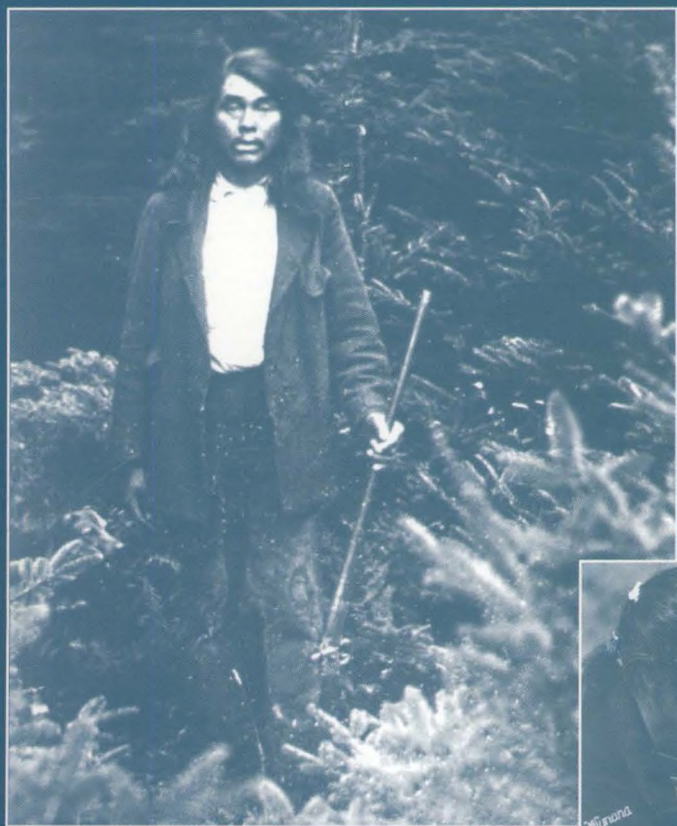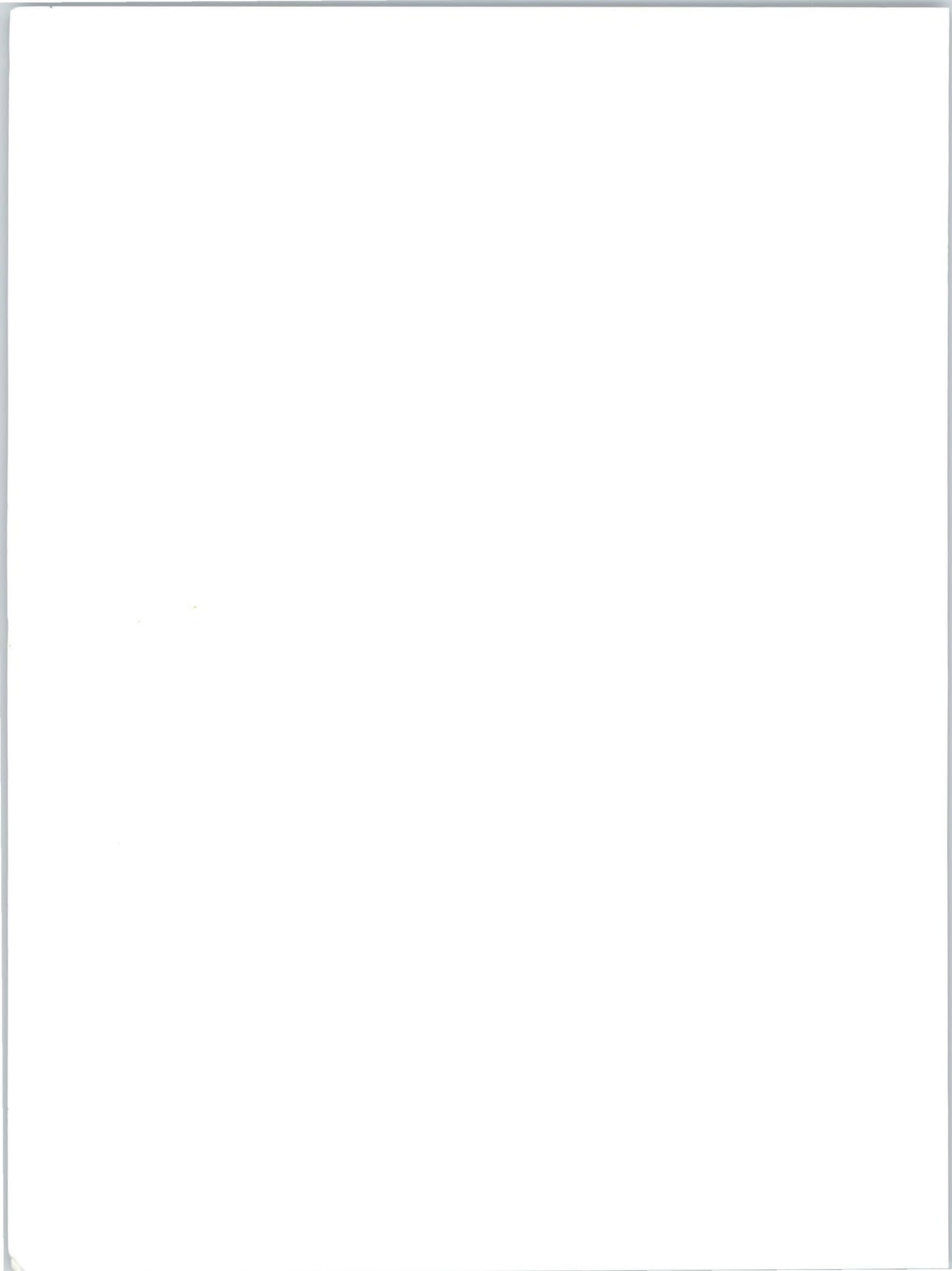# AT A CROSSROADS

Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada

Edited by
George P. Nicholas
and
Thomas D. Andrews

At a Crossroads:
Archaeology
and
First Peoples in Canada

To my sons, Gordon and Graham

George Nicholas

To my daughter Erika

Tom Andrews

At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada

Edited By

George P. Nicholas
Simon Fraser University-Secwepemc Education Institute

And

Thomas D. Andrews
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre

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Foreword

Bruce G. Trigger

This collection of papers, written by archaeologists working across Canada, but especially in the northern and western parts of the country, reflects the dynamism and creativity of Canadian archaeology at the present time. The authors reject the narrow orthodoxies of the past and express the pleasure and intellectual benefits they have derived from cooperative exchanges with Aboriginal people, most especially those who speak indigenous languages and maintain their cultural heritage. These collaborations in many cases constitute the basis of enduring collegial relations that challenge archaeologists' assumptions, and have expanded the knowledge they have of the past in new and important ways. Everywhere archaeologists are posing the same question: why did they not establish such relations much earlier?

In their introduction, the editors have admirably surveyed the problems currently confronting the practice of Indigenous archaeology. My foreword will set some of the major issues raised by twenty-two subsequent chapters into a historical context and consider their political implications. If there is any gap in these papers, it is their failure to take sufficient account of possible current and future difficulties in relations between archaeologists and Native administrators, politicians, and religious leaders. The fact that this issue does not loom large in these papers suggests that presently there exists a large fund of goodwill on both sides that all concerned must strive to ensure is not squandered. One way to do this is for archaeologists to be clear among themselves about what they are doing and to transmit this understanding to Aboriginal people. For their part, Aboriginal people have already started to express their views to archaeologists, but generally in a unilateral, declarative fashion. Most of Canada's political problems, whether or not they involve Native people, arise as the result of a profound reluctance by all concerned to discuss contentious issues frankly and openly with each other before a major crisis develops.

For a long time archaeologists had little to do with Aboriginal people. This was not because they were artifact-obsessed recluses or WASP bigots, although most of them were white, Anglo-Saxon, and male. Rather, archaeologists were alienated from Aboriginal people above all by the same set of ideas that ensured archaeology's subordination to ethnology within anthropology. The first of these was the "flat history" view of the Native past that had been formulated by evolutionary anthropologists at the Smithsonian Institution during the latter half of the nineteenth century (Meltzer 1983). This theory maintained that all North American Indian cultures were at a primitive stage of development and hence could have changed little prior to the arrival of European colonists. Thus there was no significant prehistory for archaeologists to study. The second subordinating concept was the Boasian claim, supported in Canada by Diamond Jenness (1932: 71), that the primary responsibility of anthropologists must be to record Native cultures and languages before they disappeared. It was alleged, quite erroneously as we have since learned, that archaeological material would remain safe in the ground and could be recovered at a later time. Finally, Boasian anthropologists maintained that archaeology was able to shed light only on the development of material culture, which was of limited value by comparison with ethnographic data for understanding entire Native cultures.

The falseness of these views was exposed by the massive, government-sponsored archaeological excavations that were carried out in the United States during the economic depression of the 1930s in an effort to provide work for the unemployed, and by the culture-historical work that was done across Canada beginning in the 1950s (Noble 1972; Willey and Sabloff 1993: 147-8). These findings documented that changes in the archaeological record had been far more complex than could have been accounted for by only diffusion and migration, and for the first time drew attention to the creativity and adaptive skills of Aboriginal peoples in prehistoric times.

The impact of this discovery initially was blunted by the nomothetic goals of processual archaeology, which valued a general understanding of human behaviour more highly than it did learning about what had happened to specific peoples. Processual archaeology also viewed culture from an ecologically adaptive point of view that emphasized the study of subsistence patterns and other forms of economic behaviour at the expense of an interest in prehistoric beliefs, concepts, and values (Trigger 1989: 289-328). In recent years, however, these limitations have been overcome by a growing interest in religion, ethnic identity, gender biases, and world views, all of which have been drawn together by a diverse movement that has come to be called postprocessual archaeology. Postprocessual archaeology addresses cultural and historical issues

that usually are of more interest to Native people than are ecological ones; hence it is helping to promote a rapprochement between archaeology and Native people, as well as between arch- aeology and the Euro-Canadian public. As its findings become more widely known, this kind of archaeology is helping to create a better informed and more realistic understanding of Native history and culture (Pringle 1996).

Yet archaeologists and Native people have been compelled to interact mainly as a result of the latter's growing political importance. In many parts of Canada, First Nations have been acquiring administrative controls that give them the power to regulate archaeological research on their own territories. In some provinces of Canada, new legislation concerning human burials, and more liberal interpretations of existing legislation, give Native people considerable power to regulate archaeological research. Artifact repatriation is also providing Native people with a voice in the management of archaeological collections within museums. Growing Native power is forcing archaeologists to learn more about the beliefs, values, and aspirations of living Aboriginal people in order to stay in business.

Archaeologists and Native people share more than an interest in prehistory. Both stand near the lower end of the Canadian power hierarchy. Traditionally, because archaeologists were Euro- Canadians, they tended to outrank Native people. Permission to excavate Native sites had to be obtained from Euro-Canadian landowners or, on reserves, from Indian agents, but never from Native people. Today, Native people are achieving increasing power to regulate their cultural heritage, which means that archaeologists must seek their permission to perform a growing range of professionally essential tasks. In terms of national and provincial politics, archaeologists con- stitute a far less important political constituency than do Native people and they are therefore in no position to dictate terms to Native officials and leaders. Euro-Canadian politicians and ordi- nary citizens provide little support to archaeologists because they agree with Native people about the sanctity of burials and view ceding control over cultural matters to Native people as a less expensive and dangerous way to compensate them for centuries of injustice than giving them extensive political and economic powers. This creates a situation in which either Native people can restrict and control what archaeologists do *or* archaeologists and Native people can learn to work together to their mutual advantage (Kristmanson, Ch. 2; Nicholas, Ch. 6; Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18; Blondin-Andrew, Ch. 21).

In this volume, Winter and Henry (Ch. 14) provide an interesting case study of cooperation between archaeologists and Saanich Indians to protect the latter's cultural heritage from com- mercial alienation. They call this form of cooperation, which requires compromises from both sides, *dual tracking*. Another example of shared attitudes is the dislike that both archaeologists and Native people feel for archaeological remains being labeled cultural resources. Hanna (Ch. 5), Syms (Ch. 4), and Yellowhorn (Ch. 19), along with the Canadian Archaeological Association, treat this terminology as indicative of an unacceptable commercialization of archaeology and as objectionable in its own right because it ignores the sacred significance that sites and artifacts may have for Native people. On issues such as these, archaeologists and Native people are working together to create cultural policies that incorporate their shared values.

Native people have come to value archaeology for a number of reasons. Archaeological evidence has proved helpful in establishing the historical and legal rights of Native people to their lands in judicial proceedings in both Canada and the United States. In recent years, however, some Canadian judges have slighted the significance and relevance of archaeological testimony in such actions. Involvement in land-claims cases has forced archaeologists to pay very careful attention to the long-neglected question of what the archaeological record can and cannot reveal about ethnicity. There is little discussion of such issues in this volume.

Native people also desire to have their traditional cultural practices recorded, especially as cultural change threatens the survival of traditional patterns of everyday life. Recording such knowledge is the task of ethnographers, but they frequently have little experience dealing with material culture or with human behaviour and beliefs as they relate to landscapes. Archaeological training permits ethnoarchaeological research to be done on these topics that is more satisfactory than are studies carried out by ethnographers.

Finally, many Native groups are anxious to have their oral traditions recorded before these too are forgotten. Ideally this is work for ethnohistorians, but archaeologists are commonly asked

to record oral traditions in the course of their fieldwork and gladly do so because information collected in this fashion is useful for the recovery and interpretation of archaeological data relating to the historical and late pre-contact periods. Hanks (Ch. 11) and Harris (Ch. 12) argue that oral traditions collected among the Dene and Gitksan, respectively, may preserve information about important events that geological and archaeological data suggest may have occurred as long ago as 10,000 years. This leads them to repudiate the widespread anthropological mistrust of oral traditions as sources of accurate historical information relating to all but the most recent past (see Deloria 1996: 179-230). It must be remembered, however, that historical knowledge is encoded in different ways in different Indian cultures, and that in some cultures it is encoded more transparently than in others. Concepts of time and history also vary from one Native group to another (Martin 1987; Nabokov 1996). It is therefore dangerous to assume that the oral traditions of all peoples are necessarily equally valuable or reliable sources of historical, as opposed to cultural, information. In order to avoid being led astray, archaeologists must work closely with ethnologists who understand thoroughly the culture and belief systems of the people they are studying.

Archaeological interpretation has always had political implications. In Nazi Germany, prewar Japan, and the Soviet Union, it was controlled to varying degrees by the government for political purposes. In other countries, support by archaeologists for national and colonial agendas has resulted in the deliberate distortion of archaeological evidence or in unconscious biases producing unwarranted archaeological support for particular causes (Kohl and Fawcett 1995).

Archaeologists have also combated what they believed were antiquated and erroneous beliefs. In the nineteenth century, Paleolithic archaeologists, most notably Gabriel de Mortillet, wished to supplant biblically derived creationist beliefs concerning human origins with evolutionary accounts based on archaeological findings. They believed this to be a way to replace inherited privileges sanctioned by traditional religious beliefs with a new and more rational social order. Whether they preferred economic liberalism or socialism, nineteenth-century evolutionary archaeologists sought to promote political as well as intellectual progress by replacing a mythological understanding of human history with one based on scientific evidence.

Today, most archaeologists would agree with historians that there is no single version of human history. Men and women, rich and poor, young and old, and members of different ethnic groups will interpret the same event differently. Yet there is a difference between, on the one hand, multiple versions of history, each of which corresponds with the evidence and is correct from its own point of view, and, on the other hand, interpretations based on evidence of greater and lesser completeness and accuracy and on more or less sound reasoning. There is the possibility that sound histories written from different perspectives can be combined into a more comprehensive whole, while erroneous versions of history can only be replaced by more accurate ones.

It has long been recognized that the interpretation of archaeological data relating to Native North Americans has been distorted by various colonial biases (Silverberg 1968). The major aim of my paper "Archaeology and the Image of the American Indian" (1980) was to argue that such biases not only characterize the early development of the discipline (when they are spectacularly obvious), but continue to influence archaeological interpretation to the present day. In the same paper I reaffirmed a long-standing personal conviction that, even if the interpretation of archaeological data is forever subject to bias, these data constrain the archaeologists' imagination, and over time will steer the interpretation of the past in a more realistic direction (Trigger 1967). While subjective factors play an important role in the interpretation of archaeological data, they do not, as some extreme subjectivists argue, prevent archaeology from moving towards a more objective understanding of the past. Subjectivity and truth are not mutually exclusive.

Yet no particular interpretation is likely to prove equally satisfactory to everyone. Robert McGhee (Ch. 16) points out that some Native people object that archaeology makes them appear too much as peoples of the past. This can be overcome by archaeologists indicating continuities between past and present and showing how these continuities enrich both Native and Euro-Canadian life at the present time. Native objections that suggesting a Siberian origin for their ancestors turns them into immigrants like anyone else are less easily accommodated, given the large amount of archaeological and other forms of evidence that support the historical truth of this position. The fear that archaeological findings might undermine respect for Native elders raises the

issue of what role archaeological findings should play in relation to Aboriginal or any other type of politics. It may well be true that elders are playing an important and positive role in helping to stabilize many Native communities at a time of rapid cultural change. Yet all members of Native communities may not view the role of elders in such a positive light, and future generations may have still different interpretations of the role played by elders at the present time. For archaeologists to take sides in political issues of this sort risks interference in Native life than may be scarcely less patronizing than the interference of Indian agents and missionaries was in the past.

McGhee also states that an important role of archaeology is to challenge myths. I agree. Yet the examples he cites relate to very damaging false claims that Euro-American archaeologists have made about Native peoples and their history. Can archaeologists refute the myths of one ethnic group while refusing to treat the beliefs of another group in a similarly critical manner? This becomes especially important when archaeological finds contradict strongly held indigenous beliefs concerning their history and where they may have lived in the past. If archaeologists knowingly treat the beliefs of Indians differently from those of Euro-Canadians, there is a danger that the discipline will descend into mythography, political opportunism, and bad science. Under these circumstances, the only morally defensible option is for archaeologists to report the truth as determined to the best of their ability (von Gernet 1994: 14). This leaves all individuals free to decide how they will interpret archaeological findings in accordance with their personal beliefs. Native fundamentalists may reject such findings in favour of their traditional beliefs; other Native people may treat archaeological findings as a welcome substitute for such beliefs, while still others may seek to reconcile the two.

A related, but different question is how archaeologists should react to the sort of claims that the Aboriginal scholar Vine Deloria, Jr., has made in his recent book *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact* (1996). This book not only attacks Euro-American archaeological interpretations of the past (which, like all scientific theories, are not sacrosanct), but also grossly characterizes and rejects, often on the basis of woefully inadequate understanding, scientific method in its broadest sense. Are archaeologists—in the name of cultural relativism, or because of guilt over past treatment of Native people—to accept the legitimacy of Deloria's position on the ground that there is no way to judge claims of differing assertions about the past? It must never be forgotten that to reject the scientific method is to abandon any means for refuting the claims being made by fascists, sexists, racists, and Indian-haters. Neither scholarship nor society, I would maintain, can afford that sort of extreme relativism.

Another of the dangers of postprocessual trends in archaeology has been a tendency to revive a Boasian view of cultures as monolithic, superorganic entities, rather than treating them as the sum total of learned ideas and habits that guide individuals' thoughts and behaviours. The monolithic view, in turn, encourages a belief that culture is something that does not change. Such a position has been habitually popular with political conservatives and nationalists.

We all know that archaeologists have many different views about the goals, methods, and practices of their discipline. However, some archaeologists and some Native people like to believe that there is a single standard version of each Native culture, which generally resembles that found in late nineteenth-century ethnographies. They also believe that the authenticity of individual and group behaviour can be evaluated in terms of its approximation to such a norm. Yet it is clear that there is presently as wide a range of individual behaviour and beliefs in Native societies as in non-Native ones and no obvious basis for judging some forms to be more authentic than others. Change is not a violation of culture but the realization of a potential that is inherent in all forms of learned behaviour. Likewise, authenticity is an inner state of mind, not an externally measurable attribute of culture. That being so, it makes little sense for archaeologists to treat the beliefs of Native fundamentalists differently from the way they treat those of Christian or Jewish fundamentalists. Traditionalists have a right to express their own beliefs, and band publications and cultural centres may, as their Native editors and directors judge best, chose to express traditional views of their history alongside, or to the exclusion, of those of archaeologists.

But archaeologists also have a responsibility to educate Native people honestly and frankly about their findings as these relate to Native history and culture. It is then, as Syms (Ch. 15) argues in his paper on Native internships in museums, up to individuals to decide what they wish to believe. There is, in fact, evidence that a growing number of Native people regard the arch-

aeological study of their past as culturally enriching and empowering rather, than as threatening. Provided that Native people have the resources to study and promote their own versions of their cultures, archaeologists are neither betraying a trust nor engaging in cultural genocide, as some traditionalists and their Euro-Canadian supporters claim, by trying to convey to Native people a clearer understanding of how they work and what they are finding out about Native history.

One dichotomy that remains real, intolerable, and inadequately challenged is that between Native people and archaeologists. The papers presented in this volume collectively document how hard many Canadian archaeologists are working to blunt this dichotomy by coopting Native people as colleagues in their research. While this has happened at least partly because Native governments are demanding Native participation in research, these papers testify to the intellectual benefits archaeologists are deriving from such cooperation. One concrete benefit has been the growing attention that archaeologists, especially in western and northern Canada, have been paying to the Aboriginal archaeology of the recent past—the period that is of most interest to Native people. The benefits of this sort of research, which include an enriched understanding of the past by both Natives and archaeologists, recording vanishing cultures, and empowering Native groups, are documented in Part 2 of this book (Denton, Ch. 7; Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8; Greer, Ch. 9; Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10; Henderson, Ch. 13). Webster and Bennett (Ch. 18) and Blondin-Andrew (Ch. 21) document Inuit and Dene interest in their own history and traditional culture, and point out the benefits of archaeologists learning to cooperate with the work Aboriginal researchers are doing on these topics. Both papers stress the special importance both for professional archaeologists and for Aboriginals of involving young Native people in research of this sort. From the point of view of professional archaeology, detailed knowledge of the archaeology of the late prehistoric and historical periods, which Euro-Canadian archaeologists once largely ignored, is vital if archaeology is to document the changes in Native life that followed the arrival of the Europeans and the early fur trade. Only in this way can it be learned in what ways Native cultures were altered and not altered by European contact, and to what degree ethnographic accounts describe Native cultures as they were prior to that encounter.

Yet archaeology will not be a decolonized discipline until there are a substantial number of fully qualified and practicing Native archaeologists. I have no doubt that the introduction of even a small number of Native professional archaeologists into the discipline would change it in important, unanticipated, and interesting ways. To bring this about, young Native people must be encouraged to become interested in archaeology and be assured that there is a place for them in a discipline that long seemed closed to Native people. Only after substantial numbers of Native people have become professional archaeologists will prehistoric archaeology be equipped to participate fully in the multilateral intellectual exchanges of a North America that is once again becoming as multiethnic and multicultural as it was prior to European dominance.

I agree with Michael Asch (Ch. 20) that Native people have a preeminent moral right to be the custodians of their cultural heritage. They are acquiring the legal right to control both Native and European cultural remains as reserves and traditional lands are recognized as self-governing units, as well as the right to monitor the treatment of human remains over much larger areas. Yet every national or ethnic heritage is also part of the universal cultural heritage of all human beings. Increasingly it is being understood around the world that jurisdiction over artifacts and sites does not confer absolute power on a government to destroy, exploit, or ignore such a heritage. Nor does it empower such governments to determine how such remains may be interpreted, much as individuals or groups may wish their own cultural values to prevail in such interpretations and their particular world view to be accepted as valid (Lawson, Ch. 3; Andrews et al., Ch. 17). Accepting control of archaeological heritage involves accepting responsibility to protect that heritage in as much conformity with international standards as economic conditions will permit (Yellowhorn, Ch. 19). The Archaeology Department set up by the Navajo Nation in the United States provides a model of how an adequately funded Native group can manage its archaeological heritage.

As the result of their long and increasingly successful struggle for ethnic, cultural, and physical survival, Native people in Canada have produced a generation of political leaders that includes some of this country's most effective politicians. These represent many different constituencies and hold various views with respect to many issues, some of which relate to

archaeology. It would be as great a mistake to conclude that all of these leaders are well disposed towards archaeology as to believe that all Native scholars are. Some may oppose archaeology because they believe it is hostile to, or irrelevant for, Native people, others to score political points. Archaeologists will increasingly find themselves having to deal not only with Native administrators, but also with various factions, not all of whom can be satisfied by any policy they may adopt.

Archaeologists generally tend to be rather naive about political matters. If they are to operate in this new, increasingly politicized environment, it is important that they receive training in how to deal with Native politicians and Native people generally. That, however, requires a more self-conscious and informed set of ideas concerning the goals of archaeology and the ethics and social responsibility that such goals entail. These principles must be defined interactively as archaeologists discuss among themselves and with Native people what they are doing. But to be successful these must also be principles with which archaeologists can concur both professionally and ethically, not merely a strategy for dealing with Native people. The statement of ethics recently drawn up by the Canadian Archaeological Association provides a good example of how this process should take place. The best defence against political manipulation by Native people or anyone else is for archaeologists to know what they stand for and why. That, in turn, requires a healthy self-awareness.

Archaeologists must also guard against making well-meaning gestures or giving in to demands from parts of the Native community when doing so is scientifically indefensible. For example, in some cases it may make sense to give protohistoric archaeological cultures tribal names, as Syms suggests (Ch. 4). Yet in many parts of Canada, the late pre-contact and protohistoric periods were a time of rapid social and cultural change. The name *Wendat* (Huron) is first attested as being applied to a confederacy of four or five tribes in southern Ontario early in the seventeenth century. Yet it is far from certain how many of these tribes or their constituent units would have called themselves *Wendat* fifty years earlier. While it is probably harmless to call the immediate predecessors of all the groups that came together in northern Simcoe County by the early seventeenth century proto-Huron, the same term necessarily embraces the archaeologically indistinguishable ancestors of the historical *Tionontati* (Petun) peoples who lived west of the Huron when these groups were first contacted by the French. Long ago I argued that correlating ethnicity and material culture was so problematical that it was preferable to give all Iroquoian archaeological cultures non-ethnic names (Trigger 1970). Although this practice may run counter to how some Native people wish to view their history, I remain convinced that it is the only responsible course for archaeologists to follow in many cases.

Growing contacts with Native people are not only expanding our awareness of what archaeology can do but compelling archaeologists to define themselves and their goals with greater precision and clarity. This book documents a major step foreward in the creation of better relations between archaeologists and Native people, and of an archaeology that is being enriched as a result of its spiritual decolonization.

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Preface

"Now we are at a crossroads where things are not the way they were in the past."

This statement by Dogrib elder Harry Simpson (see Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10) aptly characterizes the evolving relationship between archaeology and the First Peoples[1] of Canada. We have thus used part of Harry Simpson's statement in the title of this volume that consists of many different perspectives, Native and non-Native alike, on a variety of issues concerning contemporary archaeology in Canada.

The volume had its origins in the 27th Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) annual meeting that was held in Edmonton in May of 1994. A significant number of papers on Native-oriented archaeology was presented. The role that archaeology has in the affairs of Indigenous peoples worldwide continues to increase, as does the role that these peoples have in archaeology. This is very much the case in Canada today. The papers dealing with this theme that were presented at the CAA deserved, we felt, a broader audience than a three-day meeting alone.

With some modification, the basic organization of the volume closely reflects the primary topics represented by four sessions organized for the Edmonton conference:

- "The Access to Archaeology Programme" (organizer/chair—Sheila Greer);
- "Cultural Resource Management on First Nations Lands" (organizer/chair—George Nicholas);
- "Traditional Knowledge and Archaeology" (organizers/chairs—Tom Andrews and Sheila Greer); and
- Plenary Session: "Relationships between First Nations and Archaeology" (organizer/chair—Jack Ives).

The chapters in this volume represent some but not all of the conference papers. We have subsequently extended the breadth of the original sessions by soliciting contributions to fill gaps, to illustrate noteworthy studies or projects, and to provide greater geographic representation.

We have aimed for a high degree of cohesiveness both for the volume as a whole and for each of the major sections. To achieve this, we provide both an introductory essay and an afterword that examine the main topics represented, highlight important issues, and place our subject in a broader perspective. Professor Bruce Trigger's Foreword takes the pulse of current issues and affairs concerning the First Peoples of Canada and their evolving relationship with archaeologists and others.

Despite strenuous efforts on our part, we have been unable to provide as much representation from eastern Canada as hoped. Invitations to contribute papers were sent to over 20 individuals there; while our invitation generated great interest and an initial commitment to participate on the part of many, the exegeses of recent budget cuts and an increased work load forced the withdrawal of most of these. There are thus many important collaborative projects between archaeologists and First Peoples that are not represented in the volume, but which deserve the attention of a broad audience—and one not limited to either Canada or the United States. Many of these are cited in the following chapters. Finally, we note that the diversity of approaches represented in this volume, and the successes and failures, problems and prospects, reflect a larger number of projects and programs elsewhere in North America that are worthy of attention (see various contributions to the "Working Together" section of the *SAA Bulletin*; and Swidler et al. 1997).

A Few Words on Words

Watchdogs of political correctness will note that the terms *prehistory* and *prehistoric* are conspicuously present in some papers and conspicuously absent in others. We have chosen to keep the terminology that individual authors have used rather than insist on a consistent terminology. To do so, we feel, would have imposed a degree of censorship. As many others have argued already, the term *prehistory* is often misconstrued to mean "without history," implying that

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[1] We have attempted to follow accepted convention in our use of the term "First Peoples," and do not use it synonymously with "First Nations," which was coined by "Indian Bands" and thus excludes Inuit, Métis, and Non-Status Indians (see Public Works and Government Services Canada 1994: 3).

archaeologists present or support the view that Indigenous peoples had no history. What *prehistory* actually refers to is archaeology done without use of, or access to, written records by the investigators of past human societies—a tremendous difference, and this meaning is conveyed by all standard archaeology textbooks. In fact, what archaeologists have been demonstrating for a very long time is that prehistoric peoples *do* have a history—that there is nothing static in these lifeways. Furthermore, much of the debate over terminology can be viewed as a red herring in some respects: since most archaeologists are aware of the debate, those who continue to use *prehistory*, use the term in a relatively exact manner. Nonetheless, this term and others like it have been so frequently misconstrued that they are used with decreasing frequency, in part, out of respect for those people who may be offended by their popular meaning.

A similar problem can be found with the terms *resources* and *resource management*. For example, Bruce Trigger and several authors in this volume contend that referring to archaeological sites as cultural resources may unintentionally support the belief that a resource is something that, by definition, is/should/must be exploited. While many would agree that these and related terms are not ideal, they are so wholly entrenched in the archaeological literature that it is difficult to replace them, and an alternative terminology is not obvious. So as with *prehistory*, archaeologists continue to use the terms, but recognize their limitations. Yet here we agree fully with Lightfoot's (1995) recent plea to dissolve the often arbitrary distinction between prehistoric and historic archaeology, and to get down to the business at hand—business that, not surprisingly, transcends either approach. Taking this further, Moss and Erlandson (1995: 34) state: "...there should be no epistemological division between the study of prehistoric and historic societies. Instead, this 'boundary' should be regarded as a continuous transition that leads to the living descendants of precontact groups."

As an interesting corollary to this debate on semantics, many Native peoples continue to use the term "Indian" to describe themselves (a term that most anthropologists working in Canada now shun), and consider "First Nation" as pretentious. Use of "Indian"—a term originally identifying them as part of the East Indies, is arguably no less damaging to Aboriginal identity than "prehistory" is. Other groups, such as the Dene Nation, view the term "Indian" as pejorative; they prefer the term *Dene*, which means "people," or, whenever possible, the specific names of the various culture/language groups (e.g., Dogrib, Slavey). However, at another level, even these names have a pejorative connotation in that they have typically been described by anthropologists and are not often recognized in the "first" language. As these examples illustrate, there is a often a sense of frustration in how we speak both of each other and of the past because the issue of synonymy is so complex and sensitive.[2]

How then do we avoid problems of misinterpretation and charges of double standards? Perhaps the simplest and most effective way is to make the effort to make certain that what we write cannot be misunderstood, and for Aboriginal readers not to assume intentions or meanings that aren't present. Developing respect for each other, after all, requires trust.

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[2] In New Zealand, the term "Native" is decried by the Maori. The North American situation, however, is distinct in that First Peoples represent many different distinct societies, whereas the Maori only one.

Swidler, N., R. Anyon, K. Dongoske, and A. Downer (editors)

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George P. Nicholas

Thomas D. Andrews

1   Indigenous Archaeology in the Postmodern World

George P. Nicholas

Thomas D. Andrews

Within the humanities [the] postmodern method (notably deconstruction) is a mode of interpretation which aims to elaborate the multiple relations between culture, class and gender positioning and their effects upon cultural production and consumption, establishing easy and univocal readings of cultural products. A postmodern attitude is characterized by a radical skepticism towards the claims of grand theory, towards totalizing theoretical schemes produced from single and privileged vantage points. Instead an openness to differences and alterity is celebrated, with multivocality, experimentation and the empowerment of marginal political and cultural constituencies (Hodder et al. 1995: 241-2).

These are important times for Indigenous peoples. The lifeways, accomplishments, and artistic traditions of those peoples worldwide who have survived the changes wrought by past and present cultural interaction, diffusion, and colonialism have never been more in fashion or of greater interest and influence than today.[1] They are the stuff of legend in Introductory Anthropology classes and New Age groups; their role as "curators of nature" and "landscape managers" is widely cited by environmental groups today; their ethnopharmaceutical knowledge has directly benefited our lives; and the richness of family life and acceptance of cultural differences provide models for Western society. Traditional societies have featured in cover stories for *Time* magazine,[2] and been the focus of the acclaimed television series and book *Millennium: Tribal Wisdom and the Modern World* (Maybury-Lewis 1992). There is also growing recognition that these peoples are not living fossils, but societies that have responded to change, often by changing in the process.

Yet this is also a time when their way of life remains under serious threat. Residential schools and reservations have been replaced by television as the primary agents of cultural change, and genocide replaced by the more subtle but no less destructive policies of modernization and enculturation (Miller 1993; Young 1995). Not only is their history still marginalized, but it continues to be written primarily by non-indigenous authors. In the Western world, these peoples have been and continue to remain peripheral. They remain exotic peoples in lands that are no longer distant. After more than a century of interaction and inattention, the Natives are getting restless again, according to some, or finally receiving justice, according to others. In Canada, it has been the time of armed confrontations at Oka and Gustafson Lake. In British Columbia, where land treaties were never signed, more territory is currently under claim by various tribes than there is land due to overlapping claims. The establishment of Nunavut in 1999 as Canada's newest territory reflects the efforts of many to create political boundaries that more accurately reflect its constituents. However, as the general population reacts to newspaper headlines citing roadblocks, land claims, and salmon shortages, and to large-scale conservative political trends, there is a move towards cautious optimism, and some political and financial support for Native organizations may decline. Even with such a shift in public awareness, Aboriginal rights and issues in Canada have never before received the attention, tolerance, and respect they are presently enjoying. Consequently, Canada seems a step ahead of other nation-states, particularly in South Africa and central Europe, where violence has won the day; Oka and Gustafson Lake are anomalies (contravening even the Assembly of First Nation's position on non-violence). Nonetheless, in terms of relations with its indigenous population, the situation in Canada remains similar to that in other parts of the world—southeast Asia, south-central Africa, northern Norway, central and south America, or Australia, among other places—where the struggle to regain or maintain the right of ethnic self-identity continues.

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[1] The emergence/resurgence of the Native has, of course, been a long time in coming and precedes postmodern wisdom, although the present social milieu provides it with greater weight than previously allowed.

[2] "Tribal Wisdom," *Time* (Sept. 23, 1991).

In the postmodern world, the status quo has been under threat for some time now. The familiar forms of colonialism are gone. Balkanization is rampant, and world atlases continue to be redrawn. The potential, legitimacy, and fate of "nation-states" remains a subject of much debate. Political correctness is seen by some as the new McCarthyism. Within the realm of multiple realities, "objectivity" has become epistemologically suspect. The new literature (e.g., Bukatman 1993; Parker and Starkey 1995); the way histories are written, interpreted, manipulated, or rejected (e.g., Schneider and Rapp 1995); the rapid influx and dissemination of ideas worldwide (i.e., the widely noted Internet "explosion" or "revolution"; and, in fact, the increasingly self-reflexive nature of our society (e.g., Grossberg et al. 1992; Jameson 1991)—all are manifestations of a world changing more rapidly than we can follow. In these circumstances, we are constantly redefining ourselves or being redefined by others.

At the interface of anthropology and Indigenous peoples may be found the central dilemma of postmodernism that we face today. As anthropologists in this setting, we risk schizophrenia in our dual role of champions for a universe that is a knowable entity, on the one hand, and for the recognition that the "realities" that frame the cultures we study are indeed different but equally valid, on the other. This is an uncomfortable place to be, and difficult questions are being asked of us. For example, in celebrating cultural differences (or "alterity" or "mutlivocality"), and in wielding a deconstructive hammer on the world around us, can we maintain a privileged observation point on human affairs, or is this position no more or less valid than that of "New Age" savants. Likewise, are all "knowledges" (e.g., oral history, folk medicine, science) of equal value? Such questions as these are currently being widely and often hotly discussed in conferences, academic journals, and other settings (e.g., McGrath 1995; Swain 1993) and reflected in an increasingly reflexive anthropological literature (e.g., Hastrup 1995; Miller 1995; Nader 1996; Nash 1995; Potter 1991, 1994; Ramos 1995; Strathern 1995; Taussig 1986; Thomas 1994; Tringh 1989; Webster 1995; Wylie 1992).

This is also a time when some think that the way we do archaeology is under threat as well. The reactions among archaeologists to recent changes, potential or realized, has in some cases polarized the discipline. In the United States, this is illustrated by the response to such recent legislation as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (e.g., Meighan 1992; Powell et al. 1994), and in Canada by the efforts by the Canadian Archaeological Association to develop and pass a Code of Ethics (Nicholson et al. 1996; Mason 1994). Some archaeologists will no longer work in situations where they have to deal with band politics, while others have moved on to other professions entirely.

DOING ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE POSTMODERN WORLD

> The postmodern condition is characterized as fragmented, dislocated, interested in style, eclectically pillaging the past and other cultures without regard for traditional forms of authenticity, building on the demise of the certainties of old class cultures and institutional forms of the nation state (Hodder et al. 1995: 241)

> A window is a window, but there is looking out and looking in. The native you glimpsed, disappearing behind the curtain, or into the bushes, or down the manhole in the mainstreet—my people are shy—may have been only your reflection in the glass.
> Margaret Atwood, "Homelanding"

What role does archaeology have in the postmodern world? As the world becomes a series of texts of equal validity, where does the authority of scholarship fit in? Does the incorporation of oral history into archaeological reports represent compromise or (a source of) revelation? Have we, in the bewilderment of these times of rapid change, lost sight of the forest for the trees in terms of how and why we explore cultural diversity? How much of ourselves appears in our reconstructions of the past or in our interpretations of the world around us?

The development of new archaeological approaches continues to add yet more dimensions to what we know about the past and, no less importantly, to *how* we know it. As McGuire (1992a: 217) notes, "...multiple stories of the past will always exist, and ...these stories will

change as the concerns and realities of the present change. The dialectic of the past and present is a complex mix, a tangled skein of observation, intention, interest, bias, and belief." In both the sociopolitics and epistemologies of archaeology, it has long been clear that we can not and should not avoid the self-reflexive glance[3] that has served ethnographic anthropology so well (e.g., Clifford and Marcus 1986; Heider 1988; Marcus and Fischer 1986; also see Kohl and Fawcett 1996). Yet we may feel the threat or frustration of fragmentation as one paradigm usurps the next—processual archaeology, postprocessual archaeology, poststructural archaeology, marxist archaeology, feminist archaeology, and so on—and terminology from other disciplines (e.g., hermeneutics, narratives and metanarratives, archaeological poetics) appears in our literature. Which of these approaches and terms is in/out of vogue today?

The shaking of the theoretical trees continues unabated, as well it should, and the debate on past and future directions for archaeology remains vigorous.[4] A point too often missed in all of this, but stated explicitly by Preucel (1991: xii; and accompanying volume) is that processual and postprocessual archaeologies (and, we would add, other current and future dimensions of the discipline) should be viewed in a "complimentary rather than an antagonistic light." Such complimentarity is really a direction archaeology needs to recognize as being critical to what we do: archaeology needs to be the *sum* of the knowledge, methods, and theories available to us, in the same sense that the "truth" in Kurosawa's film *Rashoman* is the sum of the four stories of the same events it contains. Moreso, the tensions that are exposed by such "multivocality" may frame productive arenas of fresh thought; working at the interface of "opposing" theoretical premises may be challenging, frustrating, and seemingly counterproductive, but, when successful, the results may be innovative and illuminating (e.g., Handsman and Richmond 1995, Spector 1993). The same can be said for the tensions that exist between archaeology and anthropology and the world of Indigenous peoples (McGuire 1992a, b; Trigger 1980, 1986, 1988).

Instead of representing a collapse of the discipline, what we may really see emerging from these tensions are growing pains that are being experienced by both anthropologists and Indigenous peoples. In North America, as First Nations regain control over traditional lands or voice their opinions or act on issues that directly affect their lives, value systems, history, and identity, archaeologists and anthropologists are having to respond in ways that are sensitive to these cultural differences. We are also beginning to seek greater relevance in our work and to make the effort to present it in a meaningful manner to the Native community. At the same time, First Peoples themselves will hopefully see the promise that archaeology offers, and that they become involved in whatever ways they find appropriate and also work with non-Native archaeologists to seek and develop areas of common interest and need. The papers in this volume represent only a few examples of what has and is being accomplished in this area. The complimentary approaches that are now being developed worldwide will add immeasurably to both the expansion and maturation of the field, and to the increasing utility of the knowledge that will follow. It is appropriate that we approach the end of this millennium with an emerging understanding of cultural differences and a desire to develop mutual trust. This is especially the case for archaeologists and anthropologists who, more than any others, should recognize and promote the many voices that comprise both the past and the present, and which help to define the future.

Canadian Perspectives

This volume is about indigenous archaeology[5] and about the changing nature of doing archaeology in Canada today. The variety of perspectives represented here reflect as much the different research agenda and geographic areas covered as it does the diverse ethnic backgrounds of the contributors; many different presentation styles are also found here, ranging from traditional oration (e.g,, Blondin-Andrew; Harris) to more standard academic accounts. The topics

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[3] While such recursive study is often illuminating (e.g., Potter 1991), many are frightened or embarrassed by the excesses of postprocessualism. Shanks (1992), for example, is so self-reflexive as to appear unintelligible to some.

[4] For an example of this, see papers by Trigger, Tilley, and Nencel in the *Critique of Anthropology* 15(4).

[5] We define indigenous archaeology here as archaeology done with, for, and by Indigenous peoples; currently there is no clear theoretical framework within which this operates although it is strongly but not entirely postprocessual. Russell Handsman, Ian Hodder, Randall McGuire, and Bruce Trigger have been working to illuminate some of the theoretical premises operating here.

addressed reflect much of the current scope of Canadian archaeology and its various applications: land claims; museum studies; self-government; federal and provincial programs; public education; and many others. This collection does not attempt to be comprehensive and several topics, especially those relating to reburial and sacred places, are notably absent here but treated in detail elsewhere (Bray and Killion 1994; Carmichael et al. 1993; Reeves and Kennedy 1993). There are common themes here, many of which relate to the need to do more at ground level, including better incorporation of emic approaches in archaeology; establishment of bi-cultural knowledge brokers; developing trust; and learning to do archaeology with living cultures. Our intentions with this book are to underline the importance of what has already been accomplished, provide examples of what has or hasn't worked, and encourage new ways of thinking about indigenous archaeology.

Above all else this is very much a personal volume; it is as much an academic text as personal narrative about doing cross-cultural archaeology. In the quest for objectivity in anthropology, important dimensions of human affairs have sometimes been ignored.[6] Certainly a postprocessual tone permeates much of this volume, but we leave it to others to describe its theoretical placement. The personal tone invoked also reveals something about the process of doing archaeology; we hope that what some of us are struggling to articulate is viewed as honest efforts to describe what goes on at the personal level being involved with indigenous archaeology; if there is political correctness here, it is fortuitous, not planned.

This volume also offers a challenge to the stigma of intellectual colonialism—a charge that has dogged anthropologists for decades. In "On the Political Relevance of Anthropology," Magubane and Faris (1985: 99), taking their lead from Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History*, note that: "The most specific contribution of anthropology to the colonial enterprise is ethnography. The micro-investigation of cultural entities to emphasize their uniqueness provided a vital basis for the politics of divide and rule." More recently, however, Kelly and Williamson (1996: 16) have observed that within the context of Canadian archaeology, the "vacant core" within cultural anthropology is now being filled through ethnoarchaeological research:

> ...archaeologists are now in contact with aboriginal peoples in ways approximating earlier ethnographic contexts. It is important to realize that the social and political context of these archaeological-aboriginal contacts are different from the interaction between ethnographers and aboriginal peoples a few decades ago. Not only has the context changed in social, economic, and political terms, but the topics of conversation are likely to be radically different.... Perhaps the widespread perception that the politically weak must be heard has in a sense led some archaeologists to accept First Nations history from the First Nations people themselves—a kind of applied yet politically correct anthropology.

This book falls within the "vacant core," and, along with other efforts in other contexts, may help to rectify the colonial nature of ethnography such as the growing literature on the anthropology of cultural and/or sacred landscapes (e.g. Carmichael et al. 1994).

The remainder of this essay explores four general but very interrelated themes that are important in the context of doing indigenous archaeology in the postmodern world: What is the role of non-Western world view in contemporary archaeology? Is there only one shared past or many different pasts? What are some of the indigenous issues that frame the preservation and presentations of the past? What are some of the other issues associated with doing indigenous archaeology?

DIFFERENT WORLD VIEWS

> You people keep talking about preserving the past. Can't you see that there is no past. Can't you see that the past is today and the past is tomorrow? It's all the same! Can't you see that! (anonymous Native American woman, cited in Pullar 1994: 19).

6 Apropos Trigger's commentary on the post-Boasian anthropology of living cultures, it is difficult to study these cultures because, as O'Regan put its (1990: 98), "the carcass is still alive. In its present state of dynamic adaptation [the Maori] vigorously resent being treated as carrion for scholarly inquiry."

The relationship between First Nations and anthropology is very much caught up in differing world views. Indeed, the idea that there are so many different world views is at the very foundation of anthropology. It is often a revelation for students in Introductory Anthropology courses to realize that there are radically different ways of defining reality, a recognition that brings with it greater respect to non-Western societies. The popular perception of the culture of the Mardudjara of the Western Desert of Australia, for example, is that based as much the harsh environment as the sparse material culture, it is one of the most primitive cultures anywhere. This characterization must be completely revised, however, with the revelation of the complex nature of their world view—the Dreaming;[7] they are, according to Lévi-Strauss, "intellectual aristocrats." In North America, we assume that the Indigenous peoples have become so Westernized as to share its world view. It is not until we encounter statements such as cited above, or are reminded that many Navajo still sing the world into existence every morning, that we realize that the basic beliefs have outlasted changes in language, dress, and socioeconomic system.

Western world view is based on particular notions of time, space, causality, classification, and relations (see Kearney 1983: 65) that can be characterized, in part, as a series of separations or binary oppositions—between the "real" and "supernatural" realms, between past and present; between people and nature; between body and mind. In many traditional societies, however, these separations do not exist, and this has important implications for us (see McGuire 1992a: 215-216). Once the "real" and "supernatural" worlds are recognized as being inseparable and time viewed as non-linear, then we have no problem in understanding how and why ancestor spirits and other beings and powers are part of the contemporary landscape. An appreciation of such aspects of world view also has implications for archaeological resource management and cultural resource management.[8]

In this setting then, we must not only recognize that archaeological sites represent something that bridges the millennia,[9] but respect the role they continue to have in other contemporary world views (e.g., Hamilton et al. 1995). Many adherents to a non-Western world view feel apprehensive about what archaeologists do. They maintain that ancestral sites should be left completely alone: if the incorporation of bones and other remains into the earth through decay is viewed as part of the natural order, then their removal interrupts this vital process. This is one reason why the issues of reburial and repatriation remain so contentious. At the same time, however, some Native peoples feel much more positive about archaeology: as representatives of the Nelson House First Nation told David Riddle (Syms, Ch. 4, this volume), "the old ones" had allowed themselves to be exposed by archaeologists in order to teach Cree youth who are in danger of losing their traditional culture. A similar example is reported by Stephen Webb (1995:xi): "An elder of the Mutti Mutti people of New South Wales once told me that she believed that research was important because the fossil humans that emerged from the sand dunes in her country were coming back to tell us something. They tell us who they were, where and how they lived, and provide proof to both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people of how long the first Australians have been living here."

Another aspect of non-Western world view places people within nature, and requires a broader perspective on the role of people therein. Archaeologists have, of course, long been concerned with the dynamic relationship between people and the diverse landscapes they have occu-

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[7] The Dreaming, or the Dreamtime, however, is not just concerned with origins and the contemporary sacred landscape, but also is manifested as The Law; the relation of Aboriginal peoples to the land is intimately linked to kinship systems, political organization, ownership and curation of the landscape, and virtually all other aspects of their lives. Swain's (1993) radical reinterpretation offers that it is *place*, not time, that is the defining parameter of the Aboriginal world view, a perspective that strengthens the need to consider the landscape as the organizing principle in interpreting some non-Western cultures.

[8] The terms themselves are viewed with alacrity by some because each contains the word *resource*; whatever is a resource is, by definition, something to be exploited, so that considering burials and sacred sites as resources is demeaning. This argument, which is by no means groundless, views archaeological resource management of Native heritage then as something less than innocent. However, if this terminology is flawed, what do we use in its place?

[9] However, as Lewis Binford and others have noted, archaeological sites themselves are contemporary phenomena. In addition, Phil Hobler (pers. comm. 1995) has observed that archaeological sites *are* traditional use sites, something not widely recognized.

pied and modified over time. In fact, archaeologists have been in a privileged position to view human ecosystems over long periods of time, as well as to discover adaptive strategies that may have no modern analog. What has been more difficult to identify is the cultural geography of past landscapes: i.e., how did people perceive of and organize the space around them? A broad sampling of knowledge of aboriginal geography has been obtained by anthropologists, through observation and interview, much but not all of which relates to land use (e.g., Binford 1983; Brody 1981). Another source of information, however, that is only now coming into its own is traditional or indigenous knowledge[10] (see Part 2, this volume). Oral histories reveal a dimension of past land use that is normally missing in the archaeological record; they personalize the landscape and illuminate the histories and sacred places that are present there. Certainly this source of knowledge must be used with care and used appropriately, but it cannot be ignored for it is the only source of information on what parts of the traditional landscape meant (or still mean). Even when it is scientifically inaccurate, traditional knowledge provides insights into aboriginal world view, self-perception, and knowledge systems.

In the context of land claims, the nonmaterial value of land professed by Indigenous peoples is often ignored or at least seen as secondary to its monetary worth (see Young 1995). When access to traditional lands is denied or lost, so too are the important spiritual places and beings they contain. The impact of such loss is difficult for non-Aboriginal people in North America to realize as their system of belief is not grounded in the same way, although it certainly has precedent in the Middle East where holy sites have long been fought over.

One final dimension relating to world view of interest here concerns origins. Presenting current theories of the peopling of the New World to an audience containing Native Americans may be as provocative as teaching the tenets of evolution in a class containing Christian fundamentalists: where there is a reaction, it is because deeply held religious convictions are seen as contradictory to scientific knowledge. While this issue has been long acknowledged as a sensitive topic by archaeologists (e.g. McGhee 1989), it continues to be at the center of Aboriginal-archaeological relations; in fact, as more Native peoples are exposed to archaeology, concern with this issue will increase at the personal level. In addition to threatening their belief of *in situ* creation, Beringian colonization models are seen to weaken Native claim to their traditional lands, making them simply the first of a long list of immigrants. Regardless of whether archaeologists tackle this problem by noting that science and religion represent different systems of knowledge or through other means, they should make it clear that archaeology supports the fact that Native Americans have occupied this continent *for as long as it matters*.

ONE PAST/MANY PASTS/WHOSE PAST?

On the one hand if we accept that contemporary [Australian] Aboriginal people are the inheritors of a living culture some 50,000 years old, then we cannot deny them the right to protect the remains of their ancestors. On the other hand, the argument for cultural continuity is largely one of assertion, and if taken seriously could entail the enforced reburial of all skeletal material from the Australopithecines onwards simply because a group of individuals felt that their cultural prohibitions against the disturbance of mortal remains were being flouted (Murray 1993: 111).

"Can we know the past or know anything about it?" (Moore 1995: 50). The tone of this question may have shifted in recent years from the past is/isn't knowable based on epistemological arguments to "its not your past to know because its mine." However, in an essay commenting on museum exhibits and the changing portrayal of the European Cro-Magnon past, Stephen Jay Gould (1988: 20) exhorts us to recognize and relish the shared accomplishments of the human past:

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[10] The term *indigenous knowledge* is preferred in scholarly literature and *traditional knowledge* in vernacular use. While archaeology is often defined as reliant on material culture, some contend that the incorporation of oral histories or related issues falls outside of the scope of the discipline. At the same time, however, as one dimension of the broader field of anthropology, we cannot lose sight of the people and must resolve not to be constrained by arbitrary distinctions.

> At the awesome exhibit of Ice Age art mounted at the American Museum of Natural History in 1986, I was pleased to note the beginnings of a new age in captions.....I can guarantee that twenty-fire years ago, the thrust of the signs would have proclaimed: 'See what primitive man could do.' But this time, the exhibit stated with devastating accuracy: 'See what *we* did in our infancy.' Time is a matrix for all forms of change or for stability. Time is not a motor of progress. Old does not mean less advanced "Look at wonderful things that *we* accomplished in *our* past."

Clearly Gould'a message is that the past contains a record of shared human accomplishments that all of us should be aware of and take pride in; this is one justification that archaeologists present for the importance of archaeology. Certainly as members of the same species, the argument for a shared global cultural heritage does carry weight. However, it has become clear that not everyone feels included in this heritage or even wants to be included (see McGuire 1992a: 215). The One World Archaeology conference and resultant publications nominally support the notion of a shared cultural heritage but, not surprisingly, a one world archaeology composed of many separate voices.

Does the plethora of voices needing to speak about the past mean that everything that we know about the past is relative. This is arguably the central problem of postmodern /postprocessual archaeology. People of different gender, class, experience, and world view *do* see the world around them in more than one way.[11] To paraphrase Sahlins (1995: 14), one cannot do good archaeology, not even recent archaeology, without regard for ideas, actions, and ontologies that are not and never were their own.[12] This is the dilemma faced by Western anthropologists today, where anthropology has sometimes been viewed as a form of intellectual colonialism (see Magubane and Faris 1985; Said 1993). Can Western anthropologists ever really understand and speak for non-Western cultures, particularly those who have left to written record?

Because of their interaction with living peoples, cultural anthropologists have been far ahead of archaeologists in responding to such a challenge, and indeed have been grappling with these issues for sometime now (see Fardon 1995; Fox 1991; Gartrell 1986; Sahlins 1993; Stocking 1991; Turner 1993). Debate over questions of "authority" and privileged voice here (e.g., Sahlins 1995 and Obeyesekere 1992) anticipate their appearance in archaeology. Can "White" archaeologists, for example, produce interpretations of someone else's past that are (a) scientifically accurate *and* (b) acceptable to a non-Western audience? Likewise, can Indigenous peoples write their own history (or critique of history [e.g., Deloria 1995]) and do their own archaeology that meets the rigorous standards of a non-Native audience? The answers to both may be unclear until we can ask such complimentary questions as, can a male archaeologists address the concerns emerging from feminist archaeology? It can and should be done, harking back to comments on complimentarity above; the results of such endeavors will be different, but no less valid. At the same time, unless a critical approach is taken, the type of alternative histories of the Native Amer-

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[11] As Kohl (1993: 15) succinctly notes: "Since there were nearly as many important social divisions in the past as there are in the present, we must be open to and explore all sorts of possibilities. A homosexual's archaeology? A worker's archaeology? An archaeology for and about the elderly? Why not? Name a cause which any fair, liberal, open-minded folk would support, and we should be able to devise a material culture reading of the past addressing its concerns. This is not an unhealthy development."

[12] Sahlins' (1995: 119) commentary is appropriate here: "There is a kind of academic defense of the cultural integrity of indigenous peoples that, though well-intentioned, winds up delivering them intellectually to the imperialism that has been afflicting them economically and politically. I mean the paradox entailed in defending their mode of existence by endowing them with the highest cultural values of Western societies. So the Cree or the Maori or the Kayapó are supposed to be paragons of ecological knowledge." Recent studies by archaeologists (Dincauze 1993) and geographers (Butzer 1992) identifying the impact of Native Americans on their landscape may not be popular because they counter this image with ecological realism.

ican past proposed by Deloria (1995) will remain not only unsuccessful but dangerous.[13] Unfortunately, his latest manifesto is based on outdated and very selective references, and Deloria totally ignores many recent developments in the discipline including collaborative projects between archaeologists and Native Americans. Furthermore, as Kohl (1993: 15) notes, "Diversity is a strength, but we cannot abandon tests of adequacy or those approaches to the past which are more satisfying, which may also mean more explanatory, than others" (also see Murray 1993).

Collaboration between Native and non-Native archaeologists may overcome some of the more common problems of cross-cultural interpretation and also provide new insights that cut both ways (e.g., Majnep and Bulmer 1977; McDonald et al. 1991; Turner et al. 1990), and they will undoubtedly become more common. However, the issue of inequality and the "privileged academic voice" persists. In 1990, an article on rape in the Australian Aboriginal community by anthropologist Diane Bell and her Aboriginal collaborator Tipsy Napurrula Nelson in *Women's Studies International Forum* was countered by a letter of outrage by some Aboriginal women and by other respondents: "In her critique of the affair, Jan Larbalestier argued that despite Bell's assertions of cross-cultural collaboration, Bell as the privileged white academic was the one who located Nelson's voice in the text. Her voice was the authoritative white voice, the active voice, which she also placed in opposition to other 'hostile' Aboriginal women who she accused of not speaking out. By setting up the 'traditional' credentials of Nelson and positioning her as the 'authentic Aboriginal' voice, she thus invited the anger of black women" (McGrath 1995: 388). Such charges of intellectual colonialism may eventually be directed against collaborative archaeology programs in North America.

As more Aboriginal people are being trained in archaeology, it is interesting to ponder what Native and non-Native-produced archaeologies of the same archaeological record will be like? How much overlap will there be? What new areas of dialogue and contention will arise. Certainly the inclusion of gender-related concerns in archaeology has revitalized aspects of the discipline; the impact of Native voices should be even more pronounced.

Aboriginal Control of the Past

The issue of who has the right to speak for whom, and of what, may be related to control of power. The resistance that many Native Americans have expressed towards anthropologists and archaeologists is certainly related to the degree of control they have over their affairs (Paynter and McGuire 1991; Trigger, Foreword), which has varied considerably in the past century. As noted previously, issues of reburial and repatriation are intimately tied to world view, but they are also related to a social and political revitalization. The ability to control what happens to one's ancestors, one's artifacts, one's land are also expressions of cultural identity and control, as is the right to write one's own history. Who controls the past is also linked to issues of cultural identity. In terms of heritage preservation, this includes the ability to define what is significant (Schaafsma 1989). Archaeologists should recognize as important the many issues relating to the gaining and losing of control over cultural heritage, knowledge, and language (see Lynott and Wylie 1995). In our capacity as anthropologists, we should also be able to recognize the social posturing that may be the public exhibition of this control.

There is already much commentary on the reaction that archaeologists have had toward both the way they must now "do business" and the way others (i.e., Native people) feel toward them (e.g., Deloria 1992; Layton 1989; McGuire 1992b; Robinson 1994; Wylie 1992). Some archaeologists may resent having to consult with Native governments about working in their traditional (but not currently occupied) territory, while others see it as merely what is expected of being an anthropologist. It is with the issue of reburial and repatriation, however, that there is the strongest reaction. Amid the surprise, indignation, and bewilderment to this changing situation are serious attempts to make sense of what is happening and why (Bray and Killion 1994; Merrill et al. 1993; Powell et al. 1994; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Swidler et al. 1997; Zimmerman 1989).

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[13] In *Red Earth, White Lies: Native Americans and the Myth of Scientific Fact*, Vine Deloria, Jr., prefaces a revisionist history of North America with the following statement: "This volume will deal with some of the problems created for American Indians by science. We will encounter a number of amazing inconsistencies in the manner in which science describes the world we live in and the role it has chosen for American Indians to play in a largely fictional scenario describing prehistoric North America" (1995: 35). This follows his earlier statement (1992: 597) that "Unpleasant though it may be to some Indians, we need to know the truth about North American prehistory..."

Worldwide, Aboriginal human remains are being returned (Morell 1995). In the United States, the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) was enacted to comply with the increased political power of the Native community, and with growing popular support for the return of those remains.[14] In Canada, where comparable national legislation is absent, the remains are being returned in response to pressure from both the Native community and the public at large. What many Native people are essentially saying is "We don't need burials to answer the types of questions we want answered." To archaeology, the loss of knowledge on dietary composition, health, population movements, social status, and such is inestimable. Will Aboriginal people eventually come to regret this loss of knowledge resulting from reburial before adequate study? Undoubtedly yes to some degree. But perhaps the more important question we also need to ask at this time is, are they willing to pay this price for regaining control over their lives today? Again, the answer is undoubtedly yes.

There are lessons to be learned on both sides. Archaeologists for their part have often been insensitive to the strength of feeling expressed by Natives for human remains and for their world view. As a profession, we have also been surprisingly naive regarding the historic circumstances of their collection and curation. Pioneer anthropologists like Ales Hrdlicka have been seen as "cultural ghouls" seeking scientific knowledge at the expense of local values (Loring and Prokopec 1994). Aboriginal peoples, on the other hand, need to make the attempt to understand that archaeologists have contributed much to Aboriginal history, and that to some degree their current "robustness" is based on anthropologically derived and preserved knowledge. Major contributions have, in fact, been made through their study of human remains and grave goods; much of the information on past social and political hierarchies that has directly countered ideas of "simple" pre-contact Aboriginal societies this century has come from burials (e.g., Peebles and Kus 1977). Ironically, Native peoples themselves have sometimes been involved with digging artifacts for monetary reward (Loring and Prokopec 1994: 32; Staley 1993).

There is also much to look forward to as the lessons of the past are taken to heart, and new relationships and collaborations develop between archaeologists and Aboriginal peoples. Writing of the evolving situation in New Zealand, Stephen O'Regan (1990: 100) notes: "Archaeologists have long been felt to endanger the dead. Increasingly, though, the scholar is seen as 'the good guy' and Maori ire 'focuses on fossickers who loot the dead for artefacts.' An important agency in this change is the New Zealand Historic Places Trust, which has influential Maori representatives on its Maori Advisory and Archaeological committees. Possessing *mana* [traditionally derived authority] in their own tribal areas, these Maori mediate between the archaeologists and the Maori community."

Establishing protocols with First Nations is currently an important agenda item for many today (e.g., Nicholson et al. 1996), and archaeologists in Canada are now beginning to communicate routinely with bands over issues of access and procedure. Of no less importance is the process of developing trust, which we think will be at the core of doing indigenous archaeology in the very near future. One striking example here concerns the recent reburial in Australia of Mungo Lady (Lake Mungo I). When the remains were returned to Aboriginal custodianship at the place where she was excavated, and placed in a locked vault, one of the tribal elders said to archaeologist Alan Thorne that "they wanted a new start, and that there were to be two keys to the vault, an Aboriginal one and one for scientists; so their leader kept one key and I was given the other in what was a very moving and dignified ceremony" (Alan Thorne, pers. comm. 1996).

As McGuire (1994: 18) notes, the most difficult part about doing the right thing is knowing what the right thing to do actually is. This is something we must learn together.

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[14] The range of responses by Aboriginal groups to the scientific study of human remains is illustrated by two recent cases, both widely reported, that have resulted in heated discussion within the archaeological community. The remains of a 9,300 year old individual found in Kennewick, Washington, were claimed by the Confederated Tribes of the Umatilla Indian Reservation under the provisions of NAGPRA, who stated that no additional studies are to be done on this skeleton. In contrast, the study of 9,730 year old remains from the Prince of Wales Island in Alaska has been supported by the Klawock and Craig tribal governments, who decided that the potential to gain knowledge about some of their earliest ancestors was overwhelming (Fifield 1996: 5).

PRESERVATION AND PRESENTATIONS OF THE PAST

> Maori commentaries and points of view have often been forgotten when popular tradition and histories have cast their narrative nets. The tapu-laden talk of tribal elders have been concealed or is inaccessible, while stories based on European documents have "floated light, like the wood of the *whau* tree, and always remain to be seen" (Salmond 1991: 11).

For many traditional peoples, the past doesn't need to be made accessible through archaeological excavations or museum displays because it is part of the contemporary world. More generally, public education has a critical role concerning Aboriginal people today. Sharing with them what we can know about their past through archaeology at the very least augments oral histories; no less important, educating Euro-North Americans about the Aboriginal past illuminates cultural diversity and encourages respect. Much of what is important about that past has often been concealed/obscured by the more dominant histories of the European colonizers of the continent. One could say that compared to the "floating" stories of European history (above), Aboriginal history is so dense because there is so much of it.

Museums serve an important means of public education, and provide a place in the community where different aspects of the past are presented and interpreted. The role of museums continues to evolve, as much to meet the changing needs of the pubic as to respond to changing social and political circumstances (*vide* the public outcry over funding for exhibiting Robert Mapplethorpe's work [Steiner 1995] and also over the historical revisionism attributed to the Smithsonian Institution's *Enola Gay* exhibit). In Canada, the relationship between museums and Native People also continues to develop and mature (Ames 1992; Canadian Museum of Civilization 1996: Karp and Levine 1991; Nicks 1992; Stone and Molyneux 1994; Trigger 1988).

Museums, however, may be increasingly susceptible to criticism from First Nations organizations, whether actual or perceived, because of the sources of their funding, as well as their highly visible nature. In fact, pressure on museums to be politically correct is more likely to increase than decrease in coming years, as attested to by recent events at the Vancouver city museum where the director ordered all Native displays dismantled and the highly successful educational programs closed, despite protests from a broad segment of the public and *including* many First Nations groups.

People who have donated objects to museums are always disappointed when they later visit the museum and find their donations not on display, but relegated to storage. Native peoples are similarly disappointed when denied the results of research on their land. Archaeologists have been the object of much criticism in recent years for not making the results of their studies accessible to the people on whose lands they work. While copies of technical archaeological reports are often submitted to tribal councils at the end of a project, they are usually in a format inappropriate for the nonprofessional. Given the limited time and budgets already encountered by practicing archaeologists, they are seldom in a position to produce more public-oriented reports; it may be here that provincial or territorial agencies can perform a valuable service, and do so consistently and appropriately (e.g., Hare and Greer 1994; Gotthardt and Hare 1994).

It is ironic then that, as archaeologists make their work more accessible, they can expect increased criticism aimed at the archaeological community for attempting to redefine or revise the history of First Nations, echoing some of the issues noted above. This is especially so if being Native allows special privileges of interpretation: "Along with the [Australian] Aboriginal historians, I accept that Aboriginal people 'are the guardians and custodians of our history and culture, and it is our responsibility to pass onto future generations our set of truths.' If, however, those guardians and custodians also act as gaolers, while claiming infallibility in interpreting their source of materials, based upon race, totalitarianism is just down the line" (Mulvaney 1986: 56, cited in Murray 1991: 111). Protocol between archaeologists and the Aboriginal communities associated with their research area may require the submission of reports prior to their publication. Fear of censorship is deeply ingrained in the academic community, however, and most scholars are understandably hesitant to relinquish any control over their work.

Whether through oral means, museum exhibits, or archaeological publications, the dissemination of knowledge about the past enriches everyone's lives today. From the perspective of Indigenous peoples, however, not all objects or knowledge may be considered freely accessible to

all. In Australia, there are clear prohibitions concerning secret/sacred knowledge, and access to certain places and objects is denied to the uninitiated, to members of the opposite sex, or to the non-Aboriginal public. In North America, locations of sacred places may be kept secret (see Reeves et al. 1993). Museums are also now agreeing to Native requests that certain categories of artifacts, such as grave goods, not be placed on public display; in some cases, replicas of those same objects are displayable. Such concerns should be understandable to archaeologists who have their own category of secret-sacred knowledge—site locations—that are guarded carefully and kept from the uninitiated.

