working for Indigenous communities.

Some of these were heritage components of tourism feasibility studies for Indigenous clients including Bingwi Neyaashi Anishinaabek (formerly Sand Point First Nation) in 2001 and the Animbiigoo Zaagi'igan Anishinaabek in 2009. In 2009, he worked with Adamson Architects on the development of Indigenous design elements to be incorporated into the new Thunder Bay Courthouse. This involved extensive consultation and vetting of these design elements with the Nishnawbe Aski Nation (NAN) Elder's Council.

Of particular significance was a multiyear project (2011-2015) for Coventry Resources and Chalice Gold in the Lake of the Woods area that involved Indigenous consultation, the development of an archaeological management plan, and the collection of Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) from Indigenous

Knowledge Keepers from the surrounding First Nations. This was done prior to the change in the Ontario Mining Act, which now requires Indigenous engagement at all stages of mineral exploration and development, as well as a provision to remove sacred sites and burials from mineral staking. This was in part brought on by a landmark case involving the Kitchenuhmaykoosib Inninuwug (KI) vs. Platinex, a mineral exploration company. Cooper served as an expert witness for KI, providing testimony of the archaeological potential of Platinex's proposed exploration area south of Big Trout Lake.

Cooper also conducted Indigenous engagement and arranged site access for an extensive study of pictograph sites in the Temagami area and along the north shore of Lake Huron.

Outside of Ontario, ASI projects directed by Cooper included Indigenous consultation with the Labrador Inuit, involving the collection of TEK information as part of a mineral exploration project north of Nain Labrador in 1996, peer review of the archaeological assessment of the Shore Gold Mine for the Muskody First Nation in Saskatchewan in 2011, and extensive consultation with Regina's Indigenous community as part of the City of Regina's Cultural Plan in 2013.

The Huron-Wendat Nation return full-time to Ontario

The desire for greater Indigenous involvement in Ontario archaeology by many archaeologists, including ASI leadership, saw slow but incremental development through the 2000s concurrent with a widespread and growing shift in post-colonial attitudes worldwide. These shifts were reflected in part through case law, such as the 2004 Haida decision by the Supreme Court of Canada upholding the Crown duty to consult and accommodate Indigenous rights-holding communities in accordance with Section 35

of the Canadian constitution, but also in statements such as the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).

In 2004, during his final tenure as Grand Chief of the Huron-Wendat Nation, Max Gros-Louis invigorated the Ontario presence with his staff, Luc Laine, and Heather Bastien, with whom ASI and Williamson in particular, worked very closely on a number of files. Their renewed presence in Ontario resulted from a legal action filed by David Donnelly in 2004 on behalf of the Nation arguing that the Ontario Realty Corporation (ORC) had not consulted properly in their decision to establish a cemetery adjacent to the ancestral Wendat Milroy site in Markham, Ontario. The ORC was found guilty, which led thereafter to most southern Ontario First Nations being contacted regularly regarding Ontario government land exchanges and environmental assessments (EA), although few Nations had the capacity to handle the new demands for their comment.

Following Milroy, ASI began to regularly engage with the Huron-Wendat Nation. David Donnelly, the lawyer for the Huron-Wendat at that time, had contacted Williamson directly in 2005 when media reports surfaced regarding the discovery of the Teston Road ossuary during the widening of the road, and requested that ASI contact the Huron-Wendat in addition to Kris Nahrgang, who at the time was the consultation coordinator for Scugog Island First Nation, the closest nation to the site. Eventually, Six Nations was also contacted. The Huron-Wendat, once they were involved, assumed responsibility for making decisions about their ancestors and represented the deceased as they had at Ossossané, six years earlier. For ASI, this was a turning point, as thereafter, we maintained a close working relationship with the Nation's consultation team that initially included Heather Bastien, Luc Laine, and their lawyer David Donnelly.

This work with the Huron, much of



Dedication of the Teston Road Ossuary Preservation, 2007, from left to right: unnamed HWN member, Chief Kris Nahrgang, Roland Sioui, HWN, Heather Bastien, HWN, HWN Grand Chief Max Gros-Louis, Chief Steven Granda (Wyandot of Anderdon Nation)

which also involved the integral work of former Chief Kris Nahrgang of Kawartha Nishnawbe First Nation, led to the formation of a group that was called the Founding First Nations Circle (FFNC). That group with the addition of Barb Harris of Six Nations, made a submission to the Ipperwash Inquiry Policy Panel. The basis on which the FFNC was created was to follow the intent of the Dish with One Spoon treaty by having the Anishinaabeg, Haudenosaunee and Wendat all work together to protect their joint cultural heritage in Ontario. Williamson ended up appearing as a witness on the Ipperwash panel on the basis of the submission as ASI had taken the lead to create a document on the part of this group. Its submission was followed by a request on the part of Noelle Spotten, legal counsel for the Ipperwash Inquiry, to seek permission for the Commissioner to quote from the Report submitted by the Circle in December 2005.

As the provincial Crown grappled with how best to fulfill their duties, municipalities found themselves wondering what their role was in the process and began their own Indigenous consultation

processes, especially for major municipal class EA projects involving archaeology. It was in this context that ASI began engaging more regularly with other Indigenous communities, especially the various nations who were signatories to the Williams Treaty, through large infrastructure projects such as the Southeast Collector sanitary trunk sewer project for York and Durham regions and the Highway 407 East project for MTO. Beginning in 2006, MacDonald shared his history with Indigenous archaeology monitors at Redhill at these consultation meetings and gradually the idea began to expand. In 2007, HCCC established the Haudenosaunee Development Institute, which established its own archaeological monitoring program and in 2008 the Association of Professional Archaeologists sponsored the first monitor training program at Six Nations of the Grand River. This was followed in 2010 by a similar program for Williams Treaty Nations, supported by a grant from the Ministry of Tourism and Culture and presented in conjunction with Curve Lake First Nation. ASI staff, including Kira Beaulieu, Andrea Carnevale, Sara Cherubin, Rob

MacDonald, Andrew Riddle, Doug Todd, and Rob Wojtowicz, have participated in many of these volunteer-run training programs, now organized by the Ontario Archaeological Society across the province.

In 2010, in preparation of the Regional Official Plan Review, York Region, with ASI (Williamson and Zeeshan Abedin), coordinated an extensive consultation program called "Planning for Tomorrow" with 13 Indigenous communities. This

the Ipperwash Commission Policy Panel for municipalities to undertake AMPs.

ASI, the University of Toronto and the Huron-Wendat Nation

The FFNC was also the model for the consultation that was undertaken on behalf of the Ontario government for the Seaton Land Exchange but was challenged by a number of First Nations, notably the Williams Treaty Nations. While the notion

had begun meeting with the University of Toronto (UofT) (Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014; Forrest et al 2021) to discuss the repatriation of ancestors held by the Department of Anthropology and to develop a memorandum of understanding (MOU).

A cleansing ceremony in which the stored collections were smudged with sweet grass was held in 2008. The discussions envisioned a collective repatriation of all those ancestral Haudenosaunee and Huron-Wendat human remains that had been excavated by UofT archaeologists since the 1940s, until 1975 when such excavations ceased. When the FFNC ended in 2007, there was a hiatus in that dialogue. In 2010, the Huron-Wendat Nation elected to renew discussions, with a focus on their ancestral sites. That agreement was completed in 2011. Arrangements for the repatriation included an MOU with the OHT (Ontario Heritage Trust) regarding the land for the reburial. The grave goods to be included in the reburial were documented and photographically archived by ASI. In September 2013, over 1700 Huron-Wendat ancestors from twelve archaeological sites were reburied at the site of the Kleinburg Ossuary (which had been excavated by UofT facul-



York Region AMP Planning Session with 13 First Nations, 2011

program lasted four years and it was during this consultation process that the idea of undertaking a Regional AMP (archaeological management plan) first emerged. In fact, the idea was suggested and supported by the participating Indigenous communities. With regard to undertaking an over-arching AMP, the Region was keen on getting ahead of archaeological issues and wanted to avoid conflicting situations that often arise during the development process. The AMP was to provide a way for the Region and all of the local municipalities to be knowledgeable about existing and potential archaeological resources within their jurisdictions (some of the local ones, for example, Richmond Hill and Vaughan, had already done their own). To that end, ASI was retained by York Region later that year to undertake their AMP with the intention that it would also meet the recommendation of of the FFNC was unanimously endorsed by the justices that eventually heard the case (Hiawatha v R. 2007), they also unanimously affirmed the Aboriginal rights

of the Huron-Wendat to manage their own cultural heritage in Ontario. This case, however, ended the usefulness of the Circle.