Increasingly, anthropologists and archaeologists have been in a position to use their expertise and authority to work with or on behalf of indigenous peoples (Bodley 1988; van Willigen 1993). In Canada, their role as cultural brokers, expert witness in court, and community development, among others reflects the promise of what applied anthropology has to offer First Peoples (Dyck and Waldram 1993; Elias 1993; Hedican 1995; Kew 1995; Warry 1990). There are limitations to what anthropologists can or should do, however (Dyck 1993; Ray 1990; also Monet and Skanu'u 1992). In addition, archaeologists must listen to the Aboriginal community to learn what is needed and whether their help is, in fact, desired (Ignace et al. 1993; Waldram 1993).

Within the Aboriginal community, dissemination of information may not always be equitable due to access to education, for example, or political maneuvering between politically dominant families. There may also be the fear by Aboriginal people that aspects of their Indigenous heritage will be co-opted by the dominant society:

> Access to knowledge about Maori language, history, and art is increasingly confined to those whose education and economic position enable them to take advantage of it...As access to the Maori heritage is increasingly mediated through mainstream culture, that heritage is seen to be passing inexorably into Pakeha [non-Maori] hands.
>
> Few Maoris who are actually disadvantaged in terms of wealth, education, and employment are conscious of their disinheritance, however, or realize their distance from their Maori heritage. They are aware only of a general sense of resentment. The articulation of resentment on their behalf is undertaken by a small number of younger educated Maori. It is they who react with hostility to being taught Maori language by Pakeha who rail against Pakeha authors on Maori topics. It is they who talk of Maori sovereignty and Maori command over Maori culture and would limited Pakeha participation in things Maori. They give voice to the wider sense of dispossession and loss of control over what should be part of oneself (O'Regan (1999: 96).

This statement could easily apply to the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, Australia, and beyond.

DOING ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE REAL WORLD

> We need to rethink how archaeology students are trained, and train them more as anthropologists who can engage in archaeology as a human endeavor and not simply the study of material culture (McGuire 1992a: 243).

Archaeology is just a small part of a big world; its relevance is taken for granted by us. In fact, it is often seen as inconsequential or peripheral in the eyes of most Indigenous peoples. Both on and off the reserve, higher priority is justifiably given to solving problems of health, education, treaty negotiations, and other concerns than to archaeology. In such circumstances archaeologists cannot use the familiar refrain: "if you don't save the sites, they will be gone for future generations," for the response from the Native community would be, "if we don't address our social and economic problems, then there will be no future generations."

As archaeologists, we can make changes in the way we work that will not compromise our goals, but will facilitate working with Indigenous peoples. We must, for example, begin to identify and address the needs that Aboriginal people have. This isn't restricted to land claims, but includes the broad goals of education, reestablishing world view, and keeping a Native "spin" on

their relations with the non-Aboriginal world. The revival of traditional ecological knowledge based on both archaeology and ethnography provides a further area of productive research (e.g., Ericson 1992; Inglis 1993), for example. The contributions that archaeology and anthropology can make to Aboriginal communities, and vice versa, can be substantial:

> Ethnologists who have documented the subsistence patterns of the Cree hunter-gatherers of northern Quebec in the 1970s documented the vast and detailed knowledge that these people had acquired of their environment. This knowledge clearly exceeded that possessed by Euro-Candian scientists. Most of the information had been encoded in terms of a belief system that conceptualized relations between hunters and game animals in terms of spiritual relations between humans and spirits....Yet the Crees belief system did not suffice to answer the question that was most important to them in the 1970s: how much land would they have to continue to ensure that all Crees who wished to go on being hunter-gatherers in the foreseeable future could do so. Answering that question required translating Cree knowledge into the conceptual framework of modern ecology which dispensed with the Cree's belief about animal spirits (Trigger 1995: 348).

We must earn the trust of Aboriginal peoples by being honest with them, by respecting their views and traditions, and by taking the time and care to explain to them why we do archaeology in the first place. We must also be honest about our own motivations and realize that we often gain more from the Native community than we return. As archaeologists and anthropologists from a dominant society, we have an obligation to contribute to the well-being of First Peoples. We achieve this primarily through working cooperatively with Native organizations, recognizing their ownership of the resource, and working ethically. However, in doing so, we also benefit in many ways: employment, the ability to celebrate "the wonderful diversity of life" firsthand, gaining respect in societies, gaining respect and status in our own society, among other things.

There are many complex issues and apparently contradictory behaviors that will be encountered. Working with Band councils can be, to many non-Natives, a slow and often frustrating business. Again the need to comprehend priorities is essential, as is a respect for a different set of cultural values where *relationships* may be more important than *things*. We must also be careful in our generalizations about Aboriginal societies because they are so diverse; conversely, Native people should not generalize about archaeologists and their motives.

Indigenous archaeology is now emerging worldwide in response to both the needs and the social milieu that frame the end of the millennium. At this time, archaeology must, as a discipline already composed of many different perspectives, remain flexible enough to accommodate more, particularly Aboriginal voices and perspectives. Canadian archaeology will remain incomplete until this missing dimension has been added, and this can only be done by working together.

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2

The Micmac and New Brunswick Archaeology: Historical Perspectives and Contemporary Experiences

Helen Kristmanson

Contemporary archaeologists work amid ever changing sociopolitical assumptions and expectations. The purpose of archaeology is now actively challenged by a once passive Native population, and new questions arise as some archaeologists are motivated to reassess the intellectual framework of their profession. As some turn towards a more self-reflexive archaeology, one which is critically self-conscious of its epistemological status, in order to achieve an understanding of the context in which archaeology is practised, others continue to adhere to a science-based methodology.

This paper broadly reviews the status of Native people in the development of archaeological method and theory, presents some of the issues facing contemporary archaeologists, and concludes with an account of my experience with the Fort Folly Band in southeastern New Brunswick.

NATIVE PEOPLE AS OBJECTS OF STUDY: 19TH AND 20TH CENTURY ANTHROPOLOGY IN REVIEW

Euro-Americans have long expressed a keen interest in Native populations. Unfortunately the often racist nature of early Native-European contacts has persisted in various forms into contemporary society. From a non-Native perspective, historical documents help shed light on how the European attitude toward Native people took shape. Among the most colourful of such first-hand accounts are the early stories of Puritans living in New England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Vaughan and Clark 1981). Puritans held captive by local Natives frequently recorded what have come to be known as captivity narratives in which the ordeal was described. Interpreting the capture-escape experience as divine punishment and redemption, Puritans seem to have reflected on their encounter with a measure of pride. Ironically in 1583, prior to this period in history, it was European trade merchants who kidnapped Native people and transported them back to France (Pendergast 1991: 48). Presumably many Native people died in transit, from exposure to European disease, or perhaps later succumbed to the ravages of slavery or other maltreatment.

The pervasive view that Natives were inherently inferior had, from first contact, driven Europeans to impose their culture and religion on what they perceived to be culturally stunted "savages." The reluctance of Native people to adopt Christianity had formerly confounded the European population to the extent that Missionaries were contracted to pave the way for colonialism by transforming Natives into Whites through assimilation[1] (Upton 1973: 54).

The image of the Native as a culturally deprived savage extended into the early nineteenth century as anthropology was emerging as a form of systematic research. At this time, Natives were discriminatively analysed in terms of physical and moral attributes (Henry 1972: 153; Upton 1973: 52; Trigger 1983: 14-15). The concept of polygenesis rationalized the persistent use of racial discrimination in anthropological studies as the development of archaeological research was dominated by Biblical concepts (Trigger 1980: 663). While this notion persisted in the United States as a justification for slavery, by the 1820s it was rejected by British anthropologists who nonetheless believed that Native inferiority was culturally based and therefore reformable. At the end of the 1830s, the Native population was destined for one of three potentialities: extermination, assimilation, or isolation on reserves (Upton 1973: 55). At this stage in the progression of anthropology, including archaeology, the Native was reified as a passive object of Euro-

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[1] This practice continued in the Native residential school system until recently.

American knowledge.

With time, increased world travel, and progressive research, the anthropology of the nineteenth century was to be dominated by evolutionary or developmental orientations (Kaplan and Manners 1972: 36; Trigger 1983: 19). The Mound Builder controversy in eastern North America exemplifies the then persistent view of Natives as inferior to Europeans, as some excavators felt certain that the mounds could only be of non-Native construction (Trigger 1983: 16; Willey and Sabloff 1980: 35-36). Those who acknowledged Native mound construction however, argued that the Native culture responsible had been no more advanced than any other north of Mexico (Trigger 1980: 666).

At the turn of the century, anthropologists such as Boas in the New World, and Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski in the Old World, dissatisfied with inaccurate and biased evolutionist accounts by earlier missionaries, travellers, and explorers, demanded a more empirical and systematic approach to the study of Native culture. Boas regarded cultural relativism, ethnography, and diffusion as alternatives to evolutionism—and as complementary to functionalism (Hedican 1995: 23; Trigger 1983: 21, 1988: 25). However, despite their attempt to depart from a judgmental form of research, anthropologists of this era continued to define cultures in terms of developmental stages.

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed the emergence of archaeology as an established profession which subsequently produced a new generation of university trained archaeologists. The principal goal of American archaeology at this time was "cultural-historical synthesis of New World regions and areas." Heightened concern for chronologically oriented analysis was manifested in a methodological trend towards stratigraphic excavation and seriation, and "speculation and theory were considered more or less synonymous" (Willey and Sabloff 1980: 83).

Unlike their American contemporaries, Canadian archaeologists, at least in Ontario, seem to have proceeded without the Speculative Period defined by Willey and Sabloff (1980). Rather, during the mid to late nineteenth century in Ontario, emphasis was placed on ethnographic and ethnohistoric research, with particular attention to the acquisition and excavation of artifacts for display purposes (Stewart 1993: 2). Unlike the Mound Builder controversy that developed in America, much of the nineteenth century mound excavation in Canada was borne of an attempt to locate Jesuit Mission sites. Following this period, although the functional approach still governed artifact analysis, Ontario archaeologists began to form chronologies from their data (Stewart 1993: 3-5).

American archaeology in the 1930s was perceived as a national endeavour and part of the public consciousness, but lack of Native involvement or consultation at this time imparted an attitude of indifference that would persist unchallenged for several more decades. Following the Depression years and World War II, archaeology prospered in the New World. Increasing interest in contextual analysis, settlement patterns, and cultural ecology was encouraged. Theory was implicit in the forms of culture-historical and evolutionary themes, despite the rapid methodological advances which took place (Willey and Sabloff 1980: 176). The developments that occurred during the post-war decades stimulated research on processes and explanation, themes that would ultimately define the archaeology of the 1960s.

A forceful intellectual shift occurred with the advent of the New Archaeology, which was legitimized by its scientific mandate. Although the basic tenets originated with Taylor's "conjunctive approach" (1948, 1972: 28), the New Archaeology was not fully conceptualized until the 1960s with Binford's (1962) article "Archaeology as Anthropology." However, the adoption and application of empirical models without due modification resulted in a failure to address significant distinctions between natural versus social phenomena, and pure versus social sciences. As a result, the law-like determinations of the New Archaeologists resulted in a somewhat socio-biological interpretation of culture, with dead and living human beings as the objects of scientific research. Since then, archaeology has developed into a more theory-oriented discipline, possibly in part as a response to the framework proposed by the New Archaeology. The New Archaeology, with its emphasis on internal culture change, served to dispel the once common image of Native people as uncreative and culturally static (Trigger 1980: 664, 1983: 29). However, despite impressive advances in methodology and increasingly complex bodies of theory, Native people continued to be scientifically objectified. Some have gone so far as to describe the New Archaeo-

logy as "fundamentally dehumanizing" (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 60).

Diamond Jenness and Marius Barbeau, remembered by some as early Native advocates, were critical of government practices exclusive of Native consultation (Hedican 1995: 16). In Canada, from Confederation until about 1960, there had been "a general suppression of Aboriginal cultural practices followed by a brief period of Native activism in the 1960s when the Trudeau government issued its White Paper (1969) which proposed "to disband the Indian Affairs and reserve system, with the provinces taking over responsibility for the administration of Aboriginal area of concern" (Hedican 1995: 10). The new policy was received by some Native people as a blueprint for extermination through assimilation, and in response they issued the Red Paper, a condemnation of the government proposal (Hedican 1995: 10).

The sociopolitical climate in which archaeology was practised in the early 1970s resulted in self-evaluation by some archaeologists, while others continued "the conduct of human science which ignores living peoples" (Janes 1994: 149). Ford (1973: 84-86) suggested that nationalistic values had interfered with objectivity in archaeological research and noted that "only recently has this nationalistic archaeology assumed any significance for the native American" through land claims and increasing Native control of archaeological resources. Although extensive use of ethnoarchaeology may have increased the frequency of contact between archaeologists and Native people, relations were not always amicable. As the New Archaeologists strived to define universal generalizations about human behaviour, rather than place the Native in historical context, Native people remained the objects of scientific research (see Deloria 1992: 595). Until the 1970s, ethical concerns regarding anthropological studies of Native cultures had been largely ignored (Janes 1994; Rogers 1977: 34). The development of "ethics committees," such as the Committee on Ethics of the American Anthropological Association, perhaps offered too little too late (Rogers 1977: 36). In 1973, Native people of northern Ontario expressed opposition to research of benefit only to non-Native interests (Rogers 1977: 34). On the positive side, the establishment of such committees indicates that some anthropologists recognized that they could no longer work independently of Native concerns.

In the late 1970s, the Union of Ontario Indians in Canada launched civil action against archaeologist Walter Kenyon who had violated the Cemeteries Act in the excavation of a Neutral Indian burial site at Grimsby (Kenyon 1977: 9, 1979, 1982: 6; Spurling 1976a). The unexpected Native reaction, and the ill-preparedness of the government forced the closure of the site for two months while Native protesters, archaeologists, and politicians struggled to restore order. Attempts by Canadian members of the American Indian Movement to retrieve some of the Grimsby skeletal remains from the Royal Ontario Museum were thwarted. The Royal Ontario Museum's chief archaeologist, Dr. Douglas Tushingham, warned Canadian members of the American Indian Movement (AIM) that they would be arrested for trespassing if they returned the bones to Grimsby (Spurling 1976b). Interestingly, the Iroquois Six Nations Reserve, whose members had unofficially granted Kenyon permission to excavate, also objected to reburial of the remains by AIM (Spurling 1976b). Kenyon, maintaining his position as custodian, refused to release the skeletal material and asserted his intentions to rebury the bones. The excavation was eventually completed. This episode may have helped fuel the emerging concern for Native rights demonstrated by Canadian anthropologists.

In the early 1980s, there was renewed interest in structuralism, cognition and ideology, and in Marxist ideas of consciousness (Leone 1982: 742, 750; Trigger 1980). The relevance of a self-reflexive historic approach was acknowledged by some archaeologists as Native involvement in archaeological matters increasingly entered the public forum. In 1984, for example, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples prepared the "Declaration of Principles" which stated that the Native population would "reassume original rights over their material culture" including archaeological resources (McGhee 1989: 15). In 1988, the Canadian Museums Association met with the Assembly of First Nations to produce and implement museum guidelines for the management of Native remains and artifacts (Henton 1989: A14). This co-operative action was the result of the controversial "The Spirit Sings" exhibition at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary, Alberta during the 1988 Olympics when Native people encouraged a boycott of the exhibition because of the display of a sacred medicine mask, and an unsettled Alberta land claim (Henton 1989: A14). Complementary policy-making aimed at a restructured cultural resource management system may be difficult to achieve, given that "most archaeologists lack the necessary combination of exper-

ience, knowledge, contacts, time, and... interest in public affairs" (Spurling 1988: 67).

By 1989, Canadian and American government officials were responding to the pressing reality of Native involvement in archaeology. Twenty of the United States had drafted legislation to protect Native burial sites or allow Native people to determine the destiny of accidentally exposed skeletal remains. The Smithsonian Institution tentatively agreed to consider the return of prehistoric artifacts to Native people. In Canada, a discussion paper drafted by the federal Department of Communications indicated that new guidelines might be implemented regarding the protection and management of archaeological resources, while the Ontario government claimed to be amending its Cemeteries Act to offer improved protection for osteological remains (Henton 1989: A14).

In 1991, an Aboriginal Archaeological Symposium was held in Ottawa, Ontario, during which jurisdiction regarding Aboriginal archaeological resources was unanimously passed. This reflected the Native response to a long history of a Canadian archaeology essentially exclusive of Native participation. At this time, the government presented the Access to Archaeology Program. Among the stated goals of the program were plans to encourage Native involvement in the management of archaeological resources, and to provide training to interested Native people.

CONTEMPORARY ISSUES

The Archaeologist As Scientist

After more than a century of impressive methodological and intellectual advances, contemporary archaeology nonetheless represents the long-term outcome of a paternalistic discipline characterized by borrowed and often misapplied scientific paradigms. An interest in the use of applied science, which is frequently credited as the superior methodology in dealing with archaeological problems, appeared early in this century and has perhaps helped shape the current conflict between archaeologists and Native people.

Today some archaeologists continue to strongly identify with rigorous scientific procedure and the maintenance of detached objectivity, perhaps making "it impossible to understand the reasons for there being different versions of the past" (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 20). The archaeologist generally has no use for the scientific method in speculation about past human behaviour. Since there is nothing to test such archaeological hypotheses against, a proposition is unverifiable. Nor does the archaeologist need an intimate understanding of the complex and sophisticated procedures associated with absolute dating and chemical analysis, for example. These services are invaluable to certain aspects of archaeology, but not to the exclusion of social interpretation.

One suggestion is that a critical sociology of archaeological practice is required (Lucas 1995: 44; Shanks and Tilley 1987: 24). The archaeologist has been urged to step back and view the sociopolitical context in which the discipline operates, to "self-position" in order to witness the impact of modern cultural notions on our interpretation and presentation of history (Leone 1982: 753; Leone and Preucel 1992: 132). Historical examples of the suggested relationship between sociopolitical condition and the direction of archaeological research include: the parallel between hyperdiffusionism and fascism of the 1920s, the link between ecologically based modelling with the popular concern for overpopulation, environmental destruction, and depletion of nonrenewable resources in the 1980s, and the leading role of science in problem solving within archaeology and in the larger community today (Bray 1986: 784; Leone 1982: 751). Ironically, however, should the archaeologist retreat into an insular objectivity, and entirely disengage from our value systems, the value-free framework of postmodernism could potentially redirect archaeology to empiricism (Moore 1995: 53).

In 1995, an "interpretive archaeology," drawn partly from relevant hermeneutic principles was offered, not as a new method, but a basic guideline for archaeologists to reexamine and clarify their understanding of archaeology "via the topic of interpretation" (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 3, 8). An interpretive framework allows that the study of the past is an open-ended effort, never a final story, and recognizes the historic location of interpretation (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 239). In keeping with self-reflection, increased awareness may at least bring about a broader social view.

Stewardship of the Past

"We have a mandate to preserve and protect the past for the future an obligation to past cultures to tell their story and to future generations to preserve the past for their benefit....we, as archaeologists view ourselves as the stewards of the past" (Goldstein 1992: 61; also Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 587). But problems stem from an "us" and "them" attitude created by this stewardship (Goldstein 1992: 70). Surely archaeologists are only self-appointed stewards of the past, and bear no personal obligation to past cultures as their storytellers. Notions of stewardship are widely accepted but offer perplexing concepts of commodification and ownership of the cultural and material past.

It has also been suggested that the responsibility of recording Native history lies with implicitly non-Native professionals, including anthropologists, while the responsibility of Native people is to maintain their cultural traditions (Adams 1984: 241). As trained professionals in mainstream society, archaeologists have earned privileged access to "the past" and are subsequently obliged to share their findings. But most archaeologists would disagree that Native people are in any way obligated to perpetuate cultural traditions. However, recognition of traditional Native lifeways has become a contentious element of contemporary Canadian politics. The Native struggle for cultural identity has perhaps been misguidedly based on an attempted reversion to a pseudo-historic lifestyle. An empathetic Canadian public has possibly contributed to this dilemma by placing undue value on the relevance of traditional practices to contemporary survival. The Native population, caught between assimilation and traditionalism, is the only one in Canada which finds political strength in a reversion to historic lifeways. Native people are entitled to a heritage-based cultural identity without becoming an anachronism.

Nationalism, Pluralism, and Relativism

Since archaeology is subjective and value-laden, the archaeologist is regularly confronted with ethical issues. The concept of ethics is described as "a cultural construction" in which "no particular system of ethics can be said to be right or wrong" (Goldstein 1992: 60; Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 585). However, archaeologists are frequently faced with making professional choices based on ethical issues, and must decide if the ethics of archaeology should be compromised when they clash with the ethics of the people under study. Some archaeologists have demonstrated that a flexible approach is rewarded by trusting relationships between archaeologists and Native communities (Ferguson 1984: 224). In fact, archaeologists often hear that honesty, mutual respect, cooperation, and education are the answers. But it is not always clear how such relationships are successfully engendered.

Native people who view themselves as citizens of a First Nation often experience a "nationalistic" response to non-Native archaeologists controlling the study of their heritage. However, there are also those, both Native and non-Native, who maintain that Canadian prehistory is the heritage of all Canadians and the rest of the world, and should not be controlled by one interest group alone (Cybulski et al. 1979: 36). For example, the benefits of medical and forensic research performed on prehistoric skeletal material are sometimes understood to transcend or approximate the significance of Native religious concerns. "From the perspective of science, law, and anthropology, the excavation and curation of human skeletal remains is both appropriate and necessary" (Goldstein and Kintigh 1990: 586). Research of this nature is justified by the position that both Native and non-Native populations stand to gain in terms of developments in medical technology (Buikstra 1981: 27; Cybulski et al. 1979:36). Yet others raise the legitimate question "What has archaeology contributed to the health sciences up to this point?" (Leone and Preucel 1992: 123).

Archaeologists working with Native people may also be confronted with contradictory perceptions of ethnogenesis (Fridriksson 1994: 17). Some Native people contend that their version of prehistory, based on knowledge transmitted through elders and not scientific data, has been ignored (Ames 1986: 43; Anawak 1989; Dorris 1987: 103). Many have complained that the Bering Land Bridge theory of origins degrades their culture history and portrays them as merely another group of immigrants. They have interpreted the theory as an attempt by non-Natives to challenge Native rights to land ownership (McGhee 1989: 14). Others believe that a demonstrated archaeological tie to world history will finally accord Native people full humanity (Deloria 1992: 597). Since it is a political rather than an interpretive issue, the focus is not on which is the truth,

but rather, on how we react to different views, and at which point pluralism verges on relativism (Lucas 1995: 41). Binford accurately maintained that an extreme version of cultural relativism "would deny to archaeology the possibility of becoming an objective, comparative science" (1972: 68).

There is no "monolithic undifferentiated PAST" (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 11). Native people are free to develop their own interpretation of archaeological data. In turn, archaeologists should not dismiss Native theology nor abandon North American prehistory, but accept that there "are several uses of the past, and that several groups have certain rights and responsibilities to various of these uses" (McGhee 1989: 16-17).

Education
While some think it a naive presumption, archaeologists often suggest that public education is the solution to improve relations between Native people and archaeologists. Others point out that we first need to educate ourselves about the ramifications of archaeological research on Native culture before "educating" Native people (Leone and Preucel 1992: 124). It is often recommended that Native people be recruited into archaeology with alluring offers of university scholarships (Ferguson 1984: 233; Goldstein 1992: 67). But these seem unlikely solutions until more basic epistemological issues are addressed, such as what constitutes or determines "true" knowledge of Native history, or if such truths exist at all.

Until the recent communications revolution, inadequate public school curricula and low exposure to archaeological literature contributed to a wide misunderstanding of Native culture history. Although archaeologists have typically produced and exchanged academic papers of only limited interest or availability to Native groups and the larger lay population, an increasing number of Native people are reading archaeological reports, or producing their own, to help reinforce their social and political identity. Canadians have been overexposed to popular movies and television programs that have customarily produced romanticized portrayals of archaeologists and inaccurate representations of Native history. Such stereotypical concepts have perpetuated limited awareness on both sides.

Non-Native archaeologists and Native people view the past from modern perspectives that have been framed by different life experiences. Conflicting opinions on the administration of history and prehistory stem from disparate ideologies that were shaped by respective social, political, and cultural influences. If not dealt with effectively, the differences may continue to constrain communication between the two groups (Trigger 1990: 778; Zimmerman 1989: 213). It is often stated that the solution is to involve Native people in archaeology, but that situation is changing. Such was my experience when the Fort Folly Band invited me to join their archaeological project.

A CONTEMPORARY ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPERIENCE

Native people have populated eastern Canada since the end of the last glaciation. Today there are two indigenous cultural groups in New Brunswick, the Maliseet and Micmac. The Maliseet have traditionally occupied the Saint John River Valley while the Micmac settled a surrounding region to the east. Both speak variants of an Algonquian language that is also characteristic of the Passamaquoddy to the west. The Beaumont archaeological project described here was initiated by the Fort Folly Band, a Micmac community in the village of Dorchester, New Brunswick (Figure 1).

Beaumont, the remote and rugged site of an historic Micmac settlement, is situated towards the end of the west margin of a strip of land between the Petitcodiac and Memramcook Rivers in southeastern New Brunswick. A chapel, one house, and a large historic cemetery are nearly all that remain of Beaumont, which was once home to ancestors of many contemporary members of the Fort Folly Band. The chapel at Beaumont (Figure 2), built in 1842 was the first in New Brunswick to be constructed by and for the Micmac people, and due to its historical significance, the Province of New Brunswick acknowledged Beaumont as a Provincial Historic Site in 1989.

Beaumont had been occupied by Micmac and Acadian people at least since the early mid-nineteenth century. The last Native people left in the mid-twentieth century, many of them moving to the Fort Folly Reservation that had been relocated to Dorchester, New Brunswick where it

has remained. Since then, Beaumont has fallen into disrepair, and repeated vandalism has forced the Band to keep the chapel boarded and locked at all times. Damage has been caused by cars and snowmobiles driven over grave sites, the removal of historic headstones, and illegal campfires. In response to their lasting concerns about the maintenance and protection of Beaumont, the Fort Folly Band initiated an archaeological project with an urgent preliminary goal to find and fence the limits of the historic cemetery (Kristmanson 1993, 1994). This was where my association with the Fort Folly Band began.
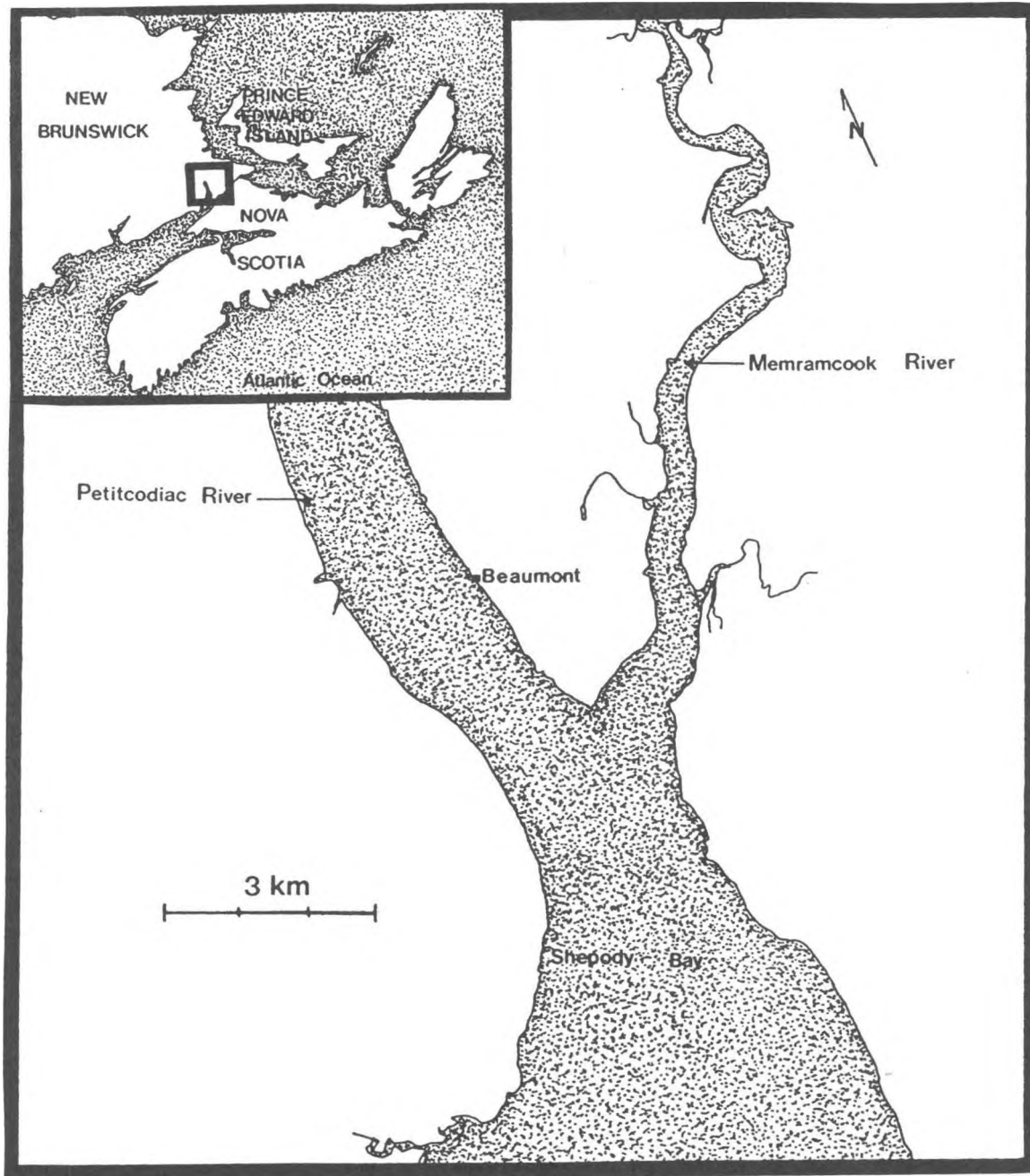
Figure 1. Location of Beaumont, New Brunswick.

Upon arriving at the Fort Folly Band Office in June of 1992, I was greeted by the staff and soon met with the Band Manager, Mr. Michael Nye. The Band historian supplied me with all of the information in his possession, including relevant documents, maps, and photographs, while one Band member, qualified as a civil technologist, produced detailed scale maps depicting the Beaumont site. It was soon clear that he would be the lead surveyor of the 1992 crew, and the only Band member to participate. The Fort Folly Band has a small membership of about 110, approximately one third of whom live on the reserve, with the remainder residing elsewhere in Canada and the United States. Band members available for the archaeological projects were scarce, as those who were eligible to work had already secured seasonal or long-term employment elsewhere.

The project quickly began to take shape, and ran smoothly from start to finish, though naturally there were questionable moments during the season. Although the band administration and most, if not all, Band members were aware that we were not disturbing the cemetery, we were troubled by occasional rumours to the contrary. Most people came to the site with preconceptions about the work in progress. Many non-Natives and a few Band members visitors expressed enthusiastic curiosity about whether we were digging graves and what we might have found. Others were less impressed. For example, during the annual Feast of Sainte Anne celebrations, I was approached by a Micmac elder, Dr. Mildred Millea, from the nearby Big Cove Reservation, who politely implored me not to dig up one of her maternal relatives. Under the circumstances, it was difficult to convey to her that we were using conductivity equipment to test the ground and

Figure 2. The chapel and rectory at Beaumont, New Brunswick. Date unknown. Centre d'Études Acadiennes, Photo Collection, PA2-1130. University of Moncton, New Brunswick.

therefore not digging graves but rather trying to locate and protect them. Fortunately, we remained on friendly terms and I welcomed Dr. Millea's extensive knowledge of Micmac language and culture. This situation exemplified the frustrations and difficulty of keeping the public informed.

In addition to the protection and restoration of Beaumont, the Fort Folly Band also had sociopolitical motives for staking their historical claim to the site. Beaumont is located in a part of New Brunswick that was settled by Acadians as early as the late seventeenth century. From the earliest Acadian appearances the two cultural groups came into contact:

> ...the French, however, like the English later seem never to have recognized any right of the Indians to the soil, but extended their settlements as they pleased, with the passive acquiescence of the Indians. There was actually some tendency for the smaller French settlements to be formed near the Indian villages, partly for environmental reasons, but also because of the facilities thus offered for trade, and because Indians and French could thus use the same churches and be served by the same priests (Ganong 1904: 38).

Such was the historic setting at Beaumont where Micmac and Acadians lived as neighbours. Not only did the Micmac and French both live on this pre-Confederation "reserve" land, but they also shared the chapel, local post office, and the same schools. Both probably participated to some extent in the local stone quarry industries, and the Native people were able to trade or sell their crafts, and/or utilitarian items to local residents along both rivers (Kristmanson 1994: 13). Today, the Fort Folly Band's stated rights to Beaumont are actively but peaceably challenged by local Acadian descendants. In fact, only in 1992 did the local Catholic priest agree to share the keys to the Beaumont chapel with the Band Council. Until then, Fort Folly's Band Council had been forced to formally request access to the chapel, which they did not always obtain. The relationship between the Band Council and the local Acadian historical society has been edged with friction but remains basically friendly. Both groups have strong proprietary feelings for Beaumont and are proud of their respective historical connections to the site.

In 1994, Fort Folly Band members faced an unexpected cultural intervention regarding the Beaumont site, but this time it began with a group of Native people assembled from outside communities. Unknown to most Fort Folly Band members, the Beaumont cemetery had been chosen by this group as the burial site for skeletal material recovered from an exposed Ceramic Period grave site on Skull Island in Shediac Bay, New Brunswick. The grave site is a road distance of approximately 80 kilometers from Beaumont. It was announced that the remains were to be buried during the annual Feast of Sainte Anne Catholic service at Beaumont. This ceremony has always been open to the public and is followed by a large buffet-style picnic complete with traditional Micmac food and entertainment. Instead on that day a private sunrise ceremony was attended by a selected group of elders and members of other reservations along with the archaeologist who excavated the site. Only a few Fort Folly Band members were permitted to participate. The dawn ceremony was a deliberate deception of the public, media, and Fort Folly Band members. Participants later explained that they considered public interest disrespectful and inappropriate. This view was not necessarily shared by Fort Folly Band members, and some felt excluded by the manner in which the burial had been arranged. Neither was there consensus among Band members regarding the pertinence of burying the Skull Island remains in their ancestral cemetery. Others strongly believed that the multiple burial at Skull Island should never have been excavated but left to erode naturally.

This situation, in which there was difference of opinion within both the archaeological and Native communities, illustrates the fact that the meaning of "us" and "them" is fluid when it comes to Native people and archaeologists. In an effort to avoid a completely one-sided story, an early draft of this paper was shared with Michael Nye who responded by preparing the following summary of his views on archaeology:

> ...There have been in the past many negative dealings between First Nation peoples and many archaeologists.
> First Nations, as well as any other race of people, protect the burying places of their ancestors. Respect to where they are interred must be certainly understood by the Non-

Native population. I do not believe that our body parts or religious materials should be placed on display. At the 1991 Aboriginal Archaeological Symposium a position paper was made and it was titled "I am not an artifact." The title is very self-explanatory.

But there were many positive results from the symposium I think that many modern-day archaeologists have a better understanding of the cultures of First Nations. Mutual respect and understanding are the cornerstones of any undertaking.

I think that the Fort Folly First Nation has a very good relationship with any of the archaeologists that they have worked with. I am a firm believer in protecting our people and their rights, there must be a place for the unborn, the living and the dead.

Figure 3. Mr. Israel Knockwood (Micmac) was a one-time resident at Beaumont, New Brunswick. Photograph was taken either at Beaumont or Dorchester, N.B. Date unknown. New Brunsick Provincial Archives: P13-13; Albert Hickman Collection.

A Micmac Archaeological Project

Having coordinated numerous and varied projects, the Band has become a significant provider of employment for local residents, Native and non-Native. Local job seekers turn up in numbers at the Band Office when it becomes public knowledge that a project is being proposed. With nearly all Band members employed, in school, or in retirement, the Band is in the position to offer contractual employment to many local skilled laborers, many of whom now work on a regular basis for the Band. For the archaeological projects, the Band encouraged me to design independently the research plan and manage the field project, but all decisions were ultimately made by the Band. We communicated daily and they were officially kept informed of my activities through weekly progress reports. I was never asked to modify my research plan in any way, although Band members occasionally offered unexpected information which sometimes added new dimensions to the project. The attitude towards archaeology varied throughout the Band from indifference to polite interest, though everyone was essentially supportive and patient with my endless questions.

The Band has demonstrated an interest in sharing administration of fieldwork and maintenance of archaeological resources with the Province of New Brunswick, and the Band Manager was able to obtain financing through the Access to Archaeology and Pathways programs for projects in 1992 and 1993. The Band has housed the artifact assemblage collected from two seasons of excavation at the Beaumont site, and has by now amassed a basic inventory of archaeological field and laboratory supplies. The Band provided the archaeologists with many necessities, including office space and supplies, secretarial assistance, and transportation.

Aware of the long history of unfavourable dealings between archaeologists and Native people, I was initially slightly apprehensive about taking the job with the Fort Folly Band. However, I also felt optimistic that dealings between archaeologists and Naive people might be improving; thus in a positive mood I intended to use an awareness of the past to help achieve a sensitive exchange in the present. Working with the Fort Folly Band turned out to be less complicated than I had expected; there was mutual respect, trust, and friendship. However, there is neither a methodological nor theoretical key to explain or perfect the relationship between archaeologists and Native people. The broad range of opinion within and between cultural groups, and the unpredictable nature of human interaction were again made evident to me when during my work at Beaumont I participated in a local Aboriginal Heritage Committee policy-making session organized for the Canadian Archaeological Association by Ms. Patricia Allen. These meetings provided a forum for Native people and archaeologists to trade ideas and share opinions on issues ranging from local to international and, most importantly, signalled a new atmosphere of communication between the groups. Although I invited the Band Manager to join me at the session, he saw no need for his presence. Not only had the Fort Folly Band initiated their contact with archaeologists, but they had also set and directed the achievement of their archaeological goals. I could only assume that because of the unique way in which the Fort Folly Band deliberately sought archaeology as an available service, that they ultimately enjoyed an unusual strength and autonomy in the archaeological community.

CONCLUSIONS

Over two decades ago, with the basic outline of world prehistory largely in hand, archaeologists faced an intellectual crisis. As Leone (1972: 21, 27) notes, the academic world was forced to "reach further and further into the ranges of marginalia for unsolved issues as the topics for doctoral theses and kindred excercises." The situation has changed to where archaeologists today are are less pressed to find fresh academic challenges than to resolve sociopolitical ones. This trend has motivated some archaeologists to begin to look for solutions by turning to critical self-reflexion that, in turn, then leads to a series of epistemological questions about how knowledge is formed, disseminated, and used. And for whom? Although museums sell the past to a public who blithely accepts that this version of the past is meaningful to them, Native people are increasingly skeptical.

Conventional knowledge systems are under pressure from interdisciplinary studies questioning the knowledge-producing structure. Concepts such as ownership and commodification of his-

tory, and strategies for ownership and control, become central issues for the archaeologist who can no longer assume stewardship of the past. What is the epistemological future for archaeology as Native interest groups are increasingly involved in archaeological research? Nobody can predict the future, but the current sociopolitical situation suggests that significant practical changes in Canadian archaeology have been set in motion.

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Cultural Interpretation in Times of Change

Kimberley L. Lawson

> Perhaps the most significant result of the workshops was expression of surprise on the part of many archaeologists that they were perceived to be a threat to Aboriginal Culture. On the other hand, it was no little surprise to many Aboriginal participants that individual archaeologists were both understanding and supportive of the general Aboriginal point of view (Dunn 1991: 16).

There is in British Columbia today conflict and mistrust between First Nations[1] and the archaeological community. There are fundamental (though not irresolvable) intellectual and ethical differences between archaeology and Indigenous history, which many individuals and projects have attempted to bridge. The potential for good working relationships is affected by a host of factors not related to the methods and theory of archaeology, but which are nonetheless relevant to its current practice.

In British Columbia, archaeology is directly affected by two broad concerns: the balancing of many values (e.g., economic, heritage, cultural, spiritual, social, environmental, recreational, and aesthetic) in land and resource management decisions; and the relationship between Aboriginal people and governments with the rest of the province and Canada. The historic development of each has also been influenced by various academic theories about culture and by archaeological research. There is thus a need for Indigenous cultural leaders, decision makers, and other resource managers to have an understanding of archaeology. Similarly, archaeologists are being called upon to fill many roles, and to draw upon diverse skills, many of which were not part of their formal training; increasingly, archaeologists' clients assume that their research and reports will address all cultural concerns within the study area. There is much at stake, including the promise of better understanding of the past and of the cultural concerns and rights of Aboriginal peoples, and the attainment of better protection of places that hold archaeological information; there is also fear of greater conflict.

Archaeologists and Aboriginal people appreciate many of the same things, but place dramatically different values on them. Additionally, the use of knowledge of Aboriginal culture and ancient history may have a different impacts upon Indigenous people than it may on archaeologists:

> First Americans are the subject of public fascination and scholarly research; that research including the development of models of past human adaptation to changing world climates and ecosystems (Knudson and Keel 1995: 1).

> Tribes seek to preserve their cultural heritage as a living part of contemporary life. This means preserving not only historic properties but languages, traditions, and lifeways (Parker 1990: 1).

> Archeological sites present a unique opportunity for managers to learn about the long-term functioning of ecosystems. The archeological record reveals how prehistoric human populations and their environments interact over extended spans of time—with both changing as a result (McManamon 1995: 2).[2]

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[1] As there is no term or definition universally accepted, I use *Aboriginal*, *First Nations*, *First Peoples*, *Native*, and *Indigenous* interchangeably. When I uses these terms, unless qualified by a phrase such as "defined by" or "as recognized by the federal government," I mean them to include Inuit and Métis. My apologies to anyone who finds this awkward or distracting.

[2] Here McManamon is advocating the use of archaeological research in the service of managing natural resources, rather than describing a prevalent practice

A second argument for protecting [archaeological sites] is that most of human history is preserved only in archaeological sites. Written accounts of human activities are rare and recent when viewed against the entire time span of human evolution. ... the major means by which human beings have adapted to this planet, in chronological terms, left behind only archaeological sites as with most tangible legacy for the modern world. This is the fishing-gathering-hunting way of life, described by one archaeologist as one of the most remarkable success stories in the natural world. The hunting and gathering strategy exclusively characterized human life arguable for close to two million years and is now all but extinct. To my mind, there is no better reason to study this unique and enduring slice of the human experience (Weisman 1993: 1).

This volume [*The Public Trust and the First Americans*] focuses on the concept that the archaeological [sites] of the First Americans are part of a public trust to be protected and used to the benefit of all people: the general public, avocational archaeologists, Native Americans and professional archaeologists alike (Stanford 1995: vii).

A lot of academic anthropologists miss the boat ... and they don't get to understand the deeper ways and means of a people's techniques of survival under trying conditions (Ignace et al. 1993: 169).

Actually, my involvement [in repatriation] came about in a couple of ways, I went to the traditional leaders and said, "My juvenile court isn't working any more. The juveniles have no respect for me and they don't seem to have respect for any of the tribe infrastructure. Maybe there is something you guys can do, as traditionals, to help me out" "And they took me aside and said, 'Well, we have this stack of summaries and inventories. You take care of this for us and ... (laughter) ... we will help you out." And I looked at them suspiciously and said, "Wait a second, is this a tradeoff?" And they didn't even bat an eye. It was like, "No, we don't exactly know how to help you until you get all this other stuff in order" (Vincenti 1995: 23)

BUILDING BRIDGES

The basis for resolution of most of the specific priority issues was seen to lie in bridge building between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures (Dunn 1991: 8).

First Nations remain very concerned about the interpretation of their past, and of changes to places that have important connections to their past. Because many of their concerns are shared with non-Aboriginal people, there is good potential for partnerships, which would be greatly strengthened with an awareness of the differences between Aboriginal cultural concerns and archaeological values. Neither needs to replace the other, but both should be respected. Many Aboriginal people believe that a strong culture is essential for a healthy future for First Nations; it is not unreasonable for them to expect people who wish to interpret Aboriginal culture to earn their trust, rather than be granted it automatically.

Awareness that archaeological work has profound implications for Aboriginal people is being recognized by the profession of archaeology. The Canadian Archaeological Association, particularly its Committee on Aboriginal Heritage, should be commended for their work in this area (Nicholson et al. 1996; also see Hanna, Ch. 5; Sievert 1994; Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18; Wylie 1994; and publications of the World Archaeological Congress [e.g., Layton (ed.) 1989a, b]).

Bridge building requires not only a long-term commitment to finding solutions, but cross-cultural communication skills, and awareness of other world views. I use the term *cultural interpretation*[3] to refer to communication that encourages meaningful dialogue between two or more

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[3] The term *cultural brokerage* is more common, but I am not fond of the (intentional or not) analogy with commodities, and feel that "interpretation" is more accurate.

cultural groups. Cross-cultural communication has not always been considered an essential skill of archaeology,[4] but it is expected of archaeologists more and more, and at an increasing level of complexity. Developing a broader understanding of culture, of the potential information to be learned through the methods of archaeology, and of clear and honest communications about and across cultures are absolutely essential. Obviously, communication between First Nations leaders and archaeologists is important, but so too is communication with the "general public" (both Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal) and resource managers (for First Nations and other governments). Real solutions can only come through long-term relationships based on mutual respect and understanding. The knowledge that could result from good working relationships promises to be rich and wonderfully complex: "this is the kind of history that we are being challenged to create" (Hanna, Ch. 5).

My primary concerns in this chapter are thus to identify important cultural factors that contribute to different views of, and approaches to, the past by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures; to discuss some of the problems that limit effective cross-cultural communication concerning these issues; and to provide some suggestions for improving the effectiveness of cultural interpretation in times of change.

WORLD VIEWS

> The very concepts of past, present, future and the relationship of all living things is profoundly different in each culture. Many speakers, and particularly elders, placed [extraordinary emphasis] on the differences in cultural perception of archaeological issues (Dunn 1991: 8, 11).

The term *world view* (or *lifeview*) refers to a cluster of interrelated concepts and values, developed through shared historic events, that shape the way that a culture looks at the world. All world views have value systems that affirm what is important and why. There are many Aboriginal world views, and important differences exist between them; for example, despite some similarities, Nuu chah nulth, Cree, Salish, Sto:lo, Secwepemc, and Heiltsuk world views have significant differences. The differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous world views are more dramatic.[5]

Concepts of spirituality, knowledge, science, ethnicity, sacredness, jurisdiction, law, progress, balance, land stewardship, land ownership, time, and change are difficult to communicate across cultures. These concepts reflect the way that people perceive reality and are fundamental to intellectual traditions—to the ways in which knowledge and information are acquired, shared, cared for, and carried into the future.

Intellectual Traditions

Many projects designed to build and strengthen working relationships between archaeologists and First Nations focus on bridging intellectual traditions, which are an expression of world view. Projects such as the World Archaeological Congress conferences examine these differences explicitly. Other conferences, forums, or gatherings have focused more on principles, standards, or ethics (Echo-Hawk 1993; Nicholson et al. 1996; Hanna, Ch. 5; Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18). There are also research projects that work to apply both intellectual traditions in a meaningful way (Hanks and Winter 1983, 1986; Harris, Ch. 12; Knecht 1994; Marshall 1993). Echo-Hawk (1993) discusses both the need to bridge these traditions and his experiences in doing so.

Discussion about differences in intellectual traditions may help to identify certain sources of misunderstanding. Intellectual traditions of industrialized societies are scientific, written, externalized, and empirical. The scientific study of the physical world is founded upon empirical observation—upon tangible things and events that can be studied, and experiments that can be repeated. In contrast, Indigenous intellectual traditions are generally unwritten, internalized, and

[4] The discipline of archaeology would benefit greatly from the discussions taking place in other cultural disciplines concerning cross-cultural communication, applied anthropological ethics, and intellectual copyright.

[5] An understanding of these differences should not be used as a measure of how "traditional" or "authentic" an Aboriginal person or community is.

integrated with spirituality; Indigenous knowledge is also more holistic than Western academic disciplines. Indigenous lifeviews are based upon the physical world reflecting spiritual relationships and realities.[6]

Aboriginal religions have values and ethics, and include the belief that the spirit has a powerful and physical effect upon living people's daily lives:

> For us, *pule* [prayer] is reality, for through *pule* spiritual help is requested to affect the physical world. And so the relationship between ancestors and descendants is one of interdependence—the living have a duty to care for the dead. In turn, the ancestors respond by protecting us on the spiritual side. One cannot completely exist without the other. ... The point is that science is not the only means to define man's existence. Spirituality is the necessary balance (Ayau 1995: 32-33).

Many of the divisions within Western academic traditions (e.g., between philosophy/theosophy and sciences, between nature and culture, between animate and inanimate things) do not correlate with divisions in traditional Aboriginal thinking:

> Many traditional cultural properties are considered sacred by American Indians. The entire earth is sacred—or an entire mountain range is sacred, or the entire landscape, including spaces invisible to most, but visible to the knowledgeable. A tribal elder once told me, "you are talking about preserving the environment and the plants and animals that we see. I am worried about preserving the environment that we do not see—the places where the spirits live" (Parker 1993: 4-5).

> One thing that has stuck me is how differently [traditional Native Americans and non-tribal people] define relationships. Traditional Native Americans believe that everyone and everything exist in an integrated and pervasive system of relationships. One resident of Santa Clara Pueblo puts it this way: "We are part of an organic world in which interrelationships at all levels are honored." ...Traditional Native American see an essential relationship between humans and the objects they create. A pot is not just a pot. In our community, the pots we create are seen as vital, breathing entities that must be respected as all other living beings. ... This is why we honor our ancestors and the objects they created. This honoring allows us to remember our past and the natural process of transformation—of breathing, living, dying and becoming one with the natural world. Not even in death are we unrelated (Naranjo 1995: 16).

In Aboriginal traditions, knowledge, like all other things needed by people, is a gift from the creator—not the result of luck, random accumulation, or cultural evolution: "If he was supposed to know about those bones, the Great Mystery would have told him" (Stolpe 1995: 59).

Oral History

Another fundamental difference between Indigenous and Western world views is the way in which information is kept—oral-based traditions vs. written traditions. There is not only a difference in media (e.g., paper, clay tablets, and computer disks in contrast to living memory), but in the social context of knowledge:

> The scientific way is an externalized process. It can be seen, it can be touched and it can be counted. The knowledge of "it" is documented and depending on what "it" is, may be important enough to register. "It" may not even be considered within its overall significance in the First Nations culture or within the boundaries of its landscape. The value of a site or object is determined usually in terms of scientific and not cultural historical value of the tribe. With an internalized process of value placement, the terms of conservation and preservation are different than those of the externalized process. With the internalized process there is attachment; with the externalized process there is detachment. When we

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[6] This is not to say that indigenous knowledge does not draw heavily upon empirical observation as well.

internalize our culture we are more apt to consider using "it" until it is no longer usable; when we externalize our culture it is easier to isolate sites or objects in glass cases or make monuments (J. Harris, pers. comm. 1993).

Central to oral history as an intellectual tradition is the concept that one does not merely possess information or knowledge, but accepts responsibility for it:

> The oral history, the crests, and the songs of a House are evidence, however, of something more than even its history, title, and authority. They represent also its spirit power, its *daxgyet* (DelgamUukw and GisdayWa 1989: 26).

> Native Americans and archaeologists are likely to have different standards of evidence. An archeologist, or National Register historian, will look for scientific or historical evidence to document the significance of a place. However, in traditional communities the elders or traditional leaders are the culture bearers whose words are historical truth. A group member does not ask a traditional leader to "prove it" (Parker 1993: 5).

> The name *ittarnisalirijiit...* could be translated as: those who deal with the distant past, the time of legends. It refers to the very essence of Inuit culture and implies an obligation to protect it (Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18).

Both oral history and written knowledge are important today in mainstream Western (First World) and Indigenous (Fourth World) cultures. Oral history—the transmission of knowledge and cultural values from person to person—is incorporated into traditional First Nations public records of census, political leadership, and history, and into professional training and personal history.[7] In industrialized societies, the oral tradition is still essential, especially in professional training, such as teachers practicums and doctors internships. In Canada today, writing is a vital part of governance and academia—it is essential to identification (e.g., signatures); it facilitates communication over long distances and long periods of time; and it is a way to record knowledge. It also makes knowledge and information accessible to large numbers of people. Writing externalizes information; it entrusts it to inanimate objects, such as paper, books, and computer disks. Writing systems are not just *used* by industrial societies, but are incorporated into the very fabric of that social system, central to administration, legal systems, governance, and public records. These social systems have developed sets of checks and balance for accuracy in written records.

Oral history in indigenous traditions is as integral to governance as writing is to industrialized societies, and also incorporates a system of checks and balances to establish and safeguard accuracy over long periods of time. Oral history does not externalize information, but entrusts it to people who internalize it. In Indigenous cultures, the listener or "witness" also has an important role; there are strict laws for witnessing at potlatches. Much knowledge in traditional Aboriginal oral history is considered to "belong" to the people who are responsible for taking care of it. It is not common property:

> Clan history is ritual knowledge, rarely shared legitimately with other clans, and much less so with non-Indians (Ferguson et al. 1995: 12).

> We make sure, when it comes to this kind of information, that the rights of dissemination and access remain with the families and remain with the elders. Our elders are not afraid of death. What they are afraid of is having their words and their things used wrong later on (Ann Renker, Makah Nation, cited in Parker 1990: 55).

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[7] The way that these oral traditions have continued in post-contact times, as "First Peoples have become Fourth Worlds"—nations within colonial states—is a complex topic, part of "the boat" that academic anthropology is missing (Ignace et al. 1993).

In Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en society the Chiefs are responsible for their part of the society's history and for knowledge of their particular territory. However, Chiefs are reluctant to answer questions about histories or places that properly belong to someone else. It is as if to speak of another's territory were to constitute a trespass. ... Each Chief tells his history in the living context of the knowledge in others' minds (DelgamUukw and GisdayWa 1989: 39).

Within the Western intellectual tradition, science is viewed as both a means and an end; knowledge is acquired in trust for humanity and for the betterment of humanity. Archaeologists consider the information and knowledge learned through its study of the past to be of value to all people, for it speaks of the richness of human diversity and promotes a better understanding of how culture works (e.g., documenting the effects of change on different aspects of a cultural system). In general, knowledge and information are considered to be common property.

The information that can be learned through archaeology is also of great value to First Nations. Archaeology and oral history are based on very different kinds of information, and because each has very different strengths, they can be complementary. Archaeology, for example, is based upon objective, empirical observation of material culture—those things made or modified by people—that represents an "unintentional record" of past human behavior. This information does reflect people's lives, but was never meant to represent them. Oral tradition, on the other hand, is an intentional record; it is a record of the knowledge and information that is considered important. Names, songs, and language, which are central to oral history, cannot be found in an archaeological site. Conversely, knowledge of what meals were eaten at a certain place over a period of time may not be important enough to be kept in oral history, but may leave a trace in the archaeological record—written in soil, bones, pollen and seeds.

BRIDGING INTELLECTUAL TRADITIONS

Elder presentations made it very clear that the root cause of Aboriginal dissatisfaction was disrespect, intentional or otherwise, for Aboriginal culture (Dunn 1991: 6).

Historically, the intellectual traditions of First Nations were dismissed because they did not meet Western standards of empirical proof, objectivity, reliability, and academic standards. In the Western world view, the oral history of all cultures (including its own) is considered personal accounts, or as "folklore" or "mythology." Oral history is considered a subjective and ephemeral form of knowledge: "Archaeologists have regarded traditional explanations as 'ignorant', thereby discrediting not just the explanation but also the entire world view in which it is entrenched. 'Ignorance' in this context connotes more than simply a lack of training in archaeological methods and theory; it connotes, rather, that the underlying assumptions about the nature of reality are false" (Hanna, Ch. 5). This attitude is still shared by the general public, who have long viewed ancient Aboriginal history a great mystery, a puzzle reachable only through the science of archaeology:

The term "prehistory" conveys to all people the deliberate impression that Indian historians have failed to create and hand down any form of legitimate record about human events dating back more than three or four centuries. From the perspective of popular attitudes, this has contributed to the devaluation of Native American intellectual traditions, and archaeologists have happily displaced Indian historians as experts on the ancient past (Echo-Hawk's (1993: 5).

However, this situation has not gone unchallenged by archaeologists (e.g., Hanna, Ch. 5). Indeed, Moss and Erlandson (1995: 35), speaking in terms of their own research area, see "collaborations between archaeologists and Native Americans as an imperative, a natural outgrowth of mutual interests and concerns, and a research avenue that may result in a variety of new views of Pacific Coast prehistory."

The Reliability and Objectivity of Oral History

> The absence of this sky lore in historical records of the American Indian of the Plains tells us how fragile is learning without the written word, and how quickly it can be lost forever (Eddy 1977: 146).[8]

> In our view, there should be no epistemological division between the study of prehistoric and historic societies. Instead, this "boundary" should be regarded as a continuous transition that leads to the living descendants of pre-contact groups. The combined effects of epidemic diseases and territorial dispossession wrought a devastation on Pacific Coast groups that can be described as an "American Holocaust" ... Archaeologists owe it to the survivors to help rewrite the history of the contact period (Moss and Erlandson 1995: 35).

The permanence of oral history is not dependent upon the survival of individual people, but on the process of succession of culture bearers. Tragedies of epidemics, environmental disasters, and assimilation policies have disrupted the succession for many Indigenous nations, resulting in the loss of traditional knowledge. This does not make oral history[9] any more fragile than written history. However, written history is dependent upon many things as well: who has writing skills; what records are considered important enough to store and protect; the will of dispassionate editors; the whims of revisionist historians; and upon succeeding generations being able to read and write, and upon the written media such as books, paper and computer disks surviving in legible forms.[10]

Traditional Aboriginal histories and intellectual traditions have also been marginalized by the perception of Western academic disciplines that history and anthropology are more objective. This assertion is related to the ideas that writing is more objective and reliable than oral accounts, and that someone within the study culture will be somehow more biased than an observer from another culture: "People will also say that Native American should not or cannot study their own culture because it's not objective or scientific, but no one is really objective" (TwoBears 1995: 5).

The degree of objectivity that history and archaeology can provide is ultimately very limited.[11] We can objectively determine that a set of words was written onto a piece of paper, and perhaps determine with reasonable confidence who wrote them and when, but the interpretation beyond that (i.e., of motives, truthfulness, accuracy) becomes subjective. We can also determine objectively that, on a certain day, an individual found and recorded an object of stone at a certain depth in a certain unit at a certain site; however, transferring these archaeological observations into knowledge about Aboriginal history is subjective:[12]

> Key concepts freely used in scholarly research, far from being objective tools of nomenclature and classification, are largely derived from a cultural tradition which uses an ethnocentric rather than objective or scientific conceptual framework for analyzing temporally-distant and/or cultural-distinct cultures (Konrad 1975: 177-178).

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[8] This area of research recognizes the complexity of traditional intellectual knowledge, but ascribes its loss to inherent weakness, without reference to epidemics and forced assimilation.

[9] Indigenous lifeviews view the link between the spiritual world and that of the living as capable of overcoming "lost knowledge"—that it is not necessarily "lost forever" (see Stolpe 1995: 59).

[10] This is an interesting area of discussion, with practical implications for First Nations cultural centres and education programs, but the assertion that written history is "better" and more reliable than oral history is a "red herring" and not a useful foundation for building working relationships.

[11] See Hanna, Ch. 5; also Layton ([ed.] 1989a, b) for more extensive discussion about objectivity and bridging intellectual traditions.

[12] Which is not to say that it is not useful, but it is very shaky ground upon which to assert superiority over oral history. [Many practitioners of the discipline not only recognize this problem, but are actively working to bypass it through postprocessual and other approaches—Editors]

Archaeologists themselves have been influenced in their interpretation by the received wisdom of their times, both in the sort of classificatory schemes which they consider appropriate to their subject, and in the way that their dating of materials is affected by their assumptions about the capabilities of the humans concerned (Ucko 1989b: xii).

The interpretation of negative data (e.g., the absence of sites in an area or the absence of a certain type of data at a site or a certain level of a site), which is liable to conjecture, is another form of subjective interpretation. Another oft-neglected factor is the subjective choice of research goals, which generally reflect Western perspectives and cultural theory. The "reconstruction" or construction" of the past is strongly influenced by the research goals, perhaps even more so than by the actual material recovered:

Much of the evidence that archaeologists use to reconstruct the past is the product of cultures whose values differ from those of the West, but it is through those [Western] values that the significance of much archaeological evidence is constituted (Layton 1989a: 18).

Perhaps the most pervasive theme of this book [*Conflict in the Archaeology of Living Traditions*] is the extent to which outsiders research interests fail to match the concerns of Indigenous communities (Layton 1989a: 12).

Historical documents are very useful, but the notion that they are automatically objective records of culture is tenuous. First Nations people are likely to see oral history as being a more accurate reflection of their history than the diary of someone who stepped off a boat in their neighbourhood for a few days, no matter how extraordinary an accomplishment it was that he got there.

The concepts and data upon which archaeological research is silent have as great an effect on public perception of Aboriginal culture as the information that it provides. For example, archaeological theory regarding people's relationship to land often focuses upon subsistence technology and resource use, but tends to be silent about other equally important topics, such as spirituality, links of family and name, conservation practices, as well as on stewardship, ownership, or resource management jurisdiction. Such a pattern is generally due to the limitations of archaeological data as archaeological methods are not well-suited to studying Native spirituality and other ideologies and behaviors that are poorly represented or absent in the archaeological record. Despite these limitations, archaeologists need to address all aspects of past Native culture, including those that are not well-preserved, and to recognize that many dimensions of aboriginal life have not been adequately addressed.

Finally, it must be recognized that archaeology can never be a totally "objective" study of culture, being "biased" by the limitations of the data and theories that frame the research questions. When non-archaeologists perceive archaeological research to be objective and comprehensive, their use of the research results can lead to misunderstanding about Aboriginal culture.

Ethics

Additional differences between Western and Aboriginal cultures are reflected in the ethics and practice of their intellectual traditions. These are important factors in the discussions between archaeologists and Aboriginal culture-bearers: "Indigenous people "belabored" the general concept of respect in the [World Archaeological Congress, Vermillion] accord whereas the archaeologists tended to do likewise with the detail of each statement. We do not know exactly what this means except that the groups are still communicating on different levels about issues. This should cue both groups to significant problems that may remain unresolved' (Zimmerman and Bruguier 1994: 7). Both intellectual traditions believe that knowledge is a trust—that they are responsible for the protection of the knowledge itself, and that they have a responsibility to prevent its misuse. The specific ethical principles relating to the protection of knowledge are very different in Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal lifeways because of the social differences stemming from externalized knowledge and internalized knowledge. For example, Western intellectual traditions believe that the body of all human knowledge should be the property of all humanity, and that there are specific ethical beliefs relating to responsibility to the data itself: e.g., do not fictionalize

data; do not be influenced by what one wants to find but accurately report what one does find; work to disseminate the research as widely as possible; do not plagiarize or take credit for others' work. Archaeologists must be also recognize an ethical responsibility for the unanticipated consequences of their work. As Layton (1989a: 8) notes, "Wherever archaeological theories become used to justify policy, it is equally essential to look again at the assumptions that underpin them and ask whether they are used to promote injustice."

Conversely, the ethics of indigenous knowledge include ensuring that knowledge is remembered accurately, spoken at the appropriate times and places, and entrusted to a successor who accepts responsibility for all it relates to. Greaves (1994: ix) observes that, "The most urgent reason to establish that control [over cultural knowledge] is to preserve meaning and due honor for elements of cultural knowledge and to insure that these traditional universes, and their peoples, maintain their vitality."

Words, Words, Words

Cross-cultural communication requires specialized skills. Words convey a society's world view, making communication about Aboriginal culture in a Non-Aboriginal language problematic. Just as there may be no Aboriginal concepts to match such English words as "ownership" or "resource," there are often Aboriginal concepts without English equivalents. English words can carry connotations contrary to the meaning of the Aboriginal concept they may be discussing. For example, Aboriginal people can speak of *resources*, meaning the plants and animals and land and air and everything on and in them, but without meaning that their purpose in existing is to be used or exploited. Likewise, Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people may know that they are talking about the same thing, while their *relationship to it* can be very different. The distinction between *cultural* and *natural resources* may thus be meaningless in an Aboriginal world view: the terms "traditional cultural properties and historic properties [are] also offensive to some American Indians who dislike the implication that places of cultural, historic, ancestral, and spiritual value are "property," presumably to be bought and sold" (Parker 1993: 3).

Categorizing cultures by "subsistence base" (e.g., hunter-gatherer, horticulturist) may also imply that resource use is the main relationship of people and land or environment. Words carry connotations of theories and stereotypes, emphasize the different values and perspectives on the past, and may be very emotive. The choice of words can imply causation or blame. There is, for example, a significant difference between describing the loss of knowledge from oral tradition as a result of *a population decline* or *an "American Holocaust"* (Stannard 1992; Thornton 1987, both as referenced by Moss and Erlandson 1995: 35).

Many English words about culture and knowledge are clearly value-laden—*primitive, simple, prehistoric, civilized, barbaric, band, tribe, literate, illiterate, preliterate-adapted, evolved, developed, ritual, folklore, myth, legend*, and *custom.* Such terms often carry connotations of "cultural evolution," the superiority of writing systems, the values of technological progress (e.g., savage is the opposite of civilized, which means cities, writing, agriculture, etc.) and the "white man's burden." Likewise, while the term *prehistory* has a technical meaning, referring to time periods for which there are no written records (which would be all times before European contact for most Aboriginal cultures), it resonates with many negative connotations. It carries the rejection of Aboriginal oral histories by Western academic traditions; the difficulties in having Aboriginal oral histories accepted by Canadian society and its court system; and the dismissal of post-contact history as "tainted"—no longer authentic and traditional, and therefore not a valid area of study. The emotive connotations of such terms (and especially of jargon) may be invisible to an archaeologist. Many words given a "technical" meaning, separate from the emotive connotations of "common English," may still carry assumptions and stereotypes, and can be perceived by many Aboriginal people as disrespectful. This can make communicating across cultures about culture very emotive. It is difficult but essential to work past the connotations and value judgments implicit in many words to build a constructive and shared vocabulary about culture. This can be very frustrating—communicating can seem hopeless when its hard to agree even on definitions. However, talking about words and definitions is itself important communication.

Beyond the words themselves, discourse varies between languages and world views. Bridges must be found between oral history, professional archaeological reports, and academic writing. In verbal communication, protocol and the pace of talking (including "meaningful pauses") can

easily be misunderstood. In the context of archaeological resource management, the various protocols of the business world and of the provincial and First Nations bureaucracies are included in the discourse.

ARCHAEOLOGY AND ABORIGINAL/NON-ABORIGINAL RELATIONS

Archaeology and anthropology are, and have historically been, part of the relationship between Aboriginal and Non-Aboriginal people in British Columbia, and have influenced both the development of public policy that affects First Nations and the public perception of Aboriginal cultures and history. Certainly many policies have been developed without reference to anthropological theory, but some of the assumptions used by decision-makers have been shared by social sciences: "...until very recent times, archaeology, anthropology, and most government policies fostered the assumption that Aboriginal people were, or soon would be, extinct by virtue of natural death of assimilation" (Dunn 1991: 10).

Generally, anthropology makes ethnographic or archaeological information about indigenous cultures available to non-Indigenous peoples. In addition, anthropologists and archaeologists may have limited control over the impacts of their work. Such factors may result in the misuse or inappropriate application of anthropological information. As Young Man (1992: 91) notes,

> Anthropological theories may be compared to the automobiles of a car salesman—with one major difference. When a care salesman sells you a new vehicle and the car turns out to be faulty, the written warranty guarantees a quick, worry-free recall and settlement of the grievance. Anthropological theories, on the other hand, have no warranties and they cannot be recalled, ever, if they are not true. Once they are unleashed upon an unsuspecting public they take on a life of their own and cannot be called back for readjustment when or if they turn out to be lemons.

Misunderstanding of culture in general, and of specific aspects of the many different Aboriginal cultures in British Columbia and Canada, has led to inappropriate and discriminatory public policy, which has caused suffering and great hardship for First Nations people and communities. Some of the serious grievances that remain between Aboriginal people and the social sciences relate to the legacy of such concepts as *cultural evolution*, *unilinear evolution*, *pure cultures*, and *unidirectional cultural change* (e.g., European cultures changed Indigenous cultures dramatically, but were themselves unaffected in any substantial way by the contact). These theories were subjective—based largely on the "received wisdom of their times" (Ucko 19891: xii) and less on objective empirical data and scientific study—and have left a lasting impression.