N o t long after the Ipperwash hearings, the FFNC



Celebration at the opening of the permanent Indigenous History Exhibit in the Department of Anthropology, at the corner of Huron Street and Ursula Franklin Way, May 2012. Left to right: Susan Pfeiffer, Barb Harris, Luc Laine, Joanne Thomas. See also https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iUagC9yAAXo.

ty in 1970). The site was then re-named Thonnakona (Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014).

As agreed between the Huron-Wendat Nation and UofT, the Department of Anthropology retained one tooth per person, plus small samples of disease-altered bone so that new stories about the ancestors could be revealed (see Forrest et al 2020). The Department curates them on behalf of the Huron-Wendat Nation (HWN), who actively engage with the researchers to determine whether potential results could be anticipated to better understand the life and times of the ancestors. If so, plans are made to undertake and publish the research collaboratively. To date, there have been several published studies, with the potential of more to come. Studies of dietary and environmental isotopes from the dental tissues have corroborated historic and traditional accounts of community movements (Pfeiffer et al. 2020). The studies have also provided new information about gender-related food practices as well as dietary disruptions associated with 17th century conflicts (Pfeiffer et al. 2016; 2017).

The Department of Anthropology at UofT had created a Repatriation Policy in 1999. That framework, combined with subsequent efforts to consolidate and document departmental collections, pro-

vided a basis for other repatriations to descendant communities. In 2009, the Akwesasne Mohawk and Ontario Power Generation requested repatriation of ancestral remains and artifacts associated with burials from the multi-component Ault Park (Sheek Island) site (BgFr-1). Salvage excavations by UofT and the National Museum preceded its flooding by the St Lawrence Seaway in 1958 (Spence et al 1990:163; Rob Pihl is currently completing his PhD dissertation regarding this excavation entitled Ware is Point Peninsula? Ceramic Variability and the Search for Identity in Middle Woodland Southern Ontario). The Department of Anthropology provided representatives of Akwesasne with copies of all reports and images associated with the archaeological human remains that were removed during those excavations and that had been held at UofT. Considering the multi-component nature of the site, we requested that they receive

and handle the remains in a manner that would include communication and potential engagement with other First Nations groups, such as representatives of Algonquian-speaking and other Iroquoian-speaking groups who have an integration

rest in this region. At their request, no media release was made of this transfer.

ASI and the Huron-Wendat Nation: A New Era

The mid-to late 2000s was also a time of continued excavation by ASI and others of numerous Huron-Wendat villages in their ancestral territory along the north shore of Lake Ontario and Barrie region (Williamson 2014). One of the largest of these was the late 16th century Mantle site, later renamed by the HWN as Jean Baptiste Lainé. The site was subject to many public interpretations and presentations that were fully collaborative with the Nation such as the naming of the adjacent Wendat Public School, the History Television film Curse of the Axe and the more recent award-winning display concerning the site entitled Archaeology Alive at the Whitchurch-Stouffville Museum, to name only a few. The Nation also participated



Excavations at Ault Park, 1956-1958. Photograph from archives at Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto.



Bruce Trigger working with two volunteers, Ault Park site, Ontario, 1957, Courtesy Ontario Hydro, St. Lawrence Power Project.

in the creation of an interpretive design for the Alexandra site in east Toronto, in the creation of the Huron Trail that extends through the Parsons (https://torontoist.com/2013/06/ heritage-toronto-leads-a-historical-bike-tour-of-the-huron-wendat-trail/) (see also Sandberg et al. 2021), and in Path trail (https://

peopleplancommunity.com/the-shared-path-le-sentier-partage-torontos-newest-discovery-walk/) along the Humber River.

More generally and with time, HWN's involvement in Wendake South transitioned into a truly intense and invested position. This transformation coincided with the change of governance from Grand Chief Max Gros-Louis (2004-2008) to that of Konrad Sioui (2008-2012). In 2011, resources of the Nionwentsîo Office were assigned the portfolio of "Ontario files" with the mandate to ensure harmonious relations with Ontario political organizations (Aboriginal, federal, provincial, and municipal) while ensuring that the HWN heritage, more specifically its archaeological heritage, is protected and enhanced. On June 15, 2015, the Huron-Wendat Band Council unanimously adopted a resolution to protect its archaeological and cultural heritage in Ontario-particularly burial sites-from development projects (Conseil de la Nation huronne-wendat 2015:4). This increase in political and administrative interest in the Nation's heritage in Ontario also developed among the population, with the result that at the turn of 2020, a team of a dozen Hu-



the earlier Shared Dedication of the Huron Trail, south of York University, 2013, upper right, Louis Lesage, HWN Vated

Path trail (https:// Daniel Proteau second from upper right, HWN children holding HWN flag. Bill E

ron-Wendat monitors was formed and participated in the excavations of various archaeological sites in southern Ontario.

From 2008 through to 2016, Williamson engaged with the HWN on a weekly basis answering questions about proposed archaeological work in Ontario and providing advice on requests for engagement to the Nation on the part of various environmental assessments and land development proposals. In 2013, the team Chief and Council assigned to the Ontario files changed and Chief Line Gros-Louis, Melanie Vincent, and Dr. Louis Lesage (and later Maxime Picard) assumed responsibility and Williamson continued to work on a regular basis with the team until the present time. Since fall 2020, Chief René Picard assumed the territorial responsibilities, including Ontario, with the rest of the team.

Contrary to popular misconceptions, ASI was not solely focused on its relationship with the HWN during this period but had also been working closely with the Anishinaabeg Walpole Island and Saugeen-Nawash Nations on their litigation programs for land claims. ASI (Williamson and Cooper) were retained by both Nations in the early 2000s and in the case of SON

(Saugeen Ojibway Nation), Williamson prepared, in 2013, two reports (with the help of Annie Veilleux of ASI) and a third report, in 2017, on the glass beads of the Ne'bwaakaah aiizwed ziibi/River Mouth Speaks site (with Andrea Carnevale, Brandi Lee MacDonald, and Ron Hancock) that Jackie Fisher excaalong with Bill Fitzgerald and SON. These reports

were the basis of Williamson's testimony at the trial in 2019. No decisions have yet been rendered on the case.

Indigenous Archaeology - Growing Pains

The growth and development of Indigenous involvement in Ontario archaeology through the 2000s occurred against the backdrop of evolving social justice activism and discourse with respect to relations with Indigenous peoples, as illustrated by the previously mentioned Ipperwash Inquiry (2003-2006), the occupation of Douglas Creek Estates in Caledonia (2006), and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (2008-2015). This discourse has continued over the last decade as illustrated, for example, by the Idle No More movement (2012 - present), the Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women and Girls inquiry (2016-2019), and the protests across Canada in support of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation blockade of the Coastal GasLink Pipeline in BC (2020). A decade ago, Ontario instituted engagement with Indigenous communities with respect to their archaeological heritage as a statutory obligation, pursuant

to archaeological licensing requirements under the Ontario Heritage Act, through their Standards and Guidelines for Consultant Archaeologists (2011). Many rights-holding Indigenous communities in Ontario now provide monitors as part of their engagement program, and some, such as the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation's Department of Consultation and Accommodation (MCFN-DOCA, established in 2015) have their Fieldwork Liaison Representatives supervising other sorts of environmental assessment projects in addition to archaeology. Several, such as MC-FN-DOCA and Saugeen Ojibway Nation, have developed their own archaeological standards and quidelines. Now, on any given day during the archaeological field season, ASI crews work with several dozen Indigenous monitors from many different nations across Ontario. For as many reasons as there are people involved, this engagement does not always go smoothly, but ASI remains committed to the principles involved and we derive some sense of accomplishment from how far things have progressed over the last two decades.