Ethnographic and archaeological information, as well as theories about how and why cultures change, continue to influence public perception of contemporary Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations. Theories and assumptions relating to cultural evolution, in particular, have made a strong impression on people's perception of "how we got to where we are today," which affects their willingness to address outstanding issues. The values associated with these assumptions are still very strongly held:

> ...my friend was essentially blaming the Indians themselves for what befell them. They failed to adapt their lifestyle and belief systems to keep up with changing times. Most importantly, they failed to keep up with technological change, they were not competitive. This statement reflects a Darwinist, capitalist outlook of survival of the fittest, with fitness now defined in terms of technological capability. If you can use the machine better than the next fellow or the next culture, you survive and they die. This may be sad, the reasoning goes, but that's the way it is in today's world (Mander 1991: 209).

This reasoning minimizes the complexity of colonization and post-contact history to a simple question of "technological capacity," ignoring the dynamics of epidemics, war, displacement, loss of resources, economic marginalization, and policies of forced assimilation.

In this context, any differences between anthropological and indigenous intellectual traditions will be magnified. Anthropologists are facing a legacy of mistrust in Indigenous communities resulting from misuse of anthropological interpretation and anthropological research which is distasteful to Native people. As Echo-Hawk (1993: 5) notes, "Physical anthropologists—close colleagues of archaeologists—have exacerbated this situation by devoting great energy (up to World War II) in an embarrassing quest to develop scientific proof for Indian intellectual inferiority. This racist history cannot be ignored by Native Americans."

Anthropologists who chose racist research questions do not represent the discipline of anthropology or physical anthropology; there have been individual anthropologists, *including* physical anthropologists, who have devoted much of their energies to challenging racist theories and to developing culturally appropriate solutions. However, the discipline's reputation may rest upon its efforts to address past issues:

> Nineteenth century cultural evolutionism provides the intellectual justification for the existing rationale regarding the legitimate disposition of underlying title in law. In this sense, it is 19th century evolutionism that lies behind how the law [today] designates the ultimate authority over cultural property. As we now reject 19th century unilinear evolutionism in our own practice, it is useful to ask what contemporary theory might say about underlying title and hence about how to determine the legitimate ownership of cultural property (Asch, Ch. 20).

The working relationship between archaeologists and First Nations is strained because anthropological theories and archaeological interpretation have been used as evidence in court against First Nations communities. The development and implementation of policy to determine contemporary Aboriginal rights, on the basis of what is accepted as authentic traditional practices or activities, will draw upon archaeological interpretation. Since this policy area will greatly affect First Nations, it will also influence the development of working relationships between archaeologists and First Nations

Because cultural evolution was long seen as unilinear, and European culture assumed to be the end product of progress, First Nations' contact with European culture was believed to lead inevitably to assimilation. In addition, because assimilation was seen as inevitable, post-contact cultures were not considered "authentic," and therefore not worthy of academic study. Public perceptions of what constitutes legitimate Aboriginal rights are influenced by the perceived end of authentic Aboriginal culture at the time of contact. The division between prehistoric and historic research has fed this perception. Moss and Erlandson (1995: 35) challenge this notion:

> In our view, there should be no epistemological division between the study of prehistoric and historic societies. Instead, this "boundary" should be regarded as a continuous transition that leads to the living descendants of the pre-contact groups. The combined effects of epidemic diseases and territorial dispossession wrought a devastation on Pacific Coast groups that can be described as an "American Holocaust" (Thornton 1987; Stannard 1992). Archaeologists owe it to the survivors to help rewrite the history of the contact period. We view collaboration between archaeologists and Native Americans as an imperative, a natural outgrowth of mutual interests and concerns, and a research avenue that may result in a variety of new views of Pacific Coast prehistory.

Anthropologists and archaeologists testified at the landmark case of *Delgamuukw vs. the Attorney General* (British Columbia Supreme Court 1991) and its subsequent appeal (British Columbia Court of Appeal 1993). In the trial decision (British Columbia Supreme Court 1991: ix), Judge McEachern decided that any Aboriginal rights that may have existed before contact were extinguished by the British colonial government. In the appeal decision (British Columbia Court of Appeal 1993: 17), Judge McFarlane decided that Aboriginal rights were not completely extinguished, and now enjoy constitutional protection, but "could be impaired, diminished or extinguished by a valid exercise of governmental power." While Aboriginal rights are not yet legally defined, a key question is whether contemporary activities were in practice at the time of contact.

Many of the ideas about culture applied in the *Delgamuukw* trial decision are very different

from currently accepted anthropological principles (Asch 1991). Looking at the same case, the opening statement shows the influence of archaeological theory upon public perceptions of First Naions' history:

1. The last Great Ice Age, which lasted many thousands of years, covered nearly all of British Columbia. It ended about 10,000 years ago.
2. The origins of the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en and other Aboriginal peoples of the northwest part of the province are unknown. It is generally believed they migrated here from Asia.
3. There is archaeological evidence of human habitation in the territory as long as 3,000 to 6,000 years ago. This is limited to village sites both at the coast at Prince Rupert Harbour and at a few locations alongside the Skeena and Bulkley Rivers. The evidence does not establish who those early inhabitants (or visitors) were (British Columbia Supreme Court 1991: vii).

Today, archaeologists may find themselves placed into the role of experts on ancient Indigenous cultures (and therefore authorities on authentic contemporary traditional cultural practices) by mainstream Canadian society. Statements by archaeologists, such as "Most of human history is preserved only in archaeological sites. Written accounts of human actives are rare and recent when viewed against the entire time span of human evolution" (Weisman 1993: 1) or "If the archaeology is not done, the ancient people remain without a history" (Meighan 1994: 64, 66), discount indigenous knowledge and reinforce certain perceptions. Certainly, anthropology and archaeology do not enjoy unquestioned acceptance (British Columbia Supreme Court 1991), but have as academic disciplines more credibility than traditional Indigenous knowledge does.

As archaeologists skills are based upon interpreting material culture, they have difficulty speaking with any certainty about those aspects of ancient times that do not leave traces in the archaeological record. Some archaeologists may regard with suspicion any ancient knowledge unsubstantiated by the archaeological record. The mutual suspicion of many archaeologists and Indigenous cultural leaders will likely be shared by the public and magnified in the Canadian legal system, which is adversarial in nature and has difficulty in accepting or accommodating multiple perspectives.

The mistrust that permeates Aboriginal/non-Aboriginal relations in British Columbia sets the tone for relations between archaeologists and First Nations, especially during resource management projects, but also in academic research projects. There is the perception that heritage is a tool that can be used by Aboriginal people for economic and political gain. There are considerable fears that the labeling of places as "archaeological sites," as well as the processes of archaeological resource management, will be used by First Nations and to prevent development. However, the introduction of politics into this is not something Aboriginal people instigated: culture, anthropology, archaeology, and science have all been used as tools against Aboriginal peoples and governments. Political power games, played without respect to any of the people or cultural concerns at stake, will likely continue to complicate matters; conversely, some aspects of the problems we face may only be solvable through political change or pressure.

Archaeological work has the potential for positive changes. It can, for example, help Canadian society and Aboriginal communities discuss the credibility of oral, written, and archaeological history (see Harris, Ch. 12; Ignace et al. 1993: 167); it can provide insight into the cultural and natural history of the province, which can be used to develop more appropriate policies and contribute to more informed resource management decisions. (In the broader context of post-contact history, however, offering the "benefits" of archaeology to First Peoples is reminiscent of other offers of "Western civilization." Such an offer is thus unlikely to be accepted unless *respect* for Aboriginal traditions is practiced, not just spoken of).

Archaeology and Land Management/Resource Management

Recent changes in the British Columbia government's approach to land and resource management illustrate the larger context within which the relationship between archaeology and First Nations is taking place. There is an increased effort by the provincial government to balance economic and other values, with increased emphasis on attaining sustainability. In response to its own environmental concerns, and to public pressure about environmental issues in general, the

province recently passed new legislation, such as the *Forestry Practices Act* and the *Forestry Practices Code of British Columbia*, and created new planning processes, including the Commission on Resources and the Environment (CORE),[13] and the Land and Resource Management Planning (LRMP) tables. Ministries are also working towards sharing inventories and developing standard formats for information about provincial resources to better integrate resource management.

Provincial bureaucracy is not well-suited to addressing First Nations concerns about *resources*; the basic philosophies guiding resource management are very different from First Nations' world views. Resource management processes in British Columbia, for example, distinguish between the archaeological values and "traditional use" values of places. Many places that are "archaeological sites" also have a multiplicity of other values to First Nations. The provincial government has a legal obligation to consider archaeological values under the *Heritage Conservation Act*.[14] The provincial government also has a legal obligation, arising from the *Delgamuukw Appeal Decision* (British Columbia Court of Appeal 1993) to avoid infringing Aboriginal rights,[15] which are linked to site-specific, on-going, traditional land use (Aboriginal rights are not legally defined). It is these changes in legal obligations that have produced the greatest awareness within the provincial bureaucracy about First Nations' cultural values, as well as the need for cultural interpreters. Treaty Negotiations and the recent signing of the *Nisga'a Agreement in Principle*, as well as the legal recognition of Aboriginal rights and the court's demand that the British Columbia government attempt to avoid infringement of Aboriginal rights, are all having dramatic changes on land and resource management, just as Native claims in the Northwest territories are having (see Andrews et al., Ch 17). Traditional use studies are being recognized as an important tool for avoiding infringement.

Inside and outside of treaty negotiations, several First Nations are demanding more control over the natural and cultural resources in their territories, including jurisdiction of archaeological resources. Within the treaty negotiations, this is legally possible (see Andrews et al., Ch. 17, regarding the *Nunavut Final Agreement*), and many First Nations have or are developing their own heritage permits or protocols (see Yellowhorn, Ch. 19). Many also want control of hiring archaeologists to work in their area.

The Archaeological Consulting Process

Archaeological Resource Management is a process through which various considerations regarding the value of archaeological information are incorporated into land and resource management decisions.[16] Most archaeological projects in British Columbia are part of a development approval process. The developer hires an archaeologist who must get a permit from the Archaeology Branch in the British Columbia government. Archaeological Impact Assessments (AIAs) are designed to provide information to meet the legal obligations of the *Heritage Conservation Act*. AIAs do not inventory knowledge of past or present land use, and so are inadequate tools for meeting the obligations of the *Delgamuukw Appeal Decision*.

Archaeologists in British Columbia are not required as a condition of their provincial permit to consult with First Nations regarding any of their other concerns, although this is another service that could be offered. The consultation is not a question of asking people, "where do you think the sites are?," but rather one of values and methodology. Archaeologists are not required as a condition of their provincial permit to consult with First Nations regarding other First Nation's concerns, although this is another service they could provide.

Many First Nation representatives articulate their concerns about archaeological data clearly and forcefully. Some have stated that all archaeological sites in their traditional territories are

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[13] CORE's results have been extremely controversial.

[14] This act has been recently amended: fines are dramatically increased and legislation is binding on the provincial government.

[15] The appeal decision rejected the "blanket extinguishment" of Aboriginal rights; the determination of continuing Aboriginal rights (to the court's satisfaction where necessary) is a complicated issue that will affect archaeology dramatically.

[16] See Apland (1993) for discussion of Archaeological Resource Management in British Columbia before the 1994 *Heritage Conservation Act* was amended.

highly significant. If a First Nation has not yet determined the research questions that they would like archaeology to help them address, it is difficult for them to be certain that any specific site or site type does not have information that will be essential to answering those questions. The professional discipline of archaeology has had decades to determine what are its important research questions (e.g., establishing regional typologies), and its criteria for significance (e.g., "internal stratification and depth") accordingly. It is unlikely that First Nations, who have a great need for detailed, site-specific information for their traditional territories, will have either the same research questions or the same criteria for determining significance. In light of the extent of archaeological information already lost (particularly in "desirable" and resource-rich locations), they may consider all remaining sites are important.

Given the complexity of Aboriginal cultural concerns and the growing recognition of the need for cultural interpreters in the whole sphere of land and resource management in British Columbia, archaeologists are increasing finding themselves in the difficult position of facing very different or conflicting expectations from bands, tribal councils, developers, and resource management agencies. They may be perceived by non-Native people as the real experts of Aboriginal culture, since oral history is seen as unreliable, and information provided by First Nations is considered biased. They may be seen by others as advocates for First Nations, or as having an "anti-development" bias. They may also be viewed by First Nations as allies of the developer, or as being more interested in payment than in archaeological values (Woodall 1994). Further complicating this situation is the limited control consulting archaeologists have over where work is available, and thus which communities they work in. This limits the ability of individual consultants to be proactive in developing longer-term working relationships with individual communities or First Nations.

There are different perceptions of the role of archaeological consultants. Archaeologists generally consider their expertise is in interpreting culture through the study of material culture, and that their goal as consultants is to provide information required by others to make informed decisions regarding the management of archaeological resources. However, they may also be expected to act as a mediator, intermediary, negotiator, or as a representative of the developer. These expectations are usually beyond the consultant's training and expertise, and often not part of the role that they chose for themselves. In addition, consulting with the First Nations about their archaeological concerns is an integral part of Archaeological Resource Management; in this context, consultants are generally expected to consult on much broader issues beyond those related to archaeological information.

Unfortunately, the consultations required as part of the archaeologists permit may be the only consultation with First Nations planned for the entire project. Particularly in this circumstance, First Nations representatives may expect archaeologists to communicate all these concerns to their client; they may also request these concerns be included in the permit reports for fear that the developer or resource management agency will accord them less weight than if communicated verbally or by letter. If First Nations representatives do not feel that consultants are communicating their cultural concerns to the resource management agency, it may be seen as an indication that archaeologists do not accept these concerns as valid. First Nations often feel that their most important concerns are not addressed by this process. Such different perspectives and expectations can greatly hinder the development of effective working relationships.

There are many consequences of this misunderstanding. If archaeologists are perceived as *the* objective cultural experts, First Nations cultural leaders and cultural concerns may be perceived to be biased and consequently ignored; genuine concerns may be dismissed as political posturing; and political concerns may be pushed in a cultural arena. Mitigation of project impacts for archaeological values is often inappropriate and ineffective for other cultural concerns. People in natural resource management agencies, who have access to archaeological reports but may have not spoken with the archaeologists, may assume that such work addresses more consultation or a broader range of cultural concerns than it was intended to or is capable of. While some provincial agencies are seriously attempting to establish working relationships and consult directly with First Nations, others consider the legal obligations of the *Delgamuukw Appeal Decision* to be much narrower.

Existing Aboriginal rights may not be recognized, particularly if misunderstanding of the role and expertise of consulting archaeologists leads to attempts to use archaeological reports to deter-

mine the Aboriginal rights in the study area. This misuse of archaeological reports would turn them into a factor that could limit people's Aboriginal rights. This possibility exists regardless of the archaeologist's intent. In this context, the interpretation of negative information (i.e., where no sites were found) thus becomes critical. While there may be a variety of reasons why sites were not found, non-archaeologists may easily misinterpret the report as evidence that there never were archaeological sites in those places, therefore there no traditional use of the area, and thus no existing Aboriginal rights. This possibility is an immediate concern for First Nations, and is more likely to happen in situations where relationships between First Nations and resource management agencies or developers are strained. It is less likely to happen if the archaeological reports state clearly that the information provided addresses the obligations of the *Heritage Conservation Act* only and is not sufficient to determine Aboriginal rights.

Consulting with the First Nations about their archaeological concerns, as required by provincial permit, may thus be a difficult process that reflects the complicated relationships between different First Nations, and between First Nations and the provincial and federal governments. The fact that the majority of British Columbia is not covered by treaties affects consultations, as well. Another complication is that there is a great diversity among First Nations in British Columbia, with over 200 federally recognized bands and 30 federally recognized tribal councils. In some communities, there is considerable controversy regarding the representation for the nation or community. In Canada, *bands* and *tribes* are terms that have legal definitions apart from their anthropological ones. Bands and tribal councils are legal creations of the federal government, and defined in the *Indian Act*; they are not automatically the social or political heirs to the pre-contact, self-governing sovereign nations. Nor does the federally controlled system for determining band membership equate to traditional citizenship or ethnicity. Band and tribal councils are elected bodies, legally sanctioned through the *Indian Act*. Hereditary leaders are often also elected councilors. Some Aboriginal people do not consider band councils to be legitimate representatives for their community, as they were created by the *Indian Act*.

In no way can a single protocol or approach be relevant and respectful for the many groups in the province. The cultural leadership and political leadership are not necessarily the same. Political leaders may not have the cultural training nor information for some of the decisions required of them:

> ...on one level ... you have cultural leaders coming out [on repatriation and reburial]. And then on a separate level you have the contention between the political leaders of the tribe and their desire to move forward on repatriation issues, their hesitance to become the primary force in the repatriation process. ...In other works, that is almost a church and state distinction looming in the background—partly a carryover, I think, from western civilization. And it could blow up in the long run in we don't take into account that the political leadership may differ vastly from the religious leadership (Vincenti 1995: 23).

Although this quotation doesn't refer to British Columbia, similar sentiments have been expressed here.

Since the *Delgamuukw Appeal Decision* was given and the British Columbia government began to develop policy to provide guidance for avoiding infringement of Aboriginal rights, many provincial resource management agencies have been trying to consult with, or elicit comments from, First Nations. As a result, band councils often receive more mail, referrals, and requests than they can address, creating a bottleneck that affects the consultation process.

Finally, First Nation's world views make it difficult to categorize concerns about the loss of or damage to important places into "natural" vs. "cultural" values. Indigenous people often articulate cultural issues more easily than archaeological ones. Since the interpretation of archaeological information, especially negative information, has political implications for First Nations, their concerns may be expressed in reference to political concerns. This does not mean that these concerns are not legitimate or even that they are not cultural. Stating the political implications is not antithetical to holding cultural concerns very strongly.

BUILDING BETTER RELATIONSHIPS

As there are many people who have been working towards better relationships, there are many ideas for bridge building to explore. Some of these include:

• *Treat each other like people*. This is good advice from Ron Hamilton (1994). In my mind, this includes the people you are consulting with (e.g., archaeologists or First Nations representatives), and the members of one's own community (e.g., other archaeologists, other members of your band).

• *Foster mutual respect and understanding*. We need to listen (and talk) more: Aboriginal participants at the Aboriginal Archaeological Heritage Symposium viewed "mutual understanding and respect as preconditions for any permanent solutions" (Dunn 1991: 8). It is not necessary to invalidate one's own values in order to accept that others are equally valid—the anthropological premise of *cultural relativity*; neither is it necessary to invalidate others for one's own to be valid.

• *Recognize one another*. A simple step would be for First Nations to recognize that archaeologists saw value in Native histories and cultures during times when few non-Natives did, although this does not mean that First Nations see archaeologists as the experts of their cultures. Similarly, archaeologists can recognize oral history and traditional knowledge as valid, without having to figure out beforehand how they relate to archaeological theory.

• *Treat yourself as a person too*. Prepare yourself (mentally, emotionally, spiritually, psychologically—whatever is appropriate for you) for the frustration and emotionally charged nature of the present situation, which could conceivably continue for some time.

• *Look at the strengths of traditional cultural professions from both world views*. Just as Native people are interested in learning to document culture with anthropological and archaeological tools, archaeologists may find valuable understanding and appropriate tools in such traditional Aboriginal roles such as witnesses. Building upon Aboriginal concepts of oral history, it is people who are the carriers and keepers of history, culture, language and world views. When you are told information or entrusted with knowledge, you are expected to accept responsibility for that knowledge, something books and photos cannot do. Accepting responsibility to remember and pass on information is also an essential part of cultural interpretation, just as keeping accurate field notes and submitting permit reports are essential parts of archaeological consulting (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8; Nicholas, Ch. 6).

• *Create places or organizations where First Nations can take concerns regarding archaeological consulting*. The Canadian Archaeological Association Committee on Aboriginal Heritage, the annual British Columbia Archaeology Forums, the Society for American Archaeology, and the World Archaeological Congress have all listened to concerns from First Nations (Hanna, Ch. 5; Nicholas, Ch. 6; Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18; Moss and Erlandson 1995 (Layton [ed.] 1989a, b; Zimmerman and Brugier 1994).

• *Ensure that relevant material is cared for*. An apparent trend in British Columbia archaeology is the reduction in material being collected during archaeological resource management studies. This seems to be a response to ethical concerns raised by First Nations about control of collections and repatriation. While this approach may reduce some of the immediate conflict, in the long run it may be doing a disservice to both First Nations and the discipline of archaeology. First Nations may be better served by more clearly articulating research goals, for which archaeology may provide information; by communicating these goals to archaeologists who work in their territories; and by working towards having these data collected and analyzed when possible. Faunal material (animal bones, shell) has the potential to provide very useful information (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8).

• *Question assumptions that have become the basis for policies*. Concepts such as the validity of oral history, post-contact cultural continuity, and the depth of traditional ecological knowledge all challenge assumptions underlying the past relationship between the province of British Columbia and Aboriginal people. Many other professions, (e.g., educators, museum staff, land surveyors, health care professionals, social workers) are being asked (and some are asking themselves) to do the same thing (Asch, Ch 20; Dyck and Waldram 1993; Task Force on Museums and First Peoples 1992).

• *Develop better cross-cultural communications skills; listen better.* Respect is essential. So is patience. Since English is inadequate for many concepts in First Nations' world views, it may be difficult for non-Native language speakers to learn these concepts. Archaeologists should be aware of the value-laden words which they use, and sometimes Aboriginal people need to look beyond the connotations of some words to hear what people are trying to communicate. Communicate to Aboriginal community members, as well as community leaders. Communicate to non-archaeologists clearly. Be very clear about what are data and what is theory.

• *Clarify the role of archaeological consultant to First Nations and to clients.* Consulting archaeologists may encourage clients and resource management agencies to be aware of the First Nations' concerns, and to have a consultation process in place aside from the one required by the archaeologist's permit. While archaeologists are not legally or even ethically responsible if their client is negligent in this area, they could be "tarred by the same brush." Be aware of the possibility of misuse of reports. Consider steps to dissuade that misuse. Understand the potential impact on Aboriginal people today of the interpretation of archaeological record. Archaeologists are now asked to be responsible to both academic discipline and to the First Nations and Aboriginal people whom their work affects.

CONCLUSIONS

The number of dramatic changes to provincial land and resource management approaches recently has led to high levels of frustration, and a sense of urgency. The potential for archaeological resource management projects to become ensnared in frustration and mistrust is very high. Mistrust and frustration make communication much more difficult. Massive changes are required, and some have already begun. Many problems are currently lacking clear solutions. However, improved communication and relationships between Aboriginal people and communities with archaeologists holds promise for a greater understanding of culture and history for everyone. Long-term protection of archaeological sites requires better cross-cultural communication about culture, time, and values, not only between Aboriginal people and archaeologists, but also with the general public and with those who make decisions regarding the use of land and resources.

It is important to be visionary—to look beyond the current circumstances and processes —when developing working relationships. It is also crucial to be flexible, as it is very difficult to predict the direction of change over a long time. Change is driven, in part, by outside events, such as court decisions or changing provincial government or band governments. It is people, nonetheless, who are the touchstones of change, not institutions.

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4   Increasing Awareness and Involvement of Aboriginal People in their Heritage Preservation: Recent Developments at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

E. Leigh Syms

Within cultural resource management, efforts to balance preservation and analysis of the archaeological record with the needs and desires of First Nations are currently in a state of transition. Few Native people are aware of the issues and even fewer are training to address them. Historically, archaeologists themselves have not been trained to address the issues and subsequently have left a legacy of decades of ineffective communication with Native communities.

The involvement of First Nations members in the management of archaeological resources has been accompanied by, among other things: the changing attitudes of some non-Native archaeologists; the emergence of a diversity of Aboriginal views which are undergoing change; a variety of stereotypes (many of which are incorrect); various levels of legislative responsibilities; cross-cultural differences; and variations in language, perceptions, and concepts. It is even debatable whether we should even be using the term *cultural resource management* for archaeological resources since *resource management* implies choices, analytical and evaluative arbitrariness, and the selection of some resouces at the expense of others. In addition, at least some Aboriginal people would argue that archaeological resources are part of First Nations heritage and, as such, have an importance that cannot be arbitrarily assessed and rejected (Eva Linklater, pers. comm. 1992). Therefore, we may need to start the discussions by distinguishing between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal heritage preservation.

Current developments in dealing with the ancient Aboriginal heritage preservation vary from jurisdiction to jurisdiction and from institution to institution. Museums have played a particularly active role because they are the repositories of large numbers of Aboriginal items and, as public repositories, have had to respond to public requests and public issues more than other institutions such as universities. It is no surprise that the first broadly consultative Canadian task force on partnerships with First Peoples was the Task Force Report on Museums and First Peoples (Hill and Nicks 1992); protests to the *Spirit Sings* exhibit quickly brought the issues to the forefront. The staff at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature have been very invclved over the last several years with various individuals and organizations in the Aboriginal communities to develop dialogue and linkages, and to build awareness and Native involvement in Native heritage and the "management"of these resources. This paper discusses some recent developments in Manitoba with an emphasis upon the archaeological record, namely that associated with the more ancient Native heritage.

THE MANITOBA SCENARIO

In Manitoba, as elsewhere in Canada, Native communities are being provided with the responsibility and opportunity to develop their archaeological heritage at a rapid rate. A number of reserves are completing multi-million dollar compensation agreements with Manitoba Hydro for flood damages, for example, some of which include the development of cultural centres with museological interpretive components. Other reserves have done, or are doing, feasibility studies for developing cultural centres as repositories and interpretive centres to re-introduce community pride in their heritage (e.g., Sagkeeng First Nation) and to bring tourism funds into the community (e.g., Brokenhead First Nation). Increasing amounts of land are also coming under Aboriginal jurisdiction as new reserves are being created and existing reserves are negotiating expanded resource rights beyond their reserve boundaries, while the Métis peoples are still involved with court battles for compensation for the loss of earlier lands. Manitoba has been chosen as the pilot

study by Indian Affairs to establish Native self-government. This latter process has already begun and it has major implications regarding responsibility for Aboriginal heritage preservation, both ancient (oral traditions and archaeology) and recent.

Legislative support or guidance for these changes is limited at present. The *Manitoba Heritage Protection Act* is being enforced or implemented without much support or enthusiasm. Unlike the United States and many other industrial nations, Canada, for a variety of reasons, has no federal heritage legislation (see Burley 1994 and responses). This lack of federal legislation means that there is no leverage to hold the province accountable for bilaterally funded projects, no precedents for the provincial politicians to become used to funding large scale mitigation projects, and no heritage legislation for federal lands, including reserves. The declaration of the new *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act* (and accompanying Regulations) in 1994 (Canada Gazette 1994) does include archaeological resources, but its power and usefulness are, as yet, unknown. Future discussions between archaeologists and Native peoples, and future moves to Aboriginal self-government and responsibility for their heritage, will be hampered by the lack of a background of strong and straight-forward legislation.

In order for archaeologists to develop linkages with the Native community, it is necessary to be able to identify the many different Native interest groups who may be involved. These groups include elders and band councils; elementary, junior high school and university classes; municipal, provincial, and federal organizations; cultural associations; and training groups (Syms 1993). In Manitoba alone there are 61 reserve communities; a large number of non-status and Métis communities; seven tribal councils (e.g., the Northeast Tribal Council); The Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs; regional groups of chiefs such as the Manitoba Keetwatinowi Okimakanak (MKO), which represents 25 northern reserves; and numerous urban groups such as the Winnipeg Aboriginal Women's Association, the Manitoba Indian Education Association, and the Manitoba Association of Native Languages. There are many different cultural groups represented, including the Dakota, Lakota, several Cree groups, Dene, Anishinabe (Ojibway), Inuit, and Métis. Finally, there is considerable diversity among the communities, ranging from strongly traditional communities that regularly seek the wisdom of the elders to councils run predominantly by Christian fundamentalists who reject traditional beliefs. To accomodate this diversity, many different strategies are required to develop awareness and to build networks with the Aboriginal communities.

Although I have worked with many individuals and have had several hundred Aboriginal people through my Archaeology Laboratory over the last four years, I am only beginning to understand the complexities of developing networks with the many Native groups. While it is dangerous to generalize, I would like to share the following personal impressions because they have ramifications for developing dialogue with Aboriginal peoples.

- Although some Native communities have maintained a strong sense of their heritage and identity, many groups suffered the loss of their heritage through declining use of language, the suppression of traditional ceremonies, a lack of teaching Native heritage in the schools, and the recent impact of TV and other media.
- Among Native communities there is a widespread sense of being outside of mainstream Canadian society and heritage, in part because of the imposition and limitations of the Indian Act. This separation is maintained by a variety of mechanisms including separate newspapers such as *The First Perspective*; by separate social centres, cultural centres, and bars; and by separate communities, even within the urban setting.
- Although there are strong oral traditions of local Native heritage, at least among the elders, there is often limited knowledge of the written historical documentation (e.g., as relating to the fur trade, and to historical and anthropological information) because heritage information tends to be based on verbally-transmitted oral tradition, because there tends to be little taught in the schools, and because there is a lot of distrust of written historic accounts.
- There is even awareness of the ancient heritage reflected in the 11,000 years of the archaeological record that lies buried in the ground.
- There is no tradition of building museums to house and preserve their heritage. None the less, members of a number of communities see museums and heritage centres as a means to reintroduce lost heritage to the young people, to preserve existing heritage, and to generate tourism revenue.

- Few Aboriginal committees have been established to address heritage issues, to encourage discussion or solicit views, or to respond to non-Native groups and agencies. Even the main political body, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, has no heritage committee.
- There is little awareness by First Nations of the existing legal rights and responsibilities for cultural resource (heritage) management, including impact assessments and mitigation (recovery, analysis, and interpretation) of heritage resources (buildings, sites, and artifacts) that are being destroyed as outlined in the provincial heritage act and federal environmental legislation.
- Finally, there is a rapidly emerging awareness and concern of heritage about the loss of ancient heritage. Even only 15 years ago, Natives who gathered at environmental hearings greater part of the concern is with cultural/heritage impacts (Gary Dickson, pers. comm. 1992). Within the Native communities, much of this discussion centres around having cultural centres to reduce the loss of heritage.

FOUR RECENT CASES

At present, various Aboriginal communities and organizations are responding to heritage concerns on a case-by-case basis. The following cases reflect a variety of reactions but most clearly demonstrate a strong concern for Native heritage issues when they became aware and have the opportunity to become involved with them.

The Churchill River Diversion Archaeological Project: Post-Flood Surveys

In 1990, the South Indian Lake band council demanded that Manitoba Hydro recover eroding burials for reburial. Each year since then, Manitoba Hydro has funded the field costs for Historic Resources Branch archaeologists to have small crews, using mainly local Native trappers, recovering burials and doing shoreline surveys during the spring low-water period along various parts of the Churchill River Diversion (Riddle 1994a, 1994b, 1994c, 1994d; Smith 1995) and has funded a major part of the laboratory costs. As a result, the number of known sites has more than doubled, and a large number of burials has been recovered and reburied.

Before the excavations of any eroding burials, the project archaeologist did consult with the band council at Nelson House First Nation to ask their permission and to discuss the correct procedures required. The burials were subsequently recovered according to the wishes of the elders and excavations preceded by appropriate ceremonies. The band allowed a physical anthropologist to analyze the skeletal remains, and the associated artifacts were sent to the Museum to be illustrated, photographed, and cast to make replicas. The burials and associated grave goods were returned for reburial.

The elders were unhappy that "the old ones" had been disturbed but decided that "the old ones" had allowed themselves to be exposed and recovered at this time so that the knowledge of ancient Cree heritage they revealed could be shared with the young people today who are losing their heritage and because these discoveries could prove helpful in current efforts to get a cultural centre (Riddle 1994b). Although they required that everything be reburied, the elders also requested detailed records and interpretation of the objects recovered. Staff were contracted to do the illustrations and casting. Small organic samples have been extracted for AMS dating, a tecnhique that causes minimum modification of samples. Finally, replicas of burial items have been mounted in cases with interpretive text in both English and Cree syllabics (see below). The elders also requested that one item, a complete stone, Algonquian constructed neck pipe (also known by the misnomer "Micmac pipe") be returned for ceremonial use. The elders and band council reacted to the issue of burial recovery with a mixture of spiritual sensitivity and pragmatism.

In the summer of 1995, one elder was unhappy with the existing procedures used to recover an eroding burial. However, after the initial ceremony, he and the other elders were asked to excavate the burial. When he saw how interested and enthusiastic the others were about the accompanying cache of stone and antler artifacts, including the decorated harpoons, he reversed his opinion and now believes that the artifacts should be replicated and the replicas returned to the community (Dave Riddle, pers. comm. 1995). This same elder subsequently supported the need for archaeological recovery at a meeting of the Chief and Council that I attended.

The Opaskwayak First Nation Burial

Construction excavations for a house basement on the reserve uncovered a burial and numerous grave goods, including an antler pestle, two flakers, a Sonota-style antler atlatl weight, three dart points, and two large ceremonial bifaces of Gronlid siltstone. The RCMP visited the site and reported it to the Historic Resources Branch, which then sent a staff archaeologist to investigate the site; all of the skeletal materials and grave goods were sent to Dr. Chris Meiklejohn of the University of Winnipeg for analysis. The artifacts ultimately came to the Museum for conservation treatment.

The day after the artifacts were sent to the Museum, Eva Linklater, then a Native Archaeological Intern at the time (see Syms, Ch. 15), fortuitously met Chief Francis Flett of the Opaskwayak First Nation Reserve and invited him to the Archaeology Laboratory. He spent a half-day looking at the artifacts and talking about atlatls. Chief Flett gave permission to have the artifacts photographed, dated, and replicated, and he also telephoned the community and insisted that parts of one ceremonial biface still on the reserve be sent to the Museum. He requested that the research results be published and that a display of the replicas be set up on the reserve. The band council has since budgeted money to obtain two sets of replicas for their new hotel and for the community.

The Manitoba Model Forest Project

A number of federally-funded model forest projects has been proposed for various parts of Canada; these models are developed around principles and procedures for managing the forest resources as sustainable resources. One project, Manitou Abi Model Forest (Manitoba Model Forest News 1994), was proposed for southeastern Manitoba. During the planning phase, the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs was asked to be involved; the Assembly agreed to participate only if 50% plus one of the directors were Aboriginal. The project planners refused these demands and the two sides discontinued discussions.

The directors of the project, who represented foresty groups and academic researchers, none of whom are Aboriginal, subsequently turned down a request from archaeological consultants to incorporate GIS-focused modeling for predicting archaeological resources as part of the general forest model. They decided not to include archaeology, which they equated with Native heritage, because (they argued) there was no support or interest in it on the part of Aboriginal people. The archaeology community was left with the task of developing arguments for the inclusion of archaeological resource management in the forestry model. In discussions with members of the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, it was made clear that they expected the archaeologists to persuade the directors of the forestry project to meet their demands (regarding Aboriginal representation), thereby forcing the archaeologists to become intermediaries. Some archaeologists contacted the Native communities in the area covered by the model, and a community ground-swell for concern of archaeological resources developed (Virginia Petch, pers. comm. 1996), but the urban assembly refused to become involved. This model for forestry management in Manitoba has subsequently been developed without incorporating management of the archaeological resources.

The Hudson's Bay Company Museum Collection

The Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) decided to turn their Archives over to the province of Manitoba and to find a permanent repository for the HBC Museum Collection, consisting of a large collection of ethnographic, historic, fine arts, Inuit art, and archaeological works. The archival materials were already on loan to the Manitoba Archives and the artifacts were in storage at Lower Fort Garry. These materials had been collected over a number of years and had been initially part of the Bay's museum display in the main Winnipeg store beginning in the 1920s.

When the announcement was made about the availability of the HBC Collection, discussions began immediately among senior staff in Ottawa/Hull and an ad hoc committee was struck. There were initial suggestions to have the collection deposited at the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The planing committee recommended that there be Aboriginal and Métis representation. When the discussion of an appropriate repository was raised, the Education Officer of the Manitoba Métis Federation, the Director of the Manitoba Association of Native Languages, and the elder from Sagkeeng First Nation Reserve immediately insisted that the materials stay in Western Canada and that the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature was the most suitable repository; the

Museum not only had developed a detailed management plan that demonstrated its ability to handle the collection but was committed to community involvement. Their recommendations were accepted unanimously and the Collection was subsequently turned over to the Museum.

These four cases provide some sense of the diversity among the groups and individuals with whom it is necessary to develop liasons. Since many members of the Native communities are only now beginning to learn about their archaeological heritage, they have to think about the issues and develop their personal views. The experience of the Nelson House elder regarding the recovery of the eroding burial shows that there are, and will continue to be, changing attitudes.

In all cases, as Native people became more aware of their archaeological heritage, they became interested in and concerned with preserving it; most reacted with considerable enthusiasm. Access to and proper care of collections are important concerns as indicated in the Native and Métis reaction to the HBC collection. However, interest in these issues appears greater at the community level than at the provincial political level, as represented by the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs. These examples also illustrate how, archaeologists, as they deal with some of the more political groups, may become caught up in political tensions, or even become political pawns.

DEVELOPING AWARENESS AND BUILDING LINKS

Many members of the Canadian archaeological community have been aware that much of the record that we study is part of the heritage of First Peoples and that interpretations of it must include the perspectives of Aboriginal people (McGhee 1989; various authors, this volume). Recently, the Canadian Archaeological Association has developed a task force with regional committees to develop a code of ethics. The Saskatchewan Archaeological Society has also formalized meetings with elders (Hanna, Ch. 5). These papers present examples of initial, but effective steps in developing co-operative activities between archaeologists and Native people. A growing number of papers and reports in cultural resource management indicate that archaeological research has incorporated consultation with Native peoples.

Archaeologists, however, have not been trained to do archaeology that involves consultation or collaboration with Native people (Spector 1994). Some archaeologists have claimed, perhaps only half-jokingly, that they studied archaeology, rather than cultural anthropology, because they were not comfortable dealing with people. Much of what has been written by archaeologists reflects a focus on the archaeological record itself, with little attention given for the general public or the Aboriginal public in particular. Now we are asking archaeologists to work with Aboriginal people, most of whom have little or no knowledge of the archaeological record, may hold a variety of negative stereotypes about archaeologists, and have a different cultural perspective. As Bill Byrne has noted, the gulf of understanding between archaeologists and First Nations representatives can be so great that even when the two groups are talking to each other in the same room, one can have the impression that there are "two set of meetings going on simultaneously, and two separate agendas on the table" (Byrne 1994: 100). More optimistically, however, Byrne also noted that as dialogue continues, the two agendas draw closer together.

Given my experiences at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, I suggest that archaeologists must: a) identify the diverse range of Native groups; b) develop awareness of what archaeological research methods attempt to do; c) commit to providing employment and training opportunities for Native people to work in archaeology and to become archaeologists; d) develop relevant and meaningful techniques and language with which the archaeologists can share the heritage information that they have been accumulating; and e) seek the opinions of Aboriginal people regarding alternative ways of interpreting heritage.

These activities are easier than they appear. The Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature has made a committment to "fast track" the process of developing awareness of ancient heritage among the Native communities; to develop linkages with these communities, and to increase the involvement of First Nation representatives in developing and presenting their heritage within the Museum, in their communities, and to the general public. Some recent and on-going experiences at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature, and elsewhere in Manitoba, provide useful examples and insights into these major developments and are outlined below.

Training Programs

There are relatively few Native people in the museology field. However, many Native communities are interested in developing cultural centres with a museum component to reduce the loss of their heritage. Although there have been a few Aboriginal and Métis interns in our general training program, we decided that it was imperative to develop training programs to prepare Native people to bring their own professional expertise and blend it with the communities' needs, rather than relying on consultants. We hope that these successful trainees will play leading roles in the development of Native heritage centres. We found that the rewards, both to us personally and to the Museum, were enriching and gratifying.

Two programs were developed at the museum:

Native Archaeology Internship. Using Access to Archaeology funds, I was able to initiate a program that provided a training program for two six-month Native internships. These two interns developed considerable expertise on their own ancient archaeological heritage and on archaeological heritage in general; encouraged broader awareness among Native Peoples by means of displays, tours, and personal discussion; and developed this awareness among several hundred people (see Syms Ch. 15 for details).

Museum Aboriginal Internship Program. Dr. Katherine Pettipas had developed a one-year internship program focussing mainly on recent Native heritage, particularly ethnographic and material culture analysis. The Aboriginal intern has a one-year or eighteen-month internship in which he/she learns about a variety of areas including collections management, exhibit development, and programming. Two interns have graduated to date and a third will complete the program in 1997. These interns are encouraged to develop some background in their more ancient heritage and have done projects on archaeology collection management and completed a permanent exhibit on Native horticulture.

Not only do these interns learn a great deal about their heritage and how to care for and present it, they also help to establish links between the Museum and the Native communities. They bring friends to the Museum and develop more formal relationships such as setting up agreements whereby the Manitoba Indian Educational Association (M.I.E.A) arranged to include the Museum as part of the orientation for first-year university students from Northern reserves.

As a result of these two internship programs, several hundred Aboriginal people, including students, teachers, and the general public, became aware of the Museum, visited it, and became more comfortable being in it. They learned what it had to offer and learned much about their ancient heritage that they had not been aware of before. Increased requests to obtain copies of early community photographs and to have students from Northern reserves visit the display in the Archaeology Laboratory reflect improved trust in the Museum and the development of a co-operative relationship.

Tours and Presentations

A major section of the Museum's Archaeology Laboratory is set up as a long-term display on a variety of topics including ceramic production and diversity, flintknapping, sophistication of atlatls and darts, local examples of Mississippian trade and symbolism, and fur trade and recent technology. This display is set up for both formal and informal tours, most of which consist of Aboriginal people. Some tours include visits to selected units in the galleries, such as to Paul Kane's materials, the Old Copper technology, and the Boreal Forest mini-diorama. These displays are viewed by more than 100 Native and Métis people each year, representing a variety of groups including 45 teachers from Northern schools, 58 elementary and junior school students from two Northern schools, school classes, small groups, and individuals, and a special Continuing Education class on small community economics for Band administrators and office trainees taking the Business Learning Opportunities (B.L.O.) program.

Tours are also given in the Ethnology Laboratory and the collections storage area by Dr. Katherine Pettipas. Visitors learn what items are present from their communities and what items would be available for temporary and permanent displays in their communities. They also can peruse (and often copy) early photographs of people and places in their community. Not only do these visitors learn about various aspects of their community, but discover that heritage materials are being looked after respectfully and are readily accessible to them. The tours often provide the first opportunity for many Native people to look closely at, and handle, both archaeological and

ethnographic items. While there is generally not much discussion during the tours, at least in the Archaeology Laboratory, it often takes place later. The common reaction to what these visitors find was summarized by the Native Practicum Supervisor for the Community Health and Human Services Group students of Yellowquill College, following a tour of the Archaeology Laboratory: "Being able to see, handle and hear about the artiacts that have been recovered was both enlightening and enjoyable. I received many positive comments and students particularly expressed pride in the skills and knowledge of their ancestors. Meegwetch!" (McClay 1996).

Finally, both Dr. Pettipas and I give a number of talks and slide presentations to groups and classes on Native and Métis heritage on a regular basis, including classes in the Native Studies Department and special history classes at the University of Winnipeg. Students are encouraged to visit the Museum on their own.

Exhibits

Exhibit development can serve several functions. Exhibits have an advantage over tours in that they are long-term or permanent, allowing them to be revisited and viewed by many groups of all ages over many years. They must, however, be highly visual; some visual media are of limited value if the viewers do not enjoy reading the accompanying text.

In addition to the in-house exhibits on Native heritage, we have been working on a number of temporary and permanent exhibits for the Native communities. In the early 1980s, I built an exhibit for the school at Oxford House First Nation (Figure 1) that summarized the interpretive results of an archaeological field school on the reserve in 1978 operated through the Brandon University Native Teachers Education Program (BUNTEP) at Brandon University where I was a staff member at the time. Until recently, this was the only community exhibit on Aboriginal heritage between The Pas and Churchill. Topics illustrated by this exhibit include proper excavation techniques, changing historical settlement patterns, flintknapping, ceramic production, reconstructing palaeoenvironment using palynology, cultural persistence in bone technology, and the changing function of smoking from the sacred to the secular. All of these messages are covered in an area four by eight feet.

As a result of the Churchill River Archaeological Project (see above), the Band Council of the Nelson House First Nation requested that a special display case be built for the replicas of the artifacts found in association with the two burials, which included a 4,100 year old harpoon, a sacred stone ball, and a variety of bone and antler tools dating to ca. 1,700 years ago (Figures 2, 3). Construction of the exhibit involved Native people from three communities and one Aboriginal business centre. The case was built on contract by a member of Peguis First Nation community. The text is written in English and Cree syllabics, the latter hand-written by two Northern community members and then transposed to the computer printed form by the Manitoba Association of Native Languages. The text and illustrations reveal the importance of the items, the rich heritage messages they convey, and their antiquity. The display was initially located in the Nelson House First Nation Band council board room, but was subsequently moved to the Native Studies classroom at the school.

One recently completed travelling exhibit, "Discovering the Archaeological Heritage of Aboriginal People," was requested by the Aboriginal Ethics Committee of the Canadian Archaeological Association. It was developed for Native Archaeologists to take to Native communities. It continues to be used at the First Nations Pavilion during Folkorama—Winnipeg's major multicultural event, and is also set up at a number of non-Native venues.

A recent Cree intern at the museum, Debra Prince, developed an exhibit on Native horticulture for the Kenosewun Interpretive Centre in Lockport as part of her internship training. She not only learned about a part of Manitoba's archaeological heritage, but also about horticultural activities of the Mandan and Hidatsa along the Missouri River could serve as ethnographic analogies for local Native horticulture, in addition to learning how to plan and make an exhibit. The Kenosewun Centre, in turn, gained a long-term exhibit that enhanced their interpretive centre, while the Native staff and Board members there realized that archaeologists can provide important information on their ancient heritage.

Dr. Katherine Pettipas has also had her Aboriginal interns working on temporary exhibits that were important learning experiences (Pettipas 1993). One Cree intern, Sharon Martin, worked with the Manitoba Aboriginal Veterans Association to compile a unique record of enlisted Native

Figure 1. Archaeological exhibit built for Oxford House First Nation School. (Photo: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature)
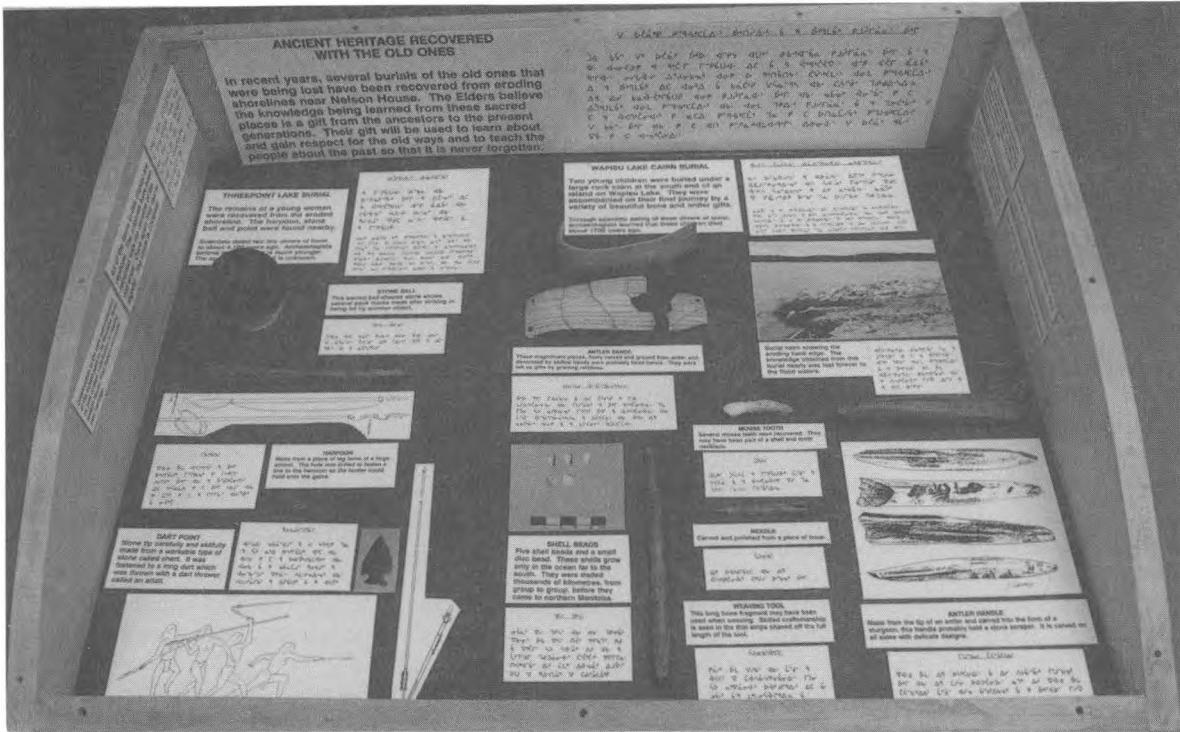
Figure 2. Interpretive exhibit on burial items for Nelson House First Nation. (Photo: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature)
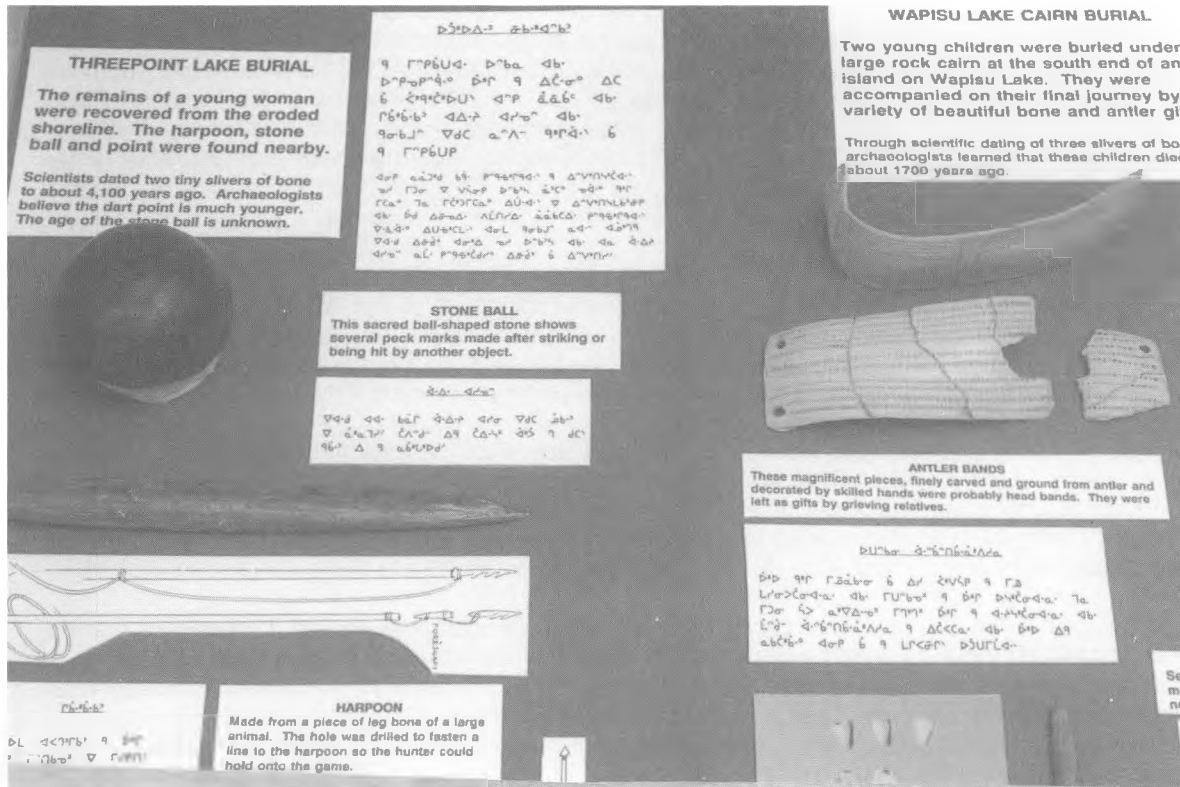
Figure 3. Close-up of part of the Nelson House First Nation exhibit. (Photo: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature)

servicemen[1] and created the first display in Manitoba on this subject. The display was well-received in the Aboriginal community and prompted the Mayor of the City of Winnipeg to declare an Aboriginal Veterans Day.

The current Aboriginal Intern, Tanya Cochrane, has completed the exhibit "'Patterned with Pride'—Applied Decorative Art of the Dakota" (Cochrane 1996). This exhibit gave her the opportunity to learn about Dakota traditions, and to develop a beautiful display of early Dakota crafts, with accompanying educational text, that can be enjoyed by visitors to the Museum.

In addition, Dr. Pettipas has developed a number of temporary exhibits for Aboriginal-run conferences and special events. Although these are often of short duration, they do promote heritage awareness and develop further links between the communities and the Museum.

Special Programs

The Museum is involved with an increasing number of programs that provide opportunities to develop heritage awareness among Aboriginal people. For years I have talked about reintroducing the lost legacy of Native ceramic production. In April, 1995, Mary Ann Tisdale of Heritage Canada and I presented a four-session workshop on traditional Native ceramic production that included hands-on opportunities to make clay vessels. I specifically contacted several Native people who had expressed an interest and sent notices to some Aboriginal institutions. When the initial registration quota of fifteen was filled by non-Native applicants, we expanded the quota to include Native applicants who applied late. These extra efforts are necessary to encourage Native involvement until programs become well known. At a subsequent workshop, about one-third of the participants were Native. The workshop series was very successful. We foresee these as the first of a series of such workshops that will enable Aboriginal people to rediscover this tradition, teaching it to others as an example of their own heritage, and perhaps even developing it into a modern art form. In fact, one Aboriginal participant in this group, who is a member of the Aboriginal Artists Association, plans on teaching Native ceramic production to Native youth.

The Museum was also very involved with the development of the 1995 Archaeology Month activities. This was a collaborative series of events held throughout the province that had been coordinated largely by the Association of Manitoba Archaeologists. One set of activities included going to the community of The Pas to present a Sunday public program and a Monday school program on traditional technology including atlatl use, ceramic vessel manufacture, flintknapping, and birchbark working. Given the choice of working with the town public school or the reserve school, we chose the reserve school. As a result, 80 grade five Native students had an opportunity to learn about these ancient techniques of their Cree ancestors.

Developing Linkages

The Museum has a long history of working with members of the Aboriginal communities. Katherine Pettipas has, for example, collaborated with members of the Native Education Department, Department of Education, for many years. She has also started working with Saskatchewan elders to develop guidelines for the proper care and treatment of sacred bundles. She was a member of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, at the request of elders associated with the Saskatoon Tribal Council. She has also started working with the Saskatchewan elders, Dr. Margaret Hanna of the Royal Saskatchewan Museum, Dr. Gerald Conaty of the Glenbow Museum, and with several communities to develop guidelines on the treatment of sacred items. Many of the elders now comfortable enough to visit the sacred collections, and are satisfied that they are being cared for properly and with the way the Museum is serving as the custodian of the collections.

Katherine Pettipas has also recently established an Elders Advisory Committee for the Museum to help develop policy and procedure regarding the Museum's collections of Aboriginal materials. Sacred materials require special care; the elders identified a number of concerns relating to archaeological items. They recommended leaving tobacco where items are collected; any site where pipes are found should also be treated properly spiritually to reduce the potential danger to the archaeologists.

Dr. Pettipas sits on the Task Force on Museums and First Nations. As a member of the Manitoba Heritage Council, I have helped to make a number of significant changes that included the

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[1] War time service records do not list Aboriginal identity and Native communities have tended not to compile these.

reformatting of the Archaeology Committee to the Archaeology and Native Heritage Committee which added two distinguished Aboriginal representative: Mary Richard of the Manitoba Association of Native Languages and Professor Colleen Cutschall, a Lakota art historian (Cutschall 1990), of Brandon University.

One of the spin-offs of the tours and other visits is the follow-up requests that come from various individuals and groups. They range from requests for information on community artifacts by the Norway House Historical Society to consultation visits from the Chief and councillors of Nelson House First Nation to discuss ideas regarding ideas for a settlement with Manitoba Hydro and the two levels of government regarding compensation for flooding.

Although we have a large number of projects that involve Aboriginal people, many of whom have made behind-the-scenes tours, we still reach only a relatively small percentage of the Aboriginal population of the province. We are considering other venues that will reach a broader audience quickly; these include presentations on Aboriginal television programs, videos for satellite television programs, articles in Native newspapers such as *Weetamah* and *The First Perspective,* and other media such as educational CD-ROMs.

DEVELOPING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Creating Aboriginal employment opportunities enables Native people to work with collections, to develop additional awareness of their heritage, and to encourage professional growth. For the Churchill River Archaeology Project, Dave Riddle has been hiring mainly local off-season trappers who have become interested in, and knowledgeable about their ancient heritage. In the Archaeology Laboratory, I have been hiring one Native and one Métis student each year (Figure 4) to help process the collections. Some of these students will likely become archaeologists in their communities.

In addition to developing personal heritage awareness for these employees, these jobs create awareness of alternative job opportunities among even those who do not consider the archaeological heritage to be important. For example, in talking to local high school students, Chief Gerry Primrose of Nelson House First Nation Reserve has identified archaeological research as one of the reasons why they should stay in school and get an education for a profession. We hope that the northern Churchill River Diversion Project will provide opportunities for long-term seasonal and permanent employment involving monitoring, rescuing, and interpreting their archaeological heritage.

When Katherine Pettipas develops research projects, such as the background research for the planetarium show, "Snaring the Sun: A Journey into the Anishinabe Sky World," she contracted Native researchers to work with the elders in the communities (Pettipas 1993). When the Museum arranged to show the exhibit "Fluffs and Feathers" produced by the Woodland Cultural Centre to address the contemporary issue of stereotyping, she worked with the staff of the Programming Department and the Manitoba Indian Educational Association (MIEA) to hire Native staff to develop the in-house programs and to work as guides. This has become a very successful weekly program of Native performers and craftspeople as the programmers included topics such as "Becoming Part of the Circle: Understanding Aboriginal Traditional Values and Beliefs." Dr. Pettipas has also been contracting Native and Métis researchers to do community research for the development of the forthcoming Parkland and Mixed Woods Gallery. We specifically identified reserve communities to be included in a multi-community survey to determine what community members thought should be in the gallery.

There are other projects in the province that are taking advantage of job-creation programs that focus on hiring Native people. Professor Bev Nicholson of Brandon University hired northern Native students to work on archaeological excavations under the direction of Brian Scribe. Sid Kroker has hired Native tour guides for the public archaeological excavations at The Forks in Winnipeg. The Manitoba Historic Resources Branch hires students and northern off-season workers for archaeological field work.

Figure 4. View of the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature Archaeology Laboratory with Native and Métis students processing collections of the Churchill River Archaeological Project. (Photo: Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature)

DEVELOPING RELEVANT AND MEANINGFUL TECHNIQUES AND LANGUAGE TO SHARE INFORMATION

Archaeologists and other researchers working with First Nations heritage must learn to work with Aboriginal people and to interpret the information that they gather in a meaningful manner. In addition to recognizing the tremendous diversity of backgrounds present, researchers must have respect for and appreciation of traditional beliefs (Hill and Nicks 1992) and be aware that there will be different concepts guiding some Native perceptions and views. When Kevin Smith, a Cherokee cultural coordinator at Tulsa's American Indian Heritage Cente), saw a Pawnee medicine bundle on display at the Museum of Modern Art, he "was extremely offended. I remember thinking, 'This should offend anyone with feelings for the sanctity of another person's religion'" (Bilger 1995: 25). Similarly, when an advisory group of elders visited our collections, several felt that some sacred objects in the collection "were imprisoned and by being put into museums, they had been 'broken' and were 'without spirit'" (Pettipas 1994).

On the other hand, there is a surge in interest in developing cultural centres with a museum component. As Bilger (1995) noted, most Oklahoma tribes are planning cultural centres. A number of Native groups throughout North America, with the support of their elders, has already developed their own museums, e.g., the Makah Museum in Washington State. Other museums have established Native sections and programming with the guidance of committees of elders, including the Wanuskewin Heritage Centre near Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, and the First Nations Gallery at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum. Furthermore, the sacred bundles in our museum have been visited by elders who are satisfied with the treatment these bundles are receiving and are happy that the Museum is being a responsible and respectful custodian. In Manitoba, at least five reserves are having discussions, doing planning for, or studying the feasibility of cultural centres.

Archaeologists must view the artifacts and their interpretations as part of peoples' cultural heritage. A ceramic sherd must be viewed as a series of skilled activities of craftsmanship including skill and pride in production, decorative beauty, and function rather than merely a "type" with an arbitrary irrelevant name (e.g., Selkirk, Laurel). Furthermore, it must be made clear that these scientific types are not cultural types. Native people tend to want to know about their people and their community in particular. Therefore, many people would want to know that Laurel pottery is

early Algonquian pottery made by the ancestors of the Anishinabe and Cree First Nations, and not a product of the "Laurel Indians," as presented in a recent video (Budak 1993).

We must also consider the terms we use to communicate. The term *prehistoric*, for example, is frequently identified as being offensive for two reasons (see Hanna, Ch. 5, McGhee, Ch. 16). On the one hand, many educational books on prehistory are about dinosaurs and extinct animals; Native educators object to being lumped in with fossils. On the other hand, *prehistoric* is sometimes considered as indicating a time before history, therefore having no history. It is ironic that archaeologists spend much of their careers recovering ancient Native history/heritage and then use a term that is considered to deny this cultural history. As archaeologists work with Native peoples, they must become sensitive to such offensive terminology.

A second example is the term *Archaic*, which is used in reference to a major period, technology, or tradition. Yet a perusal of a number of dictionaries will find that many include as one of the first definitions are of "earlier or more primitive time" or "antiquated." How then does one discuss concepts of highly skilled technology or continental trade networks and then assign to it a term that means "antiquated" and "primitive" to many? This does nothing for efforts seeking to improve the credibility of this early heritage, nor does it do much for the credibility of archaeologists.

We need to consider whose heritage we are dealing with when we assign names to cultures or complexes, sites, and types (see Trigger, Forword). To call the northern ceramic tradition of the Cree "Selkirk," after the name of a southern town that was named after a relatively recent European figure, does a serious injustice to Cree heritage and to archaeological credibility. Yet our reports and cultural chronologies are full of such examples. Names need to be chosen that reflect the regional landmarks and/or local Native terms. Aboriginal people in the North relate more to a projectile point type called Wuskwatim Stemmed, named after a local lake, than they do to Selkirk Stemmed.[2]

In addition, we need to be incorporating traditional symbolism to make our interpretations of the archaeological record meaningful, dynamic, and more interesting. This can take the form of interpreting readily identifiable symbols such as the identification of incised Thunderbirds, or portions of Thunderbirds, on northeastern Plains ceramics (Benn 1989; Flynn 1993), or water-related animals (e.g., salamanders) on a small ceramic bowl (Syms 1979). The symbols can then be incorporated into larger concepts of the cosmos and the symbolism of power (Pauketat and Emerson 1991). The other approach is to draw together a variety of elders' accounts to explain the presence of certain elements and artifacts, as was done with the ancient shaman of Long Point (Fox and Molto 1994). In all of these cases, the inclusion of traditional Native beliefs makes the interpretations more interesting and more relevant for Native people.

SEEKING DIALOGUE WITH ABORIGINAL PEOPLES

Seeking dialogue with Aboriginal peoples is to everyone's advantage. Through dialogue, non-Native archaeologists learn a great deal about Aboriginal culture and are able to interpret their work in a much richer and more relevant manner, while the Native people can expand their knowledge of their heritage. Even traditionalists have lost knowledge of such traditions as ceramic production, which virtually disappeared "overnight" in the 1700s. Although some Native people distrust any knowledge that they have not learned from their community elders, it has been my experience that most have a strong interest in the knowledge provided by the archaeologists. I have also observed that as elders become aware of the archaeologists' knowledge, a significant number wants to learn more about it and incorporate at least some aspects into their teachings.

In developing a dialogue, the archaeologist, whether Native or non-Native, must be prepared to deal with many different groups, to set up a variety of different kinds of opportunities, and to be ready to continually re-initiate efforts. Given that Native groups range from urban elementary classes to Northern community elders, it is necessary to establish many different settings and many different kinds of dialogue. It is necessary to introduce to members of these groups a whole new world of knowledge since there may be little general knowledge of local archaeological heritage. Some will respond enthusiastically, while others will remain skeptical. Since people of any

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[2] For a more extensive discussion of such inappropriate terms, see Pettipas (1994).

background tend to want to learn about their heritage from their own people, it is imperative that we create job and training opportunities for Native archaeologists to take on this role.

There are times when it is better to go to community, school, or association groups such as the Manitoba Indian Education Association. At other times, working with political organizations such as the Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs is more appropriate, especially since it is the group that is negotiating self-government and has the political and legal focus necessary to address the implementation of policy of leglislation (e.g., the new *Canadian Environmental Assessment Act*).

In facilitating dialogue with such a diverse group, more than one approach is required. Tours, ceramic workshops, one-on-one discussions, exhibits, displays and educational materials all provide important opportunities for both sides to learn from each other.This is also true in using the media, whether it is the Aboriginal newspapers or television programs.

The linkages can be formal, as for example the development of the Ad Hoc Advisory Committee of Elders. Most, however, will be less formal. The archaeologist will usually be the one initiating the contacts although once established, one cannot assume that these contacts will continue. A number of factors, such as high staff mobility, and the myriad of issues being addressed make it necessary for the archaeologist to keep returning to the institutions, groups, and individuals to raise the issue of their ancient heritage. As awareness of heritage issues becomes more widely known and incorporated into educational and cultural institutions, the need to keep re-initiating the topic will probably disappear.

The linkages must, of course, be built in an atmosphere of consultation and trust. As Katherine Pettipas (1993: 97) has observed:

> Our goals of transforming the Museum into a more effective public learning and cultural resource centre with reference to Manitoba's First Nations can only be realized if we include those whose cultural heritage we hold in trust, and if we become proactive supporters of the regeneration of the cultural heritage agenda as espoused by those same supporters. Many of the Aboriginal healers in Manitoba believe this is the "Decade of Healing." However, healing is a slow process. A path based upon truth, respect, honesty, humility and an openness of heart and mind are necessary for the healing to occur, not only for the Native community, but also for museums. By empowering others, we empower ourselves. As the elders say, "What goes around comes around."

The opportunities to develop awareness of the ancient archaeological heritage have always proved satisfying and gratifying to me. There is a sense of doing too little, but there have been great changes in the last four years. We do live in interesting times.

Director, Paul Antone, and his staff is much appreciated.

The involvement of a variety of Aboriginal people provided interesting, informative, and important contributions. I am indebted to Eva Linklater, Gilbert Chartrand, Kevin Brownlee, Patrick Berthelette, and Ron François. I also appreciate the ideas and information shared by the many Native people whom I have met through the various programs and activities.

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Staff colleagues have also provided important assistance. Dr. Katherine Pettipas has been an important role model in developing linkages with the Native communities and in involving Native people in Museum projects. Her empathy and committment have been stimulating and have inspired me to seek new opportunities to work with Native communities. Betty-Ann Penner, our Registration Manager, entered all of the data on sites and collections into the Canadian Heritage Information Network (CHIN) system. She also helped to summarize data, and access particular data as required, and has proved invaluable in helping to process the collections and in setting high standards for collections management. Rob Barrow, Photographer, and Sandra Sutcliffe, Secretary, provided invaluable assistance.

Finally, I wish to thank my colleagues who encouraged me to prepare and give this paper and the editors of this volume who have taken on the monumental task of assembling these manuscripts.

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We Can Go A Long Way Together, Hand-In-Hand

5

Margaret G. Hanna

In 1975, a young Cree man from Sweetgrass Reserve near the Battlefords, Saskatchewan, asked David Mandelbaum, who had conducted anthropological research on the reserve in the 1930s, the following question: "What good have all your efforts among us and your writings about us done for my children and my people?" (Mandelbaum 1979: xv). Mandelbaum recognized that "the question was partly a request for information and partly a statement about relations between Indians and Whites" (Mandelbaum 1979: xv). He wasn't sure if his answer satisfied his questioner.