The continuing growth of Indigenous engagement as a feature of archaeological consulting has required ASI to invest in internal process improvements, personnel and professional development including cultural sensitivity training, on-going high-level discussions with First Nation consultation staff to define best practices and resolve issues, and most importantly, a concerted effort to help our clients adapt to the fact that underwriting costs to include Indigenous communities in archaeological assessment and mitigation work is increasingly part of the development approvals process and viewed as best practice. To assist in this effort, ASI has prepared a brochure entitled, Indigenous Consultation and Engagement: A Primer (2019) as a reference for both public- and private-sector clients entering this arena for the first time.

Yändata' Limited Partnership – Collaboration in its most Reconciled Sense

In late 2017, ASI was approached by the Huron-Wendat Nation to see if we would be interested in helping them set up a company to look after their own archaeology in Ontario, with a strong emphasis on recruitment, training, and professional development of staff from Wendake. This request clearly aligned with the values and vision of the ASI partnership, so talks began to explore this idea. By early 2019, a joint venture business plan had been developed and agreed upon and Yändata' Limited Partnership was incorporated in June 2020 with the Huron-Wendat Nation as the majority shareholder. Yändata' means "village" in the Wendat language. As explained by former Huron-Wendat Nation Grand Chief Konrad Sioui, "ASI has embraced the opportunity to transfer archaeological expertise and knowledge to the Huron-Wendat Nation. This partnership aims at reconciliation and supports an innovative corporate ethic sought by Indigenous peoples in a contemporary world."

For some time, ASI leadership and other professional archaeologists have been concerned that the current approach to Indigenous engagement, only involving monitoring of archaeological fieldwork, limits the scope of engagement in the full process of archaeological investigation and dissemination of knowledge. Thus, it impedes the long-term aims and ambitions of community-based Indigenous archaeology. We believe that Yändata' LP could serve as a template for Indigenous communities that wish to broaden their hands-on involvement in researching and managing all aspects of their own archaeological patrimony. The ultimate objective is to build Indigenous expertise and capacity to a point where ASI can withdraw from the partnership and Yändata' LP, or its successor, can carry on as a wholly owned and operated business of the Huron-Wendat Nation. An integral

part of this process is the development of a comprehensive internship and training program based on a similar one developed for the Navajo Nation by ASI's management consultant, Quest Management, LLC. One year after the incorporation of Yändata' LP, this plan is now being gradually implemented in stages with increasing interest-and understandable scrutiny-by other Indigenous communities with whom we are seeking involvement and support. Given the important skills and professional development aspect of the project, we are also pursuing collaborative partnerships with several academic institutions. We are hopeful that Yändata' LP will help achieve the vision for archaeology expressed by Grand Chief Sioui on behalf of his nation and other contemporary Indigenous peoples.

Full Circle

When Williamson retired from full-time work at ASI in 2016, he continued to work with the HWN on their files in Ontario and also advises the directors and staff of Yändata'. He and Debbie Steiss (his former business and life partner) also sit on the Board of Directors of the Shared Path Consultation Initiative (https://sharedpath.ca/) (SPCI) where he is Vice President, Debbie Steiss is Treasurer, along with Carolyn King as President, a long-time friend and collaborator on many projects. Dean Jacobs is an Emeritus Board member and Dave Mowat, Heather Dorries and Stephanie Burnham are the Indigenous members of the board. SPCI is a charitable organization whose vision is to work toward a future in which Indigenous voices and rights form a sustained and integral part of land-use planning law, policy, and governance in Ontario. Both ASI and Williamson/Steiss personally have contributed substantial funds to establish SPCI and ensure its long-term viability.

Finally, and to come full circle from those moments opening up his Christ-

mas present in 1977, Williamson recently established a graduate fellowship in the Department of Anthropology at McGill University for Indigenous students in honour of Bruce Trigger. It is hoped that Huron-Wendat students will be among those, who in pursuing careers at Yändata' LP, will attend McGill and experience the benefits of a scholarship in the name of one their honourary Great Turtle Clan members.

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Zoom, Collaborative Approaches and Remote Research

By Katherine Davidson, PhD Candidate, Carleton University

My first introduction to Zoom was in autumn 2018, more than a full year before the Covid-19 pandemic saw society-at-large switching to Zoom and other video chat platforms. I was planning a collaborative school project around archaeological collections with teachers from Wasaho Cree Nation School in Fort Severn, Ontario, as part of my MA research. Zoom had long been one of the pivotal education resources for the school's K-8 students, and teachers from other parts of Ontario regularly hold classes with Fort Severn students through the platform. Zoom

allowed us to talk about artifacts from the Fort Severn HBC Post Site (Gllv-1), to ask questions and brainstorm face-to-face, even though we were 1500km apart.

Zoom and other video chatting services have shown us in the last year how to leverage technology to keep learning and teaching when we cannot be in the lab or on site. It has allowed us to connect with loved ones and colleagues whether across town or across the world. This approach can also be used to connect with archaeological stakeholders, such as between remote communities, institutions and sites of study. Such a collaboration forms the basis of my graduate research, which I discuss here.

Research Approach

My research approach uses digital methods to engage with archaeological stakeholders in Northern Ontario. In my MA research (Davidson 2019), digital methods were used to share perspectives on archaeological collections between an archaeologist and community members, alongside traditional archaeological analysis. My doctoral research at Carleton University expands on the methodology used in my MA, incorporating digital ethnography, object-elicitation and public engagement to discuss understudied archaeological collections and the meaning they have for communities. These methods bring communities into the process of archaeological









A few of the photos used in the community engagement project. These types of images are described by Harper as a "visual inventory", photographed in a sterile context, which allows viewers to add their own culturally constructed context to the interpretation of an object (Harper 2002: 13; Davidson 2019: 89).

analysis, using local knowledge and specialist knowledge together to gain a better understanding of archaeological collections.

Within the context of working with First Nation communities, my approach is also influenced by community-centered research methods. One core approach which frames this research is Weci Apaciyawik, meaning "so that it will come back" (Blair 2004). Along with Kci t'mitahoswagon ("respect") and Mawlukhotepun ("working together"), Blair and colleagues used these concepts to direct the collaborations in the Jemseg Crossing Archaeological Project. This centered the research process around a shared responsibility to care for sites, material culture and information, and to ensure that knowledge returns to the community whose heritage is being studied. Used as a theoretical approach, Weci Apaciyawik highlights the responsibilities of archaeologists to share what we have learned with descendant communities. Community engagement projects are a great way to facilitate this sharing and can be conducted at every stage of the archaeological process to increase opportunities for learning.

Methodology

Together with teachers at Wasaho Cree Nation School, I proposed and co-developed a

project to involve students in the analysis and interpretation of the collections from Gllv-1. The outcome of our brainstorming was a community engagement project which fit into the curriculum for Grade 5/6 and Grade 7/8 Social Studies. The project involved using photo-elicitation to discuss the history and archaeology of Fort Severn. Students were asked to think about what these artifacts may have been used for, what they are made from, and when they were made. There were also opportunities for students to ask me about the artifacts from an archaeologist's perspective, and for a community member to talk about Fort Severn in the past with the class. Students then were asked to write a story about how a person in the past would have used these artifacts. The students chose between ten artifacts, which had been examined and photographed by me at the Royal Ontario Museum and the Canadian Museum of History for the purposes of this research. Selected for this project were a TD pipe, a bone awl, a crooked knife, a trade axe, a musket barrel, an HBC-branded sherd, a toy York boat, crockery fragments, a glass bead and a bone button. The two classes wrote 16 stories showing how they understood life in the past, including themes in their stories such as hunting, trading, artisanship and travelling. The full methodology, stories, teaching resources and images are available here: https://unbscholar.lib.unb.ca/islandora/object/unbscholar/3A9804.