Things haven't changed much. First Nations people are still asking that question, and the fact that they are still asking it suggests that they have not been satisfied with the answers we have been giving them. Indeed, their anger, resentment, and distrust of us and our research stems from a perceived lack of respect by archaeologists for Aboriginal concerns and interpretations, and a sense of being on the lower step of a hierarchical "We-They" relationship.

We are now being challenged not merely to give an answer that satisfies but also to change the way we conduct our profession. How do we respond? If we ignore these challenges or entrench our current practices, we do so at our own peril, for the broader social and political environment in which we work is already changing. First Nations are demanding self-government and the right to make independent decisions about all issues, including cultural and heritage issues, that are of importance to them. The land that reserves are regaining under the treaty land entitlement settlements includes not only agricultural land but also unbroken and Crown land, much of which contains, or has the potential to contain, archaeological sites. The legal power of heritage legislation alone will not win the day against moral outrage, especially when that is bolstered by claims of Euro-Canadian imperialism and programs of cultural genocide, self-seeking and self-centred interests of the archaeological profession, or inherent rights to self-determination[1] And, as Canadians, we watch what is happening in the United States since the passing of the Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act there, wondering if that will be our future, too. To those of us who are accustomed to doing what we want to do, unencumbered by outside opinion or interference, these challenges are equivalent to having a door slammed shut in our faces.

We have another option, that of viewing these challenges as a door being opened to us. Accepting this option means that we must be concerned with more than mere self-preservation; we must challenge ourselves to reconsider fundamental issues of why and for whom we do archaeology. This is not an issue of theory and methodology; it is an issue of philosophy.

Archaeologists are beginning to accept this challenge, to view the pursuit of their profession within a larger cultural context (see, for examples, the work of Albright 1992; Allen 1992; McDonald 1992; Scribe 1993; Spector 1993). The Saskatchewan Association of Professional Archaeologists (SAPA), too, has accepted this challenge. Since 1991, SAPA has organized two workshops which brought together First Nations elders and archaeologists. These workshops were intended to begin the process of developing an atmosphere of mutual respect in which Aboriginal people and archaeologists could discuss issues of mutual concern.

The rest of this paper discusses the SAPA workshops and some of the issues that arose out of them. I also discuss the implications of these issues for the future of archaeology. Although this section is grounded in the results of the SAPA workshops, much of it arises out of personal experience with the development of the First Nations Gallery at the Royal Saskatchewan Museum. I close with a brief discussion of what could be the potential role of the Canadian Archaeological Association's (CAA) Code of Ethics.

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[1] I do not intend to explore either the validity of these claims or how these claims have been used to manipulate public opinion.

THE SAPA WORKSHOPS

SAPA is a provincial association of professional archaeologists, including graduate students, that provides a forum in which archaeologists can discuss and resolve issues of mutual concern. It also acts as a lobbying body and attempts to set professional standards. In striving to achieve the latter goal, SAPA has developed a provincial research strategy and a Code of Ethics. The workshops with First Nations elders grew, via a rather circuitous route, out of that latter document.

The development of the Code of Ethics began in 1985. It was inspired, in part by a desire to make SAPA a more professional organization, and in part by the controversy surrounding the accidental discovery of an unmarked cemetery containing 25 burials of First Nations people in the middle of the town of Fort Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (Finnigan 1989; Spurling and Walker 1987). Its development took five years. When SAPA finally adopted its Code of Ethics in 1990, it included statements about appropriate behaviour and attitudes with regard to the public, the profession, the employer, and colleagues. The Code also recognized the special responsibility of archaeologists to show respect for First Nations' concerns about the past by consulting with them and by making the results of archaeological research accessible to First Nations communities (SAPA 1990: 1, 2).

It was not immediately obvious how members would be able to follow these articles because, at the time, SAPA did not have any links, either formal or informal, with First Nations communities or individuals. We were unable to answer the question: "Whom do we talk to?" That means was provided in 1991 when SAPA was organizing the Annual Meeting of the Saskatchewan Archaeological Society. Sid Fiddler, who is Head of Social Work at the Saskatchewan Indian Federated College campus in Saskatoon, approached Terry Gibson, then SAPA president, and suggested that archaeologists should meet with elders to discuss topics of mutual concern. He offered to assist with organizing this workshop, and SAPA accepted the offer.

The first workshop was held May 1-3, 1992, with seven Cree elders. It was meant simply to be a familiarization process, an opportunity for archaeologists and elders to meet and to learn how to talk with each other. It included both ceremonies and discussion circles. The topics were far-ranging; however, the general issue of respect underlay the more particular issues of handling artifacts, using tobacco, consulting with elders, and dealing with burials (Hanna and Gibson 1994).

SAPA members met immediately following the workshop to discuss its benefits and its future. Members had realized, with great relief, that meetings with First Nations need not necessarily be antagonistic and confrontational. They had also learned some of the protocol that attends approaching elders, which they admitted would relieve some of the tension and uncertainty if they had to approach elders in the future.[2] The workshop had also revealed that the elders, and First Nations in general, knew as little about archaeology as archaeologists knew about First Nations. Indeed, for most of the first session, one of the elders thought he was talking to teachers and nurses. However, once they understood something about archaeology, they were more than willing to help and to advise. Members agreed that this process needed to continue, and they agreed unanimously to hold regular gatherings with other elders to talk about heritage matters.

The second workshop was organized with assistance from Vance McNabb of Wanuskewin Heritage Park, Saskatoon, and held there on March 26, 1994 (Ramsay 1994). Elders and representatives of cultural organizations from the Cree, Saulteaux, Lakota, Assiniboin, and Métis nations attended. Its focus was quite different from that of the first workshop. It was intended to "provide more information about the different aspects of archaeology to help the elders better understand what archaeologists are asking of them" (Ramsay 1994: 4). To this end, archaeologists working in different segments of the profession (university, resource management, consulting, museum, and avocational) presented brief summaries of what they did and the issues and problems they faced. Discussion followed each presentation.

The first workshop was funded by the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation and by the Department of Canadian Heritage Access to Archaeology Program. The second workshop received funding from the Saskatchewan Heritage Foundation.

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[2] The expectation to follow protocol was demonstrated most dramatically when one of the elders reproached Mr. Fiddler for not giving them tobacco before he asked them to speak. In a way, it reassured the archaeologists to realize that even people who are supposedly in the know can get it wrong sometimes.

FUTURE TRENDS IN THE PRACTICE OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The discussions at the SAPA workshops focused on sites and artifacts. These discussions suggested, but never directly addressed, a more serious and fundamental issue, namely that concerned with the values and principles that underlie both archaeologists' and First Nations' views of the past, with how to study the past, and with the relationship of the past to the present and the future. Addressing the superstructure without addressing the values and principles that underlie these far more obvious questions will not help us to resolve differences.

In summarizing the discussions at the Aboriginal Archaeological Heritage Symposium held in Ottawa in 1991, Dunn (1991: 6) described the interests, goals, and aspirations of archaeologists and Aboriginal people as being "different...but rarely competitive." The discussions at the SAPA workshops support that view. Elders and archaeologists alike were concerned about the preservation of sites and the accurate interpretation and use of sites and artifacts. Differences arose when we began to discuss the "why" and the "how" of heritage preservation.

Unfortunately, the "how" and the "why" still separate us. Past attitudes and actions have so alienated some First Nations people that they view any attempt by non-Aboriginal professions and institutions to work with First Nations as yet another attempt to homogenize their knowledge within a Euro-Canadian system rather than to recognize First Nations' knowledge as distinctive. They think that any form of working together (collaboration) is merely appropriation in disguise (see Ames 1994).

Nevertheless, at the SAPA workshop, all agreed that only by working together would First Nations and archaeologists be able to protect and preserve these sites, as expressed in the statements of some of the participants below and elsewhere in this paper.

> You know, I've said this before a lot of times, I've said this: A Native person and a White person are two people standing side by side like this, and we've got to understand each other (Lawrence Tobacco, Cree Elder).

> Today, we're at the threshold of being able to work together (Senator Ernest Mike, Cree Elder).

> Hopefully, we can come out with some really good working relationships. By having these kinds of meetings, we open the door to developing these kinds of relationships (Darlene Speidel, Lakota, traditional person)

> We're not out here to hurt each other but to work together, to begin to understand one another and talk about the things that bother us (Pauline Pelly, Saulteaux Elder).

Talk alone will not change the strong and deep feelings of anger, resentment, and suspicion that exist. The old ways of doing archaeology are no longer sufficient or satisfactory. We now have to prove that we can act in a respectful manner. Working together will require a renegotiating, a reallocating, and a sharing of authority and responsibility among the various parties. Respect will be the foundation on which this new working relationship is built, the importance of which was stressed many times in both workshops.

> There is one value that we respect at all times, and that word is "respect" (Lawrence Tobacco, Cree Elder).

> The elders told me: "As elders, we don't want you to walk behind us or to walk in front of us, but we want you to walk hand-in-hand beside us" (Brian Scribe, Saulteaux, Archaeologist).

> We take things for granted and forget to show respect...It's good to show respect in the first place (Neil Putt, Archaeologist).

If we are to demonstrate respect for each other in the future, we will have to change how we

do and think about archaeology. There are, as I see it, three changes that we will have to make in order to accomplish this:

1. archaeologists must become more aware of the political implications of their work;
2. archaeologists must reclaim the humanist origin of the discipline if they are to make archaeology relevant to First Nations; and
3. archaeologists and First Nations alike must learn to write history contrapuntally.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS SOCIAL ACTION: THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SCIENCE AND OBJECTIVITY

We archaeologists claim to be scientists and therefore objective and non-biased in our research. Objectivity and the rationalist, empiricist approach are integral to scientific process. Both have played significant roles in the development of the archaeological discipline, transforming it from one in which interpretation was "haphazard or capricious" (Kluckhohn 1939; quoted in Sullivan 1978: 183) to a discipline that queries the nature of evidence, the relationship between theory/methodology and evidence, and the process of substantiating statements about the past (Sullivan 1978: 183).

However, the claim of objectivity may be used to disguise other cultural ideologies (see Wickwire and M'Gonigle 1991: 111). We may be confusing scientific objectivity, which permits us to evaluate the relevance and appropriateness of evidence, method, theory, and interpretation, with a pseudo-objectivity, which assumes that whatever we do, including science, is value-free.

The systems that produce knowledge can never be value-free (Trigger 1980, 1989; Warren 1989; Wylie 1993), for knowledge arises from experience followed by reflection upon that experience. Ultimately, this process of reflection is guided by the values of one's culture (Hoare et al. 1993: 45). Truth, therefore, is never amoral, and facts are never autonomous of cultural values. We who deal with human cultures must balance objectivity as we understand it within the scientific approach with an awareness of our own culture and how it influences everything we do, what we perceive as appropriate problems, appropriate methods of investigation, appropriate data, and appropriate interpretation of the data. Furthermore, we must be aware that the pursuit of our discipline has political ramifications, not just scientific ones. We do not, as Rhodd (1993: 55) reminded us, work in a "moral vacuum." By becoming aware of both our own cultural biases and the biases of other segments of our society, we can begin to explore ways that archaeology can help serve the purpose of those segments which, until now, it has not served or to which it has done a disservice.

This broader version of cultural awareness has, by and large, been lacking in archaeology. Aside from a few authors (e.g., Kelley and Hanen 1988; Trigger 1980, 1983, 1984, 1989; Wylie 1991, 1993), mainstream historical overviews of archaeological method and theory do not investigate archaeology's social context.[3] In the same way in which literature reflected, supported, and validated the imperialist experience (Said 1994), archaeology has often reflected, supported, and validated the cultural values and aspirations of societies seeking to expand territories and to validate claims of sovereignty (Trigger 1989: 389). During the 19th century, the explicitly non-evolutionary culture area concept, the disregard for developing chronologies or explicating cultural change and development, and the perceived disjuncture between such phenomena as the large mound complexes of the American Midwest and resident First Nations helped to substantiate a political ideology intent on dispossessing these very people of their lands and cultures, even their lives. Archaeologists began to develop chronologies once First Nations were safely relocated to reservations (or were exterminated), but cultural change was seen as the result of diffusion or migration rather than autochthonous innovation and development.[4]

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[3] I see little to convince me that either Marxist or feminist approaches are considered by the majority of archaeologists to be "mainstream."

[4] This is, admittedly, an overly simplistic sketch of the relationship between archaeology and its social context. Nonetheless, I hope that it will stimulate thought about the subtle and pervasive ways in which social context can influence what we consider to be the proper pursuit of archaeology and about the ways in which archaeology has (or has not) served groups other than the archaeological community.

Even the very act of setting goals in archaeology has political implications. The New Archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s cast aside history as a desirable goal and focused instead on searching for universal generalizations that could be used to explain the past. Binford argued that history is merely chronology—knowledge of the archaeological record, and does not constitute explanation—knowledge of the past (1972: 118). This attitude toward history helped to entrench the attitude that Aboriginal people are objects-of-study, and that Aboriginal culture is a laboratory crucible in which generalizing laws are developed and refined (see Trigger's comments, 1980, 1983). But we need to ask ourselves what use is knowledge that has become so universalized that "it applies to everywhere and nowhere, everybody and nobody" (Vitebsky 1993: 109).

Binford and the New Archaeologists were not the first to espouse this approach. Willey and Phillips believed that history and science were dichotomous and, therefore, that in the interests of improving the discipline archaeology should become ahistorical; that is, archaeologists should discover "regularities that are in a sense spaceless and timeless" (Willey and Phillips 1958: 2). According to Trigger (1989: 312-319), this was a peculiarly American attitude toward history, one that was not common in the European version of New Archaeology as seen, for example, in the writings of David Clarke (1972, 1977, 1979) and Colin Renfrew (1979). It was also a misunderstanding of the discipline of history itself, even as it was practised in the 1960s.

So what did it matter if we did *explanation* instead of *history*? The New Archaeology developed at approximately the same time as First Nations were becoming more politically active, e.g., the American Indian Movement in the USA, and the response to the Canadian Government's 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy (Cardinal 1969; Deloria 1970; Indian Chiefs of Alberta 1970; Weaver 1981). Thus it happened that academic archaeologists, at least, began producing work that ignored the importance of history at a time when First Nations were beginning to reclaim and promote their history and culture within the larger society. First Nations viewed this ahistorical approach as a denial of the existence of their history, thereby rendering archaeology irrelevant, at the very least, to their concerns. This denial of First Nations' history may have been one of the factors leading to a new reading of the term *prehistory*. Within its original European context, it was used to denote the absence of written records rather than the absence of history (Trigger 1983: 416). Within North America, it assumed the connotation that history did not begin until Europeans arrived and that, therefore, First Nations are people without history.

This debate over the relevancy of history is indeed a political issue because it is a question of power—who will write history. We archaeologists have traditionally, by our attitudes and actions, appropriated this power to ourselves, rationalizing that archaeology is "the only legitimate 'scientific' approach to the past" (Ucko 1990: xi). I think it is possible to go one step further and say that, until recently, we have seen archaeology as the only legitimate approach.

Our actions have reflected this philosophy only too clearly. We have insisted on the right to excavate and analyse burials (seen by many First Nations as desecration); on being the sole guardians of knowledge about the past (thereby discrediting the relevance and validity of traditional knowledge); by limiting access to this knowledge only to professional colleagues or, in limited amounts, to non-professional audiences (thereby implying that non-professional audiences are too ignorant to understand); by insisting on the right to decide what is important to be excavated, analysed, interpreted, and exhibited (thereby denying people the opportunity to decide what is important and relevant to them); and by insisting on the right to decide what constitutes evidence (thereby preventing alternate, possibly conflicting, interpretations of the past).

This attitude is now changing, as community-based participatory research becomes more prevalent and as more First Nations people become part of the discipline (e.g., Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; Hoare et al. 1993; Pardoe 1991; Spector 1993). This change in attitude has also been encouraged as Marxist, feminist, and postprocessual theories have become more prevalent in archaeology (e.g., Gero and Conkey 1991; Hodder 1987; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Walde and Willows 1991).

THE RELEVANCE OF ARCHAEOLOGY OR, WHO CARES?

> By ignoring its social responsibilities, archaeology may be dooming itself to irrelevance in the opinion of many people who otherwise might be interested in its findings, as well as encouraging needless hostility (Trigger 1989: 379).

Processual archaeology, with its emphasis on discovering general laws of human behaviour rather than on writing history, has created a distance between the objects we study and the people who made the objects and, subsequently, their descendants. It's no wonder, then, that Aboriginal people feel disconnected from archaeology (see Spector [1993: 13-18] for a discussion of responses by Wahpeton Dakota to her attempts to include them in her research). This distance reinforces the view of some that archaeologists exploit sites in order to further their own careers at the expense of the well-being of the community of descendants.

One of the dreams of the Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) is that more First Nations people will become archaeologists as one way of bridging the gap that currently exists between our discipline and First Nations. Yet, despite the increasing enrolment of First Nations students in universities, we are not seeing a corresponding influx of First Nations students into archaeology. The traditional people who spoke at the 1994 workshop recognized this.

> In the field of science, our people haven't adjusted to the idea of getting involved in that (Senator Ernest Mike, Cree Elder).

> Some of it is because of our people's lack of understanding of the sciences (Darlene Speidel, Lakota Traditional Person).

I suspect that a major reason First Nations have not been flocking to archaeology as a profession is that its Eurocentric, scientific attitude has limited its receptivity to other philosophies and world views. Archaeologists have presented their knowledge as totalitarian, as superseding and replacing all other knowledge systems, rather than as co-existing with or supplementing. In fact, archaeologists have regarded traditional explanations as *ignorant*, thereby discrediting not just the explanation but also the entire world view in which it is entrenched. *Ignorance* in this context connotes more than simply a lack of training in archaeological methods and theory; it connotes, rather, that the underlying assumptions about the nature of reality are false. It denies the historical, social, and geographical contexts in which that perception and understanding of reality have developed (Vitebsky 1993: 109). It's little wonder then that First Nations see little in archaeology, as it is presently practised, that will entice them to become part of the discipline, and see much that instills grief and anger.

> They wonder why there's so few Native archaeologists. Maybe there would be lots if they knew how to go about it. What they do, they have to be very cautious that they have to be asking for forgiveness before they touch anything, forgiveness from the Creator, that what they are about to do He will protect them, that nothing will go wrong. Perhaps if they did things like that, they would go into it (Pauline Pelly, Saulteaux Elder).

Nevertheless, Elders saw a need for First Nations to become involved in archaeology and a reason for why First Nations people should consider archaeology relevant to their lives. This relevance has nothing to do with discovering general laws of human behaviour and everything to do with a personal search for context and for identity.

> We can help our own people get their identity, their roots of what they are, and once they understand, they'll get to know what kind of people they were, a proud ancestry …and archaeology can help get that understanding (Senator Ernest Mike, Cree Elder).

Making archaeology relevant to First Nations' concerns does not mean abandoning scientific rigour, nor does it prevent archaeologists from searching for general laws of human behaviour. What it requires is a balance of perspective that acknowledges and maintains responsibility to the

aims of the discipline while simultaneously acknowledging that people outside the discipline have a profound interest in what we do and say, and furthermore that what we say and do has profound impact on how they perceive themselves and on how others perceive them. This realignment of attitudes would provide archaeologists with a means of, and a reason for, making archaeology relevant to those people whose ancestors we study. Recognizing Aboriginal history as a valid goal of archaeology would create a strong sense of relevance. Making archaeology relevant to the needs and concerns of communities would go a long way to dispelling the apathy or antagonism that exists now.

The International Committee of Archaeological Heritage Management (ICAHM) recommended, "We need to utilize archaeology to illustrate problems of the past and the present, and not attempt to present one standardized version" (McGimsey 1989: 239). By becoming aware of both our own cultural biases and the biases of other segments of our society, we can begin to explore ways that archaeology can help serve the purpose of those segments which, until now, it has not served or to which it has done a disservice.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS CONTRAPUNTAL HISTORY— INTRODUCING OTHER VOICES

During the past several decades, archaeologists have become accustomed to working in an interdisciplinary or multi-disciplinary setting. It is not at all unusual for archaeological projects to include geologists, botanists, zoologists, geomorphologists, palynologists, and members of other scientific disciplines whose respective expertise and knowledge are used to create a more comprehensive understanding of the past. Now archaeologists are being challenged to include not only other scientific disciplines but also other knowledge systems that come from outside of the scientific community.

Just as the inclusion of other scientific disciplines required a change in the training of new archaeologists, so too does the inclusion of other voices. Archaeologists must be educated in a new way, so that they learn how to respect First Nations' traditional teachings and perspectives. The CAA Committee on Aboriginal Heritage recognizes the importance of, and need for, a broader vision of education—one that addresses archaeologists' views of themselves as well as First Nations' opinions of the discipline (CAA Committee on Aboriginal Heritage: Prairie Regional Committee 1993: 4).

In considering how to incorporate "history" into the archaeological discipline, we should examine recent trends in historical criticism as both example and challenge (see, for example, Akenson 1990; Rudin 1992). These new approaches no longer talk of *history*, but of *histories*. These histories are no longer lists of *important* men, places, events, and dates, for even those lists are built upon cultural values (see Cruikshank 1990 for an example of how other cultures define what constitutes history). Rather, they are a process of taking apart those lists, of understanding the cultural values which influenced their construction, of examining process and method rather the finished text, and of reconstructing a multi-vocal history that denies active participation to no one (Said 1994: 259). The eders at the first SAPA workshop saw both the need for and the benefit of this type of history, although they may not have used this terminology.

> It's team work. We'd be able to assist you and to interpret alongside in your finding and understanding, and then put this together....because that knowledge ...has to be solid. This way we put a Native understanding and your understanding and we get a better story. Then you make...wiser people (Noah Cardinal, Cree Elder).

In the language of music, counterpoint is a construction whereby various voices interweave to form the musical whole. No one voice carries the melody or defines the harmony. Remove any one voice and the complexity which constitutes the beauty diminishes and collapses. This is the kind of history we are being challenged to write.

Writing contrapuntal history requires us to analyse our values and to be aware of what cultural baggage we bring to our work. It also involves recognizing and acknowledging the participation of other voices in the creation of that history (Cruikshank 1991 provides an excellent

example of how Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal histories can be combined). It requires of us that we extend the same courtesy of re-examination and reanalysis to colleagues (potential or actual) outside our discipline that we extend to colleagues within our discipline. Just as other archaeologists may ask different questions of the same data because their research design is different, so also may First Nations ask their own questions because they, too, have their own research designs (to phrase it in terms we understand as scientists). These alternate research designs should not be immediately construed as contradictory or competitive, nor should they be seen as isolated and segregated. They can be complementary.

Writing contrapuntal history is not the same as co-opting and subsuming alternate voices within our own. It is not treating them as secondary to the scientific perspective. This approach, whereby First Nations' voices are included as interesting anecdotes or footnotes to a primary voice, is the major reason why some First Nations people see any attempt at collaboration as another form of appropriation (Ames 1994).

Initiatives such as SAPA's workshop certainly can assist in this learning process by improving archaeologists' knowledge of traditional Aboriginal beliefs and perspectives and, conversely, First Nations' knowledge of archaeological practices. In order to be effective, however, university programs must emphasize social responsibility and an awareness of the social context of research (see the ICAHM recommendations in McGimsey 1989: 239) as much as archaeological theory and methodology. Training in only the scientific aspects of archaeology can no longer be considered sufficient. This new training must provide archaeologists with a broadened operational and theoretical framework that is predicated on the principle of informed consent and that incorporates the necessity for and validity of the emic perspective. Training must stress that traditional Aboriginal knowledge is as valid and relevant as is archaeological knowledge, and that "there is more than one past" (McGimsey 1989: 239).

THE IDEA OF THE SACRED: HOW TWO VOICES ARE BETTER THAN ONE

Nowhere is the need for a contrapuntal approach to writing history more necessary than with the issue of sacred vs. secular interpretations of the landscape. Traditional archaeological training focuses so intently on empirical evidence, as is only proper in science, that it blinds us to other kinds of evidence (see Dormaar and Reeves [1993] for an example of incorporating other kinds of evidence). Consequently, when we are confronted with spiritual explanations that defy scientific logic, our first reaction might be to reject these claims as ignorant (even that word is morally loaded, see Vitebsky 1993: 100-101), or politically motivated, or "New Age," and most certainly as unprovable within our empirical tradition. There is, therefore, an unfortunate tendency for each side to view the other as competitive, as constituting a denial of the validity of one's own interpretation. Instead of assuming a traditional confrontational approach of *either-or*, we need to understand the values and principles that underlie the classification of land as either sacred or secular. For purposes of this discussion, I am not impugning *rightness* or *wrongness* to any one value system. I am suggesting merely that we examine them for what they are and for what they represent.

Landscape includes more than the physical expression of hills, plains, valleys, lakes, and rivers. Landscape is also a social construction that reflects and shapes human experience (Cosgrove 1984; Evans 1985; Meinig 1979; Widdis 1993). Be one original inhabitant or newcomer, one's experience with the land is canonized though classification and toponomy (Porteous 1990; Said 1994: 224-226), a process that, in turn, defines one's relationship with the landscape.

For many Indigenous people around the world, classification of the landscape is not a means whereby they possess the landscape. The landscape is the background against which and through which people establish and maintain their relationships both to each other and to the land. In the end, it emphasizes that "people and land are not separate entities" (Barnard and Woodburn 1991: 16). That the landscape is therefore classified as sacred recognizes the land as the place of their origin, as their source of physical and spiritual well-being, and as their identity as a people.

The European classification of land as secular also maps out a relationship with the land, but one that is predicated upon values of objectification and commodification. Land is valued according to its productivity (see Rowe 1990: 16-19 for a revealing discussion of *improved* vs *unimproved* land) rather than according to the way it relates people. It becomes for the scientific world

something to be studied, and for the capitalist world, something to be possessed.

Clients look at heritage as a thing they must address, and it becomes very much like a commodity, it's a hoop they have to jump through (Terry Gibson, Archaeologist).

I think it's really interesting, what you're saying here …about the spiritual side of this, because, as archaeologists…we are always examining…the economic aspect of it all. People see a bison kill, and we see that this is food and clothing and shelter, but we don't see the spiritual side…We're really ignorant of the spiritual side (Ben Hjermstad, Archaeologist).

Commodification and objectification are implicit in both the name "resource management" strategy and in the strategies themselves. Sites are "resources," commodities to be managed (we are assuming, of course, that they can be managed). They are ranked according to various criteria, but implicit in the ranking is the idea that some are expendable and some are less so. The resource classification confirms the division of sacred and secular. Material evidence is the basis for this classification and economic potential the basis for assessing the significance or expendability of the site.

I have concerns about sites of spiritual importance where there's nothing other than the geographical feature that has some significance. How do you deal with that? (Marty Magne, Archaeologist).

We know what a site is, but we don't know how to define a sacred place if it doesn't have archaeological materials associated with it (Diane Cockle, Archaeologist).

The cultural view of the landscape as being both commodity and object is paramount in Canada. It is the basis on which our dominant political and economic organizations are founded and by which they operate. It does not permit the existence of alternate cultural landscapes. Therein lies the basis of the conflict between Euro-Canadian and traditional First Nations land-use management policies and practices.

I was just thinking about 1970, when they were damming the Diefenbaker, they had that rock there, the buffalo rock, that they disposed of (Mistassini), and it's an example of a rock that they used for ceremonial purposes. Now we can't use that because it's all under water. I''s been blasted—blown up and it's all under water. But that's an example of kind of the desecration of sacred places because people say, "Well, it's just a goddamn rock, you know. What the hell, you know. We have better use of this place—economic, profit-able, and it's going to benefit everybody, including the Indians. And it's going to create jobs, you know." And all this type of rationalization that often override anything else (Sid Fiddler, Cree, SIFC).

Archaeologists, and Euro-Canadians in general, need to understand that the current trend to declare the sacredness of the landscape, to "reclaim, rename, and reinhabit the land" (Said 1994: 226), is an important part of the process whereby Indigenous people around the world are reclaiming their history and their culture. This is not only crass political maneuvering, although some people on both sides will use these arguments to manipulate situations to their own advant-age. Rather, it is first and foremost an attempt to reclaim that context in which one's culture and history originally developed and which will be needed to plot the future.

Today we are trying to go back and ask Elders "What does this site mean?" We have people whom we can take to these sites. They are the ones that the Council of Spirits selects, they can come out here and interpret the sacred…They can tell us precisely with-out digging or moving a stone what those sites were for, who is even buried there, about when they were buried there (Darlene Speidel, Lakota Traditional Person).

To traditional First Nations people, spiritual explanations are as valid as, if not more valid than, logical empiricist explanations because they are founded within "lifeway, belief and tradition" (Rhodd 1993: 56). It is this grounding within time, place, and practice—this connection with context and situation—that makes these explanations relevant to First Nations even if they are not relevant to archaeologists.

When First Nations proclaim landforms, features, or sites to be sacred in ways that are not obviously relevant to archaeology, they are using these processes of reclaiming, renaming, and reclassifying to assert their priority as original inhabitants of the land. They are validating themselves as people with history and culture. Although there may indeed be some element of political opportunism, against which both sides have to guard, archaeologists should remember that these claims to the sacred are attempts to answer questions and needs that are very different from archaeologists' questions and needs. Archaeologists' secular interpretation need not be seen as a contradiction or denial of First Nations' sacred interpretation, nor should the sacred ascription be seen to violate scientific classifications because they do not serve the same purpose.

In theory, peaceful, even co-operative, co-existence of archaeology and First Nations is possible. In practice, the situation becomes complicated when third parties such as development projects are involved. For these third parties, "sacred" is a liability because it removes their property from the commodity market. At this point, archaeologists find themselves becoming a middle ground, or sometimes a battleground, upon which these conflicting views are played out. It is a situation in which there is no neutral position. But rather than taking one side or the other, archaeology can become one of the players in the development of a consensual process that brings together all these parties. A consensual process is not a quick solution, but it is essential to building a firm foundation of trust and respect that will lead to discussion and resolution of apparently conflicting interests.

In Saskatchewan, we have recently seen the beginning of such a consensual process that will eventually lead to an agreement concerning the management of a region that is sacred to the Cree and that contains extensive oil and gas reserves. The petroleum industry, the Cree, and local heritage associations are involved in this process, and all concerned see advantages and benefits in ensuring that the process is successful.

If we are to make wise decisions in resource management, we need to understand better what First Nations people mean when they speak of the sacred. What nuances of meaning and cultural significance are we losing in the translation of a First Nations language into English/French? Although I cannot claim to have the answer, I am starting to see clues that suggest some of the nuances.

Clue 1: "Secret and sacred knowledge"

At the 1992 SAPA workshop, Tony Sand and Norbert Jabeau consistently used the word "secret" instead of "sacred." I'm not sure if that is a more correct gloss than "sacred" is for what a Cree speaker intends, but it has interesting suggestions for the interconnectedness of object, power, and knowledge.

I have found in my experience in Saskatchewan that there is definitely a protocol for accessing information. Some information may be in the public domain, and may be easily accessed via an appropriate request or gift. But much information must be earned in culturally appropriate ways, and therefore is not generally or widely accessible. I was bluntly instructed in the restricted nature of this information when I attempted to initiate a discussion about repatriation of culturally sensitive objects at a co-management workshop in early 1996. Joe Opwam, an elder from Sweetgrass Reserve, explained that the reason they did not want to discuss this in an open forum was because there were people present who had not earned the right to hear the information they needed to discuss. They would discuss it only amongst themselves and then tell us of their decision.

Anyone used to working in scientific research will feel uncomfortable with this restricted access to information because it appears to contravene one of the unwritten principles of science, namely that everything is subject to study and investigation, that nothing may remain "secret/sacred." It also contravenes one of our cultural values, namely that in the democratization of our culture all things, including knowledge, are available to all people.

Clue 2: "Sacredness is often an intangible aspect of the past"
Sacredness may not be solely a factor of any tangible or empirical aspect, or of any presumed or intended function of the object or site itself; rather, sacredness may arise out of the historical, cultural, or personal associations of the item of place.

> The Elders wanted the spirituality in place before all else. It [Wanuskewin] was a gathering place before treaties, that's why we consider it a very spiritual place (Senator Ernest Mike, Cree Elder).

The sense I get from this is that sacredness is an attribute that an object or place can acquire, not necessarily or solely through intent in its original construction, but also through its use and association (cf. Evans 1985). The object when originally made, or the site when originally occupied, may not have been decreed to be sacred then. For today's First Nations, however, the association of that object or site to ancestors is sacred; therefore, the object or site itself assumes the quality of that association, namely sacredness.

Clue 3: "Sacredness is not a static state of being"
Any place within this Mother Earth has the potential to become a sacred site. It could be something that happens today. We have to keep an open mind and allow for those thing as well (Darlene Speidel, Lakota Traditional Person).

In theory, this dynamic and fluid state should not be a difficult one for us to understand and to accept. After all, our theoretical, methodological, and evidential training as archaeologists focuses on cultural change through both time and space. In practice, it disturbs because it violates our classification systems and our resource management plans which are the epitome of staticness and rigidity. It challenges our understanding, our world view, and our assumed power to define. Even though the definition and content of a sacred relationship with the land may mean different things to different people, nevertheless it is as real and as much a factor in the lives of traditional First Nations people as technology is in ours. If we can accept technological change as a constant factor in our lives, how can we deny comparable changes in sacred relationships with landscape in the lives of others?

Clue 4: "Sacredness" has as much to do with the future as it does with the past.
Our young people, the young generation today…a lot of them are in the dark. A whole lot of them are in the dark. We have to teach them, though. We have a lot of values we can share with   one another everyday (Lawrence Tobacco, Cree Elder).

Many of today's First Nations youth face a bleak future (see Pelly-Landrie 1993). I have listened to them talk about their experiences as alcoholics, drug users, and prison inmates. Their route back to sobriety and self-esteem has been through the traditional teachings of their people, teachings that have put them in touch with the sacred in themselves and around them.

By proclaiming and reclaiming the sacred in the landscape around them, the elders are providing a physical and conceptual landscape that will help their young people reclaim the sacred within themselves. The sacredness of places and sites reflects not only the elders' perception of the past, but also their understanding of the unity of past, present, and future. We see the connection among past, present, and future as a one-way linear progression—we have to understand the past if we want to understand the present and future. The elders, on the other hand, may see this as a two-way or circular relationship: not only do you lose the future if you lose the past, but also if you do not have a future you soon will not have a past either.

I do not present these four clues as First Nations' teachings. They represent, instead, my attempt to grapple with a concept that is obviously not part of my profession's classification system or world view. It is an attempt to translate a concept I do not yet completely understand into words and concepts that I can understand.

How then do we use this concept of the landscape-as-sacred collaboratively (contrapuntally) with our own concepts of landscape? We must remember that we cannot develop even the strat-

egy in isolation; it must be done collaboratively with First Nations.[5]

A place to begin would be a re-examination our resource management schemes, including both the criteria by which we assess the value of sites and our site classification itself. Economic considerations appear to be paramount, since site preservation usually has to be evaluated in terms of tourism potential or some other economic spin-off that will justify the scientific and cultural significance. We also need to acknowledge a far more diffuse class of culturally significant area, possibly comparable to the U.S. National Park Service category of traditional cultural property. Such land, which is eligible to be included in the National Register, is protected because of its historical and cultural association (Jones 1993: 162) and not because it contains a site, at least as we know sites.

We also need to expand our understanding and awareness of the landscape so that we can become attuned to non-material significance. This does not involve New Age proclivities to read energies or vibes. It requires a familiarity and sensitivity to all aspects of the landscape, not just archaeological manifestations, and a respect for the history of the land and for the people who have lived upon the land. This also requires a certain amount of humility, recognizing that this knowledge of the history of the land is maintained by authorities outside the discipline of archaeology.

Rather than hope for the day when landscape and sites will once again be relegated to categories that suit our resource management agenda, we should seize this opportunity to revise archaeological practice so that it ensures the continuation of the future as well as of the past. It would answer a very real need; it would make archaeology relevant in a way that producing "generalizing laws of human behaviour" never could.

A CODE OF ETHICS AS A PHILOSOPHY OF ACTION

The title of this chapter—"We can go a long way together, hand-in-hand"—is borrowed from Noah Cardinal, one of the elders who participated in the 1992 SAPA workshop. It reflects the spirit of co-operation and accommodation that is required if archaeologists and First Nations are to work together. It also points out to us the benefits of that approach.

The SAPA workshops of 1992 and 1994 demonstrated that archaeologists and First Nations have a common concern for the preservation and interpretation of the past. The difficulty arises in trying to reconcile different attitudes and values, not only about the past and what it comprises but also in how the past is incorporated into the present and the future. The challenge is one of learning how to work together in spite of these differences, something that is incumbent upon both archaeologists and First Nations.

This future course of action will require some radical rethinking of archaeological attitudes, values, and practices. At the same time, it does not mean abandoning the scientific principles upon which archaeological method and theory are currently based. Neither following the ethic of informed consent nor making our research relevant to First Nations limits our ability to pursue the scientific method; rather, it expands our view both of what we do and what its significance is. Writing archaeological history contrapuntally will not limit the history that we write; it will enrich it. SAPA affirmed this process when it adopted its Code of Ethics and began sponsoring workshops with elders. The workshops have begun to have some influence on Saskatchewan archaeologists. Not only do they have more confidence about approaching elders, but also some are beginning to follow First Nations protocols when they request information and assistance. The CAA has also affirmed this process with its Code of Ethics.

I would see few conflicts arising if it were simply a matter of archaeologists and First Nations working out a strategy to implement this new philosophy. The rub is that this course of action will bring us out of the cloistered halls of science and more overtly and explicitly into the political arena where we will have to include the agenda of other parties (developers and governments, for example) as we develop new frameworks for interaction. The rationality and objectivity of science is not necessarily the appropriate philosophical basis for making sound decisions on these matters. This is where a Code of Ethics is so vitally important.

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[5] This may seem obvious, but sometimes the obvious needs stating.

The Code of Ethics should address more than "how to do" archaeology; it should address why we do it. Archaeologists are not alone in confusing what we do with why we do it (see Weil 1990 for a discussion on function vs. purpose in museums). Why do we discover general laws of human behaviour? What do we do with this knowledge? Who benefits? I think we are beginning to realize that what we desperately need are ethical guidelines that will help us use this knowledge wisely. In fact, this is probably the most important issue that the CAA Code of Ethics could address.

Stan Rowe, who has written extensively on the theme of humans as part of the landscape, believes that knowledge should become the foundation for wise actions "guided by the old-fashioned but indispensable ideal of equality and justice as well as by the new-fashioned insights of ecological harmony, conservation and attention to securing a sustained environment" (1993: 135). For archaeologists, that means our knowledge and our Codes of Ethics should guide the way we work with others to create consensus out of the apparently conflicting cultural paradigms that view archaeological sites and the landscape as resources and commodities on the one hand, and as maps of cultural identity and human-land relationships on the other. The challenge is no longer merely an issue of learning how to work together, or even of developing a common understanding of what is in the best interests of both archaeologists and First Nations. The challenge is to develop an ethic that is in the best interests of the cultural heritage of which all of us are a part. Perhaps then we will be able to provide a satisfactory answer to the question that young man from Sweetgrass posed twenty years ago.

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6 Education and Empowerment: Archaeology With, For, and By the Shuswap Nation, British Columbia

George P. Nicholas

As an archaeologist and anthropologist, I have long had an interest in Indigenous peoples, particularly those peoples we characterize as hunter-gatherers, past and present. Part of this interest is obviously professional as most of the world's archaeological record was produced by hunter-gatherers; those traditional societies like the Gagadju, !Kung, and Netsilik that have survived to this century more or less intact provide valuable clues to interpreting the past. But this interest in these peoples and their way of life need not have any practical applications—just an appreciation of the "wonderful diversity of life [that] is the true legacy of humankind" (Nicholas 1991: 6).

Unfortunately, few Indigenous peoples remain untouched by westernization today: the Kayapo are under threat of multinational corporations building dams on the Xingu River; television has reached into Arctic communities; there are tourists at (and sometimes on) Uluru (Ayers Rock); and there is golf course construction on burial grounds across North America. We are all saddened by the increasingly rapid loss of the traditional lifeways of those societies that Julian Berger (1990) has eloquently referred to as First Peoples. Each issue of *Survival* or *Cultural Survival Quarterly* brings reports of new threats and new problems facing these people.

How can we learn from this rapidly escalating situation and act to preserve the cultural diversity that is such an important part of our global human heritage? As anthropologists, we are in a position both to help these people make their own voices be heard, and to help them develop the ability to retain or regain control over their own lives and land—two basic human rights. There is a number of avenues available through applied anthropology (Chambers 1989; van Willigen 1993); in fact, the Fall 1991 issue of *Cultural Survival Quarterly* was devoted to what can be done to help Indigenous peoples. Education is one powerful tool of empowerment available to indigenous peoples worldwide; archaeology is ultimately another. This chapter addresses the interface between them,

The first part of this chapter concerns the evolving role that education and research have as potentially important components of cultural resource management on First Nations lands, and focuses on the First Nations-oriented educational program (Figure 1) that I have been involved with in Kamloops, British Columbia. The second part examines the growing role that archaeology has within the context of applied anthropology, and identifies certain problems confronting First Nations' understanding and application of archaeology. The chapter concludes with commentary on how archaeology and education may serve as tools of empowerment.

EDUCATION AND RESEARCH AS CULTURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

To many people, cultural resource management (CRM) remains synonymous with such terms as *consulting or contract archaeology* and sometimes even *rescue archaeology*. At one time or another, many of us have been employed doing just this through management studies for highway projects, gas lines, or housing developments, on a contractual or full-time basis. And occasionally we have even found ourselves at the wrong end of a bulldozer.

There is much more to cultural resource management than this, however, and archaeology represents only one approach. Cultural resource management is currently very broad in scope, and rightly so, given its general mandate. Today the task of resource managers ranges from developing and implementing heritage legislation to predictive modeling to determining resource significance to developing Geographic Information Systems applications. In addition, resource managers now are concerned not only with identifying and protecting archaeological sites but with identifying and protecting traditional use sites that may have no archaeological signature.

Figure 1. Es re tsíq-le7cw es e sxepqenwéns le tseuwet.-s le q'es te qelmeucw. "Digging around in the ground to find out the activity of the old people" (Shuswap with English translation by Dwight Gardiner and Mona Jules (pers. comm. 1995). (Photo: G. Nicholas)

Finally, they are charged with managing resources that are deemed significant (see Cleere 1989; Kerber 1994; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991 for examples), and also with identifying those sites representative of past cultural behavior (Thomas 1989: 426-429; also Nicholas 1994: 39).

Regardless of the strategy, the identification, evaluation, interpretation, and protection of archaeological and other cultural resources is most effectively done before specific projects are off the drawing board. Education is an important area of CRM often overlooked, yet it addresses many of long-term problems that resource managers face, particularly those relating to site pre- servation and evaluation of site significance. Too often sites are destroyed simply because no one knew of them. A more pervasive problem is that members of the public in general, and specific- ally those in government agencies, land-use commissions, and development, remain unaware of site values or unconcerned about their preservation; alternately, they define significance in a relat- ively restrictive manner. In North America, this problem is exacerbated by the fact that most archaeological resources are not associated with the dominant society. The result is that federal, state, and provincial resource mangers have had not only to act as guardians of the past on behalf of First Nations peoples and the rest of us, but increasingly had to contend with problems arising from different definitions of significance, and who determines it. "Who owns the past" is no longer merely a rhetorical question, but one with profound scientific, political, and nationalistic implications (see Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990; McBryde 1985).

Public education is a topic that, until recently, has not received much attention from the archaeological community. The current intensifying and expanding focus on education should exemplify the Indian Residential School policy in reverse—if you want to change how people behave, the most effective means is through the children. Much has been accomplished in terms of conferences and workshops (e.g., the 1995 Chacmool Conference), edited volumes (e.g., Green 1984; Layton 1989a; Smith and Ehrenhard 1991; Stone and MacKenzie 1990), teaching guides (Boutlier et al. 1992; Metcalf 1991; Morgan 1989; Moyar 1993; Rogge and Bell 1989),

Figure 2. View of the Chief Louis Centre, Kamloops Indian Reserve. Much of the work of the SCES-SFU Archaeology Field School has taken place on the high glaciolacustrine terraces visible in the background. (Photo: G. Nicholas)

and other reviews (e.g., Auel 1991; Emmott 1989; Feder 1990). The Public Education Committee of the Society for American Archaeology even publishes a quarterly publication, *Archaeology and Public Education*. Similar publications are the National Museum of Natural History's bulletin for teachers, *Anthro Notes*, and St. Mary's University's *Teaching Anthropology*.

When linked to archaeology, education is also an important tool for indigenous peoples in general (Gawe and Meli 1990; Blancke and Slow Turtle 1990; Deloria 1992; Layton 1989b; O'Reagan 1980). Former archaeologist Stephen Lawhead (pers. comm. 1994) observed that almost one-third of his first year law school class at the University of British Columbia were Aboriginal. In archaeology, we are seeing something similar, albeit at a much smaller scale. As the first Native in Canada to hold a Master's Degree in Archaeology (Simon Fraser University, 1994), Eldon Yellowhorn, a member of the Piegan Nation, has not only become a local celebrity, but a role model for Native *and* non-Native students.

Adaptation is a predominantly local phenomenon—a tenet widely cited in evolutionary studies. This is true for the discipline of archaeology as it responds to the various challenges it now faces. In the same way that people respond to changing circumstances by intensifying production or moving to new areas, so too must archaeologists, cultural resource managers, and both the Indigenous and non-Indigenous publics respond to the new circumstances relating to community politics, to existing heritage policies, and to the values and perceptions of legislators and voters. One example of how the discipline is responding to First Peoples needs is revealed in those educational programs, research projects, and resource management strategies through which archaeology is being done with, for, and by the Secwepemc people in British Columbia. It has been within this context that I, as archeologist and anthropologist, have been able to make a contribution to Indigenous peoples and, in turn, have benefitted in many ways.

The Secwepemc and Secwepemc Archaeology

The Secwepemc,[1] more commonly known as the Shuswap, are an Interior Salish people of south-central British Columbia (Ignace 1995). The Secwepemc territory is centered on the Fraser River and the North and South Thompson Rivers. Of the 17 extant bands that comprise the Secwepemc, the largest in both population and land base is the Kamloops Band, whose reserve is located adjacent to the municipality of Kamloops. The Kamloops Reserve has been a center for Secwepemc activity for thousands of years; today it includes both the Kamloops Indian Band and Shuswap Nation Tribal Council offices, as well as numerous agencies and programs (Figure 2). This reserve was also the location of a residential School in which traditional cultural and language was replaced with a Catholic/Euro-Canadian equivalent (Haig-Brown 1988). In 1982, as an expression of Secwepemc cultural renewal and commitment, all 17 member bands signed the Shuswap Cultural Declaration, whose mandate included the preservation and perpetuation of the Shuswap language, culture, and history, and which led directly to the formation of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society [SCES] the following year.

Anthropologists have been involved with the Secwepemc for more than a century through some of its earliest practitioners in the region (Boas 1890; Dawson 1891; Teit 1909). Archaeology has also had a long history on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. At the turn of the century, Harlan Smith (1909) was there doing some of the earliest archaeology in the province as part of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition. What characterizes this and more recent work in the region is that it has essentially been archaeology of the Shuswap primarily for a non-Shuswap audience. Much of the archaeology done on the Kamloops Reserve proper in the past two decades, however, has been done with the cooperation of, and to the direct benefit of, the Kamloops Indian Band, which has not only been supportive of archaeology in general, but notably has funded both inventory and mitigative archaeology projects for a variety of Band-initiated projects on the reserve (e.g., Richards and Rousseau 1982; Rousseau and Richards 1991). The Kamloops Band has also turned to archaeology in their successful attempt to regain Scheidam Flats, a small parcel of land located near the center of the reserve, where perhaps more archaeology has been done by more archaeologists (often at the same time) than most other parts of British Columbia as the result of litigation. All of this is in sharp contrast to the City of Kamloops, which appears to have little interest in the preservation of even its own historic period resources beyond such superficial activities as "Rangeland Days."

The Secwepemc Museum, as one facet of SCES, has been involved with archaeology in the context of public education. The Secwepemc Archaeological Heritage Park, which incorporates a large prehistoric pithouse village, was planned in consultation with archaeologist Mike Rousseau, for example. This innovative park includes full-scale reconstructions of the different pithouse types known (Figure 3) and a walkway that provides access to the archaeological house pits (Figure 4). As part of current and future Secwepemc Museum programs, this park has an important role in making both school children and adult visitors aware of what the past holds for them. The Museum serves as a cultural repository for all Secwepemc people, with photographic archives, audio recordings of elders, extensive ethnobotanical collections, and archaeological materials. The Museum also maintains the archaeological site inventory for the Reserve.

Collaborative projects between archaeologists and such institutions as this provide a solution to a serious problem facing us. One reason why archaeologists have problems with site protection is that, as a profession, we often neglect to translate our research goals and results into a format accessible and understandable to the public. Collectively we do too little in the way of education, primarily because there's no time or energy left after we have completed the fieldwork, analysis, and report writing. However, by developing a working relationship with a museum—by definition oriented to the public—we may be able to do our work and have it presented to the public by individuals trained to do just that.

The Secwepemc Cultural Education Society/Simon Fraser University Program

In 1989, a collaborative educational program was initiated between the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society and Simon Fraser University [SCES-SFU] to establish a Native-administered, Native-run, post-secondary educational institute on the Kamloops Indian Reserve in Kamloops.

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[1] As used here, *Secwepemc* refers to this interior Salishan people both today and in the past, while *Shuswap* refers only to the modern society.

The program was designed to:
- enhance the quality of life of Native people;
- preserve, protect, interpret and promote their history, language, and culture; and
- provide research and developmental opportunities to enable Native people to control their own affairs and destiny.

Since 1991, this institution has become increasingly involved with archaeology and cultural resource management as means to meet these goals.

Ironically, the SCES-SFU[2] program was initially housed in the formal residential school building where Shuswap culture was once being erased. Currently, the program offers a Bachelor of General Studies and Bachelor of Arts degrees, with a majors in Anthropology, Sociology, and Archaeology; minors in First Nations Studies, linguistics; archaeology, business administration, and criminology; and several certificate programs. Over 100 lower and upper-level university courses are offered each year, as well as several graduate courses. The program continues to expand and now has over 250 registered students. In 1993, the program was awarded the Canadian Association of University's Continuing Education's Award for Excellence. In 1994 we hosted the 4th B.C. Archaeology Forum where archaeologists, academics, and provincial and First Nations representatives gathered to discuss current events and issues affecting archaeology in the province (Fedema 1994).

Over the past seven years I have been privileged to be part of this program, teaching archaeology and anthropology to Native students in the classroom and in the field. My involvement has proved to be a valuable experience at both personal and professional levels. Prior to moving to British Columbia, I had been associated with the American Indian Archaeological Institute, an education and research center in Connecticut strongly oriented to illuminating Native American cultures in contemporary, historic, and prehistoric contexts (e.g., Handsman 1988, 1989; Handsman and Williamson 1989; McMullen and Handsman 1987). Native communities in New England are relatively small, widely dispersed, and to a large part, invisible; we worked to make them visible. Ironically, my own work as an archaeologist investigating early postglacial archaeology limited my interaction with the native communities. It was not until moving to British Columbia that I finally came into close contact with the people I had long been interested in. Learning to interact with members of another culture, however, which anthropologists are supposed to be good at, is something that most archaeologists have had little first-hand experience with (see below).

Virtually from the start, archaeology has been an important component of the SCES-SFU program. Degree-related options include a Major, Minor, and Extended Minor in Archaeology. Fourteen different archaeology courses are offered, most on a regular basis, ranging from introductory courses on method and theory, to regional overviews, to advanced courses in Lithic Technology, Prehistoric Human Ecology, and Archaeological Theory. In addition, we try to customize standard courses or develop new ones pertinent to our students and the larger Native community.

An example of one course modified to meet the needs of our program is ARCH 386—Archaeological Resource Management. Our version introduces students to an in-depth and *globally oriented* examination of the problems of, and solutions to, the management of archaeological and cultural resources, particularly from the perspective of Indigenous peoples. Case studies on the management of archaeological resources in Australia, for example, or on such culturally sensitive issues as reburial and repatriation elsewhere can provide new ways of looking at problems here. Seminar guest speakers have included Chief Manny Jules (Kamloops Indian Band) and Brian Apland (B.C. Provincial Archaeologist). A related course developed specifically for this program, ARCH 334—Archaeology for Educators, is oriented to those students in our program who have a strong interest in archaeology, but plan to pursue a career as teachers at all grade levels. The earlier the value of the past is passed on to children, the stronger and more flexible cultural resource protection strategies will become. This course thus represents a type of cultural resource management that will prove very effective in the long run, providing it can be offered widely and regularly.

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[2] In 1996 the Simon Fraser University program became a component of the Secwepemc Education Institute, which is one arm of the Secwepemc Cultural Education Institute. I retain the use of the SCES-SFU association for this paper.

Figure 3. Secwepemc Archaeological Heritage Park: Reconstructed pithouses. (Photo: G. Nicholas)

The SCES-SFU Archaeology Field School
In addition to course work, additional training in archaeology is available through our archaeology field school, which recently completed its seventh consecutive year. The field school has focused on site survey, testing, and evaluation—skills clearly important to First Nations as they become increasingly involved in resource management. The field school has also had a strong research orientation. Research is an important component of both education and cultural resource management since it is concerned foremost with finding out about things, not just passing on knowledge. To some degree, it is as important to know *how* you know what you do, as it is *what* you know. Students need become both proficient in archaeological method and theory *and* more critical thinkers.

With the field school, our work has been directed in part by my own research on long-term land use and human ecology (see Nicholas 1988), with its focus on the early Holocene period. Much of our field work has thus been directed to three important areas of research that complement and extend previous archaeological research in the region:
- Systematic survey and testing for early postglacial prehistoric sites, dating to between about 10,500 and 6000 years ago, on high glacial lake terraces along the Thompson River valley—work that will contribute to a better understanding of the poorly known Early Period in the southern interior of British Columbia;
- Investigation of long-term patterns of land use to determine how prehistoric peoples utilized the different landscapes that developed within the Thompson River Valley in different ways over the last 10,000 years; and
- Examination of non-pithouse archaeological sites. The archaeology of the southern interior is dominated by the pithouse villages of the late Holocene. Fieldwork directed to other types of sites will provide a more representative view of the range of lifeways once present.

In addition to the above research goals, our field studies have been integrated into a three-year interdisciplinary study funded by Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council project on Traditional and Prehistoric Secwepemc Plant Use and Ecology. The project investigators, Dr.

Nancy Turner, Dr. Marianne Ignace, Dr. Harriet Kuhnlein, Chief Ron Ignace, and myself, are examining:

- traditional ecological knowledge and its influences on sustainable plant harvesting and processing;
- nutritional and pharmacological properties of traditional Secwepemc plant foods and medicines;
- botanical and linguistic evidence for the origins of prehistoric movements of Secwepemc peoples; and
- the archaeological evidence of the antiquity of these sustainable practices and the role of plant resources in the development of the Plateau culture.

In addition to its interdisciplinary format, this project also involves many Secwepemc elders and community members. Their involvement may help to define types of resource areas poorly represented by archaeological sites (where certain types of traditional use are invisible). Projects such as this represent an important link between cultural and natural resource management.

Along with its research orientation, the SCES-SFU Archaeology Field School has also been involved with cultural heritage projects on behalf of the Shuswap people. Our participation in the projects described below, done entirely on a goodwill basis, provides us with the means to help the Shuswap meet their land-use needs, as well as to introduce our students to the very real demands of mitigative archaeology and to the rewards and frustrations that are part of cultural resource management.

Archaeological Problems and Prospects

The SCES-SFU Program and others like it have accomplished much in terms of meeting the educational needs of First Nations. For our part, we are confident that our graduates, whether they go on to careers as farmers, educators, or Band councilors, carry with them knowledge that will someday be used as tools by their home communities. This is especially so for those involved in the archaeology program, many of whom have gone on to full or part-time employment for such organizations as the Kamloops Indian Band, the Kwanlin Dünn First Nation, and the B.C. Ministry of Small Business, Tourism, and Culture and for consulting archaeology companies. SCES-SFU alumni are also pursuing graduate studies in archaeology and anthropology.

Naturally, there are growing pains associated not only with new institutions but also relationships, such as between First Nations peoples and archaeology. Some relate to cultural differences that we, as educators, need to be sensitive to. Certain problems stem from the fact that First Nations peoples historically have been educationally disadvantaged,[3] a problem only seriously addressed in recent years. Despite the apparent degree of acculturation in many Native communities, there remain some important distinctions. For example, occasional student absences in the SCES-SFU program due to family crises are more common than I've encountered elsewhere. In most academic settings, students invariably miss classes or exams due to family crises, such as a death in the immediate family. In contrast, Native students may miss classes not only when there is a death in their immediate (or more distant) family, but also when a relative is ill and needs their care, or when they need to spend time with the family of a recently deceased relative. The death of a community elder means that many students will be absent.

In terms of issues relating to archaeology, we would like to see an integrated approach to CRM develop between SCES-SFU, the Kamloops Indian Band, the Secwepemc Museum, and the Shuswap Nation. Many of the components *are* in place, and there is much interaction between them, but we still lack a formal structure to pull everything together in a on-going, consistent manner. There are still too many gaps for sites to fall into, as illustrated in 1994 when a newly discovered site on the Kamloops Indian Reserve was threatened and later destroyed by road-widening work. To address such problems and other issues relating to heritage preservation, the Kamloops Band, working with several archaeologists, has recently developed a comprehensive

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[3] I mean this within the context of Euro-Canadian, classroom-based teaching; traditional forms of education are no less important. Teaching Native students within their own community often requires a more informal, seminar-style approach: as many instructors discover, a lecture style successful in large college or university classes may fail with smaller classes.

Figure 4. Secwepemc Archaeological Heritage Park: Walkway around pithouse village. (Photo: G. Nicholas)

archaeological resource policy.[4]

There are also potential problems for cultural resource management programs as the result of band politics. This has not proved a noticeable problem on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. While there is naturally some dissension over certain issues within the community, the archaeology program continues to receive strong support from the Band Council and the Shuswap people. There are, however, those people who remain wary of archaeologists, and unconvinced of their contributions. Also, some Native interest groups are openly opposed to any archaeology that is perceived to threaten their interests, as exemplified by the recent correspondence between the Shuswap Nation Tribal Council and the Canadian Archaeological Association concerning archaeologists working for forestry companies (Matthew 1995; David Pokotylo, pers. comm. 1995).

It is also important to expose archaeology students to many different value systems. In both 1993 and 1995, the SCES-SFU field school was run as a joint venture with the University College of the Cariboo, with Dr. Catherine Carlson. This cooperative approach was designed both to allow Native and non-Native students to work together (Figure 5), and to rotate them through two very different projects. Dr. Carlson has been investigating the Contact period Native settlement associated with one of the first Hudson's Bay trading posts in the area to explore Native accommodation or resistance to Euro-Canadian influences (Carlson 1995), while my work has focused on past human ecosystems, as outlined above. Two teams were formed to work on these projects, each containing students from both institutions; halfway through the field season, the students changed sites.

What is important about involving First Nations people in archaeology is that they will provide different perspectives about the past and the role of archaeology. We encourage students in the SCES-SFU Program to think about issues such as these from the perspective of archaeological goals, resource management strategies, and Native cultural values. And we look forward to their innovative responses to this challenge. Non-Native archaeologists must also learn to look at the past in different ways as well. Continuing a tradition begun by Eldon Yellowhorn, my Teaching

4 John Jules, an SCES-SFU Program alumnus and archaeology field school graduate, now works for the Kamloops Indian Band and has been involved in drafting the policy.

Assistant in 1992, each year we leave a tobacco offering before backfilling a site. Although my world view is different from that of the Secwepemc, the offering is given as an expression of respect for these people, both past and present, and of a continuing commitment to their heritage.

ARCHAEOLOGY AS APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

Archaeology has often been portrayed as essentially an esoteric discipline, one apparently focused on finding artifacts and filling museum shelves. The endeavors of archaeologists are seen to satisfy the interest of the public at large, and to provide the academic world with grist for debating the details of life in the past, but, as its critics may argue, archaeology makes little or no real contribution to the present.

If archaeology were only about finding antiquities or providing glimpses of what life was like in the past, then its contributions would indeed be limited. But archaeology as a discipline long ago transcended the antiquarianism of the 19th century, and has achieved an understanding of cultural processes in the past, and of the social and natural factors that influence our interpretations of that past, through material culture, all of which is well respected by other disciplines. Archaeology also has great relevance today, and indeed represents a burgeoning area of applied anthropology, considered by many the fifth subdiscipline of anthropology. Applied anthropology has become an important means of identifying problems and offering solutions (e.g., Bodley 1988; Hansen 1993; Little et al. 1990), and thus is very relevent to Indigenous peoples worldwide, whether in terms of economic sustainability using traditional resources (DeWalt 1994; Halmo et al. 1993); restoring land rights and a land base (Elias 1993; Layton 1985), or improving the effectiveness of health care systems (Clark 1993).

In archaeology today, this trend is reflected by projects that use the past to the benefit of modern and future populations. Examples of these range from re-introducing traditional subsistence practices to increase food production today (Erickson 1992), to rethinking the factors influencing modern garbage discard and the effectiveness of landfills (Rathje and Murphy 1992), to challenging the notion that the Atlantic Salmon fishery can be restored to the productivity it had in the past (Carlson 1994). Projects such as these make a significant contribution to reducing population pressures; provide a more accurate understanding of the reality and future of urban waste problems; and can save taxpayers from funding expensive restoration projects that cannot succeed.

Archaeology is also becoming one of the most common forms of applied anthropology within the context of First Nations lands. Here we see that archaeology is serving a number of vital roles in such important areas of concern as:

- Nation (re-)building and self-discovery;
- Pursuit of land claims (e.g., by demonstrating cultural continuity and precedence);
- Discovery, preservation, and presentation of heritage sites significant to local communities;
- Evaluating site significance and mitigating the impact of current and future land use upon those sites;
- Employment opportunities (e.g., through fieldwork; interpretive centers; tourism);
- "Verification" or legitimization[5] of oral tradition within the Western legal system (although even this may not suffice, as in the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en case);
- The writing of histories of Canada and other countries by First Nations historians, both academic and traditional;
- Demonstrating innovative responses of past populations to changing environmental and social circumstances in the past; and
- Providing First Nations peoples with vital skills and experience in doing archaeology themselves.

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[5] Many Native people do not see this a necessary, as Tom Andrews notes (pers. comm., 1995): "The oral tradition does not need to be legitimized from the perspective of another culture. Indeed, the oral tradition cannot be 'verified' in many cases (see Denton, Ch. 7) as it is a metaphor. However archaeology and anthropology facilitate cross-cultural awareness and appreciation, and help translate Native culture into a form where it can be understood and appreciated more readily by our society."

Much of the work that we have done through the SCES-SFU Archaeology Program on the Kamloops Reserve integrates a research orientation with the immediate and future needs of the First Nations community and serves to address some of the roles noted above. The examples that follow involve Shuswap students working on their own ancestral sites; there are other notable approaches and projects elsewhere in Canada, the United States, and Mexico (e.g., Brumfiel 1994; Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991; Nicks 1992; Pilon 1994; Spector 1994; TwoBears 1995).

Examples of Applied Archaeology on the Kamloops Indian Reserve

Research as Applied Archaeology. One application of our work is in defining and expanding the archaeological record on the Kamloops Indian Reserve. It thus augments earlier studies and addresses gaps in current knowledge by seeking a more representative view of site types, potential site locations, and a longer time frame. We have focused on identifying non-riverine sites and those of the early postglacial period, both of which are significantly underrepresented in the region. Our field studies have been conducted entirely within the reserve on glaciolacustrine terraces along the North Thompson River. Over 60 new archaeological sites have been identified, ranging from small, single-component sites to deeply stratified ones to large palimpsests representing millennia of intermittent occupation. Most of these relate to late Holocene occupations, but Middle Holocene sites are present, as are indications of earlier sites. A large number and variety of features have been identified, including presumed root roasting areas and bark-lined cache pits. Our work has also recovered extensive faunal and paleoethnobotanical remains, through excavation and flotation, to provide information on long-term cultural ecology and greater resolution in the local archaeological record. This work thus contributes to a better understanding of the earliest history of the Kamloops area, of direct interest to the First Nations community since it is Secwepemc history.

Archaeology Field School-Kamloops Indian Band Applications. In 1991, at the request of the Kamloops Indian Band, we investigated two non-pithouse sites located within the proposed Chief Louis Cultural and Governmental Centre, both of which would be adversely impacted by development. Testing adjacent to a former channel of the Thompson River revealed a large mussel shell midden and occupation zone under approximately one meter of historic fill, providing information on a riverine-oriented lifeway perhaps 3000-4000 years old. Work at an adjacent flood plain site (EeRb 77) revealed it to be deeply stratified, with cultural material found to a depth of over 3 meters in one unit: charcoal at 2.5 meters provided a radiocarbon date of 5600 BP. This site appears to be potentially significant in the southern Interior for resolving issues of local and regional chronology and landform development.

We are presently working with the Kamloops Indian Band to mitigate the impact of a proposed very large housing development *and* golf course on and around Government Hill, and to help them address the need to balance current land use plans with heritage preservation. Government Hill is a prominent landform on the reserve where the Archaeology Field School has worked intermittently the last five years, locating there 30 sites that span the Holocene. In addition, Harlan Smith excavated several burials on Government Hill itself (1909), and there is potential for additional human remains. Clearly this location was a frequent, if not major focus of past Secwepemc activities and retains special significance for some band members.

To address the proposed development, we began more intensive work here in 1995, on a middle to late Holocene site on the terrace edge, and in the sand dune area on top of Government Hill, an area covered with massive amounts of debitage, fire-cracked rock, and bone fragments. Investigations at the latter revealed a deflation surface with several collapsed cultural horizons, underlain by intact ones. Given the location and prominence of this landform, we expect significantly early archaeological occupations to be represented, as well as special-use indicators (e.g., burials). A third phase of the project was relocating the burial site excavated by Smith.

While the recent passage of a comprehensive archaeological resource policy by the Kamloops Band membership strengthens archaeological site protection, the Band now faces difficult decisions. The Government Hill development, for example, will allow the Band to increase its tax base to support the very expensive process of reclamation of traditional lands—but this will come at the expense of some archaeological resources. Likewise, in terms of burial sites, does a burial

Figure 5. SCES-SFU Archaeology Field School, 1995. As in 1993, a joint field school was offered with the University College of the Cariboo. (Photo: G. Nicholas)

site without human remains (as in that excavated by Smith) still retain special significance and thus exclude it from development? Such decisions can *only* be made by the Kamloops Band. 6

Archaeology Field School-SCES Applications. In 1993, we located and tested several sites in a proposed SCES student housing complex. Unfortunately, we also had a confrontation with a road project that directly threatened one site. A two-day salvage project at this site produced evidence of intensive tool production and material of middle Holocene age. A major portion of the site was subsequently destroyed. This regrettable set of circumstances resulted from poor communication between the different agencies involved and the lack of a clear archaeological heritage policy at that time on the reserve.

Archaeology Field School-Secwepemc Museum Applications. Since 1993, the SCES-SFU Archaeology Program has provided short-term field training for Secwepemc Museum trainees to familiarize them with basic archaeological techniques and research methodology. This is in addition to presentations made to staff to familiarize them with local cultural history. Such a training/orientation program should be formalized since museum guides having a basic understanding of archaeology will be more effective in educating the public about the past than those who don't.

Training First Nations Archaeologists

Many issues need to be considered within the context of First Nations involvement in archaeology and cultural resource management, including mutual cooperation, advocacy, and presentation of the past (e.g., Bockoff 1994; Bruseth et al. 1994; Knecht 1994; Kushner 1994; Tough 1990). Archaeologists, for their part, need to recognize that they are dealing with members of a different culture, and be flexible accordingly; there are different ways of perceiving the past and different world views to consider. *How* we discuss the peopling of the New World with Native students is one example from the classroom where we need to balance scientific evidence with

6 Archaeologists also face hard decisions. Regarding the proposed Government Hill development, both the developers and the Kamloops Indian Band know that I am opposed to it. Yet I recognize that the Kamloops Band has the right to use its land as it sees fit, and so I will continue to work with them to mitigate the impacts of development on cutural resources.

beliefs of an *in situ* creation.