We can learn a lot through collaborations like these, about archaeological collections and sites as well as about each other. The artifacts examined in this research are given local, culturally relevant contexts through the writing of these stories. This adds layers of understanding to the analysis of a collection and demonstrates how the collection can come to be understood by the community. Additionally, it brings collections and the perspectives of an archaeologist directly to the community, which provides access to artifacts and knowledge that participants likely have not had before. This is especially significant given that some parts of the Gllv-1 collection have not been seen by community members in over 40 years. This research was not able to use the physical collection, and could not be done in person, due to permissions and funding; however, this approach gives a way to share knowledge long-distance when it may not be otherwise feasible.

The collections that are the focus of my

research are collections that already exist, rather than artifacts obtained through new excavations. As Karrow (2017) states, Ontario has a curation crisis, where collections are excavated and either understudied or improperly stored. This methodological approach gives another opportunity to examine extant collections, and to work together to derive new understandings about archaeological materials. It also circumvents the destruction of sites caused by the innately invasive processes of excavation. Gllv-1 is actively eroding, and therefore cannot be excavated as a typical site can; we rely instead on the exposed stratigraphy and existing collections to tell us about the site. Photo- and object-elicitation, whether in person or online, can still contribute valuable information even if they do not come from sterile contexts.

Upcoming Research

Future research will test this methodology on a wider scale, with different collections in different communities. This will be the main focus of my doctoral research, which has just been approved by my committee at Carleton University. My doctoral research asks, what meaning do archaeo-

logical collections hold for communities regarding community identity, memory, heritage and connections to the past? I will be maintaining the use of digital methods as long as the pandemic prevents safe travel. I am also expanding this methodology to include object-elicitation, to see how it compares to the success of photo-elicitation in remote engagement settings.

Collaborative approaches such as the one used here have many advantages for the field. Most importantly, it enables communities to experience, reflect on and learn new information about their heritage resources. It also provides an opportunity to shed light on understudied collections and contribute to our understanding of archaeology in all parts of the province. Finally, it builds relationships between stakeholders – archaeologists, museums and local communities – that can support and enrich our work going forward.

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Collaborative Archaeology with the Huron-Wendat Nation: A Seven Year Retrospective

By Gary Warrick and Bonnie Glencross

Introduction

Collaborative archaeology with Indigenous peoples is the most recent version of Indigenous archaeology, or archaeology "with, for, and by" Indigenous peoples (Colwell 2016; Nicholas and Andrews 1997). While collaboration can take different forms, ideally Indigenous collaborative archaeology recognizes that Indigenous peoples

own their ancestors' remains, cultural places (sites), and belongings (artifacts) and that they should be equal partners (ideally in full control) in their protection and preservation (Colwell 2016). Archaeology done in close partnership and agreement with Indigenous peoples is becoming the accepted way to do archaeology in Ontario. The Huron-Wendat Nation have claimed their Indigenous right to protect and preserve their archaeological heritage in southern Ontario (Wendake South) (Nionwentsïo

Office, Nation huronne-wendat 2021). Collaborative archaeology with the Huron-Wendat Nation has included repatriation (rematriation) and reburial of ancestors (Kapches 2010; Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014), creation of plaques and museum installations to educate the Canadian public about Huron-Wendat history (Bernardot 2020; Nation huronne-wendat 2018; Sandberg et al. 2021), and joint archaeological research (Hawkins and Lesage 2018; Glencross et al. 2017; Warrick 2018;

Warrick et al. 2021). In the fall of 2015, a joint Huron-Wendat Nation-Ontario Archaeological Society conference was held in Midland, featuring a day-long discussion of the relationship between the Huron-Wendat and St. Lawrence Iroquoians. Papers from this conference were published in a special issue of Ontario Archaeology (Gupta and Lesage 2016). The newest collaboration of the Huron-Wendat with archaeologists is the corporate partnership with Archaeological Services Inc. (Yändata') designed to transfer leadership to the Huron-Wendat of ASI's CRM work on ancestral Huron-Wendat sites (Archaeological Services Inc. 2020 https://asiheritage. ca/asi-media/yandata-the-huron-wendat-begin-a-new-partnership-with-asi/). This short paper will offer a summary of our experience with and lessons learned over the last seven years from our collaborative archaeological research with the Huron-Wendat Nation.

Brief History of Collaborative Archaeology in Southern Ontario

Archaeology carried out in close collaboration with Indigenous peoples has a relatively recent history. In the 1970s and 1980s across North America, Indigenous peoples increasingly asserted their rights over archaeological heritage, particularly the bones of their ancestors. In the United States Indigenous rights to ancestors and artifacts (belongings) were enshrined in law in 1990, with the passing of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. This ushered in the concept and practice of Indigenous archaeology – "archaeology done with, for, and by Indigenous peoples" (Nicholas and Andrews 1997:3). In North America, Indigenous archaeology was embraced first by archaeologists working in British Columbia and the sub-Arctic and Arctic regions of Canada and in the Southwest US (Dongoske et al. 2000; Nicholas and Andrews 1997; Swidler et al. 1997), regions where Indigenous peoples have a strong political voice and relative control over large traditional territories. In the early 2000s, Indigenous community-based and collaborative archaeology, often in the context of archaeological field schools and university research, began to be routinely carried out in northeastern North America (Kerber 2006; Silliman 2008).

In southern Ontario, involvement of Indigenous peoples/nations in the archaeology of their ancestors began in a haphazard fashion and depended on the personal interests and goodwill of a handful of Ontario government and CRM archaeologists (e.g., Bill Fox, Ian

Kenyon, Neal Ferris, Bob Mayer, and Nick Adams) who worked closely with certain Indigenous nations, such as Oneida Nation of the Thames, Walpole Island First Nation, and Six Nations of the Grand River (Fox 1989; Mayer and Antone 1986). The first active involvement of the Huron-Wendat with archaeologists occurred in 1978 at the Spang site, a 16th century village site east of Toronto. A dozen Huron-Wendat (including former Grand Chief Konrad Sioui - personal communication 2017) assisted with site excavation (Sandberg et al. 2021; Williamson 2014). Despite these early collaborations, Indigenous participation in Ontario archaeology did not become commonplace again until the early 2000s. Employment of Indigenous field liaison officers, Indigenous peoples



Figure 1: Locations of Ahatsistari (BeGx-76) and Chew (BeGx-9) sites.

working alongside CRM archaeologists and reporting to their respective nations, was implemented in 2002 during archaeological mitigation of sites in advance of construction of the Red Hill Creek Expressway in Hamilton and is now a standard in CRM work in southern Ontario. The Huron-Wendat Nation has several liaison officers who have worked every field season for the last decade.

Today, it is impossible either legally or ethically to conduct archaeology in Ontario without engaging with Indigenous nations. Archaeologists are required by law to engage with relevant Indigenous nations when undertaking archaeological work (in accordance with Standards and Guidelines for Consulting Archaeologists [Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011] and requirements of Engaging Aboriginal Communities in Archaeology: A Draft Technical Bulletin for Consultant Archaeologists in Ontario [Ministry of Tourism and Culture 2011]). In addition, the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) clearly states that Indigenous peoples have the right to the protection and preservation of their archaeological heritage. Also, acknowledgment of Indigenous ownership of their archaeological past is a key ethical principle for both the Ontario Ar-



Figure 2: Students conducting shovel test pit survey at Ahatsistari.

chaeological Society and the Canadian Archaeological Association. In other words, doing collaborative archaeology in partnership with Indigenous peoples in Ontario is a legal and ethical requirement. Consequently, when we proposed to do a field school/research project on the Ahatsistari site (Figure 1), an early 17th century village in Penetanguishene, Ontario, we knew that the only way that it would happen was to talk with and receive the permission of the Huron-Wendat Nation, the descendants of the people who created that site.

Ahatsistari Site and Wilfrid Laurier University Field School Archaeology

The Ahatsistari site (BeGx-76) was discovered in 2012 by Gary DuBeau. He found artifacts on backdirt from recent illegal excavation of a hillside midden. Alicia Hawkins recorded and stabilized the site with the help of members of the Huronia Chapter, OAS. She returned in 2013 with Laurentian University field school students to find site limits and directed additional stabilization of the looted midden. We both participated in the 2013 cleanup and stabilization of the site with members of the Huronia Chapter, OAS. The 2012-2013 fieldwork determined that the site (originally named Allen Tract [name of the

Simcoe County-owned tract of forest in which the site rests] and renamed Ahatsistari by the Huron-Wendat) covers 2.0 ha and dates ca. AD 1600-1620 (Hawkins 2014, 2015). We immediately saw the potential in the site as an ideal place to stage a Wilfrid Laurier University archaeological field school.



Figure 3: Magnetic susceptibility survey during the 2014 Wilfrid Laurier University field school.

With the help of Alicia Hawkins, we contacted the Huron-Wendat Nation to obtain their consent to conduct a field school at the site in 2014.

Prior to our discussion with the Huron-Wendat, we knew the Huron-Wendat held certain cultural priorities on archaeological heritage in southern Ontario (Wendake South): all village and burial sites should be identified so as to protect them from land development whenever possible; excavation of village sites should be minimized; and disturbance of buried ancestors is prohibited (Warrick et al. 2021). These priorities are published on the website of the Huron-Wendat Nation (Nionwentsio Office, Nation huronne-wendat 2021). Consequently, in recognition of these priorities, we agreed to conduct only minimal excavation at Ahatsistari [confined mostly to looted middens and the site periphery to avoid disturbing human burials], provide status reports, copies of licence reports and publications resulting from the work, and, in the event of the discovery of human remains, we agreed to stop all fieldwork until further notice from the Huron-Wendat. In 2014



Figure 4: Metal detector survey in the forest at Ahatsistari.

we delivered a paper at the annual meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association outlining our research design to define village sites and collect archaeological data while minimizing excavation and disturbance of site-deposits (Glencross and Warrick 2014). We proposed a combination of minimally invasive field methods, examination of archived and private artifact collections, and the use of dog bone as proxy for human bone in isotopic analyses

In that same year, we conducted our first archaeological investigation of Ahatsistari during a Wilfrid Laurier University field school, and since have completed two more field seasons at Ahatsistari in 2016 and 2018 (Glencross 2016. 2018). During the field schools, pedestrian and shovel test pit surveys (Figure 2) were conducted and large sections of the site have been subject to magnetic susceptibility and metal detector surveys. Pedestrian survey was carried out first to identify middens that are generally known to be located on the periphery of Iroquoian village sites. Sixteen middens have been identified at Ahatsistari and we now know that twelve mark the edge of the village and the remaining four are located in the central portion of the site (Glencross 2018). A magnetic susceptibility survey (Figure 3) covering some 7500 m² or just over a 1/3 of the site was done to locate the central hearths of longhouses following the success of a similar application to Iroquoian sites in Quebec (Hodgetts et al. 2016, Millaire et al. 2015). While survey results at Ahatsistari were almost identical to those of the Quebec study, limited excavation to ground-truth anoma-

lies failed to identify any hearth features. Instead, the results appear to suggest areas of prior illicit digging and areas where deposits of glacial till are close to the surface (Glencross et al. 2017).

At the 2014 field school, students carried out a small pilot test to determine the efficacy of metal detectors in locating and determining the distribution, quantity, and physical composition of European metal artifacts found on post-contact period Iroquoian sites that would also potentially be detected as anomalies in the magnetic susceptibility survey. Positive results led to a systematic metal detector and test pit survey in the 2016 and 2018 field seasons (Figure 4) that recorded the spatial distribution of all detected metal objects in a 10m wide corridor stretching from east to west across the north end and covering approximately 1500 m² of the site. The vast majority of detected objects were 17th century metals of European origin and the patterning or clustering of artifacts suggests areas of activity, whether living floors of longhouses or other areas of localized activities has yet to be determined (Glencross et al. 2016; Glencross et al. 2018). Individual caches of valued European trade axes and other items likely concealed in longhouse storage pits were also identified



Figure 5: Collecting soil samples from Ahatsistari for soil chemical analyses.

(Glencross et al. 2016). However, of all the methods used so far, soil chemistry holds the most promise for defining longhouse location and orientation causing the least amount of disturbance to site deposits. A soil chemistry survey was carried out at Ahatsistari in the summers of 2018 and 2019 (Figure 5). Beatrice Fletcher, a doctoral student at McMaster University, is analyzing the samples and while results are preliminary, soil chemistry appears to be an excellent tool to identify village limits and longhouse floors (Fletcher et al. 2019).

Examination of Private and Archived Artifact Collections

We are currently documenting a private collection, representing the accumulation of over 30 years of casual artifact collection from Ahatsistari. Despite ethical concerns over the illicit recovery and holding of the collection, the Huron-Wendat support our study recognizing the need to record the assemblage. We have inventoried, photographed and analyzed over 1000 diagnostic artifacts in this collection: iron awls, axes

and knives; pieces of copper and brass trade kettles; lithic, iron and copper/brass projectile points; drawn glass, shell, stone and copper beads; and relatively complete ceramic and stone pipes and portions of pottery vessels. These artifacts contribute significantly to our understanding of the occupational history of Ahatsistari interactions between the occupants and other Indigenous communities and Europeans, formation about site sequence and village relocations in the region (Glencross and Warrick 2018).

In 2014, during the first Wilfrid Laurier field school, four senior students examined artifacts from the Chew site (BeGx-9), a village located just over a kilometer away from Ahatsistari (Figure 6). The Chew site was excavated in 1972 by a local high school but the recovered artifacts remained unanalyzed for almost 50 years. The students determined that the Chew site was occupied in the late fifteenth and early seventeenth-centuries as well as being subject to use by European settlers in the nineteenth century (Glencross et al. 2015). The seventeenth century occupation (ca. A.D. 1625-1650) postdates Ahatsistari's occupation of A.D. 1600-1625 and it is believed that Chew site represents the relocation of the Ahatsistari village. The geographic locations of both sites, their close proximity to one and other, and their size and dates are consistent with the historic Huron-Wendat sites, Carhagouha and Quieunonascaran, described in the accounts of Samuel de Champlain and Recollect priest Joseph Le Caron (Glencross and Warrick 2019).



and previously unrealised in- Figure 6: Senior Wilfrid Laurier University students analyzing the formation about site sequence Chew site artifact collection.

Dog Remains as Proxies for Humans in Studies of Community Diet and Health

The use of dog remains as surrogates for human bone has allowed us to study the dietary behavior of the Huron-Wendat while also upholding the project's commitment to using minima-Ily destructive methods in Huron-Wendat archaeology (Glencross et al. 2021). In 2016, following discussions with the Huron-Wendat Nation, a pilot study was initiated. Our study includes dog bones recovered from five village sites (Robb [AlGt-4], Mantle (Jean-Baptiste Lainé) [AlGt-344], Seed-Barker [AkGv-1], Ball [BdGv-3], Ossossané [BeGx-25]), some excavated over 50 years ago. Maize, a dietary staple for the Huron-Wendat, is unmistakably present in the diet of dogs either through direct consumption, eating small animals consuming maize, or consumption of by-products containing maize (i.e., feces from animals and humans that consume maize). Delta13C values for dogs and humans correspond well at each village through time (AD 1300 - AD 1650) suggesting that dogs may serve as proxies for contemporary human maize consumption when human remains are not available for analysis (Glencross et al. 2019). Importantly, the use of dogs as proxies addresses very salient concerns in the discipline - respecting the rights of Indigenous peoples to prohibit scientific destruction of ancestral human remains, and utilizing existing collections (Glencross et al. 2021).