Problems also arise in the field. During the 1991 field school, for example, several of the more traditional students would not touch any bone they found during site survey, even if it was obviously animal, although they would bring it to our attention. Such issues as the discovery of human remains and reburial (e.g., Hubert 1989; Rhodd 1989; Zimmerman 1989) and the preservation of sacred sites (e.g., Carmichael et al. 1994; Reeves and Kennedy 1993) will always be sensitive ones.[7] But even here there is much potential for innovative approaches. For example, Dr. Mark Skinner (Simon Fraser University) and I have discussed the idea of offering training in forensic anthropology to students in the SCES-SFU program. Certainly Native students with training in archaeology and physical anthropology, and experience in different value systems, would serve an important role as cultural brokers (van Willigen 1993), working between archaeologists and Native communities to resolve problems relating to human remains and sacred sites.

As Native archaeologists increase in number, they will confront a variety of moral and religious issues relating to animal and human bone and to spiritual or secret-sacred sites, especially within the context of archaeological heritage management, and will have to make decisions on their own or in consultation with elders and community members. In this context, non-Native archaeologists may be able to offer little advice, since they may not be sensitive to or knowledgeable about belief systems and perceptions of the landscape different from their own. With the SCES-SFU program, we encourage our students to think about and discuss how they would approach such problems as these.

Observations By an Outsider

As a newcomer to the northwestern archaeology scene, I have been in a position to look in as an outsider. The following observations may be relevant to some of the difficulties arising from non-Native archaeologists confronting or integrating Native perspectives.

At a social function attended by large gathering of B.C. archaeologists several years ago, a well-meaning remark—".... before Gordon Mohs went Native"—was made by one speaker. The comment was not meant unkindly, but used only as a chronological marker, and did draw much laughter from the audience because it was humorous in the context. Mohs (1995) is an archaeologist who has not only been working with the Sto:lo Band for a number of years, but has also been adopted into the band. He is known for his outspoken sympathy for traditional Native values, and is sometimes highly critical of archaeologists who aren't. His comments may draw discomfort from some archaeologists because the perspective he brings, as an articulate and knowledgeable speaker for the Sto:lo, may reveal issues or viewpoints previously not considered. For example, during the 1993 B.C. Archaeology Forum, he noted that the illustration of a carved stone anthropomorphic bowl (Winter and Henry, Ch 14) appearing on the conference program was inappropriate since it was considered still a sacred object by the Sto:lo.

I think that the reaction of both audiences may reveal a difference between archaeologists and anthropologists today. Indeed, the first case above represented a social function dominated by members of an Archaeology department. Cultural anthropologists, especially those with an ethnographic focus, have traditionally been trained to articulate with the peoples they live with and study; seeking out and understanding emic values is thus vitally important. Ethnographic fieldwork must be sensitive to the members of the community; one learns and respects local customs. Archaeologists, on the other hand, even those working in anthropological archaeology, never really expect to work with living representatives of the cultures they study. For the majority of archaeologists working in North America, this is not an issue because few of them will ever come into contact with Native peoples. In British Columbia, however, where there is a large Native population, and certainly elsewhere throughout the world, archaeologists are going to have to become more sensitive both to the needs of these communities and to their cultural values.

As a discipline we must therefore learn to be less self-centered in the pursuit of our research. There are difficult decisions to be made by all involved parties; protocol between various governments, agencies, and individuals needs to be established, and all of us have to realize that the *status quo* may no longer be maintained. At the same time, anthropologists and archaeologists have long been at the forefront of defending the interests of Indigenous peoples; as one knowledgable person noted, "Who's been looking out for First Nations peoples? It hasn't been the lawyers, the

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[7] Interestingly, these same students showed no compunction against handling burned bone fragments from hearths.

politicians, the historians. It has been anthropologists and archaeologists!" Nonetheless we will continue to draw criticism from First Nations. Some of this is undoubtedly deserved as we have been insensitive or haven't responded quickly or fully enough to changing conditions. Sometimes, however, we serve as scapegoats for problems not our responsibility simply because we are visible in the Native community (Brizinski 1993; Cruikshank 1993).

ARCHAEOLOGY AS EMPOWERMENT

In the past, archaeology was characterized as a rich man's hobby, and rich has generally meant upper class, white, Judaeo-Christian, European or American males—a combination of traits that gives even the most thick-skinned postprocessualists the heebie-jeebies. Archaeology has also been termed "the handmaiden of colonialism." Although this image has changed substantially in recent decades, it hasn't changed enough in some respects (Trigger 1980, 1989: 315), and there is still a strong Native voice that does not accept archaeology as necessary to or capable of preserving their culture. To them, the past is, and always has been, a part of the present. Likewise, ancestral sites and human remains may be expected to decay and return to their previous state—archaeology interrupts this important process. So what then does archaeology contribute to First Nations? And can First Nations and other traditional peoples employ it as a means of empowerment? I answer both questions positively, as the following examples indicate.

Archaeology helps to correct false images of the past. The first European explorers in northeastern North America viewed the absence of plowed fields and fences as evidence of undeveloped land and wasted opportunity, a view that justified their occupancy of those lands. In fact, Aboriginal land clearance for horticultural purposes and food resource management was both extensive and deliberate, as revealed there by ethnohistoric sources and archaeological data (Sassaman and Patterson 1988). Some interpretive biases may also be eliminated through archaeology, as recent investigations at Little Big Horn reveal, calling for significant revision of the history of the battle (Fox 1993). In Madagascar, archaeology helps to restore the cultural legacy deliberately obscured by colonialism (Rakotoarisoa 1989).

Archaeology can also be used to address questions about the past concerned with processes and patterns of change, and at temporal and spatial scales beyond the scope of ethnographic observation and oral tradition. It provides an objective etic perspective that, when combined with emic views, produces new insights into past cultural systems. Archaeology thus provides hunter-gatherers and other Indigenous peoples with a sense of history (Ingold et al. 1991; Bettinger 1991) to reveal them not as living fossils, but rather peoples who have changed as they exploited opportunities and coped with their problems, often in innovative ways.

Archaeology can illuminate cultural diversity in the past. Hunter-gatherers of the historic period have survived to the present only by occupying marginal lands no one else wanted until recently. Before the spread of horticulture, however, they would have occupied the most attractive places on the landscape (Nicholas 1988), and the lifestyles of these hunter-gatherers may have been substantially different from those of their contemporary counterparts (Koyama and Thomas 1981; Price and Brown 1985).

Archaeology may provide an important avenue to cultural unity and nation building. For example, regional prehistory is now being used to establish a common base for the hundreds of distinct societies now incorporated as Papua New Guinea (Mangi 1989). In Norway, the Sami are taking an active interest in demonstrating their ethnicity within the regional prehistoric record (Akio and Akio 1989). Through archaeology and oral tradition, strengthening ties with the past provides a common ground for First Nations communities today (also see Layton 1989a) and pride for the members of those communities. Several tribal elders visiting our excavations in 1991 told us that when they were boys at the Kamloops Residential School, the priests would buy arrowheads, nephrite adzes, and other artifacts from them for a quarter. These visitors regreted their earlier naiveté, and were fascinated by the exposed features and genuinely interested to learn what this site had to tell us: here, one elder offered, was a clear statement of Shuswap claim to this land, and a source of great pride. There are, however, clear dangers in the misuse of archaeology in nation building (Dietler 1994; Fowler 1987; Gathercole and Lowenthal 1990) that Native peoples in the Americas should be aware of.

Archaeology is also a very powerful tool for addressing issues relating to land claims. The single greatest threat to the livelihood of Indigenous peoples has been the loss of land rights. Land has both economic and non-material value to traditional peoples. Loss of land disturbs the sacredness of certain places; breaks the long-term continuity between the land and the people, and between past and present; and results in the displacement of people and the erosion of traditional culture. The Kamloops Indian Band has used archaeology in its successful reclamation of Scheidam Flats. In *Delgamuukw vs the Queen*, however, a preponderance of supportive archaeological data was not enough to convince the court of the Gitksan and the Wet'suwet'en's ownership (see Asch, Ch. 20 and Harris, Ch. 12)).

In each of these areas, the potential for archaeology as a means of empowerment is apparent. There are still other ways of utilizing archaeology yet to be recognized, and these will benefit all of us. Empowerment is not something that can be given, however. As archaeologists, we cannot empower anyone. What we can do is present the means of empowerment through education (Figure 6). For this reason the results of archaeological field studies and research need to be disseminated as widely and as quickly as possible, especially to First Nations communities who have a special affinity for the past (e.g., Gotthardt and Hare 1994). If they choose to use it as such, archaeology is indeed a powerful tool of empowerment. But the choice is theirs alone.

Figure 6. Lea McNabb, Field School Teaching Assistant, explaining Munsell color chart to student Louise Harry. (Photo: G. Nicholas)

CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I have discussed my role as an archaeologist teaching, and being taught by, First Nations students, and as an anthropologist concerned with the plight of Indigenous peoples worldwide. The research-directed survey, mitigative site testing, and excavation program conducted by the ongoing SCES-SFU Archaeology Field school has been successful by all accounts. The collaboration between Simon Fraser University and the Secwepemc Cultural Education Society, the Kamloops Indian Band, and the Shuswap Nation that has made this archaeology program a reality is clearly a successful one and may serve as a model for similar programs elsewhere.

The Shuswap people are calling for an increased role in the definition, identification, and management of cultural resources. The eventual integration of a First Nation community, a public oriented museum, and a university program is a potentially powerful one, where education, research, and dialogue may be the foundation for a strong cultural resource management strategy on First Nations lands. It is also the means by which archaeological resources may be made more accessible to the public.

More generally, we must keep in mind that it is not simply enough to teach Indigenous peoples to do *our* version of archaeology. We also need to recognize that cultural diversity does not apply only to lifeways and languages. There are other stories to hear about the past, told in voices that we may be unfamiliar with, largely because these people have not spoken before. There are other ways of knowing the past, other ways of interpreting the archaeological record, that we may be very uncomfortable with because they stem from different cultural traditions. The archaeologies that will emerge as Indigenous peoples become archaeologists themselves will undoubtedly have a positive effect on the discipline. These potentially different views of the past represent another type of cultural diversity—one that we, as anthropologists, have much to learn from. And if we can do this, then we have truly helped the First Peoples empower themselves.

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7 Frenchman's Island and the *Naatuwaau* Bones: Archaeology and Cree Tales of Culture Contact

David Denton

Research paradigms that explicitly integrate the traditional knowledge of Native peoples are now today being developed by archaeologists in many parts of the world. This is especially true in places like the Canadian subarctic, the homeland of indigenous groups whose intimate familiarity and ongoing economic and spiritual relationship with the land is rooted in many generations of occupation and use. Archaeologists have become increasingly open to the idea that such knowledge may have much to contribute to all aspects of archaeological research and interpretation, a development that has been inspired by changing social contexts and by a new empowerment of First Nations and Inuit, and their explicit demands relating to research on their cultural heritage.

At the same time, archaeologists are increasingly aware of the degree to which their own methods and interpretations may be value-laden, and coloured by or serving to bolster aspects of Western ideology (e.g., Shanks and Tilley 1987). They are also more cognizant of the limitations inherent in the physical record relating to problems of preservation, sampling, and the myriad complexities of site formation processes (e.g., Schiffer 1987). Many are thus more receptive to alternate or supplementary sources of knowledge of the past that may enhance appreciation of the social, ideological, and historical context under which the archaeological record was formed and which may permit access to information impossible to obtain through archaeology alone. These developments closely parallel the recognition by some environmental scientists, resource managers, and even government and international agencies, of the legitimacy of *traditional* or *indigenous knowledge* (or *traditional ecological knowledge* [TEK]) and the acceptance that such knowledge can have important implications for the sustainable management of particular ecosystems (e.g., World Commission on Environment and Development 1987: 115).

In Canadian subarctic archaeology, integration of traditional knowledge has resulted in the recognition of many archaeological sites, either through direct identification of sites by Native participants (Greer, Ch. 9; Hart 1994) or through the use of traditional land-use patterns, indigenous perceptions of the land and its resources, and oral traditions (especially narratives and place names) to identify potential sites (Andrews and Hanks 1987; Hanks and Winter 1986). Knowledge offered by Native people has also served to challenge or correct archaeological interpretations of the function of sites, features, or tools (e.g., Nagy 1994).

The historical legitimacy of oral traditions extending deep into the past is now being acknowledged. For example, Cruikshank has demonstrated that some Aboriginal narratives from northwestern North America contain precise information regarding the past environment, such as glacier surges and volcanic eruptions (1981), while Hanks (Ch. 11) suggests that such knowledge may extend back in time to incorporate Pleistocene megafauna. Archaeologists are increasingly inclined to look at the historical content of some Native "myths" and to weave these into archaeological interpretation—a recognition that legitimizes them as historical accounts (Pettipas 1993, 1994). Archaeological research has also been used to corroborate indigenous, orally transmitted, versions of past events that may be completely at odds with official, accepted histories that are based on documentary evidence (e.g., McDonald et al. 1991).

The use of information provided by local Indigenous people in archaeology is not new in Canadian subarctic archaeology (Greer, Ch. 9), and in the broader history of archaeology there have been periods when programs of archaeological and ethnographic research have been, to varying degrees, integrated (e.g., Trigger 1989). Nor is the integration of oral history and other elements of oral tradition in archaeological research novel. What *is* new is the political context and a degree of involvement on the part of Native people in research programs that never existed in the past. Closer contacts have created a greater awareness on the part of archaeologists of the depth of traditional and historical knowledge and a greater respect for elements of traditional Native culture.

Despite the great potential, there are risks in bringing together ways of knowing the past that are derived from such different traditions and founded upon such divergent cultural assumptions.

Attempts to sift out the historical content (from a Western historical perspective) of oral traditions are ever open to dangers of interpretive error resulting from problems of language and semantics, and from misreadings of the cultural context. Modern reinterpretations of ancient traditions or the merging of elements of Western and Native interpretation may add to the complexities of the historical puzzle.

There are other issues to consider. From the Native perspective, a synthesis in which archaeological data are used to validate Aboriginal traditions could be considered demeaning. Certainly, the mining of Native narratives for relevant bits that fit with pre-existing, accepted archaeological constructs is a questionable procedure that runs the risk of extracting the narratives from their context, stripping away other meaning, and placing them within an external frame of reference (Lawson, Ch. 3). Conversely, an archaeology used simply to *illustrate* traditional stories is effectively stripped of its power to contribute to historical knowledge.

Interpretive integration of oral traditions and archaeology raises many questions and no clear rules exist on how this should be done: How do we deal with cases of apparent disjuncture between the archeological information and oral traditions? On what basis may we assess the strengths and weakness of each version of the past? Are we always obliged to adopt a relativist position in presenting parallel and equally valid stories about the past, or can some historical facts be derived by looking for congruence in diverse data sets? From whose perspective does the search for congruence take place? In what way may the different stories be seen as relating to different aspects of the same past, and hence be complementary rather than contradictory? How do we determine what should be read as literal historic account vs. metaphorical statements? Questions of this nature have been raised in connection with recent archaeological work in the Quebec Cree territories.

Cree Archaeology and Oral Tradition

The Cree Cultural Heritage and the Land program of the Cree Regional Authority emphasizes two aspects of Cree cultural heritage research. The first is on-going work with Cree elders to assemble a corpus of traditional knowledge regarding the history and significance of particular places throughout Cree territories. Here, the emphasis has been on Cree place names, stories, legends, and myths (or sacred stories) that are associated with particular places. The second aspect is archaeology. Over the last ten years, archaeological projects of varying scales have taken place in collaboration with many of the nine Quebec Cree communities. In many such projects, the emphasis has been on traditional knowledge as a starting point for the archaeological exploration of local sites (e.g., Denton 1993, 1995).

In this chapter, I examine two instances of apparent incongruity between oral tradition and archaeology that have been brought to light in the course of the Cree archaeology program. The two examples presented relate to events from the post-contact period, and in both cases, the availability of historic documentary information is an important element in the interplay between archaeology and the oral traditions. Both examples relate to the arrival of outsiders in the Cree territories and the narratives describe the ensuing contacts between the outsiders and the local *Iiyiyuu*.[1]

The first example focuses on a European site located on the central James Bay coast, to the south of the Cree village of Wemindji (Figure 1), which is regarded by Wemindji residents as the location of the first contact between local people and Europeans arriving by ship. While it is identified in local tradition as having been occupied by "Frenchmen," documentary records and archaeological interpretation originally suggested a different interpretation.

The second example relates to a place near the Broadback River, not far from the Cree village of Nemaska. The site is known to some Cree residents of Waskaganish, Nemaska, and Waswanipi as a place of a battle between local Cree inhabitants and invading *Naatuwaau*[2] warriors. Yet in the course of an archaeological survey carried out in collaboration with the Nemaska First Nation, nothing was found at this location.

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[1] In this paper, the term *Iiyiyuu*, which Crees use to refer to themselves in the coastal dialect, is used interchangeably with the term *Cree*.

[2] The spelling of Cree words used in this paper is based on that used by the Cree School Board (McKenzie et. al. 1987).
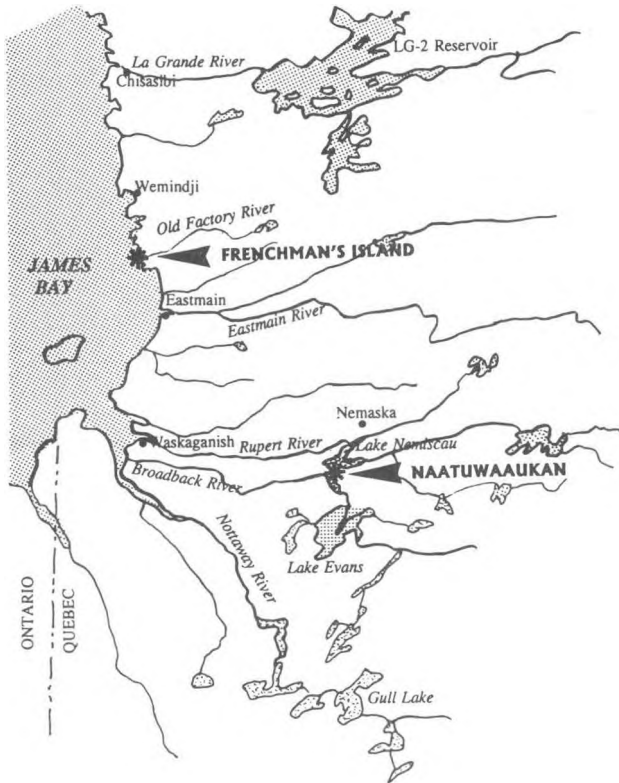
Figure 1. Location of Frenchman's Island and Naatuwaaukan, Quebec.

By focusing on these examples of apparent disjuncture, it will be shown that a dialogue between these two sources of knowledge, involving a reaching out for broader contextual information, is possible, and may result in at least a partial resolution of interpretive problems. The two examples demonstrate that there is a great deal of specific historical information encoded within Cree oral tradition, and that, at least in some cases, it is possible to establish convincing parallels between events constructed on the basis of archival records, archaeology, and oral traditions. While such sifting and searching for congruence between diverse data sets may indeed remove narratives from their cultural context and subject them to external assessment and comparison, it is shown that this process can be a very enriching one for archaeology. On the other hand, the gulf between those sources of knowledge may sometimes be so wide as to raise questions regarding the possibility or appropriateness of interpretative integration.

FRENCHMAN'S ISLAND

As part of the Wemindji Archaeological Project, elders were asked to identify the oldest places of Cree or European settlement in the coastal zone near Wemindji. Several elders mentioned Upishtikwaayaaukaamikw, in Old Factory Bay, as an early European site. In 1987, the archaeological survey crew was taken to the site by local resident, George Stewart. Some surface collection of artifacts was done at this time, a chain and compass map was made, and surface features of the site were photographed (Denton and Larouche 1990). In 1989, this work was followed up with more extensive archaeological testing (Lueger 1990).

Old Factory Bay is important in the more recent history of the Wemindji *Iiyiyuu*. In 1934, a trader named Jack Palmquist, known by Crees as *Taauwaasuu* [trader] set up a store in Old Factory Bay; by 1936, the Hudson's Bay Company (hereafter, HBC, or "the Company") had followed suit and established their own store on a nearby island. Anglican and Oblate missions were also established. From the mid-1930s until 1958, when the community was relocated to its

present site, Old Factory was the home base both for local coastal dwellers and those hunting and trapping far inland. The historic association of Wemindji residents with Old Factory Bay is currently celebrated in an annual event, the "Old Factory Reunion."

My presentation of the Frenchman's Island example begins with the *Iiyiyuu* narrative histories. This is followed by the presentation of documentary and archaeological evidence relating to the site and, then, the introduction of material relating to a historic figure who provides a common thread between oral tradition and the HBC records. There follows a general assessment of the potential archaeological significance of the Wemindji stories. The section on Frenchman's Island concludes with a brief examination of the significance of the stories as metaphor, followed by the introduction of a similar narrative from another Cree community as a means of establishing a broader geographic context.

Frenchman's Island and the Narrative Histories

The place known as Upishtikwaayaaukaamikw (literally "Frenchman's House" or "Frenchman's Trading Post" and more commonly known in English as "Frenchman's Island") figures prominently in the tradition of Wemindji residents. Many Wemindji *Iiyiyuu* are aware that artifacts from the site were found here when, in the 1940s, Oblate fathers, assisted by local Inuit and Cree residents, prepared the ground to grow potatoes. Cree oral tradition is expressed in a story told by Geordie Georgekish to Colin Scott in 1979:

> This is an old story that goes all the way back to the time before the Whiteman first came to this land. There was a certain man living at that time who could conjure (*kuusaapitam*) using the shaking tent (conjuring lodge) and he had the ability of being able to know what would happen in the future, with the help of a *mistaapaau* (spirit helper).
>
> [Narrator assumes the voice of the *mistaapaau*, who is seeing into the future for the man who could conjure]: "I see someone out in the ocean. He is standing in the water. He looks like a huge person in the form of a white spruce (*minhiikwaapaaiiyuu*)." The strange person was just standing there. After a while, the *mistaapaau* spoke to the man again: "Remember what I saw in the ocean? I told you it was a huge person in the form of a white spruce. It is not a person. It is called a ship (*chiiman*)." So he looked around, and it was still just standing there. He spoke to the man once again: "He might find you, but don't be afraid of him. You can go to the ship. You can go to the ship."
>
> The people saw the ship. The man wanted to paddle over to the ship, but none of the men wanted to go with him. Only his wife wanted to paddle to the ship with him. Soon he was on his way, and shortly he arrived. Their jackets were made of fur from animals that he had trapped. So the people on the ship gave them some other clothes to wear. "Take your clothes off," they were told, and they understood what they were told. So the woman, whose pants were made of muskrat fur, removed her pants. And they went home wearing the clothes that the people from the ship had given them.
>
> As for the other people who hadn't wanted to go to the ship, they paddled over, and they were also given some clothes to wear by the people in the ship. And that's when the first Whitemen came to the Indian people, in a place called *Paakumshumwaashtikw* ["River spills out"; Old Factory or Vieux Comptoir on official maps].
>
> They lived on an island known as *Upishtikwaayaaukaamikw* [Frenchman's Island, in the bay at Old Factory]. They began building houses there. The news of the first Whitemen's meeting with the Indian people spread in the world. As the news was heard more and more Whitemen came to the Indian's land. They started living on the Indian's land.
>
> Here in a place called Maatuskaau [Poplar River]...it is said an old Englishman lived. The place belonged to the Indian people. Of the Whitemen that had come to the Indian's land, I guess he was the oldest. So he got the name *Chisaawaamistikushiiu* (Elder Englishman; *chisaa*, meaning "old," also connotes "wise" and "great"; *waamistikushiiu* translates as "Englishman"). His (Indian) wife also came from the place called Maatuskaau. It is said that he had a son-in-law who was Indian.

There was another Englishman who lived in Eastmain. He was the first Whiteman who ever came to that place. He sold rifles and shotguns. He sold them to the Indian people. People came from the north to Eastmain to pick up firearm supplies such as powder for their shotguns...

Concerning some people from the north who went to pick up ammunition in Eastmain, when they returned (from trapping), they just walked by [place reference unclear] and headed straight to Frenchman's Island. That's where the Frenchmen lived here at Old Factory. The Frenchman runs toward them, and when he reaches them, he unfastens their dog sleds and takes all the fur that they had wanted to sell him. But they get nothing at all from him.

Now Elder Englishman who lived at Maatuskaau, when he heard about this, wanted to see for himself what he had heard. He wanted to see what the Frenchman did to the Indian people. "Well, if I had the chance to return to where I came from, I could show the Frenchman something he wouldn't like, for what he had done to the people. So I guess I'll go home," said Elder Englishman.

He asked his son-in-law to go with him. ...Soon, he and his father-in-law were on their way to that place. That's where the big fight started, the fight between the Englishmen and the Frenchmen. The Company (*Kaampaanii*, referring to the Hudson's Bay Company), as it turned out, won the fight. That's when the Company first came to the Indian's land. [Narrator's aside: "But I just wonder what year it was when all this took place."] This was something that the old people did in the past. It was from long ago that the Indians first lived in this country, before the First Frenchmen, who found the Indians, came to this place. Then the Frenchmen, who found the Indians, came to this place. Then the Frenchmen and the Company fought. The Company won the fight. Right now, the Company still stands for the Indian people[3] (Geordie Georgekish, cited in Scott 1992a).

Another Wemindji elder, Jacob Georgekish, provided a slightly different version of the first contact (Scott 1992a, 1992b). The story also appears to locate the events of the first contact specifically at Old Factory Bay. It begins:

Before the first Englishman arrived here, and even before the first Frenchmen arrived, only the Indian (*Iiyiyuu*) was here. The first Indian people who lived there had their home at Old Factory.

This version states explicitly that the first ship belonged to Frenchmen, not Englishmen. After recounting the story of the first meeting, the narrator continues:

It is said that the French were the first group to see the Indians. They stayed with the people for a long time. I don't remember what happened after that. I wasn't born yet, and my father wasn't born yet, either. The French were the first ones to come to the Indian people. Then after a while, the Company (Hudson's Bay Co.) came to the people.

When these people from the ship stayed with the Indian people, the only food they relied on was fish. They gathered hundreds, and put them in barrels, then buried these barrels under the snow. From time to time they took some out to eat.

Finally, the time came when they had to leave for home. After the French left, it was the Englishman's turn to meet the Indians. But the Company never had any intention of leaving the Indians.

The narrator ends with a description of the arrival of other ships, the establishment of trading posts on the coast (e.g., "Eastmain was one of the first ones built around here"), and trading at Waskaganish.

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[3] All notes in parentheses are in the original. The spelling of the words *Iiyiyuu*,*Upishtikwaayaaukaamikw* and *Chisaa-waamistikushiiu* in this text and the following one have been modified to make them consistent with the spellings elsewhere in this paper.

Documentary and Archaeological Evidence

While the Frenchman's Island site was identified through the oral tradition and local knowledge, its interpretation has focused more on the documentary record, in particular the archival record of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the late 17th and early 18th century, for example, there are references to a place on the East Main (east coast of James and Hudson bays) called Gilpin's Island. In the mid-1680s, HBC officials ordered the establishment of a post for mineral exploration (mica) along the James Bay coast (Rich 1948: 122, cited in Lueger 1990: 5). While documentary sources do not indicate whether this post was ever built, Gilpin's Island would have been a likely location.

In 1692-93, Captain James Knight and a party of 123 men wintered at Gilpin's Island prior to re-capturing Albany Fort, an important post located on the west side of James Bay, from the French early in the summer of 1693. Ships based in Albany wintered over here in 1702-03 and 1705-06, and perhaps, on other occasions at the very end of the 17th and in the early 18th century. During this period, Gilpin's Island was one of two places on the East Main, along with the mouth of the Eastmain River, where HBC personnel spent the fall to spring period putting in provisions of game and trading with local Crees. There is no mention of the use of Gilpin's Island after 1706; by the end of second decade of the century, the HBC had chosen the Eastmain River as the most favourable place for trade, and a seasonal post was established there in 1719 (Lueger 1990: 7-10).

There is one important 18th century reference to Gilpin's Island. In 1744, the sloop *Eastmain* sailed north along the coast from Eastmain House under Thomas Mitchell. Mitchell took time to visit an "old house" (trading post) whose location was provided by Crees. He notes:

> I went to view ye Island ye Natives told us ye old house was on and there we found
> Like a pinnacle of Stones & Post set up in ye Middle with this Inscription or Righting as
> viz In ye year 1692 Winterd here 3 Ships at this Island with 123 Men under ye Govern-
> ment of Captn James Knight then we Erected this monument in remembrance of itt.
> I suppose this Island Cold Gilpins Island (B.59/a/10, cited in Lueger 1990: 12).

Following our 1987 visit, it was suggested that Frenchman's Island and Gilpin's Island were probably one and the same and that the archaeological finds here could be related to the wintering of the Knight expedition in 1692-93, and to subsequent winterings by HBC ships in the very early 1700s (Denton 1987; Denton and Larouche 1990; see also Gaumond 1968). A two-meter high pile of rocks located in a boulder field at the summit of a hill on the middle of the island was proposed as a candidate for the "pinnacle of Stones" erected by members of the Knight expedition (Denton 1987: 33). Lueger's subsequent archaeological testing at the Frenchman's Island Site and his examination of the documentary record strongly supported the association between Frenchman's Island and the Gilpin's Island of the HBC records. The artifact sample, including construction materials (e.g., large quantities of English bricks, Dutch bricks, roof and floor tiles and wrought nails), as well as the other artifacts (e.g., more than 2700 clay pipe fragments—almost all English, ceramics, gunflints and gunspalls, and lead shot), is compatible with the use of Gilpin's Island by the Knight expedition and in ensuing winterings in the late 17th/early 18th century (Lueger 1990). The trash pit, which produced a large proportion of the artifacts, could well have been used during the wintering of the large Knight party. Test excavations also revealed a house foundation of cobbles in packed clay, 12 m by 12-14 m, although it cannot be determined whether this structure was associated with the Knight expedition or another occupation of the site during the late 17th/early 18th century period.

A much smaller number of artifacts and a cellar pit that overlies part of the foundation of the earlier house have been identified. These are proposed to be associated with the use of the site in the 1804-06 period by the North West Company, which operated a trading post in Old Factory Bay during this period (Lueger 1990).

While there appears to be a good fit between the documentary and archaeological information, on the surface at least, the Cree narrative histories do not agree. Both Denton and Larouche (1990) and Lueger (1990) note that the identification of the Europeans as "French" in Wemindji oral tradition, and the corresponding toponym "Frenchman's House," appear to contradict the archaeological and historical interpretation of the late 17th and early 18th century use of the site

Figure 2. Elma Moses and the late Leonard Visitor are shown with a two meter high boulder feature thought to be the "pinnacle of stones" erected as a monument by members of the Knight expedition in 1693. (Photo: D. Denton)

by the English and the Hudson's Bay Company.

In the following section, it is shown that the resolution of the contradiction between the oral tradition and the archaeological/historic information is contained within the Cree oral tradition itself, which can be read within the context of additional information provided by HBC historical records.

Chisawaamistikushiiu and the North West Company

The second portion of the narrative provided by Geordie Georgekish describes an aggressive incident in which a "Frenchman," based at the Frenchman's House in Old Factory Bay, takes furs from Crees on their way to trade. The man who Wemindji Cree tradition refers to as *Chisaawaa-mistikushiiu*, the "great" or the "elder" Englishman, intervenes on behalf of the Cree people.
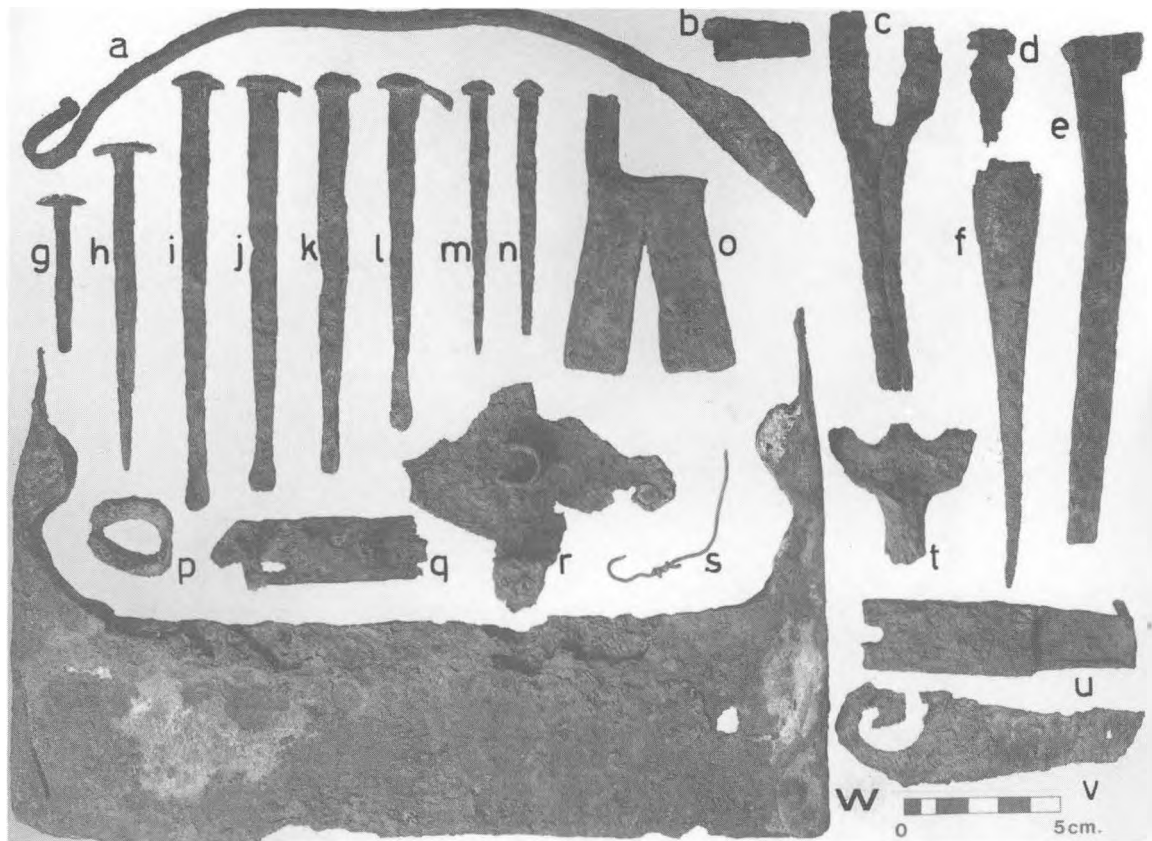
Figure 3. Tools and building hardware from Frenchman's Island. (Photo: R. Lueger)

Other stories and genealogical information offered by Wemindji residents in relation to the Wemindji Archaeology Project allow us to connect the *Chisaawaamistikushiiu* with George Atkinson II, a Métis trader as famed in the HBC documentary record as in local lore. Atkinson was born in 1777 of George Atkinson I (the chief trader at Eastmain) and a Cree woman named Nucushin. Known to the Cree as "Sneppy" or "Snappie," he spent almost all of his life on the James Bay East Main. Atkinson is generally regarded as an "Indian," or "half-breed" in the HBC records, yet the *Iiyiyuu* tradition, while clearly recognizing him as Métis, bestows upon him the epithet of "Whiteman."

In the service of the HBC during its most intense competition with the North West Company, Atkinson was instrumental in implementing the Company's new policy of exploring the interior hinterland and establishing inland posts due to his knowledge of bush life and his influence with the Cree. Nonetheless, he was often criticized by his superiors and fellows for being too close to the Cree. In 1795, James Fogget wrote that Atkinson would "never be of any service upon the account that he is sent for, for he delights always in the company of the Indians, and not in the Englishmens" (Davies and Johnson 1963: 330-1). Atkinson's influence over the Cree in the eyes of the traders was extraordinary. In 1813, the London Committee wrote: "The great difficulty appears to be to reconcile with George Atkinson... we are aware that the influence of Atkinson over the Indians is such that unless they can be brought to cooperate there would be but little prospect of success and we fear that there may be some difficulty in establishing cordiality between Atkinson and any European officers for long continuance..." (Davies and Johnson 1963: 335).

The HBC records indicate that Atkinson was "retired" on half pay for one year in 1821 and then granted an annuity of £20 per annum for seven years. Although he was also offered an opportunity to buy land in the Red River colony, he preferred to remain at Maatuskaau (Poplar River) near the James Bay coast, where he lived until about 1829. Finally, he left with some of his family for Red River Settlement, where he died in 1830 at the age of 53. His will mentions his

wife, Winnepaigoraquai, seven sons, and seven daughters. At least two of these sons were by his "old wife" (Davies and Johnson 1963: 340-1).

Atkinson's support for the Cree and his willingness to assist them in the face of unfair dealings with traders is clear in the oral accounts. A parallel view is strongly conveyed in written comments of Atkinson's HBC colleagues or superiors, both during the latter part of his employment with the HBC and following his retirement to Maatuskaau. Atkinson's ideas for dealing with the Cree were often in conflict with those of other Company employees who felt that his approach was inimical to profitable trade. In 1822, Clouston blamed Atkinson for the dissatisfaction felt by the *Iiyiyuu* in the Big River (Chisasibi) area saying Atkinson informed them that they were being cheated and advised them not to hunt fur bearers until they received better prices. Again in 1824, Clouston complained that Atkinson gave the Indians exaggerated ideas about the value of furs and geese in England and advised them that if they stopped hunting for a time they would receive "more pay in future" Davies and Johnson 1963: 340). Clouston wrote that the *Iiyiyuu* "esteem his knowledge to be equal to that of the spirit which enters the conjuring house and his words equally true" (cited in Davies and Johnson 1963: 340).

Some of the comments offered regarding *Chisaawaamistikushiiu* by Wemindji residents in the framework of the archaeology project are as follows:

I heard that *Chisaawaamistikushiiu* got fired because he married an Indian woman. He himself was half Indian and half Whiteman. [After he was fired] he sailed his boat to Maatuskaau and this is where he stayed. His first location was at Aanaataaukaashit (Spruce tree point). Then he moved his camp to Upichuun[4]. As far as I can remember the spruce trees have always been large at that place called Aanaataaukaashit. Chisaawaamistikushiiu's boat got loose and drifted east of the river on the north shore and where it drifted there are now large spruce trees, so it must have been a long time ago when this happened... The ground is very low in that area... there is a large swamp and at the end of the swamp is where his boat reached shore. There was a point there at the time (interview with William Asquabaneskum, 1990).

There were a lot of them in his family...*Chisaawaamistikushiiu* hunted the same way as the Crees. He used to live with Mistikush. One time he went away for one year to tell the Europeans how the Indians lived. He came back to the same place when he got back... A long time ago they never had tea. My "grandfather" mentioned it to Chisaawaamistikushiiu who passed the word to the Whitemen when he went away and in this way he helped the Indians to get tea (interview with Frankie Asquabaneskum, 1990).

The French traders would come and take the people's fur even if the people did not want to give it—that is what they were like. *Chisaawaamistikushiiu* told the people that they were not to do this. He said to the Indians that if he told this story to the people in England that the French people would not be here. I guess the Company manager told Chisaawaamistikushiiu to go on the ship to tell the people [in England] what the French people were doing. The reason he did this was the French people were cheating the Crees. That is all I heard about this (interview with Sam Hughboy, 1990).

The linkage between Chisaawaamistikushiiu and George Atkinson II suggests the "French"on "Frenchman's Island" can be associated with the 1804-06 North West Company's presence in Old Factory Bay. While a certain proportion of the North West Company personnel were French Canadian, most were of Scots ancestry; none of the traders who are documented as having worked at the North-West Company post in Old Factory Bay were French (Lueger 1990: 24). The identification of the traders as "French" would appear to reflect a semantic shift, as hinted by Denton and Larouche (1990) and Lueger (1990): whereas the HBC men consistently refer to the competition as the "Canadians," Crees likely employed the term *Upishtikwaayaau*. This term, currently used to designate French Canadians and by extension French speakers (McKenzie et. al. 1987; Vaillancourt 1992), appears to derive from the Montagnais (Innu) toponym for Quebec

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[4] During the archaeological survey, these two locations were precisely located in the field with the help of Frankie Asquabaneskum (Denton and Larouche 1990: 40-5).

(Quebec City) (Martijn 1991: 59); it is one of the Innu terms designating the Saint Lawrence River (*uepishtikuiau-shipu*) (Vincent 1992: 28n.). In the early 19th century, the term likely had a geographic rather than an ethnic or linguistic connotation. To the 19th century HBC personnel, the *Iiyiyuu* toponym *Upishtikwaayaaukaamikw* would probably translate as "Canadian House."

A Trip to England and the Fight Against the "French"

It is tempting to draw a link with events referred to in the HBC documents for 1804-06, the period of the North West Company presence in Old Factory Bay. A key event in the Cree narratives quoted above is Chisaawaamistikushiiu's return to England to seek justice for the Crees wronged by the French. The archival documents indicate that in 1803 Atkinson was sent to establish and maintain an outpost at Big River (mouth of the La Grande River), 140 km to the north of Old Factory. The trading season of 1805-06 was one of considerable hostility between the two companies. On September 7, 1806, it is reported that the North West Company had burned their post at Big River and abandoned the Old Factory post after partially dismantling it (Lueger 1990: 16) before retreating completely from the eastern James Bay coast. At about this time, following a summer trading expedition to Great Whale, Atkinson made his way south to Eastmain and then to Moose Fort, where he took passage to England to discuss the competition with the North West Company with HBC officials. His meeting with the latter in London resulted in his being made a Council member in recognition of his efforts on behalf of the Company and in support of "...his plan to increase the trade and encourage the Indians to pay a decided preference" of the Company. In April 1807, he was given a "gratuity" of £50 in lieu of expenses and extra services in the Bay. Atkinson returned to the Bay in the summer 1807 (Davies and Johnson 1963: 334).

While the hazards of drawing such specific ties between oral traditions and documentary history are legion, the parallel here is strong enough to suggest that the same trip is referred to in both versions.[5] In this context, the fight between the French and the English in the stories refers most directly to the period of fierce competition between the traders of the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company, although it is likely coloured by, and to some extent, fused with more distant, analogous memories of military struggles between the French and the English in James and Hudson bays (see, for example, Scott 1989, 1992b).

The Cree Stories and Archaeological Interpretation

The Wemindji narratives quoted here contain much of interest for the archaeologist. First, the oral tradition lends support to the interpretation of Frenchman's Island as the site of the North West Company trading post, an interpretation otherwise based on somewhat scanty archaeological data (i.e., a very small number of late 18th/early 19th century artifacts and a root cellar). Second, the narratives identify Frenchman's Island as the locus of the earliest trading by Europeans arriving by ship on the central James Bay coast. It recognizes that these events happened well before, and were very much a prelude to the opening of the first, much more permanent post at Eastmain, which became the centre of trade on James Bay for most of the 18th century. Most importantly for the archaeologist, the narratives identify the location where these events took place. On these points the local tradition and the documentary evidence complement each other perfectly. Third, the oral tradition includes details that may clarify the historical context. For example, mention in the second narrative of the large number of casks used for the storage of fish for winter food is probably significant[6] The narratives also suggest that, following the initial contact, the new arrivals began to build trading posts; this may be read as support for the idea that the winterings of various parties in the late 17th/early 18th century period involved the construction of a building or buildings (also indicated by the archaeological evidence) that functioned, at least in part, as a trading posts. Finally, a direction for future archaeological investigation is also suggested in the affirmation of the *Iiyiyuu* presence at Old Factory Bay before the time of arrival of

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[5] For slightly different interpretations of this voyage, see Scott (1992b: 53) and Morantz (1984: 183).

[6] This seems to be mirrored in the HBC documents for both periods of use of the site. The HBC governors noted "*. the great number of fish* & and other fresh provisions during all the time of [Knight's] .ay [on Gilpin's Island].." (emphasis added, Rich 1957: 228-9, cited in Lueger 1990: 8]). In 1804, North West Company personnel arrived in Old Factory Bay to build their post "with a quantity of casks." (B.59/a/81: 29, cited in Lueger 1990: 15) which must have been for the storage of wild food, especially fish.
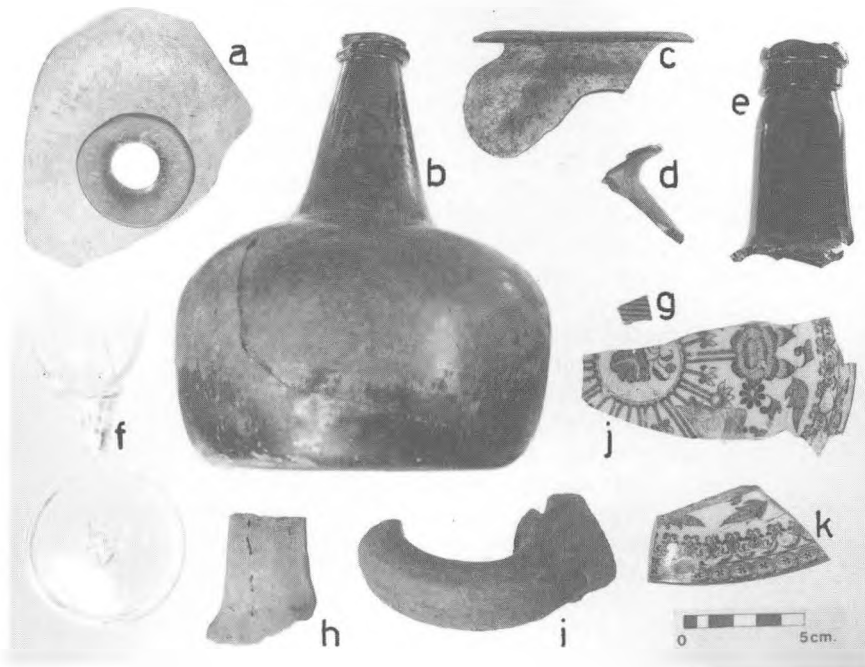
Figure 4. Glass and ceramics from the Frenchman's Island site. (Photo: Richard Lueger)
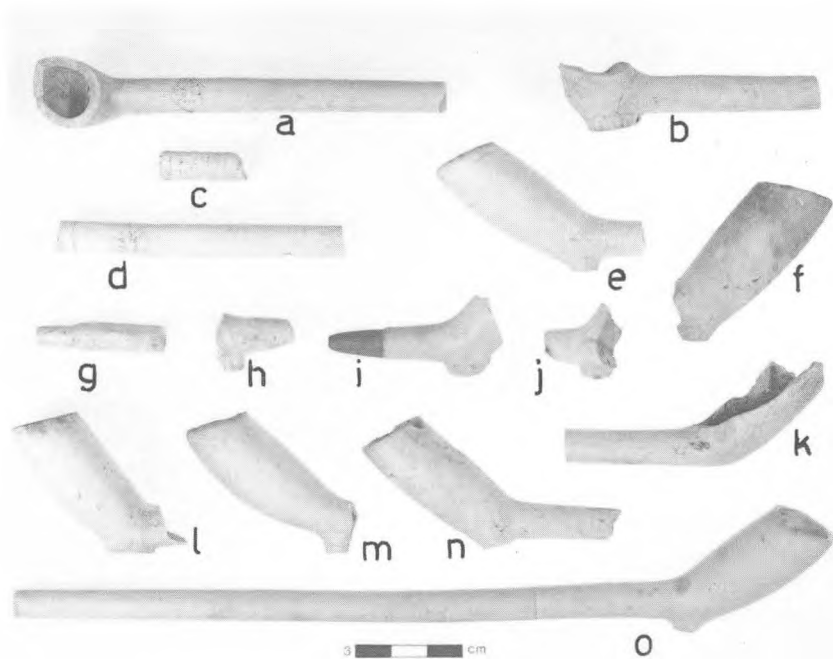
Figure 5. Clay pipes from the Frenchman's Island site. (Photo: Richard Lueger)

the first Europeans. While this could be read as a general statement of the priv-macy of *Iiyiyuu* occupation, it might also be a hint that Old Factory Bay was a traditional summering place, perhaps used by the "people of the sea" referred to Jesuit Charles Albanel at the time of his 1672 visit to the eastern James Bay coast (Thwaites 1896-1901: 203).

But what about the identification of the *earliest* European traders as French? While both Wemindji narratives insist that the French were the first to contact the *Iiyiyuu*, only the second would appear to explicitly identify the ships arriving in Old Factory as French. One could suggest that the "French" (*Upishtikwaayaau*) identification relates to an undocumented French post in this area in the 17th century, or perhaps even to the presence of Médard Chouart (des Groseilliers) on board the Nonsuch in 1668, when Charles Fort, the first post of what in 1670 would become the Hudson's Bay Company, was established. However, it is more plausible to read this as a more general statement on the arrival of the French in the Saint Lawrence Valley and the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in the 16th century and the trading contact between the French the Innu, who together with the Cree and the Naskapi, formed part of a linguistic and cultural continuum across the Quebec and Labrador subarctic. It is thus an expression of the long period of trading contacts with the French, contacts that certainly affected *Iiyiyuu* living near James Bay well before the arrival of English traders and the establishment of the Hudson's Bay Company in this area. This chronology agrees in all respects with that of the Western historical tradition.

If the above interpretations are correct, the narrative histories can be seen as relating to three different epochs: the period of early contact with the French in the Gulf of St. Lawrence; the arrival of the ship in Old Factory Bay in the late 17th century and the subsequent development of HBC trading posts in this area; and the period of rivalry between the HBC and the North West Company in the early 1800s. In a sense, they are capsule historic commentaries on the arrival of Europeans and their subsequent relations with Crees. Geographically, the stories are both general, reflecting broad trends, and specific, tied to a particular location. Any possible confusion (from a western historical perspective) may be one of scale, and the linking of the broad trends of regional history to a particular historical site in the Wemindji territory. Frenchman's Island *was* the location of the first major European contact for *local* people, and, on a broader geographic scale, the first Europeans to meet with Crees and their close neighbours were French. The fact that the island was used at a later date by the Euro-Canadians identified as "French," may be at the root of an association between the two, with distinctions blurred by a shift in the meaning of the word *Upishtikwaayaau*.

Metaphor and Literal Historical Accounts

Scott has shown the dual nature (positive and negative) of Cree representations of the "Whiteman" in Cree history and mythology (1992b, 1989). In contrast to the negative images of anti-social behaviour symbolically associated with Europeans in certain kinds of stories where they may appear as pseudo-human beings or even cannibal monsters, the historical narratives such as those quoted above emphasize relations based on positive reciprocity. They are also excessively charitable in their representation of the Company: "The English are seen as generous and legitimate partners in trade, more interested than their colonial and commercial rivals in the Indian's welfare. Loyalty to the Company is presented in a positive light, an important factor where material means of enforcing Company authority were always limited" (Scott 1992a: 17). Concerns relating to fairness in exchange relations are very clear in these stories. The favourable representations appear to be aimed at committing Europeans to relations of positive reciprocity and providing an idealized view of the past as a model for future exchanges (Scott 1992b, 1989).

These historical narratives, like other first contact stories (Delage 1992: 113), also emphasize the spiritual superiority of the Natives, who, through their contact with the spirit world are able to predict the arrival of Europeans, much as Crees tell now of elders who prophesied the James Bay hydro-electric project. In terms of this broader meaning of the narratives, the lack of distinction between the French and the North West Company is less significant than the opposition between the Company and its competitors. Chisaawaamistikushiiu himself likely played a role in promoting a favourable view of the Company and the negative view of the rivals that is ultimately reflected in *Iiyiyuu* historical tradition; this does not diminish the significance of the stories as metaphor and model for exchange relations.

As we have seen, these stories are also literal historical accounts containing clear chronological referents. In general, Cree elders are very aware of the chronology of events such as the order of establishment of major fur trade posts, stretching back to the 18th century. Also, in contrast to the view that oral history is more concerned with the events than the actors involved (Allen and Montell 1981, cited in Morantz 1984), some of the narratives quoted here suggest that the identification of the personalities may be critical.

First Contact Stories in a Regional Context

As we have noted, the narratives are at once general in a geographic sense as well as local, tied to a particular place that relates to the history of the community. A very similar "first contact" story is told in at least one other Cree community, that of Whapmagoostui, located at the mouth of the Great Whale River (Trudel 1992). In this version, a shaman conducts a shaking tent ceremony in order to determine the origin of a loud booming noise heard (cannon fire) and later observes the ship like a tree in the water. He goes to meet the ship and is given a new suit of clothes and brandy in exchange for his fur clothes, a drink of brandy (though not enough to get him drunk), and a strange hat called *chichikawan* or *chichikauniyu*.

Like the Wemindji story, a more complete version of the Whapmagoostui story is rooted to a particular site, a location at the narrows on Carin Island in Lake Guillaume-Delisle (Richmond Gulf) where the HBC maintained a trading post from 1750 to 1757. In this version (Mamianscum, cited in Masty and Marshall, n.d.), as the man paddles back following the trading encounter (and his first experience of brandy), he begins to sing a song (which the narrator sings) of the ship that would anchor at the island and the building (trading post) that would soon be built. The man gives brandy to the other Cree, who get drunk; the next morning they go to the ship and are given guns, have their clothes taken from them and are provided with new clothes. Arrangements are made to meet at the same location next summer. The following summer the ship returns to the location in Richmond Gulf with wood to construct a building. This story can perhaps be related to two exploratory voyages undertaken by HBC personnel along the coast to the north of Eastmain House, as far as Richmond Gulf; one in 1744, led by Eastmain House master, Thomas Mitchell, and a second in 1749, led by William Coats. These were the first HBC expeditions north along this portion of the coast and very much a prelude to the establishment of Richmond Fort in 1750 by Mitchell.

As noted by Trudel (1992: 66), the strange hat in the story likely relates to the distinctive hats and coats provided by the HBC as a symbol of office to those Natives designated by the HBC as "captains" (Morantz 1977, 1983). Captains were provided with brandy and tobacco which they distributed to their followers in order to encourage fur production and trading with the Company. The first mention of a captain's suit at Eastmain House was in 1744, when the suit and gifts were conferred on a "northern captain" (Morantz 1983: 135), just a few months before the Mitchell expedition to Richmond Gulf. Mustapacoss, the first "homeguard captain" (i.e., captain of the Cree living relatively near the post who played an important role in supplying the post with meat) at Eastmain acted as a guide on the Mitchell expedition (Francis and Morantz 1983: 66). Mustapacoss played an important role in extending the trade to the northern Crees (Morantz 1983: 42). In 1750, Mustapacoss's son, Cobbage, became, for a short period, a captain over the "Great River Indians" at Richmond Fort. Thus, these HBC efforts to expand their trade to the north coincided in time with the development of the trading captain system, both for the northern trade and for the Eastmain trade, in general. Both these initial efforts and the role of the trading captain would seem to be portrayed very clearly in the story from Whapmagoostui.

THE *NAATUWAAU* BONES

Somewhat different issues regarding the integration of archaeology and oral tradition are raised in the case of the other site referred to in the title of this paper. The place named Naatuwaaukan, or "*Naatuwaau* bones," is located near the end of a 4.5 km long portage between Wittigo Lake (which is connected by a shorter portage to Nemiscau Lake) and the Broadback River (Figure 2). The story is told that this is a location of a battle between Crees and a party of foreign raiders from the south identified as *Naatuwaauch*. The *Naatuwaauch* (*Naatuweuch* in the inland

Cree dialect), for whom the Nottaway river is named, are usually identified as Iroquois. According to the story, the members of the raiding party were ambushed and killed by Crees. Several elders presently living in Nemaska and Waswanipi remember their parents pointing out human bones located on the surface of the ground near the portage trail and telling them that the bones were those of the *Naatuwaauch*. It is said that the last time the bones were seen was about 55 years ago.

In 1987, as a part of an archaeological project undertaken in collaboration with the Nemaska Band, I was asked to examine this area archaeologically (Denton and Chism 1991). An elder whose trapline is located on the Broadback side of the long portage blazed trees to mark the location prior to our visit. The marked area is a clearing about 30m by 30m near the southern end of a low, sandy ridge. While there was apparently little tree cover here at the time the bones were last seen, the forest has grown up here in the intervening period as has the vegetation covering the ground. The area marked was tested intensively. While nothing was found at this time, it was later suggested by the elder that our testing had not been quite in the correct place.

What does the absence of archaeological materials corresponding to the oral tradition mean in this case? Did we dig in the wrong place, as the trapper suggests? Or were we in the correct location, but still missed the evidence? Could the elder have been mistaken regarding the location? Or might the story have no factual basis?

It is obvious that finding any particular archaeological site referred to in historical tradition (whether written or oral) may be a "needle in the haystack operation," especially in areas of relatively dense forest cover, where archaeological visibility is extremely low and recovery of archaeological evidence requires test pits. To this, we must add preservation problems: in general, bone material in the subarctic forest environment disintegrates within about century or less; could the bone have decomposed since the regrowth of the forest in this area?

Given these potential sampling and preservation problems, it is clear that a short program of archaeological testing is poor evidence compared to the knowledge of events contained in oral traditions. In fact, in the course of the Cree Regional Authority's archaeology program, archaeological assumptions and methods are often called into question based on very precise information provided by Cree elders. For example, the contrast between the detailed description of activities and use of some 20th century sites and the small number of artifacts recovered indicates that some activities may leave relatively few archaeological traces and that archaeological methods and interpretation must be adjusted to account for such problems of visibility (Denton and Chism 1991: 53, 58, 60).

Still, in a case like Naatuwaaukan, it is reasonable to ask whether the oral tradition should be taken as literally as an archaeological "confirmation" would seem to require. From the Cree perspective, this is not to be questioned. Naatuwaaukan is only one of a number of places in the Cree territories that relate to raids by Naatuwaauch, usually located on the principal canoe routes into the Cree territory from the south. Crees have also noted material remains in the ground in connection with at least two such places. In one case, the finding of arrow points is interpreted by local residents as proof of the accuracy of the battle story. In another, the finding of glass beads is used to add detail to the story, in which the raiding Naatuwaau were dressed in beaded loincloths.

Algonquian tradition throughout Northeastern North America is replete with stories of raiding Iroquois being vanquished by local people who were able to trick the invaders in some manner (often resulting in their going over a large falls in their canoes and drowning), or to ambush them successfully along a portage, or to dispatch them using magical powers. The historical component of these stories has been highlighted by some scholars who link them to Iroquois aggressions into Algonquian territory for control of the 17th century fur trade (e.g., Morantz 1984; Rousseau and Rousseau 1948). Other authors (Smith 1983; Trudel 1986) have underlined the sociological significance of these stories with respect to group identity and world view.

Many of the Cree stories of the *Naatuwaauch* have a strongly mythical quality. The places associated with such stories in the Cree territories, occurring at least as far north as the central James Bay coast (Denton and Larouche 1990), are indeed part of a cultural and mythological landscape in which the southern quarter is, in part, defined in relation to this threat of penetration by non-Cree aggressors. Trudel (1986: 94-96) notes that the ethnic identity of the *Naatuwaauch* may not always be clear and that there is a strong parallel between these stories and some accounts of the *pwaat* (*pwaatich*, plural)— humans or pseudo-human's (usually male) who travel

Figure 6. Frankie Asquabaneskum at the site of Chisawaamistikushiiu's first house at Anaataaukaashit, in the Maatuskaaw (Poplar River) area. (Photo: D. Denton)

in the bush and, in some stories, attempt to attack Crees and kidnap Cree women. This is clear as well in the story of a Cree ambush of marauding *Naatuwaauch* on a portage south of Wemind-jiin which the *Naatuwaauch* are also referred to as *pwaat* (Denton and Larouche 1990: 172). While most of the *Naatuwaau* stories portray the Crees as successfully defeating the invaders there are examples of stories in which Crees are attacked in their camps and killed or taken captive (Morantz 1984: 178-9).

Certainly, the stories associated with these places reflect and perhaps fueled the palpable fear of the Iroquois noted as late as the mid-20th century throughout much of the Quebec Cree world. On the other hand, the convergence of some of these stories and documentary accounts left by Jesuit missionaries is noteworthy. This is especially true in the Lake Nemiscau area. Following his visit to Nemiscau in 1672, Jesuit Father Charles Albanel writes:

Five large rivers empty into [Lake Nemiscau], making it so rich in fish that the latter formed the main subsistence of a populous savage nation dwelling here eight or ten years

ago. The sad monuments of their place of residence are still to be seen; and also, on a rocky islet, the remains of a large fort constructed of stout trees by the Iroquois, whence he guarded all approaches and made frequent murderous sallies. Seven years ago, he killed on this spot, or led away captive, eighty persons; this caused the entire abandonment of the place, its original inhabitants departing thence. Owing to the size of the river and the nearness of the sea, there was formerly much traffic here, people coming from various quarters (Thwaites 1896-1901, vol. 56: 183).

The geographic association of the Albanel account and the Cree story is surely significant and suggests that the same general episode is referred to in both. It is doubtless significant that the place called Naatuwaaukan is located on the portage between the Broadback River and Lake Nemiscau. This portage, which came to be known to the HBC as "the long portage," was used at the end of the 1700s, when the HBC began their first tentative efforts to establish inland posts from their base at Eastmain House (Davies and Johnson 1963: 273) and was the principal route used for the resupply of Waswanipi post from Rupert House during most of the 19th century. As the Nemiscau Lake-Broadback River route is the only practical canoe way connecting Nemiscau Lake with most other areas to the south, it is likely that this route and the long portage were used during earlier periods, as well. Thus, the juxtaposition of the Cree story and Albanel's account strongly suggest that this was the route taken by a raiding *Naatuwaauch* party, probably around 1665.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this chapter, I have examined two examples where there has been some integration of oral tradition in the framework of an archaeology project and an attempt made to establish a dialogue between data from diverse sources. As noted at the outset, reflection on both of these cases began from what appeared to be a divergence in views. In the case of Frenchman's Island, this divergence turned out to hinge on a question of semantics. The consideration of a larger body of narratives served to clarify the context and to assist in drawing parallels with both archaeological and documentary data. Once these parallels were established, it was shown that the oral tradition contains additional elements that contribute not only to an understanding of the context of the archaeological site, but can identify other related sites, and suggest new ways to orient future archaeological research. The Frenchman's Island case also suggests that a chronological reading of oral tradition, which an integration with archaeology would seem to require, must pay careful attention to internal consistency, both within a single narrative and within a body of stories, and that external (documentary) accounts, specifically, the HBC records, can be of great assistance in this respect.

In the second case, the strong convergence of the historic accounts of the Jesuits, the geographic context of recorded travel routes, and the Cree tradition of *Naatuwaau* raids in this area suggest that a more sustained archaeological search in this locale might well be rewarded with archaeological evidence of *Naatuwaau* incursions, or at least of Cree settlements occupied at the time of these incursions. Although a non-Cree historian or archaeologist might question the outcome of any individual raids, noting the strong mythical and heroic character and the similar structure of many of the stories, there is no reason to doubt that such raids took place. It can be argued that such *Naatuwaau* narratives throughout the Quebec Cree territory closely follow the actual routes taken by the invaders from the south. Little clear significance can thus be attributed to the fact that no archaeological evidence was found at the site identifie.! as the location of the battle at Naatuwaaukan.

Still, the mythical character of some of these stories raises questions for all those seeking an integration of archaeological data, archaeological confirmation, or an archaeological illustration for a traditional narrative. In Cree tradition, there are two principle genres of narrative: *atiyuuh-kaan* (often translated as "myth"), which include stories that took place before the world assumed its present form) and *tipaachimuun* (often translated as "news" or "tidings"), which are stories that are "understood literally to have happened in the experience of living people or their ancestors" (Scott 1992a). However, as in other traditions (including that of Western scholarship *and*

archaeology), distinctions between myth and history are not absolute. There are many hundreds of Cree traditional narratives tied to particular places on the landscape (some *explaining* particular landscape features) that are, from a Western perspective, *fantastic,* and reflect the close links with the spirit world and its diverse manifestations that are a part of the traditional belief system. While these narratives contain strong spiritual and metaphorical elements, like the *Naatuwaau* stories, they are considered *tipaachimuun*. Archaeologists can record such places and note their significance within local tradition and cosmology, and they may record associated habitation sites. But it may be asked whether any interpretive synthesis of the events literally recounted in the narratives and the results of archaeological investigations is possible or appropriate. I simply raise this issue, without being able to set out any rules or criteria, and note that there will always be uncertainties regarding the degree of figurative or literal meaning to attribute to such stories for the purpose of archaeological integration.

The same point is as much true for a reading of the exchange events recounted in Frenchman's Island narratives as for those of the battle with the *Naatuwaau*. That an archaeologist may opt for a more figurative reading versus the literal one chosen by the story-tellers themselves reflects a significant divergence in understanding and world view. Clearly the integration attempted in this paper is from the perspective of a Western archaeologist and anthropologist: very different conclusions might have resulted if a similar exercise were to be attempted by someone from within the *Iiyiyuu* tradition. The only general conclusion I can draw on this issue is that if the dialogue is carried out with mutual respect, the possibility exists for expanding the margins of understanding in both directions or, at the very least, for defining more clearly the appropriate field for, or the limitations of, each form of knowledge.

In both cases presented above, the oral tradition is at once metaphorical and literal, reflecting at once general notions of history and how these broader events are played out on the local scene. For archaeology, it is important to stress that the tradition is geographically anchored and that the places designated form part of both the historical landscape and the cosmology of the people concerned. In this sense, it is significant that there is more than one first contact site and more than one *Naatuwaau* battle site, reflecting both the cosmological significance of such narratives for local people *and* the fact that the events were actually played out in many areas across the Cree region and beyond.

By way of conclusion, it is vital to note that the oral traditions themselves may be read as indigenous archaeological interpretations. In this sense, they already represent an integration of oral tradition and material (archaeological) evidence, being reflections on material remains from events stretching back into the past. In the case of the Frenchman's Island site, it is likely that the familiarity with these material remains resulting from the late 17th/early 18th century European settlement was fairly continuous, with local hunters guiding Mitchell to the place in 1744 at a time when remains from the occupation were still clearly visible, with local residents retrieving material from this site early in the 19th century (Denton and Larouche 1990: 51; Lueger 1990: 12-15) and again observing European artifacts coming out of the potato garden in the 20th century.

We suspect that there may often be a complex interplay between oral traditions and such aspects of the archaeological record, conceived in this very broad sense. On the one hand, historic locations on the landscape and the physical remains associated with them may serve as a mnemonic devices, helping to keep narrative histories alive; on the other hand, it can be suggested that oral traditions are not cloistered from other sources of information about the past. Among other things, they may be open to material (archaeological) evidence, and develop or change to help explain that evidence. One possible reading of Naatuwaaukan is that human bones were found at this location by local hunters traveling over the portage and were interpreted in the framework of traditional knowledge of the *Naatuwaau* raids in this area. My point is not to give any particular weight to this interpretation, but simply to note it as a possibility. In sum, while oral traditions represent unbroken chains of knowledge of past events passed from generation to generation, they may also be responsive to material evidence from the past, and these remains may be interpreted (and re-interpreted) within the context of existing knowledge of local and broader regional history and within the framework of possibilities set out in local cultural tradition.

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Gwich'in Traditional Knowledge and Heritage Studies In the Gwich'in Settlement Area

Ingrid D. Kritsch

Alestine M. Andre

CROW STORY[1]

Crow was no good you know.
In the olden days, they say all the animals are human beings, men and women.
And Crow likes to fool the people and cheat them too.
He gets kick out of it, you know.
Sometimes, he would scream and make all kinds of noise.
Well, I guess he made everybody tired.
They couldn't sleep because he made so much noise, especially at night.
So, the men grabbed him and they took his beak so that he couldn't talk anymore.
They hurt him.
He was really suffering, his mouth was sore.
He made a plan to get his beak back.
He went up the Red [Arctic Red River], *not very far from here and he made a raft with wood.*
Then he made people out of moss and placed them on top of it.
He picked berries and he made their eyes too.
Then when he was on top of Vik'ooyendik [no translation], *he got a little boy to look in his hair for lice.*
He told that little boy, "Watch for raft."
All of a sudden, that little boy said that a raft was coming.
Crow told him that the people on the raft were coming from the mountains.
But he fooled the little boy, he lied.
They say, Crow is bad to make medicine.
Crow told the little boy to go down to the Flats and tell everybody that people were coming from up the Red.
Everybody ran to the bank to meet the people, except for a blind old woman who was looking after Crow's beak.
She wanted to go down to the shore too, but didn't know where to put the beak.
That old woman said, "Gee, I don't know where to put this beak?"
That's when Crow lifted up a corner of the tent.
"Give it to me! " he said. "Give it to me!"
The old woman was blind so she couldn't see that Crow was speaking.
She gave the beak to Crow.
Crow put his beak back on so fast, that he put it on crooked!
That's how Crow fooled the people so that he could get his beak back.