Conclusion

The past seven years of working in close collaboration with the Huron-Wendat, mainly involving the Ahatsistari site, has transformed not just our

methods of investigation, but our entire approach to archaeology. We have learned from our Huron-Wendat friends and colleagues that they are keenly interested in what archaeology can tell them about the lives of their ancestors but that they must uphold their responsibility to those same ancestors and future generations to preserve and protect archaeological sites as sacred cultural places that are the material reminders of their deep historical relationship with southern Ontario. They are the owners and stewards of their archaeological past, not us. This is why our research with Huron-Wendat sites and belongings needs to be carried out in a sustainable and collaborative manner, doing as little damage as possible while at the same time collecting information to answer questions that are of interest and benefit to the Huron-Wendat, not only to help them to better understand their ancestors but to help to preserve and protect sites and belongings for the future. True collaborative archaeology should involve the Huron-Wendat as directors of archaeological investigations, co-researchers, and co-authors of reports and publi-

cations (Colwell 2016). While collaborative archaeology in Ontario with the Huron-Wendat is beginning to take shape (Archaeological Services Inc. 2020; Glencross et al. 2017; Hawkins and Lesage 2018; Pfeiffer and Lesage 2014; Warrick and Lesage 2016; Warrick et al. 2021), it is time for the government of Ontario to enact legislation to enable the Huron-Wendat to become the true owners of their archaeological past.

Acknowledgements

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Alicia's Quick Guide to How Not To Do Community Based Research

By Alicia Hawkins

Reconciliation, restitution, collaboration, consultation, community-based ... these are good words, words we hear a lot these days. Like the territorial acknowle-

dgements that have become *de rigeur* at conferences and speaking events, we use these words so routinely that we may stop thinking about what they truly mean.

Personally, I feel privileged to have been part of collaborative and communi-

ty-based/community-led research (CBR) for a number of years¹. I think this is for two reasons. Firstly, there is an implied

¹ This work has been with Indigenous communities, but I think what I share here applies to other community-based research too.

confidence in the work that may cause me some discomfort because it feels like the stakes are higher, and things matter more – but I am always grateful for this confidence and try not to ever take it for granted. Secondly, in my experience, collaborative work has a richness to it that I did not experience in my previous work. Community members have very different knowledge bases, perspectives, and experiences; they therefore bring new and refreshing insights to the research process.

There is no single way to engage in CBR, but there are a few things that, I believe, can make collaborations easier and more successful. There are also some common pitfalls. In what follows, my thoughts arise from my position in the academic world. What occurs in cultural resource management is likely to be quite different, but there will be some common threads. None of this is new or unique, but revisiting such ideas may be a good reminder for archaeologists young and old.

Many years of post-secondary education trained me to speak with authority and when necessary to take the position of an expert. While this helps to keep things moving in a class of hundreds of undergraduates, it has no place in CBR, as you will see below. A second area in which I needed 'retraining' was in the process of research conceptualization. As academics, we are rewarded for coming up with sparkly new research questions and approaches, for following the latest theoretical debates and for using arcane jargon. All of this smacks of exclusion. And while some academic work is team based, the academic world and academics as people, tend to be quite competitive. How else do you get research grants and coveted academic positions? If you want to do CBR you will need to start by putting your academic ego aside.

Collaborations are relationship-based. In turn, relationships are based on trust, and an essential starting point is listening and trying to understand your

research partner's ideas and perspectives. This may sound like some kind of bad pop psychology advice column, but the bottom line is that in my case, the collaborations I have are rooted in friendships. And, unless you are in grade school, friendships usually take time to develop.

There are a number of ways in which I have tripped up over the years, and sometimes I see others doing the same thing, so here is my list of suggested things to avoid if you want to undertake meaningful CBR. 1. Avoid bringing pre-cooked meals to the table. In other words, don't write your grant application, (or article, book, or thesis proposal), and then present it to your 'partner' and ask for them to sign-on. How can they do this? It is your work and your actions have just demonstrated that you see community involvement as token. Your funding agency will probably see right through this type of proposal anyway. By contrast, if you write your grant application with your community partners, the proposal - including the budget - will reflect the knowledge and research contributed by all partners. 2. Don't hoard. If you are a more senior researcher doing CBR, involve your non-Indigenous grad students and associates in your research team meetings with community partners. This allows younger researchers to develop independent relationships. Even better, when and where appropriate, mentor community members and provide them with support and research opportunities (see 1). This is fundamental if we want to decolonize archaeology. 3. Don't be afraid to ask. This was something that tripped me up a number of times when I was getting started. How do I phrase that email request? How do I even make a request? Who do I ask? How do I know that the community will have any interest? Well, the bottom line is that you don't know, but if you don't ask, you will never know the answer. If you do ask and the community says 'no,' then you have an answer and you have also abided by the most important rule of working with Indigenous communities which is to obtain Free, Prior, and Informed Consent (FPIC). By demonstrating respect of their position and decision-making, there is a pretty good chance that they will at least want to talk, and this potentially opens the door for further communications and hopefully a relationship. 4. Recognize that communities and community organizations often have many things going on and don't be in a rush for an answer. Typically, what you want to research has waited eons. It is better to be respectful and not to push for things to be done immediately at the possible cost of them being done right. This means we must remind ourselves that we may not know all of the things that are being juggled by the office you contacted, nor do we know the protocols involved in getting permissions. 5. Don't be stingy with your results. For the purposes of granting bodies and tenure review committees, it might be best to focus publication on high-impact journals and to write in technical language that hardly anyone can understand, but this should not be the only thing you do. It might feel strange to present at a community meeting or to write for a newsletter, but if your project really was co-conceived, and you really have research partners, it is an obligation to let people know what you have found. And, you will probably find that you have great discussions with community members when you present your findings and that you learn important things in the process. 6. Don't prioritize academic expertise over Indigenous expertise. In real terms, this means budgeting appropriately to compensate elders. The more you can involve the community in the process, the better. Hire community members. Recognize that you have things to learn

from community, and be open to this.

Community representatives know their communities best. I have made so many stupid mistakes over the years ones would have been avoidable if I had asked earlier, not rushed, or listened more closely to partners. I have worn the wrong clothes to ceremony, I have made

public announcements without properly asking first, I have written a (successful) grant application without budgeting for food (in a context where food is an essential component of community gatherings), and I have definitely brought the pre-cooked grant application to the table (it didn't get funded). Through all

of this, though, the people I work with have forgiven me my stupidity and I like to think that I learned something. Possibly some of this will be useful to you too. Chi-Miigwetch to Sarah Haze-II for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this contribution.

Celebrating the Heart Berry Moon

By Arwen M. Johns and Jordan Jamieson

With the first day of summer fast approaching, the Ontario Archaeological Society (OAS) would like to encourage everyone to celebrate the season by participating in our Strawberry Recipe Challenge. Delicious and versatile, the strawberry, or heart berry, can be incorporated into a variety of baked goods, transformed into juices, and preserved as jams and jellies to prolong enjoyment outside of the season. With all of the sweet possibilities offered by the strawberry, we want to see what you and your family can create, be it from old handed down recipes, or a new culinary experiment. To participate in the Strawberry Recipe Challenge organized by the OAS, simply use the hashtag #OASStrawberryRecipeChallenge and share your creations with us on our social media, @OntArchSoc on Twitter and Instagram. A few strawberry-centric recipes will be shared in-full at the end of the following paragraphs to provide some initial inspiration, one of which I had the distinct pleasure of testing myself, but first, a bit more about the history of this precious berry.

The Heart Berry Moon, marked on June 24th this year, holds special significance and meaning for Indigenous Peoples of the Eastern Woodlands, marking the beginnings of summer, with many Anishinabek teachings centering on the *ode'min*, or wild strawberry (Fragaria spp.)

(Myseum 2019). The heart-shape of the strawberry is what earns it its other name, heart berry, which is honored as a leader of the medicine plants because of its appearance early in the growing season (Kimmerer 2013). Wild strawberries would have been used by Indigenous Peoples across Ontario, and much of Canada and the United States, since they had been on the land (Crawford and Smith 2010), and the Davidson site in Ontario is one example. The earliest use of the Davidson site has been dated to the Broad Point Archaic, and during its occupation many variable flora and fauna were consumed, notably including strawberries (Ellis et al. 2014:38).

The Princess Point Complex dating to the Middle-Late Woodland Period, provides some of the earliest evidence of domesticated plants in Ontario, with site assemblages containing numerous cultigens (Cappella 2005). The Lower Grand River valley is home to multiple locations occupied by the Princess Point inhabitants containing strawberry remains in the ethnobotanical record, including the Holmedale site (Moncton 1999:81), Grand Banks site (Bowyer 1995; Crawford et al. 1997:116), and the Varden site (MacDonald 1986:83; Cappella 2005:29-30).

Later, after the arrival of European colonizers, strawberries were also incorporated into their settler traditions and foodways. An example from Nova Scotia, in the form of a newspaper clipping from 1874, that was collected by Ben Church Hicks

from his family's documents, shows a recipe for strawberry shortcake (Hicks; Nova Scotia Archives 1874). Another variation, a strawberry cake recipe, is available in the *Five Roses Cookbook* from 1915, which contains dozens of recipes submitted by over 2,000 cooks across Canada (Lake of the Woods Mill Company Limited 1915:111).

Food is central for nourishing our relationships with others, which are built in part through dining together, strengthening our bodies and our social lives, with many of us possessing fond memories of sweet strawberry dishes shared with friends and family that made us feel connected. The act of eating marks time because our bodies must be fed on a regular and repeating basis, and in the same way, much of social life is structured around gatherings centered on the sharing and consumption of food (Hamilakis 2008:15). While food serves to create and sustain connections between individuals and communities, so too does it bolster the connectivity between people and their environment, especially strawberries, as we pick the sun-warmed ruby fruits of the Earth's labours, her gift to us (Farb and Armelagos 1980; Counihan and Van Esterik 1997; Meigs 1997; Counihan 1999; Anderson 2014).

As Kimmerer (2013:25) notes in *Braiding Sweetgrass: Indigenous Wisdom, Scientific Knowledge and the Teachings of Plants*:

Gifts from the earth or from each other establish a particular relationship, an obligation of sorts to give, to receive, and to reciprocate. When the berry season was done, the plants would send out slender red runners to make new plants. That is the fundamental nature of gifts: they move, and their value increases with their passage.

Recipes are much like this, they are gifts that keep on giving in their continued movement and change. Individual and collective memories are tightly interwoven in our many engagements with food, because through the act of eating we regularly incorporate into ourselves the delicious products of a collective past of traditions constituted via long lines of knowledge transmission in the kitchen. Recipes represent generations of tinkering and learning that we can tap into in the present in a tangible way as we engage with them.

In preparation for writing this piece, I set out to test a strawberry recipe that was new to me, and settled on *Norma*

Condo's Summery Strawberry Bannock Shortcake (Buchar

2020), the mouth-watering result of which can be seen in Figure 1. Chef Condo is a First Nations woman and the owner of Migmak Catering Indigenous Kitchen in Montreal, the city's first permanent eatery devoted to Indigenous cuisine. Her recipe is a beautiful bridge combining elements of both Indigenous and European foodways, using traditional bannock, a frybread, in a strawberry shortcake, instead of the usual white or yellow cake in European iterations. I found the recipe to be easy to follow, and most importantly, absolutely delicious, with the mildly sweet bannock serving as the ideal foundation to allow the strawberries to really shine. Chef Condo's recipe (Buchar 2020), would pair beautifully with the *Ode'iminaaboo*, or Heart Berry Juice, recipe provided by Jordan Jamieson, for those interested in celebrating the Heart Berry Moon season with this family-friendly seasonal treat.

Eating food, and the stories we share with those closest to us while we do, reminds us to take full advantage of all of our senses, and consider how these relate to our emotions, as even the vaguely familiar smell of a food long-since-tasted can bring strong memories of comfort and family from off the backburner. Atalay (2020:264) suggests that people, and I would argue, especially archaeologists, need to allow ourselves "time and intellectual space to imagine the peoples of the past as having those sensations and experiences, and ourselves recognize the fulfillment and enjoyment we feel by engaging in such creative acts." As Lyons and

Supernant (2020:1) note, it is this type of holistic thinking, considering emotion not at the expense of rigour, that centers "heart" in our practice as archaeologists relating to the past and present world. Strawberries are perfect models of the importance of connection (Lyons et al. 2019), and in recognition of this, I would like to conclude with the following passage by Atalay (2020:264) from the collection *Archaeologies of the Heart*:

Strawberries send out runners, spreading out and entangling themselves productively with others, something we must also do with our community partners, with our colleagues, and with our students. Strawberries would not exist without the entanglement of those runners, the leaves, their unseen microbes, water, and pollinators all working in relationship. In enjoying the gift of these tiny, sweet heart berries - viewed as the leader of the berries, because they are the first that grows and ripens each year - we have to also acknowledge these multiple unseen

networks and relationships, showing that we value their role in bringing us such beautiful gifts.

${\tt \#OASStrawberryRecipeChallenge}$



Figure 1: The author's attempt at Norma Condo's strawberry bannock shortcake

If you have a strawberry recipe you would like to share with the community to celebrate the Heart Berry Moon and incoming summer season, please contribute to the OAS Strawberry Recipe Challenge by using the hashtag #OASStrawberryRecipeChallenge and share with us on our social media, @OntArchSoc on Twitter and Instagram.

Norma Condo's Strawberry Bannock Shortcake (Buchar 2020)

Serves four to six

Ingredients for the Bannock Shortcake 3 cups (450 g) all purpose flour 1 tablespoon (15 g) baking powder Pinch of salt Pinch of sugar 1 cup (236 mL) lukewarm water (add more as

needed)

2 cups (473 mL) vegetable oil (for deep frying)

Ingredients for the Strawberry Purée 1 cup (150 g) fresh strawberries 1/4 cup (60 mL) cold water

Ingredients to Assemble 3 cups (450 g) fresh strawberries, sliced Whipped cream (optional), to serve Icing sugar (optional), to serve

Instructions for the Strawberry Purée

1. Place strawberries and water in a bowl and purée using hand blender (alternatively, you can use a standard blender or food processor).

Instructions for the Bannock Shortcake

- 1. Mix all dry ingredients in a bowl.
- 2. Add water in slowly as you mix and create the douah.
- 3. Set aside dough, cover and let stand for 15 minutes.
- 4. Heat vegetable oil in a pan at low temperature.
- 5. Once dough has set, grab chunks of dough that are medium to large meatball sized (you can make bigger or smaller depending on how big you want your bannock) and flatten between hands to create pancake like disks that are approximately ½-1" thick.
- 6. Carefully put the bannock in the frying pan, careful not to splash yourself.
- 7. Once it starts changing colour to golden brown, flip it. When the second side is browned, take the bannock out of the oil and put on paper towel to drain excess oil.
- 8. Let cool completely to room temperature.

Instructions to Assemble

- 1. Once bannock has cooled, top with fresh cut strawberries and drizzle with puree to serve.
- 2. If desired, top with a sprinkle of icing sugar and a dollop of whipped cream.

Ode'iminaaboo Heart Berry Juice Recipe Provided by Jordan Jamieson

Ode'imin is Strawberry - (Ode = heart, min= berry) heart berry, aaboo refers to the juice.

- 1 lb *Ode'imin* (strawberry)
- 1.5 L Nibi (water)

Ziinzibaakwad to taste (sugar, Maple Sugar) Mikwam (Ice)

- 1. Crush/blend strawberries and place in the pitcher.
- 2. Add water and ice
- 3. Sweeten to taste

For preserving Heart Berry Juice, reduce strawberries down on the stove until most of the water is out, blend together



with 1-2 cups of maple syrup (maple syrup's freezing temperature is lower, at -18 C, store in closed containers fit for the freezer). Then pull condensed berries out, add to pitcher with ice and water.

Anishinaabe follow a lunar calendar, and give thanks to the time of the year in which the first heart berries arrive, Ode'imin-Giizis (Strawberry Moon – June 24th). Since we use Maple syrup in this recipe we give thanks again to Ziisbaakdoke-Giizis, the Maple Sugar Moon in March.

1915 Strawberry Cake Recipe from Five **Roses Cookbook** (Lake of the Woods Mill Company Limited 1915: 111).

½ cup butter

- 1 cup (large) sugar
- 3 eggs (save white of 1 for icing)
- 1 ½ cups Five Roses flour
- 1 cup canned strawberries (equal quantity fruit and juice)
- 1 teaspoon soda

Cream butter and sugar. Add beaten eggs, then strawberry fruit and juice (cold). Sift soda with flour and add last.