Tsiigehtchic, which means "mouth of iron river" is a small Gwich'in[2] community of 160 people, located at the confluence of the Arctic Red and Mackenzie Rivers, in the Northwest Territories. The Crow Story told above takes place at the mouth of the Arctic Red River. It is here, below *Vik'ooyendik* (locally called Church Hill in reference to the Roman Catholic church and mission that sit prominently on this hill), that Crow formerly had his camp. Hollow depressions

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1 Extracted and edited from interviews in 1992 and 1993 with Annie Norbert of Tsiigehtchic.

2 The Gwich'in have been referred to as Loucheux or Kutchin in the early exploration and anthropological literature.
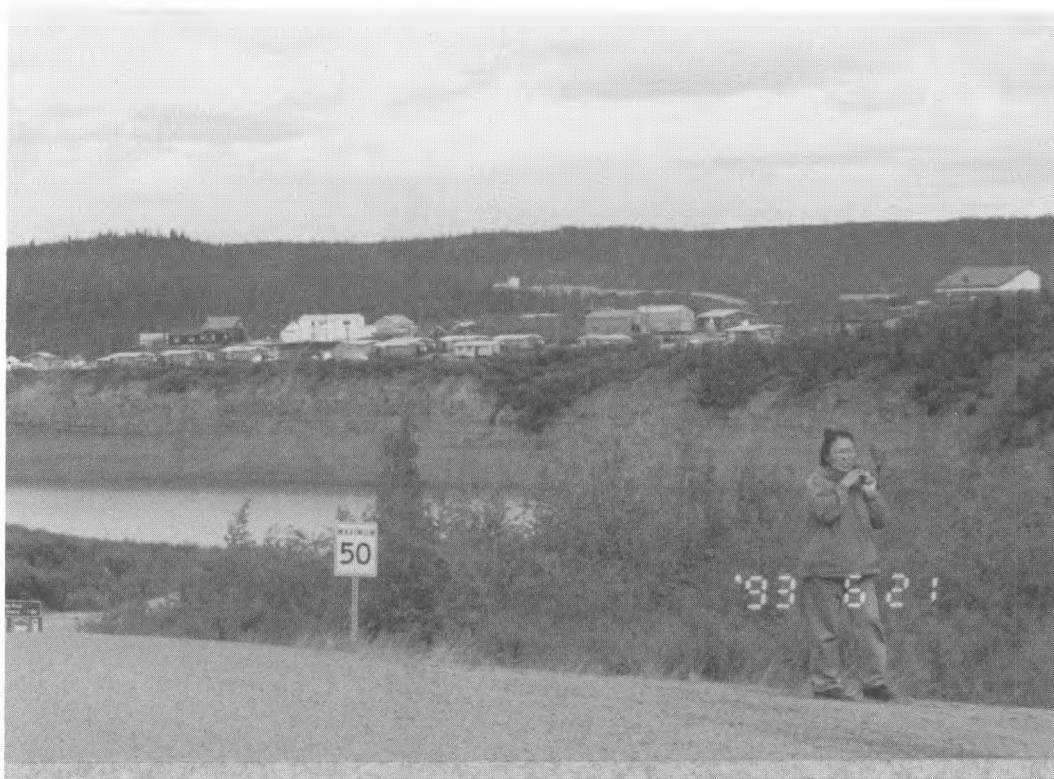
Figure 1. The community of Tsiigehtchic, located at the confluence of the Arctic Red mentions Vik'ooyendik [no translation—the hill with the Roman Catholic church and Flats" (shore in front of the community). Alestine Andre standing in foreground.

in this area, called *Deetrın' ehchıı k'ıt* ["crow's-bed"], indicate that this is the place where he had his "bed" (Figure 1).

Until recently the community of Tsiigehtchic was officially called "Arctic Red River." The residents of the community are one of several regional groups who speak a dialect of Gwich'in, one of the Athapaskan languages. They refer to themselves as the Gwichya Gwich'in, or "people of the flat land." The lands traditionally occupied by the Gwich'in language group transcend two Canadian political jurisdictions (Yukon and Northwest Territories) and an international boundary (between Alaska and Yukon). In 1992, the Gwich'in residing in the Northwest Territories completed negotiation of a comprehensive land claim agreement with the government of Canada. Tsiigehtchic, along with three other Gwich'in communities (Aklavik, Fort McPherson, Inuvik), and a portion of Gwich'in lands traditionally used and occupied in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon, are now considered part of the Gwich'in Settlement Region (Figure 2). The area excluding Yukon lands is called the Gwich'in Settlement Area, which encompasses approximately 59,000 square kilometres. Gwichya Gwich'in traditional lands account for approximately 35,000 square kilometres of the present-day settlement area.

This chapter gives an overview of traditional knowledge and heritage studies carried out by the authors with Gwichya Gwich'in elders since 1992. We have seen this work evolve from a solitary oral history research contract between the Northern Oil and Gas Action Project (NOGAP)

(foreground) and Mackenzie Rivers (background). Location for the Crow Story, which and mission), *Deetrın' ehchıı k'ıt* ("Crow's bed") - hollows below the church, and "The (Photo: Ingrid Kritsch)

Archaeology Project[3] and the authors, to a larger and comprehensive plan developed by the Gwich'in to preserve, promote, and manage their own heritage—an important element in the process of nation-building. This plan is being carried out by a newly created organization, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI). The Institute is now taking the lead in conducting traditional knowledge, archaeological, and other heritage studies in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. This work, and the Institute's role in carrying out heritage resource issues outlined in the Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement, is addressed below.

GWICH'IN SOCIAL AND CULTURAL INSTITUTE AND HERITAGE PROGRAMS

> The simple fact is that people who control your heritage influence the way other people think about you and at times the way you think about yourself. Such control affects your cultural self-esteem and well-being (Dr. Amareswar Galla).[4]

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[3] NOGAP was an eight-year multi-disciplinary program of research in the Beaufort/Delta, Mackenzie River, and Lancaster Sound areas, in preparation for oil and gas exploration and transportation (Pilon 1994).

[4] Head of Museum Studies and Cultural Heritage Management Programs, Univ. of Canberra, Australia, during a keynote address at the Commonwealth Association of Museums Triennial Meeting in 1992.

Figure 2. Settlement regions of the Western Arctic.(Courtesy Gwich'in Geographics Ltd.)
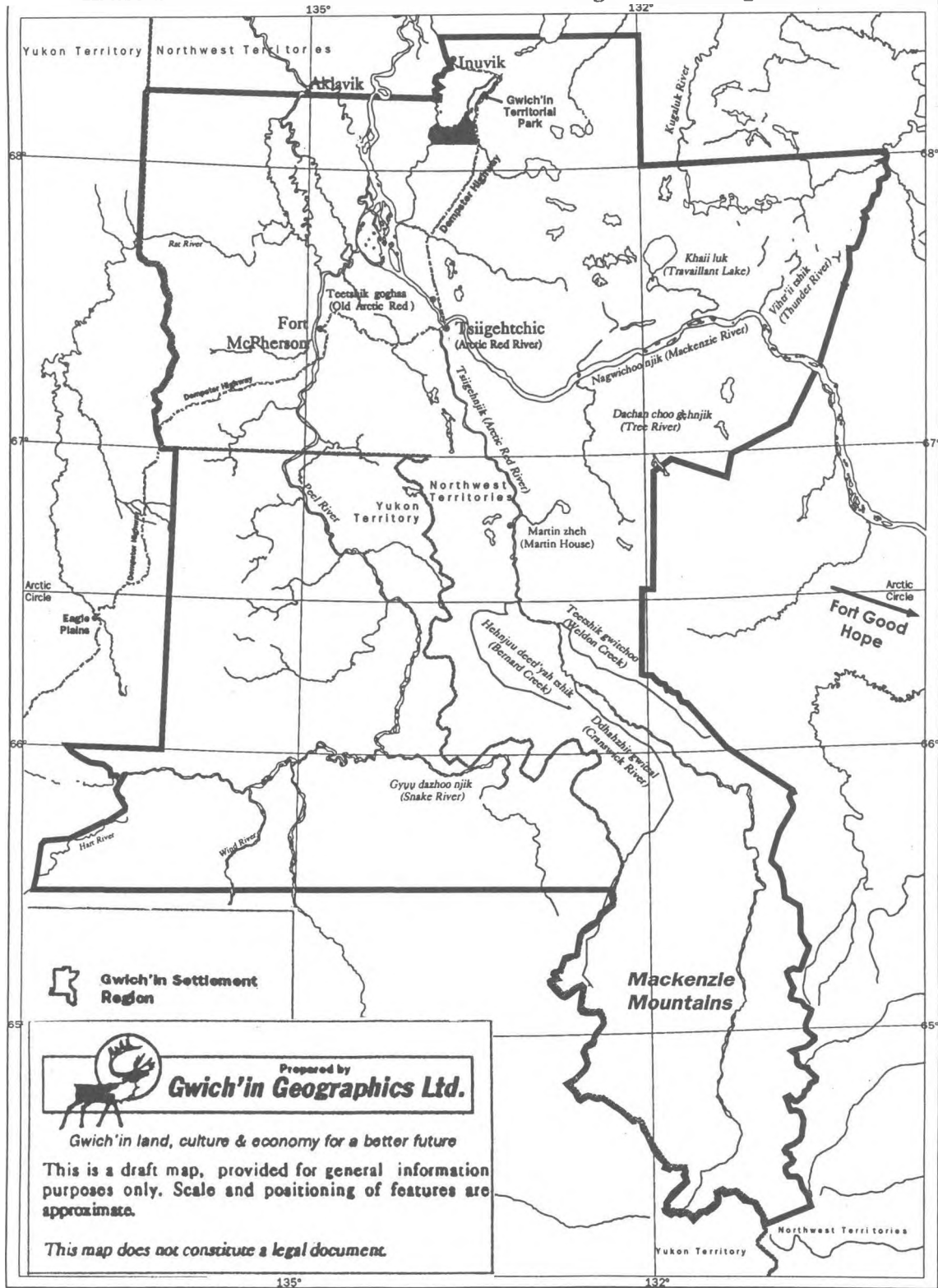
Figure 3. Gwich'in Settlement Area with traditional place names. (Map courtesy Gwich'in Geographics Ltd.)

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute is a nonprofit Society under the Gwich'in Tribal Council. It was established by the Gwich'in in August of 1992, following the signing of the land claim during an annual assembly held in Fort McPherson in response to people's concerns about their loss of culture and language.

The Institute was established to carry out many of the heritage responsibilities that flow out of the claim, as well as to document, preserve, and promote the practice of Gwich'in culture, language, traditional knowledge, and values. An important part of the Institute's mandate is to document Gwich'in heritage and traditional knowledge so that culturally appropriate educational material, training, and other programs and services can be developed and implemented by the Gwich'in, or in partnership with government or education institutions within the Gwich'in Settlement Area. It is believed that these types of initiatives will build a new awareness and pride in Gwich'in culture and ultimately contribute to the social well-being of all individuals within the Gwich'in Nation. These initiatives are considered essential in the processes of nation-building and empowerment (cf. Nicholas, Ch. 6). Elders are considered crucial to this process as they are the sources of traditional knowledge and can give guidance in terms of cultural matters and values.

In all of our projects, local people are being trained while engaged in the research; they also learn about their heritage from the elders while working with professional anthropologists and archaeologists. Our work takes place on the land as much as possible because this is where the traditional knowledge base, the culture, and language are rooted. By providing elders and youth with the opportunity of working together, we are nurturing the intergenerational fabric of Gwich'in society.

In the Gwich'in Settlement Area, as in other parts of the North, heritage is largely based on the oral history and traditional knowledge of the Aboriginal people. As a concept, heritage is wide-ranging and multi-dimensional and has as much relevance to curriculum development, language training, and tourism as it does to recording oral history and identifying archaeological sites. Research to date has focused on documenting Gwichya Gwich'in traditional knowledge primarily by recording place names and oral history. This has helped us define archaeological research strategies based on traditional knowledge. In turn, the archaeological research has helped elaborate the place name and oral history research. Below, we present recently completed projects and introduce several others that are either ongoing or that we plan to undertake in the near future.

The Gwichya Gwich'in Traditional Knowledge Project

Prior to the present study, no significant accessible body of recorded traditional knowledge existed for the Gwichya Gwich'in. According to Gwichya Gwich'in oral history, their traditional lands extended north of the Mackenzie River into the Mackenzie Delta and east as far as the Thunder River (i.e., the Travaillant Lake area). To the south of the Mackenzie River, their lands stretched throughout the Arctic Red, Cranswick, and Snake River drainages, incorporating much of the northern Mackenzie Mountains (Figure 3).

Since 1992, we have interviewed 24 Gwichya Gwich'in elders. They identified an extensive trail system on 1:50,000 scale maps of their traditional lands. Along these trails they located place names, harvesting locales, traditional camp sites, cabin sites, graves, and places where giant "creatures" reside. Several trails emerged as major routes. Some of these trails were described as being so old and well traveled that they were literally ground into the earth, leaving a road that was over a meter wide and a half meter in depth.

Over 350 Gwich'in and English place names have been recorded for trails, areas, and topographic features. These names tell us about how people lived, where they traveled, and their in-depth knowledge of the land. They are like windows into the traditional culture, history, and values. The majority of these names describes places in terms of their physical appearance, specific resources, or the type of technology used to capture the resource. For example, many names refer to the use of fish traps; a few refer to the use of nets or jigging. Other place names are associated with particular individuals, or with both legendary and historical events. In several cases, the names are so old that they have either lost all or part of their meaning over time. The elders refer to these place names as *ts'ıı deıı* meaning "stone age," and indicated that these names are at

least 500 years old (Andre and Kritsch 1992; Kritsch and Andre 1993, 1994; Kritsch et al. 1994; Kritsch 1994). Stories and legends accompanied many of the place names. Indeed, the names appear to serve, as Andrews (1990), Basso (1984), Cruikshank (1990), Harwood (1976), Rosaldo (1980) and others have suggested, as "mnemonic devices" or "mnemonic pegs" on which to hang traditional narratives.

The Crow story told above is just one such narrative. It demonstrates that there is much cultural information woven into the oral history. Stories such as this give us a glimpse into a land that is alive and filled with stories from a time when humans and animals were able to communicate with each other. It imparts cultural information, such as the name for the high hill that the church in Tsiigehtchic now stands on, provides a cultural geography different from that of the present, and relates this hill to its use as a lookout for the area called "The Flats," where people have stayed for many generations. The story also informs us of Gwichya Gwich'in use of the Mackenzie Mountains, the Arctic Red River and "The Flats." Stories such as these can help guide archaeological work in the area.

As alluded to in the Crow story, "The Flats" (an area along the Mackenzie River foreshore, immediately below the community) was an important camping location, often "covered with tents," according to oral tradition. It is also noted as a location of contact between the Gwichya Gwich'in and the Slavey[5] of Fort Good Hope (a Mackenzie River community 290 km upstream from Tsiigehtchic) and the Inuvialuit[6] from the outer Mackenzie Delta and coastal areas. Gwichya Gwich'in narrative details the nature of these meetings and includes stories both of friendship and warfare.

The historic record supports the oral tradition, specifically with documentation of contact between the Gwichya Gwich'in and the Inuvialuit. Richardson has noted:

> The Kutchin and Eskimos of the estuary of the Mackenzie meet often for purposes of trade, and make truces with each other, but they are mutually suspicious, and their intercourse often ends in bloodshed. The Kutchin have the advantage of fire-arms, but the Eskimos are brave and resolute, and come annually to Separation Point at the head of the delta, for purposes of barter. Most of the Kutchin speak the Eskimo language, and from them the latter people have become aware of the existence of a post on the Peel. It is probable, therefore, that the Eskimos had a purpose of opening a trade directly with the white people; but this, being so obviously contrary to the interest of the Kutchin, was likely to meet with all the opposition they could offer, and hence their firing on the Eskimos without parley (1851: 215, cited in Slobodin 1962: 23).

According to Slobodin (1962: 24), the "Kutchin" in this case are likely the Arctic Red River people (i.e., Gwichya Gwich'in), the same people that Alexander Mackenzie met in 1789 on his voyage down what is now called the Mackenzie River. Again, archaeological excavation has corroborated these narratives by demonstrating that "The Flats" has been used for generations; indeed the area has seen "repeated, intensive summer to fall occupations for at least the last thirteen centuries" (Nolin and Pilon 1994: 166). Furthermore, whalebone artifacts have been uncovered in excavations on "The Flats," which strongly suggests direct contact between the Inuvialuit and Gwichya Gwich'in (Nolin and Pilon 1994: 101).

The elders descriptions of how traditional houses were constructed, and in some instances where they were located, have already assisted NOGAP archaeologists in understanding and identifying such features during the course of archaeological work in the area. For example, the semi-subterranean houses described by the elders may be similar to features that Pilon (1987, 1988, 1992a, 1992b, 1993) and Nolin (1993) have excavated on the southwest Anderson Plain. A similar feature was examined during the course of a brief archaeological survey carried out near Inuvik, in the Gwich'in Territorial Park (Pilon 1993: 33-35). These areas are all within the tradi-

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5 An Athapaskan language group south of the Gwich'in homeland.

6 An Inuit group north of the Gwich'in homeland.

tional land use area of the Gwichya Gwich'in.

Gwichya Gwich'in oral history has indicated many significant places on the land that are an important part of their history. This information is important in itself. In addition, the oral history has also helped to inform the archaeological record by identifying potential sites (see Greer, Ch. 9). Together, both avenues of research help build a more complete picture of Gwich'in history and the lives of people in pre-contact times.

The Tsiigehnjik Ethnoarchaeology Project

In the summers of 1994 and 1995, the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute worked with the community of Tsiigehtchic on a community-based ethnoarchaeological project along *Tsiigehnjik* ["iron river"—the Arctic Red River]. *Tsiigehnjik* was designated a Canadian Heritage River in 1993, and the community and Institute were interested in using this designation to continue the inventory of heritage resources along the river for land management purposes to provide information for the local school curriculum, and to develop interpretive material for tourists. Traditional place names, data on harvesting areas, camp locations, graves, and trails were used in developing an archaeological fieldwork strategy for work along the Arctic Red River. This approach parallels an ethnoarchaeological study carried out by Hanks and Winter (1983: 49) that used Slavey place names to better understand the relationship between behaviour and archaeological remains along the Mackenzie River, and by Andrews and Zoe (Ch. 10) for the Dogrib area. Gwich'in elders participated as full partners in the research and Gwich'in youth were directly involved in documenting and visually recording their own heritage along with Institute staff and professional archaeologists.

Figure 4. Łııdląıı [also called "The Forks"], where the Cranswick River (right) and right side of the photo. (Photo: I. Kritsch)

In 1994, the archaeological field crew visited most of the traditional sites along the lower reaches of the river between *Tsiigehnjık* and *Hehnjuu deetł'yah tshık* [no translation—locally also known as Bernard Creek]. *Tsiigehnjık* is a very dynamic river; its banks are constantly being eroded and new point bar deposits formed. At a number of traditional sites, there was no obvious signs of former occupation or use, nor little hope of finding any buried cultural material. A catastrophic flood in 1970 is reported to have washed away many old cabins and campsites in the Arctic Red River valley. However, with the assistance of the oral history, we recorded a total of 12 archaeological sites (Greer 1995; Greer et al. 1995).

Most attention was paid to those places named by the elders including the former village sites at *Martın zheh* ["Martin House"] and *Hehnjuu deetł'yah tshık*. Both places were used traditionally as camp sites by the Gwichya Gwich'in during seasonal late summer and spring travel between the Mackenzie River and the Mackenzie Mountains (Kritsch and Andre 1993). Small "villages" developed at these locations in the early 1900s to take advantage of the fur trade. At *Martın zheh*, which was initially examined by David Morrison (1983), Greer (1995) noted buried pre-contact period cultural deposits over a distance of several kilometres along the river bank. Historic remains, including a grave site, cabin remains, a stage and more recent camps, were also present. A trapper's cabin is still in use on the opposite side of the river. At *Hehnjuu deetł'yah tshık*, another locale that continues to be used, eroding hearths were noted that are likely pre-contact in age (Greer 1995; Greer et al. 1995).

In 1995, we carried out our second year of ethnoarchaeological work along the Arctic Red River with a ten-day archaeological survey based on oral history work conducted the previous winter with Tsiigehtchic elders, and a 14 day ethnoarchaeological field school at *Martın zheh*.

Tsiigehnjik [Arctic Red River (on left)] meet. The dog pack trail climbs the cliff on the

The survey, which was a partnership between the GSCI and the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, concentrated on the middle reaches of the river, between *Hehnjuu deetł'yah tshık* and *Łıdląıı* ["where two rivers come together"—locally called "The Forks"]. The latter refers to the confluence of the Arctic Red River and Cranswick River.

One of the most significant sites recorded was a dog pack trail at *Łıdląıı* which was used by the Gwichya Gwich'in to travel between the river and the Mackenzie Mountains to reach their hunting grounds (Andrews n.d.). This trail begins at the confluence and climbs approximately 223 meters up a 45° incline to the top of the plateau, at which point people traveled overland to the mountains (Figure 4). Without the oral history, we would not have known that this trail existed, as it has not been used for nearly a century, and was not visible from the shore. Indeed, the only signs that this had been a trail were two old blazed trees midway along the trail and a very faint indentation in the moss. One of the elders working with us reblazed the trail so that it will be easily recognizable in the future.

In 1995, the Institute also coordinated a 14-day ethnoarchaeological field school in the *Martın zheh* area. Twenty-four people participated in the field school including elders, high school students, archaeologists, GSCI staff, a cook, camp attendants, a camera-man, boat drivers, and two young children. This area proved to be an ideal location for a field school. The *Martın zheh* area has a rich oral history in that elders from the community of Tsiigehtchic used this area intensively until the mid-20th century. This area also has a rich visible history in that a number of sites ranging in age from possibly 400 years old to the present, extends over a two kilometer stretch along the left bank of the river.

Figure 5. Elders Annie and Nap Norbert visit with students during excavation of MeTp-4 at the *Martın zheh* Field School 1995. Students from left to right: Yvonne Andre, Celina Jerome, Brenda Kendo (sitting), and Jenny Andre (sitting with back towards camera). Photo: E. Damkjar)

A major focus of the field school was to introduce students to archaeological field research methods through the excavation of a small area at MeTp-4, one of the sites originally identified by David Morrison (Figure 5). Students also participated in flintknapping sessions as part of the hands-on focus of the field school (Figure 6). Field work in 1994 (Greer et al. 1995) and 1995 (Damkjar 1996) determined that this multi-component stratified site is more extensive and unique than previously thought, with five cultural levels spanning the last 200-250 years. It is one of the few early inland historic sites in the lower Mackenzie River basin (Jean-Luc Pilon, pers. comm. 1995, cited in Damkjar 1996: 63).

The cultural component of the field school included instruction by the elders on a variety of bush activities such as setting rabbit snares, checking fish nets, tanning beaver hides (Figure 7), butchering and smoking caribou, making snowshoes, and gathering and preparing traditional medicines. Elders also shared their experiences and stories about places and people who had lived along the river. The field school therefore provided students with the opportunity to learn more about their own heritage through a combination of archaeological excavation, interaction, and instruction by elders, and being on the land. The students learned "that they have the means to learn about and record Gwich'in history, and are a vital link in preserving that history for future generations" (Damkjar 1996: 6).

Extensive video footage of the oral history interviews, research on the named places along the river, and the archaeological investigations were taken in 1994 and 1995. This footage is being developed into interpretive videos for the local schools, visitor centres, and the general public. One recently completed video focuses on an interview conducted in Gwich'in in 1994 with Hyacinthe Andre of Tsiigehtchic about the traditional use of *Tsiigehnjik* (Figure 8). This video, which incorporates archival photos and footage of the river, is now available for use in the local schools. It begins to fill the void for Gwich'in curriculum materials and language programming, particularly for the Gwichya Gwich'in dialect of Gwich'in which has been overshadowed by the Teetl'it Gwich'in dialect. This video is also being aired on the Television Northern Canada (TVNC) network.

The Tsiigehnjik Ethnoarchaeology Project has demonstrated the importance of the information shared by the Elders. Without their knowledge of traditional land use patterns, we would have little understanding of the river's human history. This knowledge will form part of the strategy to identify and understand heritage sites along the river (Greer 1995; Greer et al. 1995). The elders will be consulted about how these sites should be managed. This will be the first step in developing a heritage management plan for the whole of the Gwich'in Settlement Area.

Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement and Heritage Resources

Included in the Gwich'in Land Claim Agreement is a chapter concerning heritage resources. This chapter recognizes the spiritual, cultural, religious, and educational significance of Gwich'in heritage resources and provides for Gwich'in input into the conservation and management of these resources, including archaeological sites, through the archaeological and land use permit systems. This chapter also provides the Gwich'in with the opportunity to submit to government a list of historic, archaeological, and burial sites in the Settlement Area that they wish to protect. The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute has been building an inventory of such sites within the context of its place name, oral history, and ethnoarchaeological projects, an example being the ethnoarchaeological research carried out along the Arctic Red River in the summers of 1994 and 1995. This work builds upon previous archaeological work carried out in other areas of the Gwichya Gwich'in homeland, such as along the Mackenzie River (Nolin 1994; Nolin and Pilon 1994; Pilon 1989), in the Travaillant Lake and southwest Anderson Plain area north of the Mackenzie River (Gordon and Savage 1973, 1974; Morrison 1984; Nolin 1991, 1992a, 1993; Pilon 1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1991, 1992a, 1993, 1994), at Tsiigehtchic (Nolin 1992b, 1993, 1994), and in the Campbell Lake area within the Gwich'in Territorial Park (Pilon 1992b, 1993). The Institute plans to expand this inventory for the remaining Settlement Area in the years to come so that Gwich'in heritage resources will be protected and developed in a manner that is appropriate for the Gwich'in.
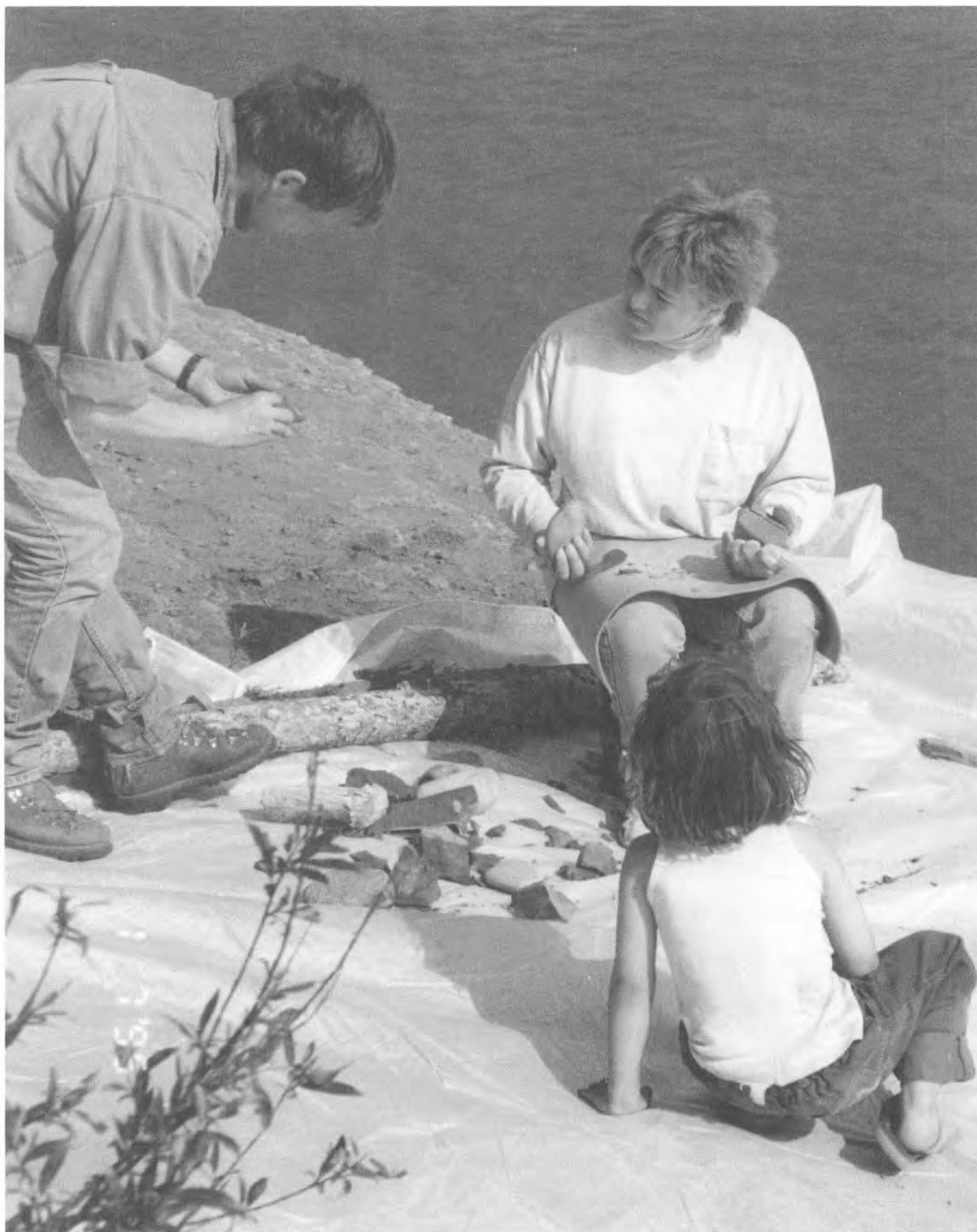
Figure 6. Eric Damkjar shows Yvonne Andre how to flintknap while Erika Kritsch looks on during the *Martin zheh* Field School 1995. (Photo: I. Kritsch)

Figure 7. Annie Norbert scraping a beaver skin using her *chıı deedhoh* (stone scraper) during the *Martın zheh* Field School 1995. (Photo: T. Andrews)

The land claim agreement recognizes that traditional Gwich'in names are important, and the government has agreed to recognize officially such names. A first step in this direction is the official recognition of the Gwich'in name for the location of the community of Arctic Red River, at the mouth of the river. Arctic Red River became officially known as Tsiigehtchic on April 1st of 1994. Other Gwich'in names will be submitted for future official recognition.

The Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement also provided for the establishment of a territorial park near Campbell Lake, 15 km southeast of Inuvik, and directed the Gwich'in Tribal Council and the Government of the Northwest Territories to negotiate the terms and boundaries of the Park. An agreement was reached in November 1991, incorporating the following conditions: (a) that the Gwich'in Tribal Council would be included in the Gwich'in Territorial Park Management Committee, and thus fully involved in the development of a park management plan; and (b) that local Gwich'in would be employed where possible to develop and staff the park.

In keeping with the spirit of this agreement, the Gwich'in Tribal Council negotiated a contract with the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Government of the Northwest Territories, in July 1993, to conduct, tape, transcribe, and where possible, verify the traditional knowledge of the elders on the traditional use of the Campbell Lake area. This oral history information would be used in the development of a master plan for the park.

This project was completed by personnel from the Institute (Kritsch 1994) with the assistance of local Gwich'in and Inuvialuit researchers. As a result of recommendations made in the report, Gwichya Gwich'in names are being used for many locations in the Park, trails are being marked, additional archaeological assessments have been carried out (Damkjar 1995), and an ethnobotany project has provided information about the traditional use of plants, trees, roots and berries that are encountered on one of the hiking trails being developed in the Park (Andre 1995).

In addition, the wishes of elders and other community members that the park be for local use, as well as for tourists, have been incorporated into the master plan. An "ethnotourism" approach is being considered for the park to introduce tourists to the Gwich'in and Inuvialuit cultures through hands-on participation in traditional activities. If Aboriginal youth are involved in this process alongside elders, it could have the added benefit of either reinforcing or in some cases introducing traditional culture, knowledge, and the oral history of the area to Gwich'in youth.

The Gwich'in Comprehensive Land Claim Agreement (see Section 25.1.5) also requires the government to consult with the Gwich'in Tribal Council "in the formulation of government policy and legislation on Gwich'in heritage resources in the Mackenzie Valley." The Gwich'in Tribal Council has asked the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute to monitor and provide comments on currently proposed heritage legislation. The Institute outlined a number of concerns with the proposed legislation, called the *Heritage Resources Act*, to the Government of the Northwest Territories Standing Committee on Legislation. The Committee responded favourably to these comments, and the Tribal Council and Institute will continue to monitor the development of this important legislation.

Future Heritage Work
The following are some of the projects that the Institute has initiated recently or intends to pursue in the near future:

Ongoing and Future Gwich'in Place Name and Community History Projects and the Gwich'in Cultural Atlas. The documentation of Gwichya Gwich'in place names and traditional use and occupancy of their homeland has now been completed. Also completed is a draft narrative history called *Gwichya Gwich'in Googwandak: The History of the Gwichya Gwich'in and of Tsiigehtchic* (Heine et al. 1996), based on our oral history work since 1992 and written from the community's perspective. Once finalized, this history, which was commissioned by the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education, will be used in the school curriculum as a resource for both teachers and students. We are also exploring the possibility of featuring this history on the "SchoolNet" Internet site.

In 1995, we began a place names and traditional land use project with the Teetl'it Gwich'in elders in Fort McPherson, building upon information provided by William Nerysoo, Sr., to lingu

Figure 8. Hyacinthe Andre (left) and Noel Andre sitting on *Vik'ooyendik* during the filming of *Tsiigehnjik: Life along the Arctic Red River* in 1994. Ghost Lake, "The Flats," and the Mackenzie River are in the background. (Photo: I Kritsch)

ist John Ritter in the 1970s (see Ritter 1976), and on work carried out in the 1980s by Neil Colinand the Dene Mapping Project. Once this information has been recorded, we will work with elders from Aklavik and Inuvik, recording similar information. As in the Gwichya Gwich'in place names and traditional knowledge study, local people will be trained while the research is in progress so that they will learn valuable research, organizational and writing skills that can be applied to other work in the Settlement Area. The trainees will also have the opportunity to learn more about the history and geography of their area by working with their elders and traveling on the land. Ethnoarchaeological work will likely follow from this work.

Building on the various place name, community history, and ethnoarchaeology projects, we plan to develop a comprehensive Gwich'in Cultural Atlas for the Gwich'in Settlement Area in two volumes. Volume I will be map-based and include information on traditional trails, place names, harvesting location data, traditional camp sites, graves, and known archaeological sites. Volume II will be textual and include chapters on such subjects as Gwich'in Cosmology, Language, Stories, Social Organization, Subsistence, Technology, Medicine, Clothing, Dances, Songs, Games, and a History of the Gwich'in from pre-contact times to the present. We foresee this as a multi-year project working in partnership with scholars with expertise in anthropology and geography.
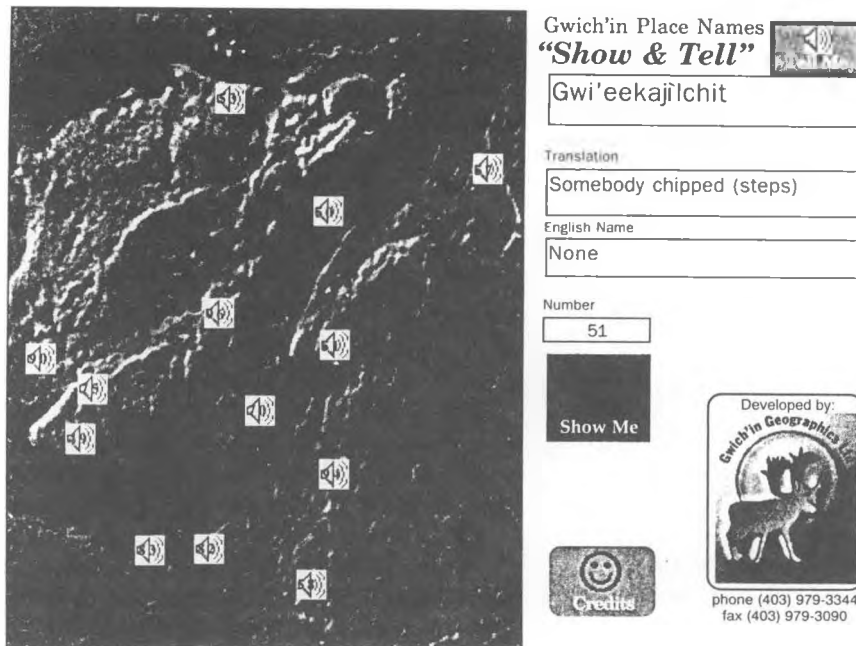
Figure 9. Talking Map: Satellite image of the Gwich'in Territorial Park area with place names indicated by numbers. (Map courtesy Gwich'in Geographics Ltd)
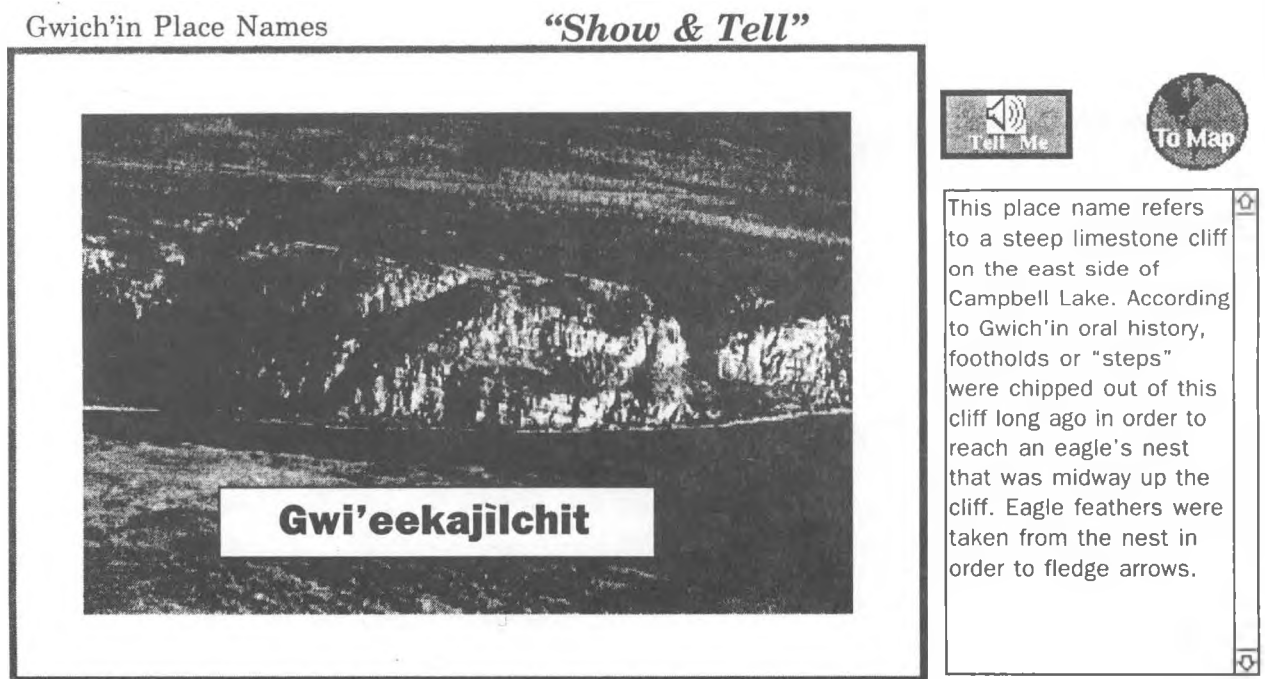
Figure 10. Talking Map: Photo and text for place name number 51. (Figure Courtesy Gwich'in Geographics Ltd.)

This two volume atlas will be accompanied by a computerized multi-media display on CD-ROM, which we refer to as a "talking map," that will be used in the local schools and for museum and tourism purposes. A copy may also be made available on the Internet.

The prototype for such a display was developed in 1993 by Gwich'in Geographics Ltd., a subsidiary company under the Gwich'in Tribal Council. This product uses maps or satellite images of the Gwich'in Settlement Area, with numbers representing place names in the foreground (Figures 9 and 10). We are also exploring the possibility of including spoken stories along with written text in Gwich'in and English.

Delta Science Camp. Building upon our experience with the 1995 "*Martin zheh* Field School," we are offering a nine day traditional knowledge and science camp for high school students in grades 10-12, near the confluence of the Mackenzie and Peel Rivers. The camp will provide an opportunity for Gwich'in and non-Gwich'in students to gain first-hand experience in both the traditional and Western scientific traditions through work with Gwich'in elders, a biologist, geographer and archaeologists, within the context of a traditional fish camp. We hope that this experience will encourage students to continue their education both on the land and in school, and to explore career opportunities in these fields. The high schools in the area have been very supportive of the camp and are offering up to three credits for this course.

Educational Video Series. The first video in this series, *Tsiigehnjik: Life along the Arctic Red River* (described earlier in this chapter), was based on an interview with Hyacinthe Andre (85 years old in 1995) about traditional knowledge and traditional life along the Arctic Red River. As funding permits, we will continue to develop educational videos on a variety of topics. In cooperation with the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education, we are producing a video on the *Martin zheh* Field School which features Gwich'in youth learning about their heritage through work with elders, archaeologists, and anthropologists. We are also cooperating with southern producers who are preparing video projects for the Discovery Channel. These videos are intended to promote a greater awareness and appreciation of Gwich'in culture, traditional knowledge and history both within and outside of the Gwich'in Settlement Area. These will serve to increase the Gwich'in community's understanding and appreciation of the region's archaeology and heritage.

CONCLUSIONS

Since the land claim was signed in 1992, many exciting things have happened in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. The Gwich'in are regaining control over their lives and developing their land, culture, and economy in a way that reflects Gwich'in knowledge and values. The use of traditional knowledge and archaeology by the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, as described in this paper, is a small but important part of this overall picture of nation-building. This type of work is serving a variety of needs:

1) raising an awareness and appreciation of Gwich'in knowledge about the land, culture, and language);
2) providing an opportunity for elders and youth to work and learn together on the land;
3) identifying culturally significant sites or areas for protection and land management purposes using the oral history as a foundation for this work;
4) training in archaeology and oral history research skills, alongside organizational, and writing skills;
5) developing more culturally relevant teaching materials and;
6) developing more accurate and relevant information for visitor interpretation centres.

The projects that we are undertaking today will have an impact on many generations to come. We hope that this work, including the appreciation of stories such as Crow Story, will ensure that future generations of Gwich'in children will continue to learn from and appreciate the old ways and that they will find strength in this knowledge and their culture as the world changes.

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9

Traditional Knowledge in Site Recognition

Sheila C. Greer

> Where do these people come from? Outside? You tell different stories from us people. You people talk from paper. Me, I want to talk from Grandpa. (Mrs. Annie Ned [Yukon First Nations' Elder; born 1890s; deceased 1995] speaking at a 1992 meeting of the Yukon Historical and Museums Association in Haines Junction, Yukon (Cruikshank 1991: 44)

Mrs. Ned's comment and self-introduction followed a formal presentation by an archaeologist. It was directed towards a largely non-Native group, of which the author was a member, assembled to discuss the human history of her southwest Yukon homeland. Her words clearly illustrate the gulf that exists between the two different perspectives of the past: the Western scientific view, as known through archaeology, and the traditional knowledge view, as found in the stories Mrs. Ned's had heard and taught throughout her lifetime.[1]

The gulf between these two worlds and ways of knowing the past certainly isn't unique to Yukon, the western Subarctic (Biewlawski 1989; various authors, this volume), or even to Canada. Pertinent examples can be found in Green (1989) for information on the Maori and New Zealand context; McBryde (1992) and Davidson et al. (1995) for the situation in Australia; and Downer (1989) for Navajo perspectives on sites and historically important places in the U.S. Southwest. As many of the papers in this volume testify (particularly Denton, Ch. 7; Hanks, Ch. 11; Henderson, Ch. 13; and McGhee, Ch. 16), the challenges remain in bringing these worlds together in some harmonious fashion. One thing is certain, greater awareness and understanding of the traditional knowledge perspective of the past is affecting the practice of archaeology in many jurisdictions.

This chapter examines the role of traditional knowledge in western Canadian Subarctic archaeology. Although the applications of traditional knowledge in archaeology are many, the underlying theme of the present discussion is on the contributions that traditional knowledge has made to site recognition. This topic touches upon such issues as the history of place, site significance, values about the past, and definitions of sacred versus secular sites—all issues that are culturally based. Examples of the substantive contributions of traditional knowledge, and namely how it has helped the archaeologist recognize sites, are also provided.

By first reviewing the history of archaeological research in this area, I will show that, although the discipline has a relatively long history of using traditional knowledge, only in the past few years has this knowledge begun to be truly integrated in archaeological work. With this integration, traditional knowledge is no longer simply being utilized when convenient, but is having a significant impact upon the discipline and its approach to knowing the past. As a result of such integration, the nature of two of the primary concerns of contemporary archaeology, cultural resource management (CRM) and public history interpretation, are changing in the Territories.

The Yukon and the Dene area of the western Northwest Territories is the geographic area of principal concern here, although archaeological field studies in interior Alaska are also mentioned. Summary articles on the traditional culture and history of the Aboriginal groups of the western Subarctic include Gillespie (1981); McClellan (1981); McClellan and Denniston (1981).

LABELS: TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE, ETHNOGRAPHY

Until this volume, few archaeologists (though see Hart 1994) have referred to *traditional knowledge* by that term, more commonly reporting it as *informant derived ethnographic data*, *ethnohistory*, *local knowledge*, *oral history*, or *oral tradition*. Background and pertinent discussions on these various methodological approaches, and on types of information concerning the past can be found in Charlton (1981), Cruikshank (1988), Jennings (1982), Thompson (1978) and Trigger (1982, 1986a, 1988).

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[1] For more on Mrs. Ned's background, see Cruikshank et al. (1990).

In the western Subarctic at least, the various types of information falling under these labels can rightly be characterized as *traditional knowledge*. That is, they are a way of knowing or understanding the human past or history, just as traditional ecological knowledge (TEK) is a way of knowing or understanding the biosphere and its inter-relationships, with parallels in the disciplines of biology and ecology (see Fast and Berkes 1994; Johnson 1992). Other aspects of traditional knowledge similarly relate to such social realms as justice, medicine, and social organization (see Nahanni 1993).

There are many definitions of traditional knowledge, but that developed by the Government of the Northwest Territories' Traditional Knowledge Working Group, which is not specific to any realm (historical, biophysical, or social), is adequate for present purposes: "traditional knowledge is knowledge derived from, or rooted in the traditional way of life; the accumulated knowledge and understanding of the human place in relation to the universe, which encompasses spiritual relationships, relationships with the natural environment and the use of natural resources, relationships between people; this knowledge is reflected in language, social organization, values, institutions and laws" (Legat 1991:1-2).

Traditional knowledge has much to offer scholars trained in the Western sciences, but as the biogeographer R. Weeden (1992:148) has rightly asked, how do we integrate traditional knowledge without assimilating it? By assimilation, Weeden was referring to the practice of using it merely when convenient, or when it supports an hypothesis derived from another research approach, or when it provides insight into a new methodology. Looking beyond Weeden's concerns, we might also ask what are the consequences if and when traditional knowledge is successfully integrated? For example, does the integration of traditional knowledge change a research approach and its attitudes towards the data of concern? These issues will be explored below.

Oral History Versus Oral Tradition

Oral history and *oral tradition* are two different types of information in which traditional knowledge is embedded, and are often confused with each other. The former is generally taken as a first-person recounting of experiences that occurred within the lifetime of the reporter. The accuracy of oral history accounts is demonstrated by experiments that indicate that long-term memory of factual materials has a high degree of reliability (Thompson 1978: 101).

The Aboriginal cultures of the western Subarctic, however, also have strong oral traditions. That is, up until recently, their history has been oral, not something that is written in books (see Cruikshank 1981, 1989; various papers in Helm 1981). When one undertakes historical interview work with First Nations elders in this area, one generally get oral tradition information as well as the first person recounting of events the informant has personally witnessed or been part of; it is the latter information that is typically considered to be oral history.

In the social context of the western Subarctic then, oral history and oral tradition are not separate. As Cruikshank has noted, although caution is obviously needed in interpreting the historical events recorded in oral tradition, it nonetheless is a bountiful, if untapped source of information (see Cruikshank 1981, 1988, 1989, 1990, 1991). This same researcher has demonstrated the accuracy of Yukon native legends in recording, for example, known geological events (Crukshank 1981; also Moodie et al. 1992; Hanks, Ch. 11), and has noted that place names feature considerable historical information (Cruikshank 1990; also Andrews 1990). There are many examples of events of the historic period being noted in regional oral traditions (e.g., Cruikshank 1989; Helm and Gillespie 1981; McClellan 1970).

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE IN WESTERN SUBARCTIC ARCHAEOLOGY

Whatever term is used, the use of data that can be characterized as traditional knowledge is common throughout the history of discipline of archaeology (see Trigger 1989). In recent decades, it has been most often employed under the label of *ethnoarchaeology* (see Donnan and Clewlow 1974; Gould 1978), and commonly utilized for the purposes of analogy or functional interpretation.

Archaeologists working in the western Subarctic have a particularly strong history of using the information here referred to as traditional knowledge (see Arundale et al. 1989: 88), as com-

pared to many other parts of North America, and especially to Europe (Trigger 1989). Subarctic archaeologists have had access to traditional knowledge as available in anthropological and ethnographic reports, and those archival and historic documents that shed light on a region's ethnohistory, as well as through direct contact with members of the Aboriginal community. Subarctic archaeologists have a long record of hiring local Aboriginal residents to help them in their studies, usually as guides or field assistants. Like many other field-based disciplines operating in the North, archaeology and archaeologists wouldn't have been able to function safely and effectively without this help. The guides, of course, did more than provide valuable logistical assistance; they shared much knowledge that greatly improved the success of these projects.

The primary reasons for the popularity of traditional knowledge in the region are:
- *Historical continuity*. Historical records indicate no major migrations or population displacements in the area following European contact, exploration and colonization; and
- *Similarity in land-use patterns*. In the Subarctic biome, the land occupied and the life styles of the Aboriginal peoples were and are closer to that of the long-ago cultures, which are the subject of the archaeologist's inquiry.

The relationship between traditional knowledge and archaeology is a rather broad subject. Even within the western Subarctic, its incorporation in and contributions to many types of research problems is evident (cf., Arundale et al. 1989; Denton, Ch. 7; Greer 1990a; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Janes 1983, 1989,1991). It has been used to predict pre-contact site locations, to understand the distribution of pre-contact sites across a landscape, to understand site depositional and taphonomic history, to interpret the distribution of artifacts within sites, to interpret artifact function(s), and to assign symbolic and hence cultural significance to different artifact types, and artifact distribution patterns.

Given such broad applications, the focus I have chosen is on the contributions that traditional knowledge has made to site recognition, and how it is affecting site definition in cultural resource management. Before doing so, a brief outline of the history of western Subarctic archaeology will illuminate the role that traditional knowledge has had in regional research designs. Other reviews of the history of western Subarctic archaeological research are found in Arundale et al. (1989); Cinq-Mars and Martijn (1981), and Clark (1981).

TRADITIONAL KNOWLEDGE IN RESEARCH DESIGN

Early Studies

The earliest archaeological projects in the western Subarctic by researchers such as Frederica de Laguna in the 1930s, and Douglas Leechman, Frederick Johnson and Hugh Raup, and Catherine McClellan in the 1940s and 1950s were really joint archaeological and ethnographic studies (e.g., Leechman 1946, 1951, 1954; Johnson and Raup 1964; McClellan 1975). These researchers not only asked the Aboriginal people they were studying about their view of their history, but where their old sites and archaeological sites could be found. Johnson and Raup's (1964) report on archaeology in the Yukon's Burwash Landing area thus contains a wealth of information on traditional material culture, including such topics as house structures, tools and containers, as well as site locations. Likewise, de Laguna's (1947) monograph on the archaeology of the lower Yukon is a compendium of site-specific and Aboriginal history data, with information on site locations, toponyms, histories and functions, all recorded from local residents. One could indeed argue that the most important contribution of Leechman's Yukon archaeological studies from this period (e.g., 1952) are the traditional stories he recorded.

Although these early studies in the Yukon and interior Alaska[2] are characterized by their use of traditional knowledge data, it remained inarticulated as a research strategy. In addition, the lack of acknowledgment of the contribution of information sources is a feature of this early work. Finally, like most anthropological or ethnographic reports of the time, the information is generally presented anonymously.

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[2] There were no such equivalent studies in the Mackenzie basin.

1950s - 1970s

Compared to these earliest research efforts, it is harder to find the contributions of traditional knowledge in its various forms (e.g., ethnographic data, oral tradition) in the Subarctic archaeology of the 1950s to 1970s. This is the time when archaeology presented itself as a "science," not as a historical tool or research approach. Site survey reports from this period usually feature an ethnographic summary chapter, but commonly the information is not integrated into the project's research objectives or methodology (e.g., Clark 1975; Cinq-Mars 1973; Gordon 1976; MacNeish 1953, 1964; Millar 1968; Noble 1971). Furthermore, many projects did not record or register in government site databases historic period Aboriginal sites (e.g., Cinq-Mars 1973). As Hanks and Pokotylo (1989: 141) have noted, often only pre-contact (i.e., stone tool) sites and those historic period sites that were predominantly European in origin were recorded. Clark (1982) is an exception and features many examples of historic period Aboriginal sites in the Great Bear Lake area.

A primary research focus during this interval was chronology. Important archaeological sites were those with a long record of occupation or those of great antiquity, hence the lack of value placed on historic period Aboriginal sites. In defense of researchers of this period, as Trigger (1986b: 259) has noted, until recently most North American archaeologists devoted most of their efforts to studying earlier phases of American prehistory, assuming that that ethnologists could tell them what Native cultures were like in late prehistoric or pre-contact times. It is now apparent that archaeologists are the ones taking on that research responsibility (see also Trigger 1981).

Regardless, it is apparent that archaeological research projects of this period gave little direct recognition to traditional knowledge and the contributions it might make to their research objectives and methods. Undoubtedly it made a silent contribution through the project guides and field assistants earlier mentioned. The exceptions to this trend are those projects that sought to develop cultural chronologies by working from the present to the past, using what is termed the direct historical approach. In these cases, traditional knowledge of site use during historic times was the critical variable in allowing the archaeologist to trace the pre-contact archaeological antecedents of the ethnic group being studied. Under these circumstances, investigations were conducted at such sites as Dixthada in the Tanana area of central Alaska (Shinkwin 1979); KloKut (Morlan 1973) and Rat Indian Creek (Le Blanc 1983) in the Vuntut Gwich'in area of the northern Yukon; Chimi in the Southern Tutchone Champagne and Aishihik area of southern Yukon (Workman 1978); and various sites in the Chipewyan Great Slave Lake area (Noble 1975), and Fort Reliance in the Han area (Clark 1995).

There were several projects in the 1970s where traditional knowledge was an integral part of the research methodology, and these exceptions should be noted. The investigation of sites in the Koyukon area by Annette McFadyen Clark and Don Clark (1974), and Bob Jane's study of the Dene at Fort Alexander on the Mackenzie River (1975, 1991) compared the archaeological or material record of the past with the traditional knowledge view. James Van Stone's (1979) research on Ingalik settlements of the lower Yukon River in Alaska must also be mentioned; it stands as a classic study in ethnohistoric archaeological research.

1980s - 1990s

It is in archaeological projects of the 1980s that traditional knowledge finally began to made a real contribution and impact on the discipline. Projects in the Dene area used traditional knowledge data, such as trails and place names, to indicate areas of high archaeological potential (Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10; Janes 1983; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989). These studies took an ethnoarchaeological approach, rather than cultural-historical one; they began examining the relationship between ethnographic observations of living Dene society and patterning in the archaeological record. The avenues of inquiry were broadened so that questions from the Native perspective were incorporated in the research design. Traditional knowledge thus began to feed into archaeological research not only as substantive data or as part of the research methodology, but in the definition of objectives.

In the Yukon, traditional knowledge input into the definition of project objectives similarly appear in projects around this time (e.g.,Greer 1984b; O'Leary 1992). The Fort Selkirk archaeological project of 1987-89, under the direction of Ruth Gotthardt of the Yukon Heritage Branch, was characteristic of this new style of archaeology (Easton and Gotthardt 1987; Gotthardt 1990a; Gotthardt and Easton 1989). The project was a joint First Nation and government one that collec-

ted land-use data for the Selkirk First Nation. It was also a field school that provided training opportunities for local community youth, and integrated the community's knowledge of the past—their oral history—with the archaeological perspective. Most importantly, it brought project information and results back to the community in accessible formats (both video and print).

Similar projects have since been conducted by the Yukon Heritage Branch in collaboration with the concerned First Nation; at Tatlmain Lake in the Northern Tutchone area near the community of Carmacks; at Frances Lake in the Kaska area; at Annie Lake in the Carcross-Tagish area; and at both Fish Lake and Lake Laberge in the Southern Tutchone area near Whitehorse. A series of award-winning, public-oriented booklets has resulted from these efforts reports (e.g., Charlie and Clark 1993; Gotthardt 1992a; Gotthardt and Hare 1994; Hare and Greer 1994), as well as the usual archaeology reports (Gotthardt 1992b, 1993, 1994, 1996; Hare 1995).

By the late 1980s, traditional knowledge had become an integral part of many projects run by archaeologists. In the Mackenzie District, for example, the Territorial Government archaeologist was recording trails and place names, and the stories that go with the names, from Dogrib elders (Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10). Traditional knowledge was no longer being collected merely to help the archaeologist find sites, or because it conforms to the rules of Western science (cf., Weeden 1992:147), but for its own sake. First Nations' elders are now identifying those places in their traditional territory that are important in *their* history. The community's view of its past was finally regarded as being worthy of recording, regardless of whether or not it contributes to site identification or interpretation. Often it did, but this reason was no longer required for the contribution to be valid.

This trend has continued in the 1990s, although now there are new players in the scene. First Nations' Governments or their agencies are now initiating archaeological studies in their traditional territories on their own. Thus, the Yukon's Champagne and Aishihik First Nation obtained funding and undertook an archaeological survey of the portion of the Tatshenshini River that lies within their traditional territory in British Columbia (French 1993). The newly created Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, under the Gwich'in Tribal Council (Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8), undertook an archaeological survey of the Arctic Red River (Greer 1994), and operated an archaeological training field school at one site along this river, *Martin Zheh*, the following year (Damjkar 1996). The objectives of these studies were broad; all have included community awareness, skills development, and transfer of traditional knowledge as part of their mandate.

The traditional knowledge research approach in archaeology has become so well-established by the 1990s that the one major federal government site inventory project operating in the area, NOGAP, included traditional knowledge components (see Andre 1991; Kritsch et al. 1994; Pilon 1994). Such studies were not recognizable in the earlier efforts of NOGAP (Cinq-Mars and Pilon 1991), except for those components of the programme directed by northern-based archaeologists (Arnold and Hanks 1991).

SITE RECOGNITION

In this section I provide substantive examples of how traditional knowledge has led to the recognition of archaeological sites, and briefly consider the epistemological basis of the knowledge involved. Andrews and Hanks (1987) characterized traditional knowledge as providing "pathways to archaeology." This observation was based on the convergence between Mountain Dene oral tradition and the distribution of archaeological features in the Drum Lake area of the Northwest Territories. I suggest that different types of traditional knowledge are represented here, and that both direct and indirect pathways are present. It could be argued that these two pathways represent the emic and etic manifestations of a culture's way of knowing the past.

Direct Pathway
The first, or direct, pathway is through actual site relocation, when a member of the Aboriginal community pinpoints the archaeological site. In 1989, for example, Gwich'in elders from Dawson and Fort McPherson directed the author to the site of Black City, located by the Blackstone River in the upper Peel River basin and now situated by the Yukon's Dempster Highway, north of Dawson (Greer 1989, 1990b). In the 1910s and 1920s, Black City was the main winter camp of a

Gwich'in group that was still living most of the year out on the land, hunting, but undertaking some fur trapping and making twice yearly trading trips to Dawson. Outlines of wall tents, meat grinding/pounding stones, and hearth places from their occupations were easily recognizable on the ground surface.

As indicated previously, because there is significant overlap or continuity in land-use patterns between pre-contact and historic times in the western Subarctic, many historic period camp sites also display evidence of earlier occupation and use. Thus, while at the Black City site, the elders recalled being told that "old-timers used to live over there." They were pointing to an area of the site that featured a deep semi-subterranean housepit—an older dwelling type used in precontact and early historic times. Black City has yet to be excavated, but has potential to shed light on the Gwich'in past in this area.

The Black City case is a good example of traditional knowledge providing a direct pathway to site identification. Whether or not the complexity or the antiquity of a site's occupations are recognized by the informant is irrevalant. Being able to lead the archaeologist to a place of former occupation or use is what matters. This example also shows the benefits to on-site interviews with elders. Higher quality information is shared when the actual place of concern is revisited, and memories return to the informant.

The traditional knowledge base from which the First Nations individuals have drawn in directly identifying site locations for archaeologists can be divided into two categories:

1. *Oral tradition.* This is knowledge transferred through the spoken word; for example, being told by their elders that the place was an old camping site or place of special importance to long ago people; and

2. *Knowledge gained from direct, personal experience.* This can be derived from:
   a) their own personal use of the place or site. This knowledge is most forthcoming from those individuals who have spent a significant portion of their life out on the land. Sites that date to the early twentieth century are thus recorded.; and
   b) their personal observations, that is, seeing things from long ago, such as stone tools or hunting blinds. Such knowledge comes from those with a detailed understanding of their environment, people who recognize phenomena that do not occur naturally, and that therefore humans must have made. In the southern Yukon, a range of site types, including lithic scatters, traditional-style brush houses, and sheep hunting blinds, have been thus identified (Greer 1984a, 1986, 1987).

Aboriginal Ethnogeography, and Traditional Land Use

The second possible traditional knowledge pathway to archaeology is through consideration of Native *ethnogeography*, or culturally distinct geography. This is the route followed by researchers Tom Andrews, John B. Zoe, Chris Hanks, and David Pokotylo in the Dene cultural area of the Northwest Territories (Andrews 1990; Andrews and Zoe Ch. 10; Andrews and Hanks 1987; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989). In the Yukon, the information of concern to the archaeologist has been referred to as traditional land-use data (Gotthardt 1993; Greer 1984a, 1984b, 1987). Land-use values has been the term applied to this type of data in the North Slope Borough area of Alaska (see Hoffman et al. 1988, for example).

This approach involves either determining which aspects of the environment are recognized as being culturally relevant and therefore meaningful to the group, or which parts of the landscape have been used by them in recent times and are therefore apt to have been used in the past and thus likely to feature archaeological sites. While some traditional land-use data have been condensed into point-specific (site) and linear (trails) formats, mainly for land claims purposes, (but useful for the archaeologist), it is more commonly available only in narrative form (e.g., McClellan 1975: 99-103).

In an interesting twist to this line of analysis, and yet another dimension to traditional knowledge, it should be pointed out that it isn't always the archaeologist who uses ethnogeography to predict possible site locations. On a site-recording trip in the Southern Lakes area of the southern Yukon, one Carcross-Tagish First Nation elder frequently suggested where I might find precontact sites (Greer 1984b). His predictions, often correct, were based on those ecological conditions that he personally looked for in selecting a campsite, such as proximity to an important resource locale (e.g., game lick or fishing hole) and access to fresh water and firewood. An

understanding of the dynamic nature of the local environment was also involved in Mr. Johns' predictions; he knew where evidence of past occupations was apt to be preserved and thus enter the archaeological record.

Two specific categories of traditional knowledge data, *trails* and *place names*, have proved especially fruitful for ethnogeographic analysis. Trails are cultural features that transect the landscape and thus spatially define Aboriginal land-use (Andrews and Hanks 1987). In the Dene cultural area, they have been found to have a high correlation with site locations (Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10). Hanks and Pokotylo (1989:141) reported that both pre- and post-contact sites in the Drum Lake area of the Mountain Dene are located along foot trails that were regularly used until the 1950s.

Place Names
Aboriginal place names are increasingly being recognized as one of the region's most important types of historical information (Andrews 1990; Cruikshank 1990). As Cruikshank 1990) has noted, place names become symbolic resources that are used to encode, enrich, and structure accounts of the past. Place names reflect, among other things, knowledge of the distribution of resources important to the subsistence economy; they also encode and relate information about flora, fauna, and traditional technology. Locations known to have been utilized historically are named (e.g., Ritter 1976, Wonders 1987; see also Kritsch and Andre 1994) and site function influences place-naming. They have been successfully used as predictor of site locations (Hanks and Winter 1983, 1986; Greer 1990b).

The following examples illustrate the range of site information and traditional land use data potentially encoded in Aboriginal toponyms. These examples also show that often it is not just the place name, but the traditional story associated with the toponym that is most informative to the archaeologist (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8).

The Southern Tutchone toponym *K'ùà Män* refers to Kloo Lake, a small waterbody in the traditional territory of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nation, north of Kluane National Park (Yukon Government 1991). The name translates as "place where you set a fish trap, the kind used to catch spawning salmon." As salmon have not been able to reach Kloo Lake for many centuries, ever since a glacier blocked their ascent of the Alsek River system (Champagne and Aishihik First Nation Heritage Dept. files), this place name refers to land-use activities, and hence likely site locations, of pre-contact times.

The Gwich'in toponym *Tthal dáii dh'aii* refers to a mountain on the west side of the Richardson Mountains chain in the upper Eagle River, Porcupine River drainage. The name translates as "big fence mountain" (Greer 1989) and indicates that a caribou fence hunting structure was once located on this landscape feature. No evidence of the actual fence structure has been located (Le Blanc 1994), but the general area is extremely rich in pre-contact sites (Gotthardt 1990b).

The Southern Tutchone name for Sekulmun Lake, in the Champagne and Aishihik area of Yukon, is *Tthechäl Män*, which means "flat stone scraper lake" (Yukon Government 1991). It refers to a major source area for getting the particular stone used in making the woman's hide scraping tool known as a *tthechäl* in the Southern Tutchone language (M. Workman, pers. comm. 1995); these same tools are most often referred to as "chi-thos" in the regional archaeological literature.

Whether place names, trail data, traditional stories/narratives, or oral history accounts, these various forms of traditional knowledge data have made significant contributions to site recognition. In addition, it is now apparent that traditional knowledge has been integrated successfully into western Canadian Subarctic archaeology. That is, the traditional knowledge view of the past is now, in at least some projects, being collected for its own sake, not merely because it helps the archaeologist find sites.

SITE MANAGEMENT AND HISTORY INTERPRETATION

In this section I consider the consequences of the integration of the traditional knowledge view of the past, showing how changing ways of recognizing or defining sites has had its impact on site management and public history interpretation. These changes are taking place within the

context of both non-native and First Nations' governments.

In Canada, heritage or cultural resource management programs have been directed towards the protection and management of sites. There are as many official definitions of sites as there are jurisdictions charged with managing these places, but what all have in common is that they more or less define sites as *places that have historic or heritage value ascribed to them.* Most definitions do not specify whether or not there has to be material evidence for such historic or heritage value. However, since CRM programs were initiated in the 1970s, the ascription of historic or heritage value has largely been on the basis of material evidence of the past. That is, places where valued things or structures that tell us about the past (e.g., artifacts, buildings) were found were deemed to be historically important and thus worthy of preservation.

With the growing acceptance of the traditional knowledge view of the past in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, government offices charged with managing heritage sites are broadening their definitions to include places whose heritage values rests solely in the stories or past events associated with them. In this, the Territories are not unique, as broader definitions of heritage values are also now being recognized in other jurisdictions (e.g., Downer 1989: 149-175, and Kelly and Francis 1993 for the Navajo area).

The Canadian Parks Service, for example, in looking for ways to commemorate Dene history in the Mackenzie valley, has been supporting research on historically important landscape features in *Denendah*, the Dene homeland (Andrews 1990; Hanks 1993; Hanks, Ch. 11). One such feature is Bear Rock, by Fort Norman, where *Yamoria*, the culture hero of the Mackenzie Dene, long ago slayed the last of the giant beavers and made the land safe for humans (cf., Blondin 1990; Hanks, Ch. 11). Another landscape feature under consideration for historic commemoration is the trail between Windy Island (on the Mackenzie River) and Sheldon Lake (Yukon). The traditional use of this trail touches on many of the issues important to the history of the Mountain Dene (Hanks 1993: 50). If the Dene communities concerned give their approval, such landscape features will be publicly recognized as important in Dene history. If this commemoration process would have been happening in the 1970s, it is likely that Dene history would have been commemorated by either a fur trade post or a pre-contact site; not so today.

While there has been less government-sponsored research and recognition of the historical importance of named landscape features in the Yukon to date, place names research, primarily by the Yukon Native Language Centre, has documented many landscape features of likely historical importance to Yukon First Nations. These include landforms associated with creation and Crow, the creator, or with ancient animal forms and monsters, as well as places more typically recognized as sites, such as old gathering and trading places, old camp locations, and grave sites (e.g., Cruikshank, 1991; Sidney 1980) Their Land Claim Agreement also gives Yukon First Nations majority representation on the Territorial Geographic Names Board, the body that determines which toponyms receive official recognition. With such control over official place names, it is likely that there will be greater public recognition of those places that are important in First Nations history, and not just sites where artifacts and buildings are found. Such an approach is evident in a site evaluation study recently undertaken by one First Nation (CAFN et al. 1993).

Traditional knowledge is now part of CRM programs in the Territories, and is a required component of impact assessment studies (see Andrews et al., Ch. 17). In the Yukon, consultants inventorying sites in development areas are expected to work with First Nation elders to record traditional knowledge on land-use patterns, old sites, and historically important places in the study area, where possible (Ruth Gotthardt, pers. comm. 1996). Researchers are expected to record not only the location of the place of concern, but also the story that goes with the place; in this way, much local history, as well as local values about the past, are being noted. Similarly, participation of community members in field studies is more or less standard (Arnold and Hanks 1991).

More changes in the definitions of sites, and in the public recognition of heritage significance in the Territories, are anticipated once the heritage and CRM programs of the First Nations are fully operating. At present, these programs are few in number. The Gwich'in of the Northwest Territories Land Claim Agreement established the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute, which is to be responsible for heritage issues. To date, only one Yukon First Nation, Champagne and Aishihik, has set up a formal Heritage Office, but others are no doubt forthcoming.

These First Nations' heritage programs are still in their infancy, and are only now defining their mandates and priorities. CRM programs and policies are not yet defined, but are anticipated. Under the Yukon Land Claims Agreement, for example, the First Nations own and manage all archaeological and historic sites on settlement lands. When all fourteen final agreements are completed, these will amount to about 8% of the Territory's lands, and likely a significant portion of the Territories' archaeological sites. Ownership of sites is not specified in the Gwich'in (NWT) claim, nor the earlier (failed) Dene Land Claim Agreement. Nonetheless, as major land owners, the Northwest Territories First Nations will have site management responsibilities.

The land claim agreements also give First Nations in the Territories say over sites and other places of heritage value on non-Settlement lands through the land-use planning process. Their input in this more public process may lead to a clarification of site significance, as well exploration of the issue of public release of information on sacred sites.

CONCLUSIONS

Archaeology in Canada's western Subarctic is changing. First Nations' values concerning the past and sites (i.e., places that have heritage value ascribed to them) are now being recognized in heritage research, site management, and historical interpretation. A new type or style of archaeology is now emerging, one that blends the more typically Western scientific view of the past with the traditional knowledge view of the past. In changing, archaeology in this area is better reflecting the social context (cf. Bielawski 1984) within which it works, and is clearly more of a historical, rather than scientific, discipline.

It is no coincidence that this new style of archaeology has appeared when it did, when First Nations were finally gaining some political power in their homeland, nor that the projects that heralded the changes were undertaken largely by archaeologists based in the Territories, where the political power of the First Nations could not be ignored. It is only with the empowerment of the Territory's First Nations that traditional knowledge is able to make its full contribution to archaeology as a way of knowing the past. These changes in Canadian Subarctic archaeology are attributed to a number of factors. Primary among them is the increasing political power held by First Nations in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, and not merely the participation of individuals of Aboriginal descent in archaeology, as Trigger (1990: 785) has argued, to correct the biases of archaeology.

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The *Įdaà* Trail: Archaeology and the Dogrib Cultural Landscape, Northwest Territories, Canada

Thomas D. Andrews

John B. Zoe

This trail we are travelling is the route of our ancestors that they used before contact with the Kwet'įį.[1] Now we are at a crossroads where things are not like the way they were in the past. If we tell young people today the history of our ancestors, it seems they don't believe us. We do not want to abandon the old ways of our ancestors. That is why we continue to work along their traditional routes. Through the oral tradition, I know of their choice fishing spots, places where they could obtain food, and their campsites. I am past the age of 60 so I remember our history. My elders used to tell me stories. I witnessed their work and now we are travelling and working along their trails. Though our young people of today do not really know the ways of our people, we want to retain our traditional ways so that whomever survives in the future will use them. So we are in effect, working to help them (Harry Simpson, June 25, 1991).[2]

In subarctic Canada, the conjoining of ethnographic inquiry with archaeological research has been widely practiced for nearly six decades (see Greer, Ch. 9). Whether under the rubric of ethnoarchaeology, or more narrowly defined as "living" or archaeological ethnography (Janes 1983), the role of indigenous traditional knowledge is primary, and has made significant contributions to the interpretation of the archaeological past in the north. Archaeologists working in northern Canada are in the enviable position of being able to initiate ethnoarchaeological research with cultures whose ancestors have occupied the same territory for centuries, and to work in a landscape which has remained largely unaltered for the last 6,000 to 8,000 years. Furthermore, elders living in northern communities today have an intimate knowledge of the land, learned both from the oral tradition, and from personal experience, and collectively maintain an extensive corpus of knowledge relevant to the cultural landscape in which they reside. This situation almost begs the use of ethnographic analogy, and in the Canadian Subarctic, where archaeological remains tend to be thinly distributed and poorly preserved, it becomes an extremely valuable tool that permits archaeologists to make plausible inferences about the past (cf. Noble 1975; see Denton, Ch. 7).

Today in northern Canada, pursuit of archaeological research cannot be undertaken without reference to the political arena in which it is conducted (see Andrews et al., Ch. 17). The negotiation of comprehensive land claims has helped to stimulate an awareness of the importance and value of archaeological research among many Native groups (Greer 1993; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8; Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18). Though this is a positive improvement, it is counter-balanced by the fact that a traditional way of life, and the knowledge it represents, is in danger of being dealt a major set-back. Dene elders living today represent the last generation to be born and raised on the land. In many northern communities, their grandchildren are raised with southern school systems, learn English as a first language, prefer community life to the rigours of the bush, and consequently are not learning the traditional ways and knowledge as they once did. From the elder's perspective this represents a critical juncture in Dogrib history—a "crossroads," to quote Harry Simpson—and many are "working to help" the youth through alternate means.

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[1] Kwet'įį is the Dogrib word for people of English-speaking descent. It translates as "stone or rock people" Helm and Gillespie (1981) have reported that the term is a reference to English HBC traders at Prince of Wales Fort on Hudson's Bay, a stone fortification. Younger Dogrib today say it refers to "prospectors" or "geologists" who for many decades have explored Dogrib lands for mineral resources.

[2] Elders quotes are from project transcripts or from the author's field notes.

The combination of exigency and awareness creates opportunities for unique partnerships that balance the needs and aspirations of both the scientific and Aboriginal communities. This paper reviews the initial results of one such partnership. The *Ɂdaà*.[3] Heritage Resource Inventory Project, designed to complete a site inventory of the traditional trail linking Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes, involved many partners. Dogrib elders from the communities of Rae Lakes and Rae, Dogrib translators, the Rae/Edzo Friendship Centre, researchers from the Archaeology Program at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, and several funding agencies combined their resources, talents, and knowledge to carry-out the project. This chapter outlines the project goals, objectives, and methodology, summarizes some initial findings, and assesses the effectiveness of the partnership approach. Before describing the project organization in detail, however, it is necessary to provide a brief ethnographic description of the Dogrib and their relation to the lands they occupy.

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC SKETCH OF THE DOGRIB LANDSCAPE

The Dogrib are an Athapaskan-speaking group of *Dene*[4] or Northern Athapaskan Indians who traditionally occupied an area between Great Slave, and Great Bear Lakes. June Helm (1981: 292) has identified six regional groups that comprise the Dogrib Nation,[5] with a total population of over 2,500 individuals. Since the 1950s, the Dogrib have lived in the communities of Rae Lakes, Snare Lakes, Wha Ti (formerly Lac La Martre), Rae, and Edzo (see Figure 1). A small number of Dogrib also live in Yellowknife, a comparatively large mining and government centre. The Dogrib are presently engaged in comprehensive land claim negotiations with the Canadian government. More detailed descriptions of Dogrib ethnography and ethnohistory can be found in Helm (1972, 1981, 1994), Helm and Gillespie (1981), and Helm and Lurie (1961).

The Dogrib landscape is characteristic of the Canadian Shield. The vegetation is dominated by trees of the boreal forest, soils are poorly developed and thinly distributed, and the pervasive, exposed bedrock is interspersed with thousand of lakes of varying sizes. Toward the northeastern edge of Dogrib lands, the spruce trees thin to give way to the barrenlands, or tundra, characterized by low-growing, shrubby and herbaceous plants. Subsistence was traditionally derived (as it is today) from barrenland and woodland caribou, moose, small game such as beaver, muskrat, hare, ptarmigan and grouse, and from a variety of migratory waterfowl and fish species. Caribou and fish are of prime importance. Trapping, an important economic pursuit following contact, is now in decline.[6]

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[3] *Ɂdaà* glosses as 'up this way', and is the Dogrib name for the trail. All Dogrib words are presented using the practical orthography of the Department of Education, Culture and Employment, Government of the Northwest Territories. The Dogrib phonemes are: unaspirated stops and affricates - b, d, dl, dz, j, g, gw; aspirated stops and affricates - t, tł, ts, ch, k, kw; glottalized - t', tł', ts', ch', k', kw'; glottal stop - ?; voiceless continuants - …, s, sh, x, wh, h; voiced continuants - l, z, zh, gh, w; prenasalized stops - mb, nd; nasals - m ,n; resonants - r, y; plain vowels - a, e, ı, o; nasalized vowels - ą, ę, į, ǫ; long vowels - aa, ee, ǫǫ; dipthong - aı; tones - high (unmarked) and low (v̌). The format was adapted from Helm (1981).

[4] *Dene*, a Slavey word meaning "man" or "people" has been adopted as a group name for the Athapaskan language groups residing in the Northwest Territories. The Dogrib equivalent is *done*.

[5] The regional groups (cf. Helm 1981) are *Tahga Got'ıı̀* ("Follow the Shore People"), *Tsòtì Got'ıı̀* ("Filth Lake People"), *Dechįlaa Got'ıı̀* ("Edge of the Woods People"), *Et'aat'ıı̀* ("People Next to Another People"), *Sahtì Got'ıı̀* ("Bear Lake People"). Recently the sixth group, the *Wòòle Dee Got'ıı̀* ("Inconnu River People") have chosen to exert their ancestral identity as descendants of the *T'atsąot'ı* or Yellowknives (who traditionally spoke a dialect of Chipewyan).

[6] A steady reduction in fur prices over the last ten years has been an important contributing factor in the decline, and it is widely held in the north that this is a direct consequence of the animal rights movement.
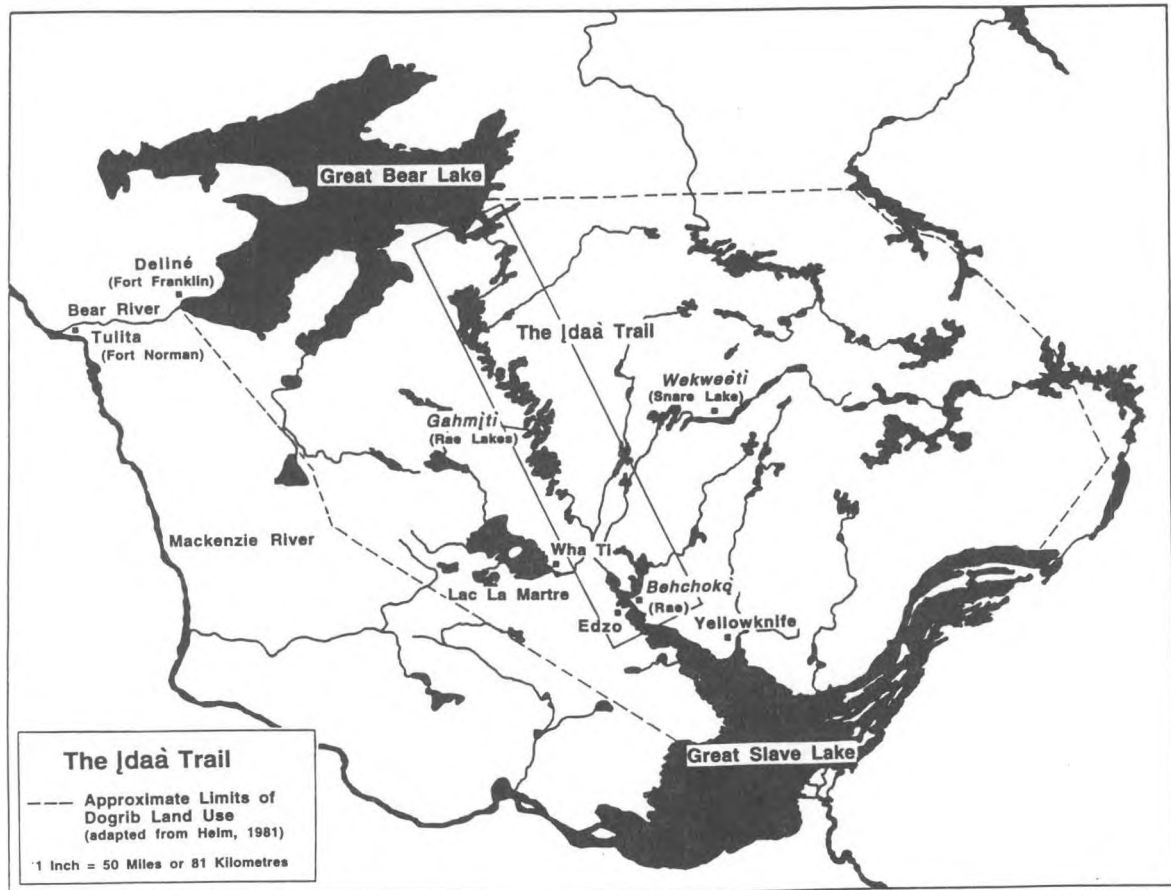
Figure 1. Map of the Ịdaà Trail showing approximate limits of Dogrib land use.

This landscape is known intimately to Dogrib elders. Trails, which are used year-round, provide access to a vast harvesting region, and link thousands of place names, each with a narrative of some form, sometimes many, inextricably bound to the place. Names and narratives convey knowledge, and in this way Dogrib culture is tied directly to the landscape. Travel across the Dogrib landscape can be easily and clearly described by reference to these names, and indeed travel narratives often appear as no more than long lists of place names (cf. Rosaldo 1980). While toponyms mark topographic features, the Dogrib also employ a separate naming system to distinguish broader physiographic regions. Though there is some overlap with the physiographic units recognized by Western geographers, the Dogrib system is more refined, and consequently more complex.

The Dogrib landscape is infused with the presence of innumerable entities, or "powers," both benevolent and malevolent. In travelling across the landscape, one must constantly mitigate the impact of personal actions by appeasing these entities with votive offerings, and by observing strict rules of behaviour. For example, at each new water body encountered en route, offerings are left. In the Dogrib vernacular, it is said that these places, and the entities inhabiting them, are being "paid." The offerings may be anything of value (in modern times this has typically included tobacco, matches, coins, ammunition), or simply, a garland of birch branches. These are thrown into the water (or onto the ice in winter), and in return the votary may ask to be granted

The Įdaà Trail

40 Miles

40 Kilometres

Great Bear Lake

Įts'eeti
(Hottah Lake)

Kwįįka

Kweʔehdoò

Tł'eh Tì
(Lac Ste. Croix)

Gahmįtì
(Rae Lakes)

Hodoòdzoo

Semį Tì
(Faber Lake)

Nįdzįįka Kǫgòlaa

Camsell River
Marian River

Lac La Martre

Bea Tì

K'agootì Kǫgòlaa

Wha Tì

Dètaʔaa Ts'ahtì Kǫgòlaa

Xàelįį Whaèhdǫǫ̀ Kǫgòlaa — Xàelįį

Weyiįts'atłaa

Behchokǫ̀
(Rae)

Edzo

Nįhshih Kǫ̀
(Old Fort Rae)

Great Slave Lake

Figure 2. Detail Map of the *Įdaà.* Trail.

good weather, safe travelling conditions and abundant food resources. At all sacred[7] sites, and indeed at many important cultural sites, offerings are also left. Places inhabited by malevolent entities (called *weyeèdıı* or "animal-beings"; cf. Helm (1994:77), are regarded as dangerous, and consequently, always avoided. Through dreaming and the acquisition of *ık'ǫò,* or "medicine" (sometimes "power," "knowledge," or "luck"), one prepares to deal with the world, and the powers' inhabiting it. These traditional beliefs and practices have been syncretized with the beliefs and practices of Roman Catholicism (Abel 1986; McCarthy 1995).

The *Įdaà* trail is central to the Dogrib homeland (Figure 2). Two rivers, the Marian and the Camsell, form the trail, and with a network of interconnecting trails, provided access to a Dogrib land use area encompassing some 295,000 km2 (Fig. 1) In post-contact times, the trail was used to access trading posts on Great Slave Lake, Great Bear Lake, and the Mackenzie River at the mouth of the Bear River. The rivers exhibit the "puddle and drop" structure characteristic of most shield rivers where large lakes are separated by short, often violent, stretches of river. The trail was used throughout all seasons, though dog teams and canoes would not traverse identical routes. Certain segments of lakes and rivers failed to freeze solidly enough during the winter to provide for safe travel by dog team. These locations were avoided and the winter trail was safely located nearby. The dog team trail was also generally shorter, being able to traverse overland more easily, cutting oxbows and broad bends of rivers Similarly, the canoe route made extensive use of portages (41 between Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes of varying length, the longest just over four kilometres). In traditional times, all rapids were portaged. Birchbark canoes were commonly used until the late 1940s when they were replaced by a variety of manufactured canoes and boats purchased at trading establishments. Under normal circumstances (allowing time for providing for daily sustenance en route), Dogrib hunters would take approximately three weeks to travel approximately 490 km from Rae to Déline (formerly Fort Franklin) on Great Bear Lake by birchbark canoe, and one week by dog team.

Traditionally, two Dogrib regional bands commonly used the trail; the *Sahtì Gòt'įì* or "Bear

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[7] As used in this paper the term "sacred" refers to sites associated with Dogrib myth or legend (as defined by Bascom 1984), and does not necessarily encapsulate the Christian concept of sacred (cf. Kelley and Francis 1994:40). Narratives associated with these sites occur in "floating time" (see note 14). See Andrews et al. (in press) for a discussion of Dogrib sacred sites in the context of travel and the narrative tradition, and Helm (1994:77-8) for a discussion of the terms "spirit" and "power" in the context of Dogrib *ık'ǫò.*

Lake people" who considered the northern end of the trail and portions of the southwestern shores of Great Bear Lake as home territory, and the *Et'aat'įi* or "People next to another people" (Helm 1981: 292), who occupied the central portion of the trail, though they ranged widely, as did all groups. The trail was recognized as a major route linking the two great lakes and was used by other Dogrib regional bands on a regular basis, and by other Dene groups, occasionally. Following contact, the trail became an important travel route used by Euro-Canadian traders, explorers, and missionaries, and later by prospectors and government agents. The trail was considered the preferred route for those who wished to traverse between the two great lakes. The Mackenzie/Bear River route, a much longer way of travelling between Great Slave and Great Bear, was used during the contact period primarily to ferry heavy loads in York boats or similar watercraft.

THE *ĮDAÀ* HERITAGE RESOURCE INVENTORY PROJECT

Throughout the *Įdaà* Heritage Resource Inventory Project, we worked with Dogrib elders to complete a site inventory of the traditional trail linking Great Bear and Great Slave Lakes. Elders participated in all aspects of the research, including fieldwork. During the winter, elders assisted in documenting information relevant to the trail before fieldwork began. Dogrib place names, traditional camping locations, sacred sites and resource harvesting locales were recorded, and this information was used to design a fieldwork strategy. An important component of the project was the documentation of oral narratives associated with each of the sites. Taped interviews have been translated into English and now represent an integral part of site documentation. A second component of the project was to complete a site inventory of the route. Recently, the Dogrib area has witnessed a tremendous increase in mineral exploration, driven primarily by the discovery of diamond-bearing deposits. As very little archaeological research[8] has been conducted in the Dogrib area, the ability to adequately predict potential impacts to heritage resources is severely limited. Collaborative research presented an opportunity for the elders of Rae Lakes (*Gahmįtì*) to record information that they wished to preserve, while also providing a basis for the effective management and protection of archaeological resources in the area.

Project Organization

The *Įdaà* Heritage Resource Inventory began with a meeting in Rae Lakes in the spring of 1990. Elders were asked to lend their support to the project and were invited to assist in designing the research strategy. The initial project team included an elder (Harry Simpson), the project translator and co-researcher (Zoe), and the project archaeologist (Andrews). Through successive meetings, the primary objectives of the project were developed as follows:

• to complete a survey of the *Įdaà* canoe trail, with particular attention to traditional sites used by the Dogrib of Rae Lakes; and
• to document Dogrib place names for the route and to record oral narrative associated with each site.

To these, the elders added several other objectives:

• to document sacred sites along the trail. The elders insisted that we visit each site and perform the ritual required at each;
• to document all graves located along the trail and repair the grave fences if possible;
• to develop a training program in archaeological methods and in the recording of oral traditions for Dogrib youth;
• to locate the site of Father Emile Petitot's cross. Petitot was the first Roman Catholic priest to travel the trail (in 1864) and had erected a large cross on Lac Ste. Croix, marking his northernmost progress; and
• to travel using traditional methods. Consequently, travel was conducted with canoes with

[8] The research of Clark (1975, 1987) and Noble (1971) are notable exceptions. See Clark (1991), Ives (1990), and Noble (1981) for an overview of the region's pre-contact history.

little or no other support. We were careful to budget adequate time to allow for hunting and fishing throughout the course of the summer fieldwork, and in this fashion, tried to "live off the land" as much as possible.

The fieldwork was carried out between the spring of 1990 and the fall of 1993. Three summers of canoe travel on the trail were supplemented by several trips to Rae Lakes and Rae during the winter months to work with elders in the recording of oral narratives. Place names were recorded on map sheets at a scale of 1:50,000. Narratives about many of the named places were recorded during the summer field season as each site was visited, as well as during open-ended interviews with elders in Rae Lakes when general information concerning the use of the trail was provided. Test excavations, sketch maps, and photographs were used to document the extent and nature of each of the sites located along the route.

The project was funded through the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (Government of the Northwest Territories) continuing its long tradition of supporting ethnoarchaeological research (cf. Arnold 1988; Arnold and Hanks 1991; Bertulli 1986; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Hanks and Winter 1983, 1986, 1989; Hart 1994, 1995; Janes 1983; Pokotylo and Hanks 1989). The Rae-Edzo Friendship Centre, a partner in the research, received grants from the Oral Traditions Contribution Program (Department of Education, Culture and Employment, GNWT), and the now defunct Access to Archaeology program (Department of Canadian Heritage). The Friendship Centre assisted in developing a youth fieldwork training program and completed the translation of Dogrib audio tapes.

Analysis and report preparation are still underway. The trail work has led to several related projects, all conducted under the same collaborative framework. Recently, in cooperation with the exhibit design staff at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, we completed a small travelling exhibit on the project which will tour the schools in the Dogrib communities. In the spring of 1996, in partnership with the Dogrib Divisional Board of Education, and six elders from Rae, we initiated a project to record the construction of a traditional birchbark canoe. The trail project demonstrated the importance of birchbark canoes (nearly 30 have been recorded in our work to date), As few elders remain who remember the details of canoe constsruction, we undertook the canoe project as a means to record important details of canoe construction, and information regarding resource collection. The canoe, now completed, will be displayed in the high school at Edzo, and we are working with the Divisional Board of Education to produce a 30 minute video detailing the construction process. Future plans include the production of a compact disk version of the exhibit, designed to provide students with a "virtual tour" of the trail. The Dogrib Divisional Board of Education has agreed to assist with this aspect of the project and production will begin in the near future.

Nearly 350 traditional Dogrib place names were documented over the three field seasons and a total of 282 archaeological sites were recorded. Lithic material was noted at over half of these sites (69 percent of sites where subsurface testing was undertaken). Forty burial locations were visited, representing 189 individual graves. Four abandoned villages, four lithic quarries, and fourteen sacred sites were recorded. Though it is beyond the scope of this paper to describe these sites in any detail, five examples of named places will serve to represent the breadth and depth of Dogrib oral tradition in explicating the material remains of the archaeological record.

Kweʔehdoò

That mountain called *Kweʔehdoò* is where Yamòzhah started off. That mountain is a man, an old man. It can predict your future for you. If you throw a rock into the water in the crack, it will make a noise again, and again, and again. That means you will live a long time. But if you throw a rock and it doesn't make a noise, then that means you will not live very long (Jean Wetrade, February 28, 1992).
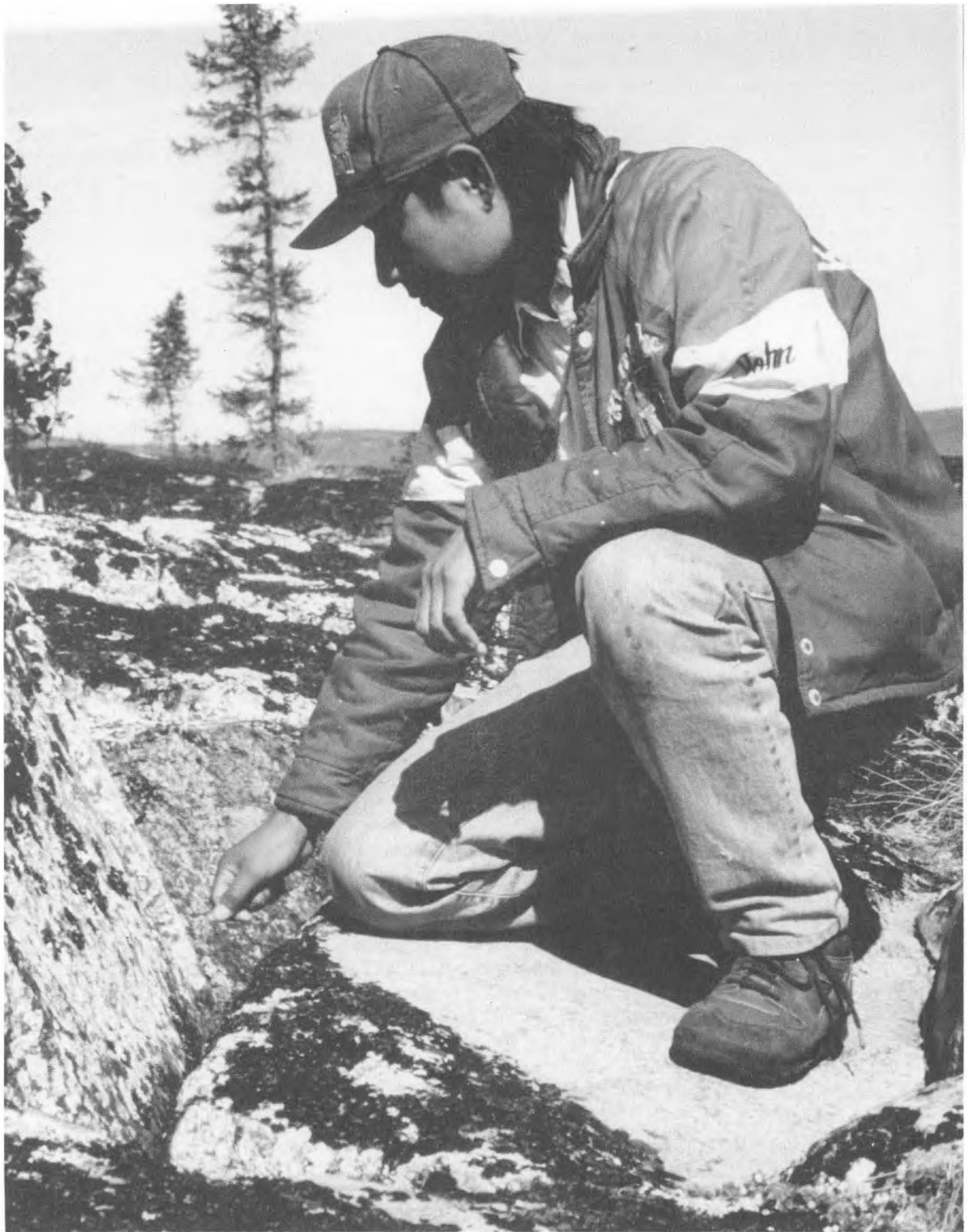
Figure 3. John B. Zoe leaving an offering at KweɁehdoò . (Photo: T. Andrews)

KweɁehdoò, which means "blood rock," is a sacred site said to be the birthplace of *Yamòzhah*,[9] a Dogrib culture hero. The site is characterized by a large bedrock hill rising some 320 metres above the surrounding countryside. Dogrib legend maintains that the hill is actually the skull of a giant man, who was the grandfather of *Yamòzhah*. *Yamòzhah* and his evil brother *Ts'ıdzQò*, are said to have killed their grandfather by cutting open the top of his skull, throwing hot rocks into his brain cavity, whereupon he turned to stone. Today, visitors climb to the top of the hill and kneel before a water-filled crack in the rock (Figure 3). After saying a prayer and leaving tobacco for the old man, visitors drop a pebble into the crack, listening for the sound of it falling down into the water-filled skull. If the sound is audible, then this augurs good fortune and long life for the visitor. This type of geomancy[10] is a recurrent theme, practiced at three of the fourteen Dogrib sacred sites recorded on the trail.

KweɁehdoò is noteworthy for another reason. During our visit to the site, a large rhyolite lithic quarry was discovered 40 metres from the top of the hill. Covering an area of nearly two hectares, the quarry detritus is deposited to depths of 1.5 metres in places. Dogrib oral tradition has not retained knowledge of the quarry; however, an elder postulated that perhaps the name *KweɁehdoò* or "blood rock," refers not to the violent event which took place there, but instead reflects the colour of the lithic material found at the site, which is "blood" red in colour. An examination of place names refering to some quality of "rock"or "stone" revealed three additional quarries in other locations along the trail.

Dogrib oral tradition maintains incomplete knowledge about the procurement, use, and manufacture of stone tools, though some elderly Dogrib women curate stone hide softening tools. However, the experience with *KweɁehdoò* quarry suggests that place names serve as "archives" of ancient knowledge. Once the *KweɁehdoò* quarry was "discovered" and explained to the elders, they were able to combine this "new" information with their knowledge of place names and identify other lithic quarries. The experience and knowledge of both the archaeologist and the elder had a role to play in identifying the association between Dogrib place names and lithic quarries, and underscores the importance of their partnership.

The association of sacred sites and lithic quarries has been noted elsewhere in the Mackenzie Valley (Pokotylo and Hanks 1989). At the Ekwi River quarry, located in the Mackenzie Mountain foothills west of Tulita (formerly Fort Norman), visitors were required to "pay" for lithic material taken from the quarry. Failure to do so would result in heavy rains (Christopher Hanks, pers. comm. 1996). Though Dogrib oral tradition did not retain knowledge of the *KweɁehdoò* quarry, the association of a quarry and a known sacred site suggests that similar rules of "paying" for lithic material may have been part of Dogrib practice. One wonders if the water-filled crack at *KweɁehdoò* is filled with rhyolite flakes?

Kwılka

Long ago, caribou were scarce. When it was getting warm, and time for them to migrate back to the barrenlands, my father told me that at this place they would make a fence [on the ice]. It's hard to cut down that many trees, but still they did that. When they start to come, the men would wait alongside the trails all night. When the caribou come

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[9] Glosses as 'the one who travels." The *Yamòzhah* myths are often collectively referred to as the stories of the two brothers. *Yamòzhah* (also *Yamòzah*) is a culture hero shared by many Dene groups, though known by different names. For example, among the Dene Dha'a of northern Alberta he is known as *YamQhdeyı* (Moore and Wheelock 1990), as *Yambàdéya* (also *Zhambàdézha*) by the Deh Cho Slavey (Eleanor Bran, pers. comm., 1996; cf Williamson 1955, 1956), as *Yabatheya* by the Chipewyan of the NWT (GNWT 1993), as *Atachookąıı* by the Gwichya Gwich'in of Tsiigehtchic (Ingrid Kritsch, pers. com., 1996), and as *YamQrıa* by the Sahtu Dene and in the North Slavey dialect. Because the mythology of this important culture hero is shared widely among the Dene groups of the NWT, one of the *YamQrıa* legends was chosen to symbolically represent the political unity of the Dene Nation, and is reflected in their corporate logo (Andrews 1990; Hanks, Ch. 11).

[10] Geomancy, as used here, is a form of divination involving the forecasting of future events by an individual "reading" environmental or geographic phenomena.

onto the lake, and as soon as they pass them near the fence, the men would imitate wolves. The caribou become scared, as they think they are being chased by wolves...

The fence has openings in it, and it is there that the snares are set. When a caribou is caught the one behind it would try another opening and it would get caught too. In between the trees on the ice they would put a piece of cloth on a stick and stand it up so that it blows in the wind. The caribou does not go through the fence because it is scared of the moving cloth. The only openings are where the snares are, my father said (Romie Wetrade, March 3, 1992).

Dogrib caribou fences were constructed on lake ice in March and April during the northward migration of the Bathurst caribou herd, and were used until the late 1930s. There is almost no mention of Dogrib fences in the historical literature, though Russell (1898: 90) reports that fences were commonly used near the end of the nineteenth century. Fences permitted large numbers of caribou to be killed at one time; once dried, the meat became an important source of sustenance throughout the spring and summer. Successful construction and operation of a fence depended partly on adequate labour, and consequently required the cooperation of several families. Spruce trees were cut and placed in the ice approximately ten to fifteeen metres apart, interspersed with sticks and ribbons, forming a line or fence (often several kilometers long) that mimicked the lake shoreline. While the fence directed the caribou, the movement of ribbons blowing in the wind, and the sound of baying wolves, drove them, creating an efficient entrapment device. Snares were typically set in openings in the fence, or often near its terminus.

Three caribou fence locations (from a total of five documented to date for the trail [cf. Zoe et al. 1995]) were investigated during the project. In the quotation above, Romie Wetrade describes the construction and operation of a fence which was located near the present community of Rae Lakes. Harry Simpson, as a young child in the mid-1930s, helped construct a fence at *Kwįlka*, or"fence narrows" (see Figure 4). He identified the five related sites that constituted the fence complex: the fence itself, a location where hunters hid waiting to ambush the caribou near the end of the fence, a "look-out" located on a high hill nearby, a butchering location, and an encampment some distance from the fence. At the ambush location, stone projectile points, bifaces, and a large quantity of debitage were noted. At the "look-out," a small amount of debitage was recorded. Several stone tent rings were noted at the encampment location, as was a small amount of flaking detritus and several scrapers. Evidence of more recent use (e.g., axe-cut stumps, ammunition casings, and tin cans) was noted at all three sites.

In this instance, the archaeological record and Dogrib oral tradition pertaining to the use and function of a related complex of sites meshed perfectly. However, two of these locations, the fence and the butchering site, had no lasting physical expression as they were located on the spring ice, and consequently are "invisible" in the archaeological record. Without reference to Dogrib oral tradition, archaeological inference about this complex of sites would be limited. Furthermore, the association of stone projectile points with these sites suggests that caribou fences predate contact, giving a greater time depth to the scant ethnohistorical literature.

Bea Tı K'ı Elà [11]

I am from the time when we sewed the birchbark canoes together. When my father was putting the frame together we would pull spruce roots from the ground and carry large bundles of birchbark back to the camp (Madeline Drybones , March 1, 1992).

In the old days when times were hard, people would go to places where they knew there were good stands of birch. They would take what they needed. In the spring time they would help each other in harvesting birchbark and begin making canoes. Families with many children might make two canoes. They would use spruce gum. They would heat the gum and apply it carefully. The gum would harden...in the water. They would avoid pulling their canoe ashore on the rock. At a short distance from shore, they would step out of

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[11] Translates as "Bea Lake birchbark canoes."

the canoe while it was floating and wade ashore. They handled their canoe carefully and kept it in the shade, out of the sun. That I know (Harry Simpson , June 25, 1991).

The remains of birchbark canoes are commonly found at portages and other locations along the *Jdaà* trail. Elders remember vivid stories about their construction and use. An elder in Rae Lakes, Marie Mantla, recalled one such story. In the fall of 1939, after spending the summer fishing and attending treaty celebrations at Rae, Mrs. Mantla, her husband, father, and younger brother Harry Simpson, began travelling north on the trail to Hottah Lake where they intended to spend the winter, trapping and hunting. Travelling in two birchbark canoes that her father had constructed the previous spring, the party reached *Bea Ti* as the fall ice began forming on the lake. Caching the canoes for the winter, the party waited for enough snow to continue the trip by dog team.

In recounting the story, Mrs. Mantla noted that the two birchbark canoes were the last ones her father constructed, as the following spring he opted for cedar/canvas canoes from the Hudson's Bay Company at Rae. During her story, Mrs. Mantla mentioned that on the trip north to Hottah Lake, they stopped at a portage just south of *Bea Ti* and collected a length of birchbark to repair one of the canoes, noting that the scarred birch tree was still living the last time she had seen it, twenty years later. At the end of her story Mrs. Mantla asked if we would search for the canoes and the birch tree. Fortunately, Mrs. Mantla 's description of the site provided enough detail that we were able to locate both the remains of the two canoes, and the scarred tree. Remarkably, the birch tree was still living and clearly showed the scar left in the fall of 1939.

Mrs. Mantla's story provided data that assisted in the location, identification, and interpretation of several related sites. It helped provide a measure for the rate of decomposition of organic remains in boreal environments, which is invaluable to archaeological interpretation of the recent past. Canoes and other objects constructed from organic matter are quickly lost in the acidic soils of the boreal forest. Furthermore, the story identified an important indicator of human
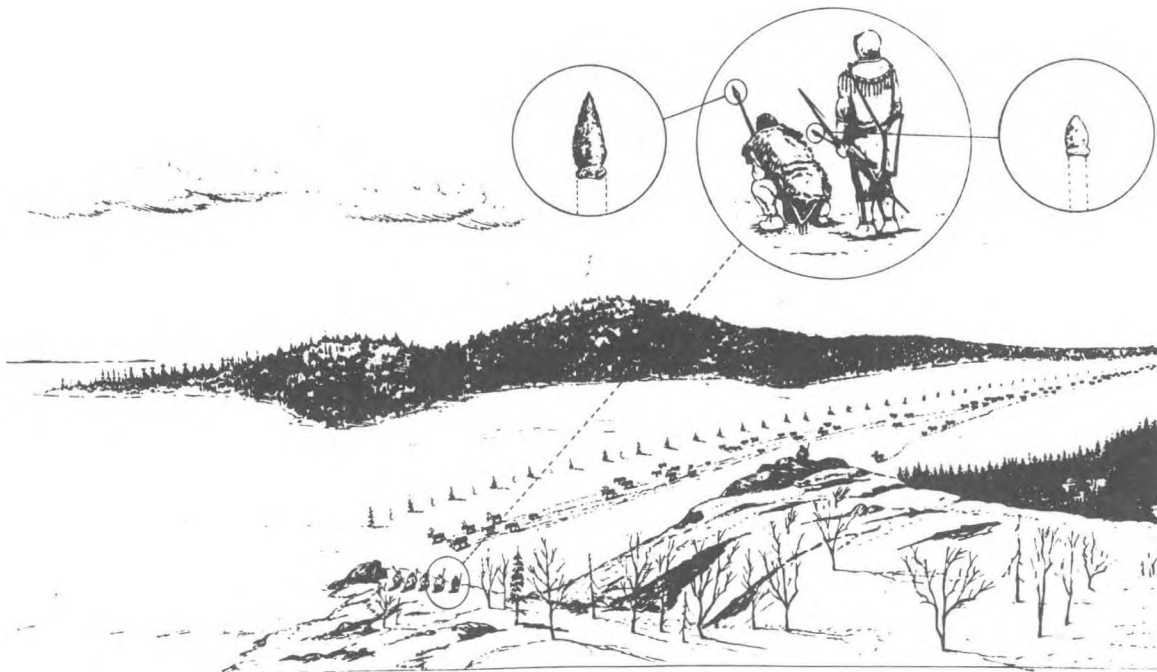
Figure 4. Artist's rendering of the caribou fence at *Kwjika*. (Drawing: W. Wolfe)

use and occupation—scarred birch trees—that we had not previously recognized. Some sites are readily noticeable because of the number of scarred birch trees still growing on them. The story also provides important ethnographic details concerning the methods of birchbark collection. Birchbark was an important resource, and given the northerly latitudes of the Dogrib landscape, was a slow growing one. Consequently, the trees had to be conserved, and when bark was removed, it was done carefully so that the tree continued to live.

Nįdzįįka Kòdòlaa[12]

> Here on Faber Lake there is a place called *Nįdzįįka.* Long before treaty signing in 1921, our people came here. There were houses here, some older than seventy or eighty years old. Generation after generation of people came here. That area was very significant to the survival of our people. They would live here summer and all winter, raising their children. They taught their children the ways of the bush; choice fishing spots, how to make things from wood, how to make canoes and toboggans. We want them to learn these things so we are recording this knowledge for them (Harry Simpson, June 25, 1991).

> The man they call *K'aàwıdaà* he was a middleman for the fur trader. So when he goes to Rae by boat to bring his furs, people would help him haul his supplies back. His supplies would be in huge bundles… . *Behcho K'aàwı* had a house there too… . He was made a *K'aàwı* (middleman) after they came back from Rae. He was chosen to trade for things like babiche, dry meat and tongue (Amin Tailbone , February 27, 1992).

The village of *Nįdzįįka Kòdòlaa,* the largest of four abandoned villages on the trail,[13] is located on Faber Lake. All four villages were abandoned shortly after the winter of 1928/29, following an influenza epidemic that began the previous summer and had decimated the village populations. Associated with an important historical figure known today as *K'aàwıdaà* ("for the trader"), the village was first established sometime during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The foundations of sixteen log structures can be seen at the site. At least twelve of these were probably cabins, as evidenced by the remains of large stone fireplaces associated with them (Figure 5). Four cabins, dating to later occupations of the site still stand, though in an advanced state of decay. The villages were used primarily in the winter and occasionally in other seasons.

K'aàwıdaà, who is known in church records as Francis Yambi (sometimes Eyambi), and in fur trade records as Bear Lake Chief, was a Dogrib who became a "middleman" or "trading chief" for the *Sahtì Got'įı* and the *Et'aat'įı* sometime after 1872. Yambi built cabins at three locations on the trail and used them as temporary trade centres. Yambi traded in fur, while his Dogrib contemporary, *Behcho K'aàwı* (literally "big knife trader," probably a reference to his preferred trading post at Rae, known in Dogrib as *Behchokò,* or "big knife place"), traded only in secondary commodities, such as babiche and dry meat, as noted above by Amin Tailbone.

These villages, an early expression of what Helm and Damas (1963) have termed "contact traditional all-Native communities," represent an important era in Dogrib post-contact ethnohistory. In one sense they are experiments with alternate forms of the architecture that the Dogrib had observed in nearby trading posts. The roles of trading chief, middleman, and post hunter were all essential, and stories about them relay important ethnohistorical data about the nature of the fur trade economy, the social relations necessary for the successful conduct of commerce, and Dogrib adaptation to changing socioeconomic conditions. The abandoned villages provide unique opportunities for investigating spatial patterning and architectural development of early all-Native

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[12] Glosses as "the village beside *Nįdzįı*". The place name *Nįdzįı* cannot be translated directly to English, but has the essence of meaning "good place".

[13] The other villages are *K'agootı Kòdòlaa,* located on the northern end of Hislop Lake, *DetaɁaa Ts'ahtı Kòdòlaa* on a small lake approximately 45 kilometres north of Rae, and *XàelįıWhaedoò Kòdòlaa* located on the northen end of Marian Lake. The modern seasonal fishing village, known as *Xàelįı* is located nearby.

communities, which, from the perspective of historic archaeology, may lead to important inferences about Native influence on site patterning and development at post-contact trading posts and forts (cf. Janes 1983).

Hodoòdzoo

Since long before the coming of the *Kwet'įį* , when the land was new, that place has been called *Hodoòdzoo.* Nobody ignores it and passes by this place called *Hodoòdzoo.* In the past when people were travelling to Įts'èetì (Hottah Lake) in spring or summer, they came here to slide. Nobody travelled past without stopping.... The hill was used to predict future events. People would slide down the hill and if they slid all the way down, straight, and without spinning around, then it was said that they would live a long life. If, on the other hand, the person spun around halfway down the hill then he would be told that he would not live to see his grey hair, because the land was unhappy with him. According to our ancestors, events happened as foretold. That is the story (Harry Simpson , June 25, 1991).

The final example is *Hodoòdzoo,* which means "sliding"" This is one of many sacred sites associated with *Yamòzhah,* and another where geomancy is practiced. Located on a large bedrock ridge, the site consists of a "slide," only a metre wide and 30 metres in length, where the lichens

Figure 5. Stone chimney remains at the village of *Nįdzįįka Kògolaa.* (Photo: T. Andrews)

encrusting the bedrock have been rubbed off. According to Dogrib legend, in a time long ago,[14] *Yamòzhah* made *Hodoòdzoo* safe for humans by killing a large wolverine that used to trap and eat people there. Today, visitors to the site break off the top of a spruce tree to use as a "sled." Sliding down the hill straight, without tumbling or twisting, is said to augur a long life for the slider. In the words of Harry Simpson, it means that "you will see your grey hairs."

Though overgrown with lichens from disuse, a second slide was used at this site in the past. Wishing to know if young pups would be worthy sled dogs, owners would throw them down the slide, hoping that they, too, would slide straight. According to Dogrib elders, people would travel to *Hodoòdzoo* at any time of the year, though it was usually done in conjunction with moose hunts at a nearby salt lick. Visitors were permitted to slide only once at each visit, though the site may be used many times during an individual's lifetime.

Without belabouring the point of archaeological invisibility, sacred sites of this nature are often extremely difficult to identify, and virtually impossible to interpret without reference to the oral tradition. Often these sites fall outside the definitions of *archaeological site* or *historic site* found in existing heritage legislation, and point to the need for expanded definitions of these resources (cf. Downer 1989).

DISCUSSION

> ...this convinced me—that in passing through a strange country it is a saving of time to trust to the local knowledge of your guide in preference to your own—though his way will not be so direct yet it will be more convenient and without any risque (George Back, September 8th, 1820, from Houston 1994: 91).

In societies where knowledge is transmitted orally between generations, the landscape can be a powerful mnemonic device (Vansina 1985:45). The conjunction of place and narrative in oral tradition has been well documented for hunter-gatherer societies (Berndt and Berndt 1989; Denton, Ch. 7; Harwood 1976; Kahn 1990; Rosaldo 1980) and among some non-hunter-gatherer societies (Fox 1979; Gaffin 1993). Among both Northern Athapaskan (Andrews 1990; Cruikshank 1990; Greer 1990; Kari 1989a, 1989b, 1996; Kritsch and Andre 1993, 1994, Ch. 8; Kritsch et al. 1994; Ritter 1976), and Southern Athapaskan societies (Basso 1984, 1988; Downer 1989; Downer et al. 1994; Kelley 1986; Kelley and Francis 1994), it has been well established that place names function as mnemonic devices ordering a variety of narratives that transmit and preserve culturally-relevant information. It is also generally accepted that this knowledge exhibits both a great time depth (Cruikshank 1981; Hanks, Ch. 11; Moodie and Catchpole 1992) and an empirical basis (Cruikshank 1981; Helm and Gillespie 1981; Vansina 1985), and consequently can be valuable in supporting archaeological interpretations of the material record. The role of place names, trails, and narrative in explicating the archaeological record has been clearly demonstrated, especially in the Mackenzie Valley, due largely to the work of Hanks and others (Andrews and Hanks 1987; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Hanks and Winter 1983, 1986, 1989; Pokotylo and Hanks 1989), elsewhere in the Canadian subarctic (Greer 1993; Denton, Ch. 7; Gotthardt 1993) and in the Arctic (Hart 1994; Nagy 1994a, 1994b).

As part of a knowledge system, traditional place names serve as memory "hooks" on which to hang the cultural fabric of a narrative tradition. In this way, physical geography ordered by named places is transformed into a social landscape where culture and topography are symbolically fused (Andrews 1990: 8). From the perspective of Dogrib cosmology, neither can exist inde-

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[14] Helm and Gillespie (1981: 9-10) note that the concept of time as reflected in Dogrib oral tradition consists of two temporal eras: "floating time" and "linear time." The former describes a vast temporal era where myths, legends, and stories are told without reference to time or each other. These stories are usually said to have occurred "thousands of years ago." Linear time succeeds floating time and describes the more recent past. Stories from linear time are "conceived as falling into a temporal succession." The legends of *Yamòzhah* bridge the transition between floating and linear time.

pendently: culture and landscape are inseparable, as stories cannot exist without their physical context. This was brought clearly into focus during the work as often the elders would talk of stories as though they "lived at," or occupied a place. Indeed some elders refused to provide details of the stories associated with a place until it was visited during the summer fieldwork. Not only does place anchor narrative, but together they inextricably link the orator to the cultural landscape, because without the story-teller, the stories would never be voiced. This underscores the importance of the visual, mnemonic role of "place" (cf. Yates 1966), where named topographic features become memory aids which assist both the telling, and learning of stories. Dogrib toponymic practice is largely metaphorical in nature, consisting of mapping narrative prose onto the landscape, and thus can be regarded as a tenet of Dogrib ethnogeography.

Providing more than access to harvesting areas, trails, named places and their associated narratives present a record of land use over time, recording generations of experience with a cultural landscape. Traditional place names and trails are emic categories in Dogrib culture. They are a focus of activity, stories, and ritual, and as such, hold tremendous potential for ethnoarchaeological research. However, the inventory of these sites is far from complete. It has been estimated that less than five percent (Charles Arnold, pers. comm., 1994) of the extant sites in the Northwest Territories have been documented to date. With increasing pressure from mineral development (as witnessed most recently with the discovery of diamonds in the Northwest Territories), heritage resources are becoming increasingly endangered. The communities are at an important crossroads. As fewer and fewer young Dene and Inuit choose traditional lifestyles, the knowledge relevant to life on the land is being lost. Elders in many communities have expressed grave concerns that their knowledge is not being adequately preserved through traditional means, and are increasingly looking towards other means of recording their oral tradition. As Harry Simpson notes below, there is much to be done.

Through partnerships such as the one described here, two distinct knowledge and value systems can be integrated to address a common research objective, where the specific interests of both parties can be addressed. Partnerships help bring new perspectives to old problems and permit all participants to benefit through an exchange of knowledge and experience. More importantly perhaps, partnerships force an examination of the biases inherent in our respective worldviews, and permit us to modify these to meet changing circumstances. Partnerships commit both parties to work together creating an often challenging, though rewarding relationship that can be focussed on addressing common objectives.

> It is called *Weyìits'atłaa* ["they went in"]. You can see that hill from Rae... There are many stories about that hill, so when we get there I will tell stories about it. There will be many stories, many stories. We'll have to check all the areas mentioned in the story, and we will have to climb to the top of it. When we get to the hill there will be lots of work to be done (Harry Simpson, March 2, 1992).

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   This paper is dedicated to the memory of Jean Wetrade, a Rae Lakes elder, and partner in this project, who passed away in 1995.

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11 Ancient Knowledge of Ancient Sites: Tracing Dene Identity from the Late Pleistocene and Holocene

Christopher C. Hanks

The oral traditions of the Dene of the Mackenzie Valley contain some intriguing clues to cultural identity associated with natural events that appear to have occurred at the end of the Pleistocene and during the early Holocene. The *Yamoria* cycle describes beaver ponds that filled the ancient basins of postglacial lakes, while other narratives appear to describe the White River ash fall of 1250 B.P. This paper examines Dene views of the past and begins the task of relating them to the archaeological and geomorphological literature in an attempt to understand the cultural perspectives contained in these two different views of "history."

STORIES, NOT STONE TOOLS, UNITE US

The Chipewyan, Sahtu Dene, Slavey, Hare, Mountain Dene, Dogrib, and Gwich'in are the Athapaskan-speaking people of the Northwest Territories. Collectively they refer to themselves as the Dene. Their shared cultural identity spans four distinct languages and four major dialects, and is spread from Hudson's Bay to the northern Yukon. Based on archaeological culture histories, there are relatively few strands of evidence that suggest a close relationship between these groups (Clark 1991; Hanks 1994). However, by using oral traditions, the archaeological record, linguistic theories, and the geological record, it can be argued that in the distant past the ancestors of the Dene lived as one group in the mountains along the Yukon-Alaskan border (Abel 1993: 9). For some archaeologists, the Athapaskan arrival east of the Cordilleran is implied by the appearance of a microlithic technology 6000-5000 B.P. (Clark 1991; Morrison 1987); beyond that, the physical evidence on it's own does not reveal much about their shared traditions. Other archaeologists are unwilling to ascribe anything older then 2,000 years directly to the ancestors of the modern Dene (Abel 1993: 7). The reality is that there were probably a series of Athapaskan arrivals east of the Cordilleran over a period of several thousand years that eventually evolved into the modern groups. As archaeologists have become more interested in the Dene's perception of cultural landscapes, they have become aware of what Native people have been trying to tell them all along—that the Dene's ongoing knowledge of and relationship to the land is a key to understanding their cultural continuity.

To comprehend the cultural significance of *in situ* knowledge of traditional homelands, it is necessary to go beyond the archaeological record and the fur trade accounts of the Hudson's Bay Company, and re-examine the traditional narratives of the Dene. The oral accounts of the Athapaskans have been undervalued in the past as an historic source (Abel 1993; Andrews and Hanks 1987; Cruikshank 1990a) in the debate over cultural continuity, because to use them effectively requires an epistemological shift on the part of archaeologists trained in a world organized by linear time and *provable* cause and effect. Causality in Native narratives does not necessarily follow a linear time sequence. For instance, the events that spawned Native creation myths may, from a Western perspective, be spread over thousands of years and are therefore not easily causally related. In the Mackenzie drainage, geomorphology provides some clues that have allowed events alluded to in traditional narratives to be tentatively ordered in a manner that Western educated minds can understand. Specifically, the draining of the great postglacial lakes and volcanic eruption have been used to provide a chronological structure that links both archaeological and traditional Native interpretations.

An intellectual shift in Mackenzie Basin research began when elders from Fort Good Hope persuaded archaeologists to use Native place names as a way to understand traditional land use (Hanks and Winter 1983). According to Cruikshank, "By imbuing place with meaning through story, narrators seemed to be using locations in physical space to talk about events in chronological time" (1990a: 347). The ethno-geographic approach was first used in 1982 to examine Hare-Slavey use of the Mackenzie River corridor near Fort Good Hope. Subsequent projects expanded
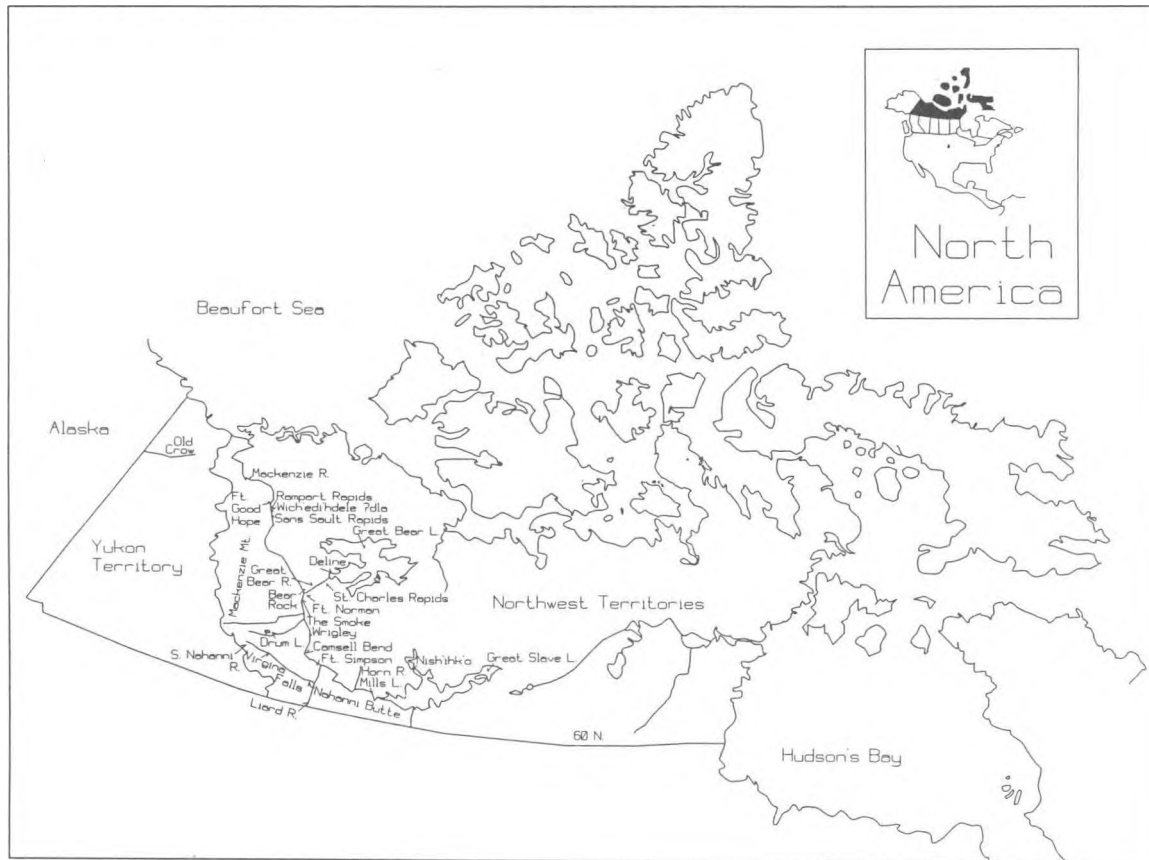
Figure 1. Places in the Bear Rock Narratives.

its application to the Fort Norman area and the Mackenzie Mountains. Ethno-geographic and ethno-archaeological research in the central Mackenzie basin sought to refine our understanding of the relationship between places that the Dene named, traditional Native land use, and the distribution of archaeological sites (Hanks and Winter 1986, 1990; Pokotylo and Hanks 1985). Perhaps the greatest intellectual danger of the approach for archaeologists, however, is the temptation to sift oral accounts for facts and then try to force them into the mould of Western science (Cruikshank 1990a: 346).

The onset of ethno-archaeological and ethno-geographic research around Drum Lake, in the Mackenzie Mountains, provided a chance to examine Dene knowledge about traditional settlement patterns within a region where the archaeological record was reasonably well known (Andrews and Hanks 1987). Those studies demonstrated the depth of information relating to traditional land use that was imbedded in the narratives of the Mountain Dene (Hanks 1994).

Andrews (1990) and Cruikshank (1990a, 1990b) took the next significant step when they independently demonstrated the importance of *place* in narratives that transmitted cultural knowledge and societal values. Geographic locations are the repository of the myths, legends, and stories that are essential to individual enculturation within Athapaskan societies. Being told about a place is often not enough, however, and many of the most important stories can only be meaningfully related at the narrative's home. From a Dene perspective, the land is thus a primary repository of culture.

The ethno-geographic and ethno-archaeological research approach (Andrews 1990; Andrews and Hanks 1987; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Hanks and Winter 1983; 1986, 1990; Pokotylo and Hanks 1989) was continued by work I conducted for the Canadian Parks Service to develop the community-based study done by the Sahtu Slavey of Deline on the Grizzly Bear Mountain and
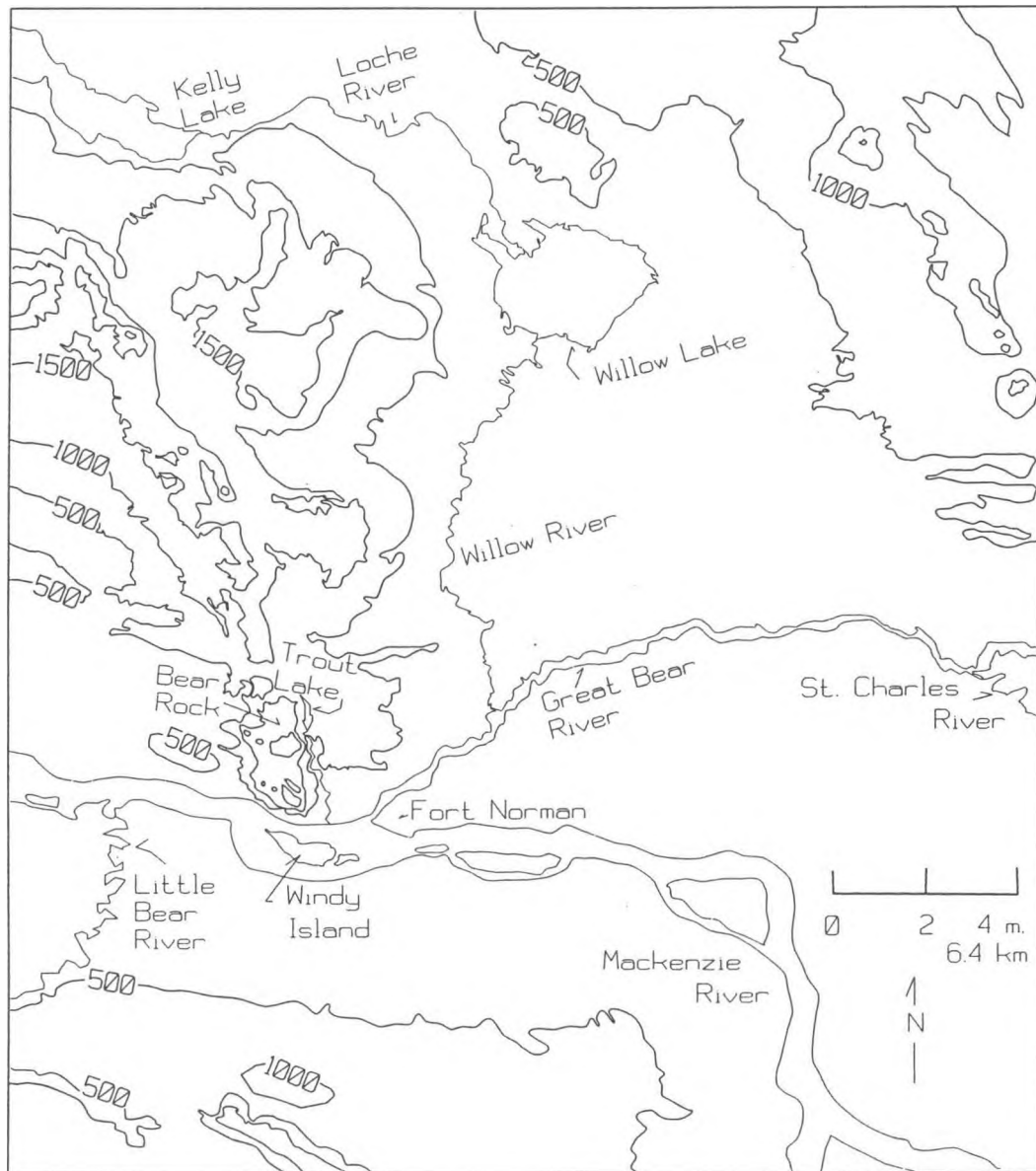
Figure 2. Bear Rock and Mackenzie River.

the Scented Grass Hills historic site proposals. This approach has also used by Tom Andrews within the homeland of the Dogrib between Great Slave and Great Bear Lakes to both broaden and refine the understanding of *place* within Athapaskan narratives and the transmission of cultural knowledge as it relates to the archaeological record (see Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10).

In the video *Drum Lake Archaeology* (1987), Mountain Dene elder Paul Wright made the point that it is only when the Dene and archaeologists combine their knowledge that the larger story becomes whole. For this chapter, I have chosen Bear Rock as my primary example of a place within Dene oral traditions because the narratives about it are the ones that unite the Dene as a people (Figure 1). What is especially interesting from an archaeological point of view is that there are no material clues that this landscape feature should figure so prominently in the perception of Dene cultural identity.
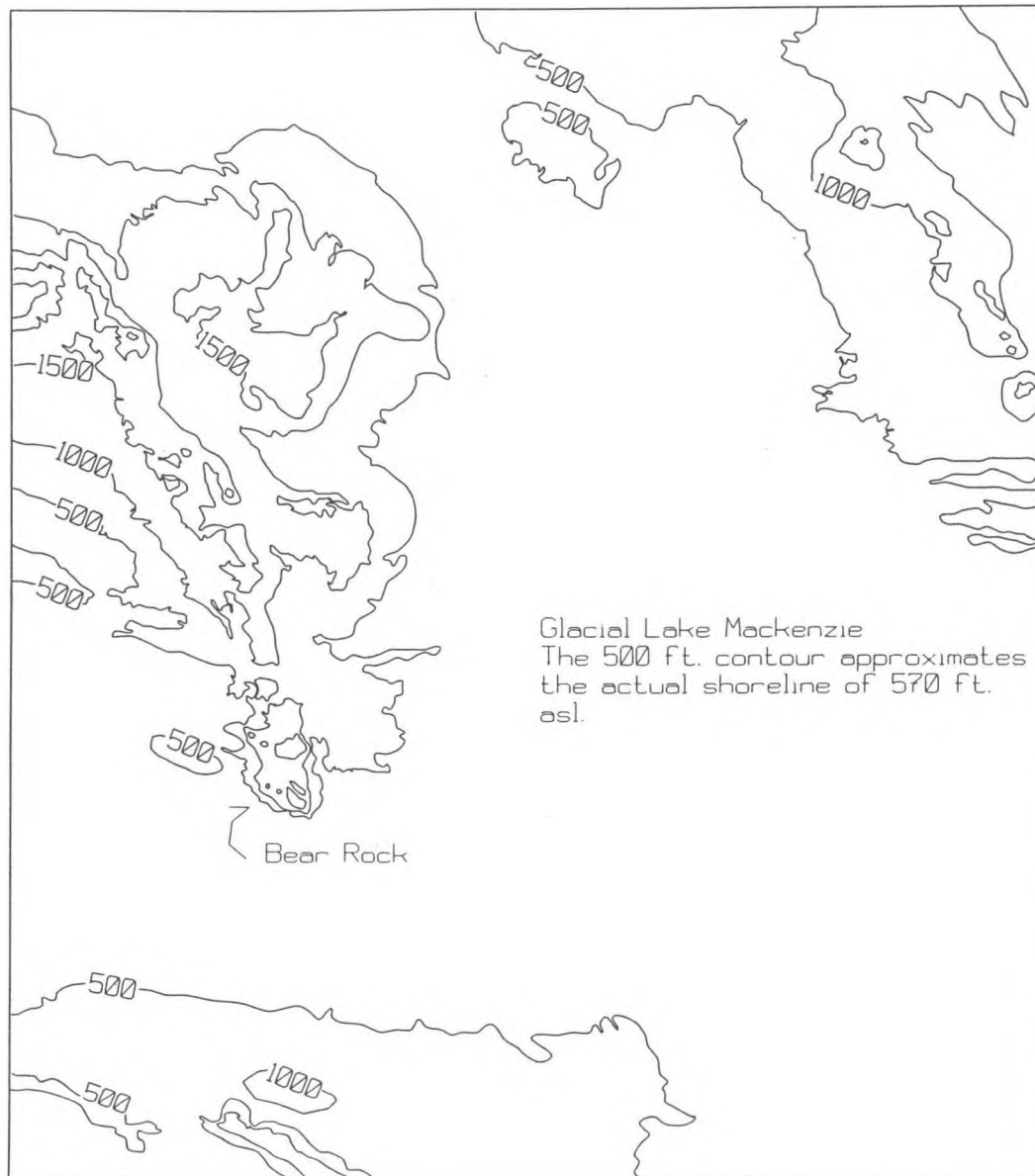
Figure 3. Bear Rock and Glacial Lake Mackenzie.

BEAR ROCK NARRATIVES AND DENE CULTURAL UNITY

Bear Rock is a small peak at the southern end of the Norman Range of the Franklin Mountains (Figure 2). It is situated on the east bank of the Mackenzie River, three kilometres west of the mouth of the Great Bear River. From the bank of the Mackenzie River, Bear Rock extends N-NW 8.5 km; at its widest point it is 2.5 km in width and 450 m tall (1,500+ ft. asl.). The combination of treed slopes and barren crags gives it a distinct profile against the relatively flat, tree-covered Mackenzie Valley. The "rock" dominates the Mackenzie River for 20 km in all directions.