Strawberry Icing (p.88)

- 4 tablespoons strawberry juice
- 1 cup sugar

Boil until it threads and pour over whipped white of 1 egg.

1874 Strawberry Shortcake Recipe Co**llected by Ben Church Hicks** (Hicks: Nova Scotia Archives 1874)

First prepare the berries by picking; after they have been well washed - the best way to wash them is to hold the boxes under the faucet and let a gentle stream of water run over them into an earthen bowl - then drain and pick them into an earthen bowl: now take the potato-masher and braise them and cover with a thick layer of white sugar; now set them aside until the cake is made.

Take a quart of sifted flour One-half a cup of sweet butter One egg well beaten Three teaspoonfuls of baking-powder

Add milk, enough to make a rather stiff dough: knead well, and roll with the rolling pin till about one inch thick.

Bake till a nice brown, and when done remove it to the table, turn it out of the pan, and with a light, sharp knife cut it down lengthwise and crossways; Now run the knife through it and lay it open for a few moments, just to let the steam escape (the steam ruins the colour of the berries)

Then set the bottom crust on the platter, cover quickly with berries, an inch and a half deep: lay the top crust on the fruit, dust thickly with powdered sugar, and if any berry juice is left in the bowl pour it round the cake, not over it, and vou will have a delicious shortcake.

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A reminder to members that the deadline to nominate individuals for this year's OAS awards is **August 1**, **2021**. More information and the awards application can be found on the OAS website:

https://www.ontarioarchaeology.org/awards

The OAS is also seeking nominations for the position of Treasurer-Elect. If interested, please send an email to president@ontarioarchaeology.org. Nominations will be reviewed by the Nominations Committee and brought forward at the annual business meeting in November 2021.

IN MEMORIAM: H. Bruce Schroeder (1933-2020)

By Ted Banning, Michael Chazan, William Fox, Alicia Hawkins, David Lubell, and Stephen Rhodes

The 1960s saw the expansion of Canadian universities and, with that, the development of Canadian-run archaeological projects around the world. Henry Bruce Schroeder arrived in Canada in 1967 to take up a position as an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Toronto Scarborough, which had been founded three years earlier. He spent his entire career at UTSC, teaching generations of undergraduate and graduate students. During that time, he carried out pioneering prehistoric research in Lebanon and Syria, only to face repeated disruptions due to regional conflicts. He then turned his attention to survey work and the Archaic period in southern Ontario while working on analysis of collections from his Near Eastern projects, before returning to Syria in 1995 for two seasons of excavation.

Bruce was born in Montclair. N.J. in 1933, the youngest of three siblings. After his youth in Montclair, the family moved to Pittsburgh before 1940, where Bruce graduated from Mount Lebanon High School in 1950. He then studied at Clarion State College before completing his BA at Pennsylvania State University in 1954, followed by service in the U.S. Army Reserve. After that, he pursued a career as a professional photographer in the New York fashion industry before turning to graduate studies in Anthropology at Columbia University under the direction of Ralph Solecki. While in New York, he met his lifelong partner, Helen (née Lapchuk), a fashion designer whom he married in 1960. Helen accompanied Bruce to Bordeaux in 1965, where he

studied lithic typology with François Bordes and she mastered lithic illustration under the tutelage of Pierre Laurent. In and out of the field, Bruce and Helen were a team, and they were married for over 50 years.

Bruce's fieldwork in the Middle East began in 1963-64 with Solecki in Turkey (where he discovered and first tested Suberde) and Syria and then at the site of Jerf al-Ajla, which became the topic of his thesis research, in 1964-1965. He was also able during this period to excavate with Bordes at Combe Grenal in 1965. For his doctoral research, Bruce combined data from his new excavations at Jerf al-Ajla with evidence from the earlier excavations by Carleton Coon to provide a unique sequence through the Middle Paleolithic.

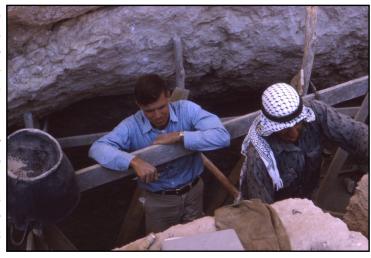
The outbreak of the Six Day War cut short his research in Syria and Bruce shifted to fieldwork in the Beqaa Valley of Lebanon. There, between 1969 and 1974, he carried out survey and excavations with the support of Canada Council research grants. He excavated first at Mugharat al-Joubane and

then at Jebel Saaide II. At Jebel Saaide, he found a Natufian settlement that is one of the northernmost sites known of this Epipaleolithic culture. In 1972 and 1974, he excavated the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A site of Nachcharini, a highland hunting camp contemporary with the earliest Neolithic villages. Bruce's excavations were meticulous, with superb photographic documentation and precise illustrations of the stone tools by Helen. Unfortunately, conflict once again cut Bruce's research short in 1975 with the outbreak of the Lebanese Civil War. Bruce was not able to return to fieldwork in the Middle East until 1995. As an American, he had been prevented from working in Syria since the mid-1960s but, in 1995, he was excited to return to the site of his dissertation research. In the thirty years that had elapsed, there were both new theoretical questions to address and new methods to clarify the chronology of



Yabrud 1964: Nasir Salibi (the antiquities rep.), Bruce, Alison Brooks, David Lubell, Dexter Perkins, Pat Daley, Nick Ekstrom, Ralph Solecki standing.

this deeply stratified site. Bruce's approach to the site was in remarkable contrast to that of Carleton Coon: while Coon extensively had excavated the rock shelter, and left spoil heaps of lithic debitage outside, Bruce's approach was to carefully excavate a small number



Bruce at Yabrud 1964

of units, focusing on clarifying the stratigraphic sequence and obtaining samples for dating. While probably 20 years had elapsed since his previous work in the Near East, one had the impression that he was truly at home, both in the region and in the field in general. He provided small impromptu lectures on everything from gazelle migration to recent Syrian political history and was a gracious quest in the homes of Syrian archaeological colleagues. His work at Jerf al-Aila in 1995 and 1996 resulted in several publications on lithic technology, lithic sourcing and site chronology. The field crew on this project were treated to several weeks in what was arguably the best dig house in the Near East, located as it was in the compound of the Temple of Bel in Palmyra.

In the summer of 2001, Bruce returned to Lebanon as part of the Nachcharini Highland Survey Project led by Alex Wasse and Andrew Garrard. This led to publication of more of his Lebanon research and expanded our understanding of late prehistoric highland land use in the Levant. Tragically, the events of 9/11 transpired shortly thereafter, effectively cancelling further planned research in the area.

Despite these interruptions, Bruce remained deeply engaged with Near Eastern archaeology and general developments in

archaeological method and theory through the years of the New Archaeology. His teaching reflected a deep interest in ecological anthropology and he regularly taught a graduate course on that topic that most Toronto archaeology students of the 1980s and 1990s took. He, along with his colleagues Maxine Kleindienst and Ursula Franklin, also inspired a lot of students' interest in design theory. Bruce's study with Bordes resulted in a flintknapping interest, which he shared with students from 1969 through the early 1970s, shipping home large quantities of Lebanese chert for teaching purposes. This hands-on lithic training was the first to be offered at an Ontario university, if not the first in Canada. The PhD students he supervised include Gerald Kukan, Mary McDonald, Randall White, Helga Vierich, John Tomenchuk, Michael Ingraham, and Shaun Austin, several of whom took a design-theory approach in their theses. In the mid-1980s he developed his interests in southern Ontario, where he carried out survey and testing in the Duffin Creek Marsh and excavation at Ball Point, Lake Scugog.

Bruce (and Helen's) interest in the palaeoecological approach to prehistory carried over into their personal lives. They were ecologically sensitive consumers and either chose or designed their houses to reflect those principles. Bruce had a deep

knowledge and appreciation of the local ecology in which they lived and he ensured that others did as well. He was quite a private person, but a committed friend.

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