It is the presence that Bear Rock emanates over the landscape that must have focused the attention of Native people on it from the earliest times. At the end of the Pleistocene, when the central Mackenzie Valley was flooded by postglacial Lake Mackenzie, Bear Rock would have jutted out of the water like a beaver lodge. An upper Lake Mackenzie beach was identified at 174 m (570 ft asl) near Big Smith Creek, 54 km south of Fort Norman (Smith 1992: 1760; Alexandra Duk-Rodkin, pers. comm. 1994). This elevation was generalized for this paper as the Lake Mackenzie shoreline and is illustrated by the 500 ft. contour in Figure 3. It agrees in substance with geo-morphologist Derek G. Smith's interpretation, which also has Bear Rock featured as the south-west tip of a long peninsula that protruded out into Glacial Lake Mackenzie (1992: 1762).

Evidence suggests that the lake started to form around 11,760 B.P., and reached its maximum size by 10,600 B.P. (Smith 1992: 1763; Lemmen et al. 1994: 811-812). Although geomorphologists disagree over the date when Lake Mackenzie drained, the most recent glacial studies indicate it must have been after 10,000 years ago (Alexandra. Duk-Rodkin, pers. comm., 1993). A "Clovis-like" point from the T'logotsho Plateau in the Mackenzie Mountains suggests that there were people in the region before this time (Hanks 1992), and it is reasonable to postulate that they would have seen Bear Rock protruding from the lake. After the lake drained, it size and relationship to the shore of the Mackenzie River would have continued to make it an important landmark. The empty lake bed would have left ample scars on the landscape for interpretation as the remains of a battle between giants by the people who arrived afterwards.

Although there are no known early Holocene archaeological sites around Bear Rock, there were contact and post-contact period foreshore fish camps around the base of the southwest corner of Bear Rock, associated with eddies on the Mackenzie River (Hanks and Winter 1990: 50). There was also a post-contact interior lake fishery (LfRr-1, 2) at Trout or Bear Rock Lake on the northeast side of the mountain. Additionally, there are some high grade chert outcrops on Bear Rock that may have been utilized as quarry sites.

Bear Rock's broad cultural significance, however, is not tied to human occupation of the land around the mountain, but rather to its mythical association with the origins of the Dene through the slaying of the giant Beavers by the humanoid giant *Yamoria*[1] (Blondin 1990: 30). The recognition and use of a "medicine" spring on the west face of Bear Rock by Mountain Dene (Gabe Etchinelle, pers. comm. 1992) is a physical manifestation of the sacredness of the place. Bear Rock's significance is based upon the role of the place within the Dene's perception of history as related through their traditional narratives. The oldest Bear Rock narratives relate to a time when the *Go'de'n'e* ["the giant people"] lived (Elizabeth Yakeleya pers. comm.1987).

"Two brother tales" are central to the oral traditions of the Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey, Mountain, Hare, Sahtu, and Gwich'in Athapaskan groups east of the continental divide (Tom Andrews pers. comm. 1992; Blondin 1990; Petitot 1976; Paul Wright pers. comm.1992). It is the actions of the good brother, considered by the Dene to be the law giver, who slew the giant beavers at Bear Rock that are the key to its significance (Blondin 1990). He is known by different names among the various Athapaskan linguistic groups—*Hatchowe* by the Chipewyan (Bertulli 1986), Yampa De'ja[2] by the Slavey (Williamson 1955), *Yamoria* by both the Mountain [Paul Wright, pers. comm. 1992] and Bear Lake (Blondin 1990), and *Wich'edi'hdele*[3] by the Hare (Hanks and Winter 1983)—but the significant details of the Bear Rock story remain the same among the Athapaskan groups of the middle and upper Mackenzie drainage. Despite linguistic variations of the giant hero's name and local vicissitudes that tie various segments of the story to different parts of Denendeh, a key element of the story is that he always slays giant beavers at Bear Rock. In modern political terms, the image of Bear Rock is used by the Dene Nation as the

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[1] All transcriptions in this chapter reflect the interpretation of local interpreters in Fort Good Hope, Tulita (Fort Norman), and Deline (Fort Franklin). These names were not transcribed into the emerging "standardized" orthography to respect the views of some of my interpreters.

[2] *Yampa De'ja* translates as "traveller at the edge of the world" (Dolphus Jumbo, pers. comm. 1993), or as "always moving" (Williamson 1955).

[3] An island at the top of the Rampant Rapids on the Mackenzie River is identified by the Mountain Dene in Fort Norman as *Yamoria's* over-turned canoe (Paul Wright, pers. comm. 1992). The same feature was identified to the author by the late John Shae of Fort Good Hope as *Wich'edi'hdele's* canoe (pers. comm. 1992) Among the Hare, *Ya'moga'* and *Wich'edi'hedele* are not the same person (Tom Andrews, pers. comm. 1996).

central device in their logo (Figure 4) and symbolically expresses Dene unity (Andrews 1990).

Published versions of the Slavey story from Fort Simpson (Williamson 1955) and the Bear Lake[4] narrative from Fort Franklin (Blondin 1990) provide a sample of how the Dene relate the creation of the New World (Andrews 1990; Paul Wright, pers. comm. 1992). The stories of Paul Wright and Madeleine Mouse (Robert Williamson 1955: 123, pers. comm. 1993; Alison Jumbo, pers. comm. 1993) reflect the Dene view that the old world dominated by giant animals changed and a new world safe for people was created through the actions of mythical culture-heros. This theme of death and rebirth of the world repeats itself at least one more time with the events surrounding the eruption of the White River Volcano in 1250 B.P. (Hanks 1994). The concepts of death and rebirth are also central to the process by which an individual acquires power within Dene shamanistic beliefs; its extension to the occasional restructuring of the "world" is thus quite consistent with their traditions.
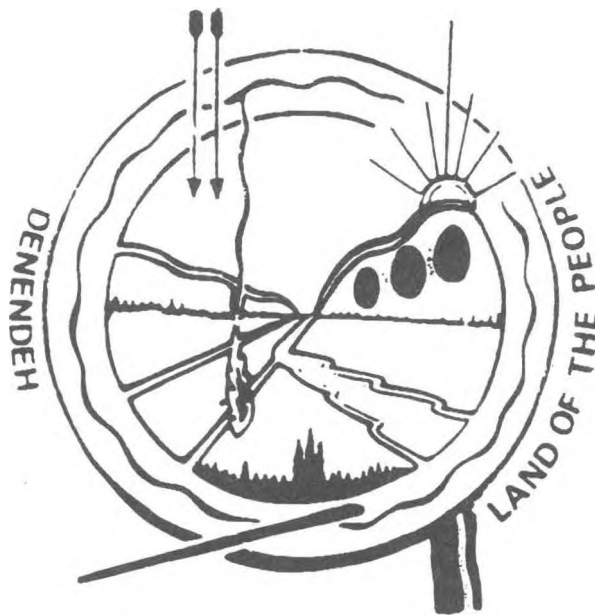
Figure 4. Logo of the Dene Nation.

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4 The Bear Lake Athapaskans are a mix of *K'achogot'ine* (Hare) and *Ts'igot'ine* (Dogrib) (Rushforth 1984: 1-10). As a result, Blondin's rendition of the *Yamoria* story is blend of those two traditions. According to Tom Andrews (1993: pers. comm. 1993), in the Fort Rae Dogrib version, *Yamoria* is born along the Camsell River trail. He eventually encounters the giant beavers near Great Slave Lake and then pursues them down the Mackenzie River.

To the Slavey of Fort Simpson, the story of *Yampa De'ja* starts on the South Nahanni River. Madeleine Mouse (cited in Williamson 1955: 126-127) relates that:

> Once, long ago, at the mouth of the Nahanni River where it runs into the Liard, there was a family of giant beavers. There were two huge beavers and four smaller ones. They had a great lodge at this place, which is now called Nahanni Butte (a large mountain), and on the Liard there is a long calm stretch, near the Little Butte, which was the feeding place of the giant beavers. They were so large that they were a danger to the people, the splash of their huge tails upsetting the canoes and many Indians were drowned. Once there were fifty warriors together in their canoe, for they were a war party, and they all were drowned with a single splash of a giant beaver's tail.
>
> So hearing of this, *Yampa De'ja* cut down a birch tree and made a birch-bark canoe. He left his home at Virginia Falls on the Nahanni and paddled down river to investigate. He climbed on to the top of the beaver lodge and thrust a huge pole down into it and broke it open.[5]
>
> The beavers broke through the beaver dam, and that made the rapids on the Liard River. The big hole made by *Yampa De'ja's* pole can still be seen on the summit of the Nahanni Butte. It is so deep that sometimes the Indians can drop down a stone and wait a very long time before they hear the splash. Sometimes, however, they climb up and find it full of water. This augers good luck for the Indians and a long life, success on his hunts, or victory for his war party.
>
> The half of the mountain which he broke off when he poked the hole, *Yampa De'ja* poled downstream, pushing it with the current. That is how the Mackenzie Mountains were formed and it is why they run northwest.
>
> *Yampa De'ja* pursued the beavers. Two of the younger ones he chased over Horn Mountain [to] a big lake lodge made by these two. It is called *Sa Chon Kjin.* In their travels the beavers went up to the mouth of the Mackenzie River. One flapped his tail and formed Beaver Lake. When they came downstream towards the Horn River, the other flapped his tail and made Mills Lake. Two of the other beavers went north and *Yampa De'ja* pursued them past what is now Camsell Bend. Its name is *Theh t-th-yn Teh*—The Clear Mountain. He caught up with them at Bear River. At the mouth of the river, opposite Fort Norman is Bear Mountain (Rock). He caught them by their tails and threw them against the rock face and stretched out their skins. To this day the impression of the two beavers can be seen. (Sandstone outcrop in shape of two beavers, one smaller than the other on the rock face). (This was a place of many wars. There were so many bones that no trees grew).
>
> While *Yampa De'ja* was stretching out the beavers on the rock, he saw a female caribou and young crossing the Beaver River [Great Bear River]. He shot at them from the top of a rock. The huge logs which can be seen on the Beaver River [Great Bear] are his arrows. They float up the Bear River against the stream.
>
> In more recent times Indians with York boats tried to tow them away but failed. "They will always be there." *Yampa De'ja* killed the other beavers by the river bank and one can see to this day where they slid into the water.[6] That evening, *Yampa De'ja* was eating his meal at the river bank above Fort Norman when two Indians passed in a canoe and saw the smoke of his campfire. He said to them that from then on any hunters who passed this place and saw the smoke[7,] would have a long and successful life, but if they did not see any smoke they would have bad luck—and so it is to this day.

This Slavey story from Fort Simpson orders the country between the South Nahanni River and the Great Bear River by explaining the origins of the landscape in relationship to the deeds of

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[5] The lower South Nahanni River contained a series of large post-glacial lakes at the end of the Pleistocene (Alexandra Duk-Rodkin, pers. comm. 1992).

[6] At La-Roche-Qui-Trempe-`a-L'eau between Fort Norman and Wrigley.

[7] This is the carboniferous outcrop that is still burning above Fort Norman. It is noted by Mackenzie in 1789 (Lamb 1970) and is cited as a sacred location by Paul Wright.

Yampa De'ja. In the next story about *Yamoria* and the giant beavers by George Blondin (1990: 30-31), we see the same "mapping" of the land from Great Bear Lake, down the Great Bear River to Fort Norman:

> Many years ago, before the white man came into this country, a special man named *Yamoria* travelled our land, putting everything into its rightful place. The animals and human beings were separated from each other, and *Yamoria* also got rid of whatever was harmful to people. In doing this, he set laws for Dene to follow, which we still do to this very day.
>
> In the time when *Yamoria* came, there were giant beavers living in Sahtu'. The beavers were harmful to the Dene, who travelled across the lake by canoe to hunt caribou. The beavers did not like people to cross their lake. They would get as close to their canoes as possible and splash their tails, hoping to tip them over. They often succeeded, and got rid of many people. When *Yamoria* learned of this, he came to *Sahtu'* and told the people he would chase the beavers away.
>
> *Yamoria* began chasing the beavers around the lake, and the old ones swam immediately to *Sahtu' De'* hoping to escape down the river. The younger beavers were harder to chase towards the river, and during the time *Yamoria* was busy with them, the old beavers built a dam to block his way. You can still see where they did this, at the rapids on *Sahtu'*.[8].
>
> At last *Yamoria* got the young beavers to head for *Sahtu' De'* and then he chased all the beavers down the river.
>
> Near the place we call Tulit'a, at the confluence of *Sahtu' De'* and *Deh Cho,* the Great River, *Yamoria* killed two medium beavers and one small one. He stretched and nailed their hides to the south face of Bear Rock Mountain, where you can see them to this day.
>
> Meanwhile, the two large beavers continued to swim down *Deh Cho,* building two more sets of rapids along the way.[9]
>
> From the top of Bear Rock Mountain, *Yamoria* shot two arrows at the confluence of the two rivers, saying, "As long as this earth shall last you shall call them *Yamoria's* arrows." You can still see them: two big poles that stick out of the river, even after the ice breaks up in the spring.
>
> After shooting the two arrows into the river, *Yamoria* took the beavers he had shot to a place about 30 kilometres from where the two rivers meet, and there he camped. He cooked the beavers, and the grease that drizzled from them started to burn. To this day, *Yamoria's* fire continues to burn, and the people say that if you can see the fire when you go past by night, then you will live a very long life. This fire is not visible to everyone.
>
> Stanley Isaiah of *Liidli Ko*[10] used to teach that the symbol of the three beaver pelts on Bear Rock Mountain, and the ever-burning fire upriver from that mountain, are signs of the land set there as a reminder of our ancient Dene stories. Stanley said that if we remember the teaching of the stories and live them, and if we Dene take the sign set on the land as our symbol, we will never have any trouble surviving as a nation.

After his run in with the giant beavers, *Yampa De'ja* continued down the Mackenzie River where he encountered the giant wolverine by the San Sault Rapids, and also the black dog, the giant eagle, cannibals, and the murderous family (Williamson 1955; Paul Wright, pers. comm. 1992)

The end of the Fort Norman version of the murderous family story has *Yamoria* jumping from Bear Rock into Willow [Brackett] Lake, having killed his wife, who had been transformed into a bear by her parents. As told by Paul Wright (cited in Hanks 1992):

> *Yamoria* ran away from the Giants. When he reached the edge of Bear Rock, he jumped, and he landed in Willow Lake (Brackett Lake). Plunging into the lake, *Yamoria*

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8 St. Charles Rapids.

9 Sans Sault and Rampart Rapids.

10 Fort Simpson.

thought, I am going to be a wise beaver, transformed his shape and swam away. That is why beavers are so smart. When they see someone coming they slap their tails and dive. It is very hard to catch them.

The water in Willow Lake was low, so *Yamoria* made dams around the edge to raise the level and protect his home. You can still see Yamoria's dykes and channels around the lake today.

While *Yamoria* was swimming around Willow Lake as a beaver, his father-in-law sought out two big giants known as *Toncha* in Slavey. He told the *Toncha* to drink the water and drain Willow Lake. They drank until their bellies were full and then they laid on the bank to sleep. Meanwhile, the old couple scurried about the mud flats killing every creature they could find, hoping to strike *Yamoria*.

When they got close, *Yamoria* turned himself into a baby Jackfish and hid under a little stick that still had a small puddle of water around it. Gently finning round his little pond to stay hidden from the giants, he wished for Sand Piper to join him. No sooner had he thought of the bird, then a Sand Piper landed beside him. He told the Sand Piper to fly over beside the big giants. If they ask you what you are doing, tell them because there is no water now, there are lots of bugs for you to eat. Besides what business is it of theirs, you are not bothering them, but are simply eating bugs. Once they stop paying attention to you, run over to where they are laying and poke both their stomachs with your long beak and quickly fly away. When the Sand Piper left *Yamoria* he flew over and settled down to eat bugs next to the *Toncha*. Soon one of the giants ask him— "Sand Piper, you skinny legs, what do you want around here?" Go away they yelled at him. Sand Piper replied— "I am just eating bugs that are exposed because you drank all the water in the lake. Besides, I am not bothering you, so leave me alone." The giants were too full to move and so they went back to sleep. Once they started to snore Sand Piper flew over and poked their stomachs. He then flew quickly away as the water gushed from their stomachs.

When the water begin rushing from the *Toncha*, the old couple were caught in the middle of the dry lake killing things. Seeing the flood racing across the mud flats toward them, they ran as quickly as they could toward the shore but the mud slowed them, and they barely made it to shore before the waves caught them. As they fell exhausted on dry ground, they turned into two small hills, [11] as *Yamoria* had taken all their medicine away.

Now the water in Willow Lake is always low in the fall. The only deep spot that always has a lot of water is the hole under the log where *Yamoria* hid as a Jackfish. It is really hard to find the hole, but if you do and set a net there you will always catch fish.

During his final battle with his giant father-in-law, *Yamoria* established a dependable low fishery in the lake. The reliability of the fishery made Willow Lake the desired home of the Willow Lake Band, which today lives in Fort Norman with the Mountain Dene. While *Yamoria* 's famous fights with the giant animals set the broader tone for creating the world in which the Dene live, the locations where he slept and the smaller battles he fought with lesser giants mark the topography of *Denendeh*. On a local level his exploits, illustrated by his fight with the giants in Willow Lake, transformed and improved much of the landscape for people. For the Dene, the local identification of his deeds make his great battles all the more famous.

The Fort Good Hope people identify the crescent shaped island, *Wich'edi'hdele ?dla'*, at the Rampart Rapids, as *Yamoria's* overturned canoe that he had used to pursue the giant beavers (George Barnaby and John Shae, pers. comm. 1982). Among the Dogrib, the island of *Nish`ihk`o*, the site of Old Fort Rae in the North Arm of Great Slave Lake, is a giant beaver lodge associated with the *Yamoria* cycle (Tom Andrews , pers comm. 1993). For the Dene, the naming of the land in the *Yamoria* narratives orders the landscape with their history by providing toponyms for places that derive from the time when the "New World" was formed (Andrews 1990; Paul Wright, pers. comm.1992).

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[11] Two small summits on the rise immediately north of Willow Lake. On Figure 2 it is marked as a single hill, denoted by the 500 ft. contour line.

Is it reasonable to ask if these narratives of giant animals and the formation of the landscape within the basins of post-glacial lake[12] reflect an *in situ* knowledge of the late Pleistocene and early Holocene by the Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage? Such an explanation would suggest a passing of traditions through cultural contact between late Paleoindian populations and early Athapaskans in the region. Non-literate or oral societies develop sophisticated memory devices to structure their myths and legends. Beyond recent occurrences, events often lose their chronological sequence, but retain the elements necessary for a group's on-going social relationships (Harwood 1976). For the Athapaskans of the Mackenzie drainage to trace their entry into the valley at the time when the glacial lakes were draining and/or had drained very recently, setting the rivers into their current beds, would require an unbroken link with a past of 8,000 to 10,000 years.

Unilingual Mountain Dene elder Gabe Etchinelle (pers. comm. 1992) says that, "Long ago, the north had all of the dangerous animals. Down south there was nothing. If it went like before, "down south" would have winter and there would still be places to live here in the north. The animals (from those times) still dream and travel." Gabe's apparent knowledge of the edge of Beringia comes from the cultural memory embedded in the ancient narratives of the Mountain Dene. Athapaskan explanations of Pleistocene megafauna in relationship to landscape features are not unique to Bear Rock. For example, Mountain Dene elders know of caves in the Mackenzie Mountains where the lion's spirit still dwells. The Gwich'in maintain that Churchward Hill or *Chii Ak`an* (Beaver House Mountain) along the Ogilvie River in the northern Yukon is the former home of giant beavers that once lived in the area (Greer 1990: 4). Giant beaver (*Castor ohioensis*), which is known in the far northwest from the fossil record of Old Crow Flats (Harington 1989: 94-95), became extinct at the end of the Pleistocene. Whether the stories of giant beaver relate directly to a time when the creatures still existed, or are the result of a knowledge of fossilized skeletal material, remains a mystery. The oral traditions do, however, support archaeological and linguistic interpretations put forward by anthropologists as they appear to contain general descriptions of the edge of Beringia, the late Pleistocene extinctions, and the alteration of the landscape following deglaciation and the draining of the glacial lakes.

Bear Rock has five levels of significant cultural meaning: (1) It acts as a legendary focal point within the origin myths of at least four of the five major Athapaskan linguistic groups of the Mackenzie. (2) The stories seem to link the cultural memory of the Dene to events that occurred at the end of the Pleistocene. (3) The medicine spring on Bear Rock used by the Mountain Dene demonstrates a physical manifestation of the mountain's sacred status. (4) The late pre-contact and post-contact fishery illustrates the continued human occupation of the area around Bear Rock. And (5) The legendary link with the past provides the symbolism of modern Dene unity. The Bear Rock narratives acknowledge the common origins of the Chipewyan, Dogrib, Slavey, Mountain, Hare (or Big Willow), and Sahtu Athapaskans who call themselves the Dene.

CONCLUSIONS

How do the Bear Rock narratives relate to questions about material culture change over time that are central to the discipline of archaeology? Both Dene origin narratives and archaeology revolve around culturally significant places and a world that changes over time. They differ in that significance for the Dene is imbued by sacred knowledge passed down through narrative and for the archaeologist by material remains excavated from the ground. Few archaeologists would disagree that the leap from projectile points to the social history embodied in traditional narrative is one that has not always been done well. Archaeological data, however, are quite good for examining stylistic and technological change in material culture both regionally and across the continent. Such changes are sometimes indicative of social transformations found in the cultural traditions of Indigenous people.

A relevant example is the shift from the middle to late pre-contact period in the Mackenzie Valley archaeological record and the most recent rebirth of the Dene "world," Both seem to revolve around the 1250 B.P. eruption of the White River volcano (Hanks 1994). In this instance,

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12 Great Bear Lake was part of Glacial Lake McConnell (Craig 1965); the central Mackenzie Valley between the Upper Ramparts above Fort Good Hope and the North Nahanni River was submersed by Glacial Lake Mackenzie (Alexandra and Derek Duk-Rodkin, pers. comm.1993; D. Smith, pers. comm. 1992)

the convergence of two different ways of viewing the past combine to provide a fuller picture of the technological and social impact of a catastrophic event. This brings us to a potentially common ground. The description of technological and environmental change over time provided by archaeologists, and the cultural and natural history passed in Dene oral histories, do not exist as exclusive theories of the past, but simply as different schools of thought. They are alternative ways of knowing the past. Collaboration between the Dene and archaeologists does not degrade either form of knowledge. Instead, it offers an opportunity to look at new questions. Dene elder Paul Wright is correct when he notes that the sum of our knowledge will be greater then its parts.

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12   Remembering 10,000 Years of History: The Origins and Migrations of the Gitksan

Heather Harris

Simgi'get, Sigid'm Hanak, Guba Wilxsasxw: Chiefs, Women Chiefs, Chief's Heirs. My name is Heather Harris. I am Cree-Métis in origin, but have lived for many years among the Gitksan of Kispiox Village where the Kispiox and Skeena Rivers meet.

I will begin. *La'oo'ii*, a long time ago, in the time before time, our ancestors lived in a place of much darkness where creatures that are now extinct abounded. It is in that time before time that *'Wiiget*—Great Man, Raven—came among the people of the Northwest. He brought light to the people and formed much of the earth as we now know it. The stories the Gitksan tell of Raven's time we call *andamatlasxw*. Some of these stories may be true and some of them may not, but they give us an explanation for why the world we know now is so different than the one remembered then.

Then, after the time before time, when *'Wiiget* lived, came time as we know it today, although the world was not yet quite as we now know it. The words of the Bella Bella people regarding the beginning of time as we now know it were recorded by Franz Boas. They told him, "In the beginning there was nothing but water and ice and a narrow strip of shore-line" (Boas 1916: 883). The stories the Gitksan tell of the time we have lived in since then, they call *adaa'ox*, which translates literally as "truth" I will call them oral histories. These stories tell the history of the peoples of the Northwest from the time we came into the area, to what is now called Alaska and British Columbia. This was when the great ice was receding.

The Gitksan know the *adaa'ox* are true because they tell them over and over at home with their families and in public at potlatches, which they call feasts. In the feast, when they tell their history, there are hundreds of witnesses who also know the histories and will politely correct any mistakes. In this way the *adaa'ox* are kept accurate through the millennia. The Gitksan also know the *adaa'ox* are true histories because scientific knowledge from the Western ways of knowing is beginning to confirm them.

When our elders tell their *adaa'ox*, they say, *la'oo'ii*— "a long time ago." They do not say "10,000 years ago" or "8,000 years B.P.," as I will do, but then I am a product of both their knowledge system and the Western system. Dates will help us to communicate and understand each other because that is the way the Western understanding of the past works. What the elders can do is give chronologies. Each elder knows dozens, maybe hundreds, of *adaa'ox*. They can only put dates on those that occurred since the White people came and began naming years, but they can always tell you which events occurred before and after other events. Often, the elders will indicate roughly when in their history an event occurred by the use of important time markers such as, "before the flood," "soon after the flood," or "when the people first lived at Tx'emlax'amid." Do not be deceived when the elders say, "not too long ago" for this can mean 500 or 1,000 years ago. They see that as not long ago in their perception of historical time because most of Gitksan elders can tell their history stretching back to what Western science calls the late Pleistocene and early Holocene.

The Gitksan and other peoples of the Northwest consider the *adaa'ox* as the exclusive property of the families involved in the event related. If I do not belong to a family that was involved in a particular historical incident, I cannot relate that incident without permission. Many *adaa'ox* have been written down and published by Barbeau (1928, 1929, 1961), Boas (1895a,b; 1916), Garfield and Forrest (1961), Harris (1974), Swanton (1905, 1909), Tate (cited in Maud 1993), Teit (1921a,b), Wright (n.d.), and others. This actually breaks the laws of the Gitksan and other peoples of the Northwest. The people are generally happy though that so many *adaa'ox* were recorded by these anthropologists from elders who are no longer living because the stories are not being passed on orally as they once were. For 80 years or more now, school, work, and nuclear family housing have separated elders from young people, interfering in the way these histories were once passed down.

Figure 1. Hagwilget Canyon. Although the archaeological evidence has demonstrated only 5,000 years of human habitation at Hagwilget Canyon, the oral histories of the Gitksan indicate that their ancestors resided there at least 10,000 years. (Photo: H. Harris)

Adaa'ox can be told in versions of differing lengths with greater or lesser amounts of detail. While testifying in the Delgamuk land claim case, T'enimgyet—Art Matthews, of the Wolf Clan of Kitwanga, said that a complete cycle of *adaa'ox* can take four months to tell and can contain the *yuuxamtxw*—wisdom, and the *gan didils*—way of life or culture of the people (1988: 4524). I have listened to my *hlumxs* (in-law), Antgwulilibiksx—Mary Johnson, of the Fireweed Clan of Kispiox, tell an abbreviated version of her *adaa'ox* for six days. The best known of these are the short versions told to children and anthropologists. These are the type that are published. I have probably heard or read at least 600 of these stories, but that is a small part of what there is to hear.

I will now tell you more about how the Gitksan and their neighbours see history. Each matrilineal kinship unit, which the people call a House, has the responsibility to keep its own history. The elders of each House can tell you their history in chronological order, usually from very early times, the late Pleistocene or early Holocene, to the present. The stories sound much like the stories in the Old Testament of the Bible, recording the history of individuals, families, tribes, clans, and peoples. These stories often relate momentous geological events, such as landslides, volcanic eruptions, the precipitous draining of glacial lakes, and "the flood" caused by sea level rise, melting glaciers and marine intrusions. They record momentous social events such as migrations, territorial discoveries, and wars. They also record the peoples' relationship with those powers Westerners might call "supernatural," but which the people see as part of the natural world.

I will tell you very briefly the history of the Gitksan as it can be traced back through time by putting together the stories of all the Gitksan Houses. I must give credit to Susan Marsden, who is now the Curator of the Museum of Northern British Columbia in Prince Rupert, for initiating the enormous task of putting the histories of all the Houses together (Marsden 1987). My own work develops what Susan began and emphasizes the early postglacial period.

Now I will begin. At the beginning of time as we know it now, before the Gitksan were called Gitksan, their Raven and Wolf Clan ancestors were the first to come into the Northwest when the land was new, before there were trees. The ice was just leaving the land at that time and there were large lakes in the river valleys, such as the one in the Skeena Valley that was called the Very

Oldest Lake (Maud 1993: 95; Boas 1916: 346). According to geomorphologist Allan Gottesfeld (pers. comm. 1994), the existence of this glacial lake spanned the time from 9,500 to 9,300 B.P.

When the Wolf and Raven clan people first came to the Northwest, they came from the north by interior routes, possibly south down the valley of the Liard and west along the valley of the Peace (Marsden 1987: 28). They were said to be speaking a Dene language at that time (Boas 1895a: 555). They settled then in an open tundra area at the headwaters of the Stikine, Nass, and Skeena that the Gitksan call *Laxwiiyip*, "concerning big land." *Laxwiiyip* is in what is now the territory of the Tahltan people and it was near Mount Edziza where we have been gathering obsidian from earliest times (Fladmark 1986: 49; Smith 1971: 201). The *adaa'oχ* relate how both hunting and fishing were important to those ancient people. In these early years they often built their communities at canyon and other good fishing locations although initially these places were at a much higher elevation than today, the valleys being filled with sediment sometimes more than 100 metres deep (Ian Spooner, pers. comm. 1994). Their villages were built with the Raven Clan living on one side of a river and the Wolf Clan on the other.

The early Wolf and Raven Clan peoples eventually moved down the Stikine River to the coast where they encountered the Tlinget-speaking Eagle Clan people. Wolf and Raven people built paired villages with the Eagles now too. Mostly because of a series of wars, the Wolf, Raven, and Eagle Clan peoples began moving south along the coast where they encountered Ts'imsian-speaking people already well settled in the Metlakatla area. Some Wolf and Raven Clan people travelled overland to the Upper Nass and Skeena where they often settled at canyon locations.

The Wolf, Raven, and Eagle Clan people began moving up the valleys of the Skeena and the Nass. At the up-river canyon villages, such as Kuldo'o, Gisga'ga'as and Hagwilget, the Wolf and Raven ancestors were replaced by the Ts'imsian-speaking people. These people came from very ancient villages on the coast, such as Kadu and Ts'a'os (Marsden 1987: 64). These ancient places may have been located in areas that were glacial refugia (see Fladmark 1979: 55; 1982: 99; 1986:15). The earliest remembered ancestors of the House that once adopted me came from these coastal people, led by a chief called Ts'ooda. One of the names that was used by Ts'ooda's family in these early postglacial times, over 10,000 years ago, is still being used today. That name is Ts'iiwa, held by my adoptive uncle, Walter Blackwater of the House of 'Niist. We know that Ts'iiwa lived over 10,000 years ago because there are stories about him that occurred before the Great Flood—the precipitous sea-level rise dated by Western science to between 10,500 and 9,500 years ago (Daryl Fedje, pers. comm. 1995). Ts'ooda's people were said to be speaking the Ts'imsian language when they first came up the Skeena from the coast (Wright 1986: 17).

The coastal people had a different kind of social organization than the Wolf and Raven Clan people who came from the northern interior. The coastal people did not have clans; they had smaller kinship units and lived in settled villages with exclusively owned territories nearby. When they joined with the matrilineal Wolf, Raven, and Eagle Clan peoples, the foundation was laid for the social structure the Gitksan have today. The Gitksan Nation is made up of a number of *wilp*, or Houses, that are matrilineal kin groups. Each House is politically independent and owns territories, fishing sites, crests, hereditary names, and other property. Through common historical ancestry, each House belongs to one of four clans: Wolf, Frog-Raven, Fireweed-Killer Whale, or Eagle.

These early peoples began to spread throughout the Northwest, discovering uninhabited lands, taking them as their own House territories, settling there, joining the power of the people with the power of the land. The peoples of the Northwest do not war for land. Land can only leave the House in compensation for very serious crimes such as murder, although even this is very rarely done, so most territories have been in the same House for millennia. It was very early on, maybe 6,000 or 7,000 years ago, that most of the land was taken up (Marsden 1987: 30). After that time, when people moved, they often had to join clan relatives because they could not find empty land (Barbeau n.d.: 56).

Sometime after the Wolf, Raven, and Eagle Clan people settled much of the Northwest, an event occurred that gave rise to the origin of the Gisgaast, the Fireweed Clan, the only clan that originated in the area. This event may have occurred over 7,000 years ago (Marsden 1987: 98). At that time, Wolf and Raven Clan peoples lived in paired villages (Barbeau 1961: 17; n.d.: 42, 99; Boas 1916: 270, 300). They intermarried but sometimes fought each other. The Fireweed

Figure 2. The mountain, *Stekyoodenhl*, where an enormous landslide took place around 6,000 B.P. The Gitksan say it was caused by the Mountain Goat People taking revenge for abuses they suffered at the hands of people. (Photo: H. Harris)

ancestors may have been Wolf Clan people. They fought with their Raven Clan in-laws and were all wiped out except a young woman in menstrual seclusion and her grandmother. This young woman, Ska'wa', founded the Fireweed Clan.

The descendants of Ska'wa' founded Tx'emlax'amid, a very large village located just downriver on the opposite bank of the Skeena from where Hazelton is now. There they were joined by their former enemies, the Raven Clan, and later by Wolf Clan peoples. The people thrived at Tx'emlax'amid for many centuries, possibly from around 7,000 B.P. until they were forced to scatter into smaller groups by a downturn in the climate and increased snowfall around 4,000 B.P., a period called the Litle Ice Age or Neoglacial by Western science (Ryder 1986: 1300). At Tx'emlax'amid, this was a time of cultural florescence. Throughout the Northwest, at Tx'emlax'-amid, Hagwilget (Ames 1979), Gitselasxw (Allaire 1979; Coupland 1988), and the many communities in Prince Rupert Harbour (Inglis and MacDonald 1979), what is known as the Northwest Coast Culture became established.

The time at Tx'emlax'amid was generally a time of peace and prosperity, but major disruptions came in the forms of a huge landslide on the nearby mountain, Stekyoodenhlxw (Figure 2) (Mathewes 1987). An enormous debris slide displaced the lake at its foot (Gottesfeld and Gottes-

feld 1986) and a climate amelioration described as a snowfall in summer (Barbeau 1928: 240; Harris 1974: 64), were the events that ended Tx'emlax'amid. When the people were forced to scatter from Tx'emlax'amid, they went out in small groups, claiming all remaining pieces of empty land and establishing most of the Gitksan villages we know today. Some joined relatives in other Northwest nations, such as the Ts'imsian, Nisga'a, and Wet'suwet'en.

While the people lived at Tx'emlax'amid, there were other communities, large and small, scattered throughout Gitksan territory, some just as ancient and enduring. These include Gitangasx, Blackwater, Anlagasemdeex, Gisga'g a'a, and Kaldo'o. The locations of all but one of these are well known by the Gitksan, and none has been investigated archaeologically.

Since the time of the dispersal from Tx'emlax'amid, social factors seem to be of greater consequence than environmental ones in most *adaa'ox*. This may be because the level of technological sophistication allowed for easier adaptation to climatic variation. Any difficulties in coping with the cold of the Little Ice Age of the 15th to 17th centuries A.D. have not been recorded in the *adaa'ox*, as was the case with the climatic deterioration of 4,000 years ago. Catastrophic geological events, of course, have continued to be recorded in the *adaa'ox*. Two such events of recent years include the volcanic eruption on the Nass River about 300 years ago (Barbeau n.d.: 79-83; 97), and the landslide that blocked the Bulkley River about A.D. 1860 (Jenness 1943: 477; Joseph 1985,).

Many intriguing questions remain to be investigated by means of bringing oral history together with archaeological and paleoenvironmental evidence. It is possible that archaeology could reveal events that are not recorded in the oral histories of the Northwest. However, the oral historical record of the area is so extensive and detailed that it is more likely that what archaeology might reveal, which oral history does not, are changes in technology and other incremental developments, rather than the momentous events recorded in the *adaa'ox*. The oral histories of the people of the Northwest could be very valuable in guiding scientific research. For example, from the oral histories I have heard, on more than one occasion and in more than one location, the earth turned over, destroying a village and killing people (Barbeau 1929: 80; Garfield and Forrest 1961: 23). I have heard very detailed descriptions of how the people had to flee sudden rises in sea level far inland from where the ocean is today (Boas 1916: 346). I have heard of ash covering a village half-way to the house tops (Barbeau n.d.: 60). I have heard that, for a time, the Skeena River flowed south to Kitamaat rather than west to where Prince Rupert is now (Cove and MacDonald 1987: 136). And in one *adaa'ox* of the Ts'imsian people who lived for a time among the Haida, it was said:

> The people of this village heard a distant rumbling. It gradually grew louder, and the earth began to tremble. Soon a burning light appeared on the mountaintop; then a huge roar, and fire burst from all the hills and rolled down upon the Haida village. It was swift, and happened so quickly that the people had no way of escaping this river of fire, which rushed like water down the mountains. All were killed except a young girl (in puberty seclusion with her aunt).... (Barbeau 1961: 12-13).

Such clear descriptions of potentially datable geological events recorded in the oral histories of the peoples of the Northwest warrant further investigation.

To the Gitksan, the *adaa'ox* are the foundation of their history and speak for themselves. But the Gitksan also realize full well that few Westerners accept them as accurate histories. If Westerners are ignorant of the validity of the *adaa'ox*, it usually is of little relevance to the Gitksan, but at times that ignorance can have serious consequences. One such time was during Delgamuukw vs the Queen—the land claim suit of the Gitksan and their neighbours, the Wet'suwet'en. The elders took great care to explain to the court that being able to tell the history of one's family occupation of their land for thousands of years validates their ownership. The chiefs had archaeological and paleoenvironmental evidence to reinforce their claim for the truth of their histories, but the court dismissed the *adaa'ox* as myth.

The Gitksan are interested in the use of archaeology to validate their histories, but there are no Gitksan archaeologists, and few archaeologists currently working in Gitksan territory.

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The Arvia'juaq And Qikiqtaarjuk Oral History Project

Lyle Henderson

This paper is the result of two years of research on the island of Arvia'juaq and the associated peninsula, Qikiqtaarjuk, in the Northwest Territories, Canada. Thousands of cultural features, including kayak stands, tent rings, graves, meat caches, oil caches, and cooking areas are found at Qikiqtaarjuk and Arvia'juaq. Unlike many archaeological papers, scientific descriptions and explanations of these cultural resources are not provided here. The focus of this report is on those cultural features that are the physical testimony to the oral histories and traditions associated with these areas. This focus will demonstrate that significance of resources to local Aboriginal communities can easily be missed when research is directed only by archaeolgical method and theory. It will also demonstrate how oral histories can enhance archaeological research by incorporating traditional knowledge, which is ignored by, or unavailable to archaeologists.

BACKGROUND

Since 1977, the Historic Sites Directorate of Parks Canada has attempted to commemorate Inuit history. In 1986, a thematic framework was presented to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada to consider a number of Arctic sites as being nationally significant. This list, however, was established by scientific and historic experts, with little input from the Inuit. Recognizing this, the Board requested that consultations with Inuit groups be conducted. As consultations progressed, it became obvious that the 1986 list did not consider Inuit culture from an Inuit perspective. It was also suggested that if Inuit history was to be commemorated, then consultation should begin in the communities.

Consultation with the community of Arviat, Northwest Territories, began in 1991 with the secondment of David Webster to Parks Canada. Mr. Webster's objective was to work with Arctic communities to identify local sites that might be of potential national significance. In Arviat, Mr. Webster consulted with Luke Suluk of the Arviat Historical Society and other community representatives. As a result, Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk were identified as locations that chronicled the history of the people associated with this area of the Keewatin, Northwest Territories.

In January, 1993, the National Workshop on the History of Aboriginal Peoples in Canada was held in Hull, Quebec. At this workshop, Aboriginal groups outlined specific points of concern that they felt needed to be addressed before Aboriginal sites are designated and commemorated as national historic sites. These concerns include:

1. the fundamental importance of Aboriginal traditional knowledge to the understanding of the culture and history of all Indigenous Nations... and the importance of documenting this knowledge;

2. the on-going desecration or deterioration of important Aboriginal historical sites, in regards to which it was suggested that Parks Canada should work with Aboriginal groups to develop appropriate inventory strategies to monitor and record these sites;

3. the need to work in partnership with Parks Canada, but with the recognition that successful partnerships can be achieved only through meaningful, participatory consultations with Aboriginal groups; and

4. the manner in which the history of Aboriginal peoples has been represented by government heritage agencies in their public programs; it is very important to involve Aboriginal people, not only in the collection and preservation of the knowledge, but in the dissemination and presentation of the knowledge about the respective cultures to the public (Canadian Heritage, Parks Canada 1994: 2).

To develop a working relationship based on good faith with the community of Arviat, these suggestions were incorporated into the project's research design. All aspects of the research were directed by elders and members of the Arviat Historical Society.

THE HISTORIC INUIT IN THE KEEWATIN, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

During their travels across the Canadian barrenland in 1922/23, Knud Rasmussen and Kaj Birket-Smith of the Fifth Thule Expedition named the group of Inuit who occupied the southern barren lands west of Hudson Bay the "Caribou Eskimo." This group was described as sharing many cultural attributes with other Inuit groups; for example, the use of *inuksuit* to mark locations of specific interest, and the use of snow houses during the winter. However, these people were distinct among the Inuit. They utilized mostly inland resources, their primary food source being caribou. During the summer, some families inhabited the coast of Hudson Bay to harvest marine mammals and fish, but the group as a whole did not depend exclusively on a sea-based economy. This reliance and exploitation of inland resources distinguished these people among the Inuit as a whole.

The Caribou Inuit include five groups (Figure 1): the Ahiarmiut, Pallirmiut, Hauniqtuurmiut, Harvaqtuurmiut, and Qainirmiut (Darren Keith, pers. comm. 1995). The people have always attempted to maintain their traditional cultural and social identity. The Pallirmiut are the most traditional of the five Caribou Inuit groups. Smith (1970: 8) notes that, as late as 1958, the Pallirmiut did not completely replace the use of the lance and kayak with firearms when caribou hunting, and was still being practised by youths. And until 1967, 15 families continued to follow traditional subsistence pursuits (Smith 1970: 176). The Pallirmiut are the most southerly group that exploited the coast of Hudson Bay. Among the Pallirmiut, a distinction is made between coastal Tareurmiut and inland Ahearmiut (Birket-Smith 1929; Smith 1970). The Tareurmiut, or "people of the seashore," exploited the inland resources during the winter and fall, and moved to the coast of Hudson Bay during the spring and summer. Families who summered at Arvia'juaq are known as the Arviargmiut, "the people from an island shaped like a whale."

Milton Freeman (1976) contends that three specific periods transposed the Inuit culture. The pre-1924 time period marks the years before the arrival of traders. The people followed their traditional life, although occasional European contact and goods undoubtedly influenced their material culture. Between 1924 and 1959, the traditional lifestyle changed significantly because the Inuit participated in the fur trade, and later became wage-earners working on government projects. By 1959, the community had become dependant on the fox trapping economy and the Hudson Bay Company. Trappers would be given credit with the store, and not cash. Therefore, they were always dependant on the store and the manager responsible for the store's activities." (Vanstone and Oswalt 1959: 10).

The lifestyle of the Inuit experienced even more dramatic change beginning in 1959. A terrible famine occured because of a decrease in the number of caribou. The Canadian Government's response was to establish permanent communities with schools and access to medical facilities. This relocation "essentially ended the development of the Caribou Eskimo culture" (Clark 1977: 134), although traditional subsistence activities such as whaling, fishing, sealing, and hunting continue. The community of Arviat is located in the Pallirmiut's traditional area of occupation and has become the principal community.

Environmental Setting and Site Descriptions

Qikiqtaarjuk and Arvia'juaq, approximately five kilometres northeast of Arviat, are within the Central Tundra region. The landscape is described as, "tundra superimposed on the Canadian Shield..and remarkably uniform..., (and) the vegetation consists of dwarf birch, willow, Labrador tea, dryas, and various species of the blueberry clan" (National Parks System Plan 1990: 46).

Qikiqtaarjuk and Arvia'juaq are summer occupation areas where the people returned each season. Their attractive features include good landing places, and good fishing and whaling locations. The island is also close to inland hunting grounds and crucial water sources, a critical requirement because suitable drinking water does not exist on the island, and is scarce along the southwest coast of Hudson Bay. The island also offers relief from the perpetual swarm of aggravating mosquitos found inland.

Qikiqtaarjuk is a peninsula approximately 4.5 kilometres northeast of Arviat. Translated, Qikiqtaarjuk means "a small island," which at one time it was. Today, it is joined to the mainland, the result of isostatic rebound. At the end of the peninsula is a plateau that slopes seawards to the north and west, and which is bordered by steep cliffs to the south and east.
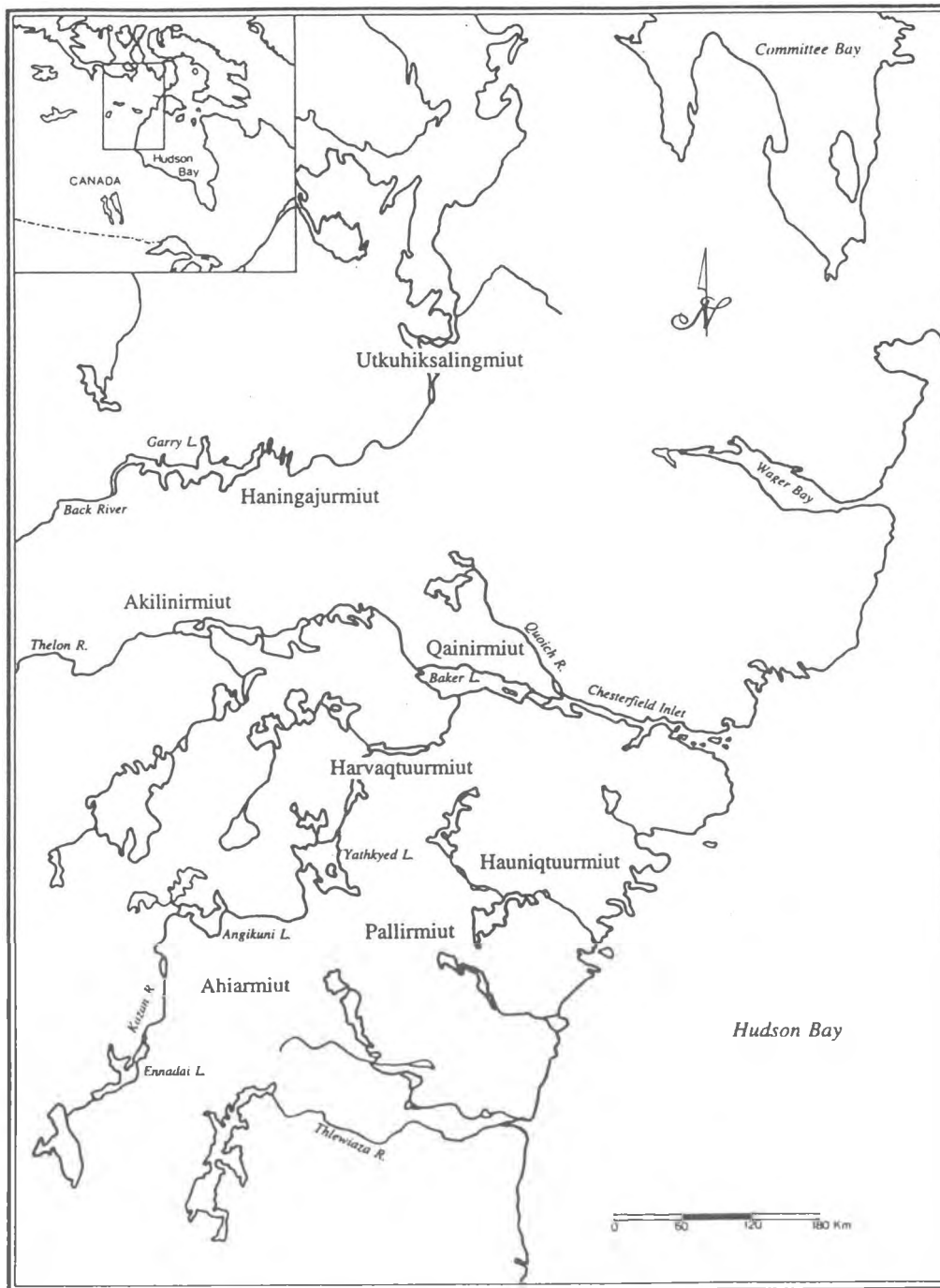
Figure 1. Pre-settlement distribution of Inuit groups in the Keewatin District.

One-half a kilometre northeast of Qikiqtaarjuk is the island of Arvia'juaq. The Inuktitut translation for the island means "the greater Arviat." The local Inuit describe its shape as being similar to a bowhead whale. The island comprises two large tracts of land connected by a sandy isthmus. It is approximately 4.5 kilometres long and is only 0.5 a kilometre at its widest point. Like most of the islands along the western coast of Hudson Bay, it orients northwest to southeast.

In the middle of the island, a plateau rises to 14.3 metres above sea-level. To the west, the plateau slopes towards a flat, sandy plain that covers most of the island. The south shore rises from the sandy plain to become a steep cliff. Eleven successive beach ridges descend from the top of the plateau to the east. These beach ridges surround the plateau as they extend towards and parallel the north shore.

The quantity of cultural features on the island is accurately described by Birket-Smith (1929) of the 5th Thule Expedition, as being "so full, right up to the top, it is so covered with remains of habitation..." Most of these features are found on the plateau and successive beach ridges, confirming the island's importance to the people who returned each year. Many features are associated with past events and traditions, remembered through oral tradition over generations.

ORAL HISTORIES AND TRADITIONS

Most people don't even bother revealing their traditional knowledge these days, even though they are full of knowledge. People have a lot of memories of their tradition, but never talk about it (Margaret Uyauperk Aniksak).

This chapter describes the oral histories and traditions of archaeological features found on Qikiqtarrjuk and Arvia'juaq. Because cultures and their oral histories are constantly evolving, how they are described today illustrates "that no particular time period in the history of a cultural group is more valid or authentic than any other time period" (Brink 1991:16). The oral histories and traditions related to Qikiqtarrjuk and Arvia'juaq as they are told today demonstrate that they are as valid and concrete to the people as they have been in the past. Documenting ethno-archaeological information is dependant on the informant's knowledge, interest, and recall. Informant reliability was addressed in the Inuit Land Use and Occupancy Project, coordinated by Milton Freeman. It was noticed by researchers interviewing Inuit throughout the Arctic that:

A man is strongly criticized for making a mistake, for misremembering. It is not surprising, therefore, that respondents took enormous pains to be accurate. Nor would it be surprising, in a society that has depended so acutely on detailed knowledge of the land and highly accurate recall. If cross-checking and overall consistency are tests of truth, then it can safely be said that accuracy and honesty were in virtually every case beyond doubt. When a hunter was unsure he often checked with someone who might be more sure. Where he remained unsure he was inclined to leave it out (Freeman 1976: 56).

The oral history of Arvia'juaq was documented through narrations by Luke Suluk and other knowledgable people to Parks Canada staff. Mr. Suluk is a Pallirmiut cultural heritage authority who has participated in numerous Arctic archaeological projects. Mr. Suluk is also the project manager of the Arviat Historical Society, and was chosen as the community's liaison with Parks Canada staff regarding the research. Mr. Suluk's knowledge regarding the oral histories and traditions of Arvia'juaq is extensive. He has interviewed many elders and recorded their stories and experiences associated with the island, particularly those of Margaret Uyauperk Aniksak. Ms. Aniksak lived in the area for most of her life,and before Arviat became a permanent settlement.

A certain power is attributed to the island of Arvia'juaq. Each time a research team (especially archaeological) plans to work on the island, Luke Suluk expects some type of inconvenience or hindrance, and a certain degree of caution is exercised when staying on the island. However, Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk are not sacred sites in the sense that they are hallowed. They are special sites because they chronicle local Inuit history, and possess cultural features that depict local Inuit oral histories and traditions.

ORAL HISTORIES AND TRADITIONS RELATED TO QIKIQTAARJUK

Kivioq
The story of Kivioq is known to many different Inuit groups, and there is usually some type of physical feature associated with Kivioq that can be found in the area inhabited by these groups.

Although the story varies slightly in different areas, the theme is consistent. Kivioq gets lost and tries to return home. During his journey, he overcomes a number of obstacles, but perseveres and finally returns to his waiting parents.

The legend of Kivioq told by elders in Arviat begins at Qikiqtaarjuk. The physical testimony found at the point are two small impressions on a flat rock. These impressions are the heel marks of an old woman who stood on the rock for long periods of time as she waited for Kivioq to return. The rock's significance would have been missed if only archaeological methodology was applied in the research. However, the rock's cultural significance is obvious when incorporating traditional knowledge, and is demonstrated by the following version of Kivioq as told by David Issumatarjuaq in the summer of 1994:

The story of Kivioq was told to me by my mother and I will tell it as I heard it from her. A long time ago, people use to spend spring at a place called Iratuk. People camped at Iratuk to hunt seals and other sea mammals. On a calm summer day, the sea was so calm it was like a mirror. A group of hunters headed far out to the sea, but the land was still in sight. While they were still out hunting, it started to get windy and before long it became a gale. The hunters started heading for the camp, and it was so windy that the water was going right over their heads. Kivioq followed for a while, but decided that he would try to stay afloat by paddling sideways to the wind in no particular direction. Every time he headed upwind the water would go over him, and every time he tried to go downwind his kayak would start going down into the water. So he paddled sideways to the wind with no particular destination in mind. He paddled all night and at dawn he was still paddling. It was still very windy and he rode the waves sideways since his kayak was best balanced going in that direction. He kept going in the same direction for three days, and at the dawn of the fourth day, the wind started dying, so he started going in a direction that he felt he should go. Using the moon to navigate during the night and the sun during the day, he rode the swells towards the land. He was very tired and started to fall asleep when he sighted what appeared to be a small black dot emerging out of the sea. He paddled towards the black dot, and on the afternoon of the second day [after spotting the dot], it became obvious that it was land that he was paddling for. He paddled for another day and at dawn it became very obvious that it was land he was headed for. He kept paddling and during the early evening he reached it. This piece of land was Arvia'juaq and he beached on the side of the island opposite to the direction of the wind. Since he hadn't slept for days, he carried his kayak far enough inland and used it as a wind break to rest.

After he awoke, he went on top of a hill and it became clear to him that he was on an island. Not far in the distance to the west was land. He paddled to this land, landed on the east side, and again went on top of another hill to look around. There was nothing in sight, so he went back to his kayak and rested and slept again. He woke in the early evening and went back on top of the hill to look around. To the north he saw the upper half of a human being disappearing, but it was obviously a human being he had sighted. He walked on the lee side of the hill until he was certain that if he went in the general direction where he had sighted the human he would see the person. Again, he saw just the upper half of the person disappearing and started walking towards it. After walking a short distance, he sighted the upper tip of a tent and started walking towards it. When he got close, there sat a woman outside the tent and when she saw Kivioq, she went into the tent and came out with another person. When Kivioq reached them, it turned out that it was an older woman and her daughter.

Kivioq stayed with them and hunted for them since they did not have anyone to hunt, so they lived together as time went on. Living together proved to be successful for all three. Each performed a necessary duty to live a fairly comfortable life, and in time Kivioq took the daughter for his wife.

One day he headed out to the sea and hunted all day. In the evening he returned to the camp. He sighted the tent but there was only one person standing outside. As he approached closer to the land, it became obvious to him that the person that he had seen was the old lady. She had stabbed her daughter to death, scalped her, and was wearing her hair, attempting to pretend to be her daughter. Even though Kivioq knew her scheme, he

remained calm. She wanted to be Kivioq's wife and Kivioq played along with her and kept going out to hunt.

He started to pretend to lose one kamik [a boot] each time he went out, and each time the old lady would make one kamik for the one missing. Then she became suspicious. She questioned Kivioq whether he would be leaving her or not. Kivioq replied that he had no intention of leaving her because he loved her. The old lady replied by saying that she would put a curse on Kivioq so that he would have a hard and trying life if he left her. Again, Kivioq replied by saying that he would not leave her and that he loved her.

So once more, Kivioq went out and again lost one kamik, and again the old lady made another one. The next day Kivioq pretended to go out hunting, but instead went to the place where he had stashed all the missing kamiks and counted them. There were enough kamiks and they were in the right number of pairs, so he went back to the camp and spent a day pretending that he wasn't up to anything.

Early the next morning he explained to the old lady that he would be going out to hunt and would spend the night out. He started to paddle north, picking up all the kamiks that he had stashed away, and kept paddling north until the evening when he camped. The next morning it was calm and he decided he would keep going and then camped again.

The next morning it was still calm, but he knew that the old lady was now aware that he had left her. He decided to keep travelling north, away from the old lady's camp and towards the direction of the place where he originated. He knew that by now the old lady had placed a curse on him for leaving her, but decided that he would keep going anyway. Just then, a fierce gale appeared out of nowhere and carried his kayak off with it, but he decided to keep going by foot.

He walked and walked until he sighted two hills that were hitting each other as if they were clapping. The two hills were too high to climb, so there was only one way to go through them and that was in between. Kivioq waited until the point came when the two hills were separating and made a dash to run between them before they hit each other again. He barely made it across and the fringes on his parka got caught by the two hills colliding.

After he got through the two hills he kept travelling north for a while and camped. The next morning he started north again until he sighted two grizzly bears that were growling and were appearing to start a fight. He turned in different directions to see if he could lose them, but no matter where he turned, they would still be in front of him growling at each other. It became obvious to him that there was no other way to get across except to go in between the two of them, and so he ducked low and dashed in between the two growling grizzlies. He then kept going and camped again.

As he walked on he came upon a huge, boiling pot. Like all the other obstacles, there was no way to get past this boiling pot. He ran around the pot a few times and when he was facing the direction he wanted to go, he jumped away from the pot and that is how he got past it. He kept going north and saw the big buttocks of a human being. Again, there was no other way to get past these buttocks except to tackle them and slip past them.

When he got through, he kept walking and in a short time he sighted his home camp at Iraktuk. As he approached the camp, he saw on the south side that his father and mother were sitting on a rock. They were still looking in the direction where they had last seen Kivioq. They had been sitting there so long that the place where they were sitting was starting to get hollow. When his father heard his voice he recognized his voice right away and told his wife, "that is the voice of Kivioq!" and then fell over and died.

So this ends the story of Kivioq; to this day at Iraktuk you can see the hollow marks where his parents sat and waited for his return; at Qikiqtaarjuk'jug you can see the hollow marks where the old lady use to stand and wait for his return. According to the tale, the old lady would stand there and wait for Kivioq to return for long periods at a time.

Graves Found at Qikiqtaarjuk

Although many features representing occupation are found at Qikiqtaarjuk, a number of graves located at the east and west ends of the site give the impression of a graveyard. According to local history, most of the graves resulted from the influenza and bronchitis epidemics that

occurred during the 1920s and 1940s. The cause of the epidemics was not a mystery to the people.

> It seems lately that the number of graves along the coast have increased. This happened after wooden houses were erected. When Inuit and Qablunaat [the Inuit name for white people] began to live together some Inuit developed illnesses and some died because of it. Maybe sickness came because of people coming together.
> It seems that a lot of people have died since the buildings were put up. In the beginning, there were hardly any graves along the coast... What I am trying to say is that I hardly remember people dying of illness. There were more deaths because of starvation than any other cause.
> We started to notice people getting sick every time someone came back after going into the settlement to do some trading. People would get a very bad cold or become ill in numbers... (Aniksak, cited in Arviat Historical Society [AHS] 1992: 15).

The epidemics, and the death that they caused, were obviously a time of great distress for the Inuit. Margaret Aniksak recalled that, "it was a time of sorrow... The sound of stones being placed could be heard across the bay one calm evening" (AHS 1992).

The Grave of Hilu'naaq
The grave of Hilu'naaq differs from all others found at the point. The personal belongings do not differ greatly from other graves: a basin, a cooking pot, and a tea kettle. But there are an extraordinary number of eight drinking cups. According to Emil Arnaluk (pers. comm. 1994), instead of being entombed, Hilu'naaq requested that his body be left exposed so that he can watch boats go by, and so that people could stop by his grave to have tea.

ORAL HISTORIES AND TRADITIONS RELATED TO ARVIA'JUAQ

Tunnillarvik—Offering Cairns
The main *tunnillarvik* on the island (Figure 2) sits on top of the island's plateau, and was visited almost immediately after the people arrived at the island. The scene was described to Luke Suluk by Margaret Aniksak (AHS 1992: 2):

> As the boats and kayaks approached Arvia'juaq, one could hear the sound of Qinngaqtut, a pleading gesture wishing for a good fortune during their stay at Arvia'juaq. As the boats land, everyone was to leap to land backwards, hoping to reach the main land again. Then the Nugluktaq was placed in the tree post where men began to Ungataqliq driving away the evil forces of the island. Meanwhile, women would continue to chant Qiaqpaaq, making throat sounds and would walk towards the Tunillarvik to give to the main cairn. The rest of the day and sometimes onto the next day is spent celebrating and feasting at the island.

At one time, the cairn was approximately four metres high and may have also served as a look-out for game and enemies. After the ship *Qulaituk* (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1993) wrecked near the island, the Inuit were forced to build a navigational beacon over the cairn using wood from the wreck sometime during the early 1900s. As a result of this contamination or infringement, the site was relocated. It was described and photographed in its new location by Birket-Smith during his visit to the island in 1923 (Figure 3). Tony Utuk described how and why this stone was placed where it now sits, and described its significance during a visit to the island in 1994:

> My grandfather... would walk with me on Arvia'juaq, hand-in-hand, when I was still a boy. My grandfather used to tell us a story about a strong man contest that took place here on Sentry Island. There were two men that were competing, possibly for the right to marry a woman. Back then, it was common for women to cause a competition to start.

Figure 2. The main *Tunnillarvik* or offering cairn. (Photo: L. Henderson)

The first man went down to the shoreline and dug from the sand a slippery stone for himself. This stone was so big that no one man can carry it, but he carried this stone on the steep side of the hill to the top.

The man who carried the stone to the top of the hill challenged his opponent to carry a large piece of slippery stone from where he was standing to the point of the island, back again to where they were standing, and finally to put it down at the point of the island. The man who carried the stone to the point won the competition and after his opponent died, his spirit became his property and he won the right to marry the woman. Back then there were no laws. During a competition competitors might very well push each other to death.

Now the stone I mention that was put down at the point there is more to add. Sentry Island, if you see it, you will notice that there is a break on the island. Some time ago, this area would have some water going through it, but now it remains dry all the time. It is at the point of this island that the stone that was put there became a spirit and it is because of this people who came to Sentry Island would bring a gift to leave behind at this stone. Keep in mind that during the old days people would be very poor, and did not have very many belongings, but they still left something behind. At one time it is said that this stone had an amulet consisting of different skins of seals, polar bears, etc. It was because the amulet was a sign to signify that the spirit within this stone was owned. This is how I know this story, from my grandfather.

Arnaqatirjuarjugiik—Competing Cousin Stones

The competing cousin stones are physical testimony to the tragic story of two cousins who became rivals when one tried to steal the others wife. The rocks, as seen today, were placed when the competition became a feat of strength, each cousin lifting the rocks into place. The competition ended ...

...at the next drum dance, the single man entered the drum dance procession with a hunting spear in hand... Of course, the other began to run away from him since he wasn't armed yet. He might have obtained one eventually, but never-the-less, the one with the

Figure 3. The stone used to place offerings after contamination of the main cairn. (Photo L. Henderson)

spear began throwing it at the man inside the tent. The other man ran around behind the people in the tent. Sometime he would squeeze himself between the tent and the poles as he attempted to escape from being hit... Finally, he slid under the tent which was weighted down with stones, and escaped outside. He ran as fast as his legs could carry him to the top of the hill.

The person with the hunting spear spotted him running up the hill and pursued him some more. The other man had a knife or a spear head which he (found) somewhere along the way. The other man ran straight into the sea without being caught, but the man with the hunting spear speared the man from above the water. He pulled the man up ashore. It must have been a frightening experience as the crowd followed the man after he had speared the other person. The other person also had [received] a stab wound [during the fight].

Both of them were still alive at this point, with spear and knife wounds. The other man told the crowd to go ahead and bury him since he knew he was going to be dead soon anyway.

The crowd was sad about the whole thing, but had to follow the dying man's wish despite their feeling against it. They got a bull caribou hide that was stretched out to dry and put the dying man on it face up. As they folded the skin casket with the dying man in it, the person who stabbed him was standing next to the dying man. He was wounded too, and was in great pain. The dying man called to the other wounded man and demanded him to seal up the skin casket with a piece of rope.

As the casket was being sealed up with a rope, he called out to say they missed one hole on the edge of the skin. He said [to his cousin], "My poor cousin, here is another hole." This was a dying person talking to an opponent who was sealing up his own skin casket. The man died eventually, while they were still fastening the seal rope. The other man died too, a little later, and they were buried side-by-side (Aniksak, cited in in AHS 1992: 5).

Graves Found on Arvia'juaq

There are two types of graves found on the island. One is an open-type grave, where the body was covered with caribou skin, and the skin held down by stones. This type of graves is not prevalent on the island. This may be due to the fact that the island was a summer occupation area,

and this type of internment was used primarily during the winter (Debbie Webster, pers. comm. 1994).

The second type of grave found on Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk is coffin-style graves, where the body is usually surrounded by flat rocks to form walls. Smaller rocks were used to complete the walls, with the grave then covered with a large flat rock or a stretched skin. On Qikiqtaarjuk, the tops of some graves were covered with *komatiks* to prevent any crushing of the body. Although it is clear that the coffin-type grave was used at Qikiqtaarjuk to intern those who died during the influenza epidemic, others have described similar graves as being typical "Thule stone-box burials" (Clark 1977: 48).

The practice of using white quartzite stones to mark the location of a person's head after internment is represented at many graves on Arvia'juaq. Birket-Smith (1929: 302) noted that this had, "something to do with the position of the body, as men and boys must be laid with their heads to the west, whereas women and girls lie head to the north." The oral histories indicate that the significance of this practice was to indicate a relationship with the land or sea. The elders at Arviat indicate that men are laid to rest in a southeast direction, facing the sea, and women in a northwest direction, facing land. This practice is found to a lesser extent at Qikiqtaarjuk.

Sometimes a pole extends out of a grave. Birket-Smith (1929a: 302) mentioned that this was, as a rule, practised, but was unable to find out why. Smith (1970: 144) mentions that "a small hole is left in the grave for the spirit to exit; a pole is set into the grave to mark its location." Around Arviat, this is common because long poles can be found either as drift wood or obtained through a journy to the tree line, and was another method used to mark the location of a person's head in the same manner the white stones were used (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1995).

The Grave of Kiluvigjuaq

The oral history associated with the grave of Kiluvigjuaq tells of the Inuit practice of suicide among the elderly. When the group experienced difficult times, the elderly became a burden because they could not contribute to the groups' survival and required caring. Suicide was an accepted response to alleviate the situation. This was the case with Kiluvigjuaq. Her family was starving and she required considerable care, so she elected to be left behind to ensure that she would not be a burden to her family (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1992):

> After everybody had gone over to the mainland, people started saying that on old lady was left behind. As soon as my father's older brother, Piglerniq, heard about it, he went back right away to bring her.
> He began searching for her everywhere. He looked on top of the ridge all over. When he didn't see her there he started walking down the slope of the ridge back to his kayak. As he reached low land, there she was, laying on the ground, completely naked. She apparently rolled down the slope completely naked. It was evident she did it purposely...
> He stopped there and wondered what to do next. He climbed back up the slope to pick up her skin mattress and skin cover to use as a casket and bury her on top of the ridge. Since darkness would not come for a while yet, he began to make a proper burial for her. He wrapped her into her skin mattress and covers and attempted to carry her on top of the ridge. He found her to be very heavy, especially as he attempted to climb up the slope with her on his back. Piglerniq claimed the little old woman was extremely heavy and took all his energy to bring her to the top. He took her back to the lean-to, dug the sand and buried her on the spot. He knocked the tent down and used it to cover the grave. He also used the bits of wooden poles and placed them over the grave and weighted it down with stones (Aniksak cited in AHS 1992:4).

The grave of Kiluvigjuaq endures on the island's plateau, only a few metres from the steep cliff.

Kapu'naaq Angakuksabvia—Kapu'naaq Stones

Religion is an important aspect in all cultures. It can also be a sensitive issue, especially when addressing shamanism which is not practised today (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1994) primarily because of Christianity's influence. However, shamans did exist as recently as one generation ago, and the capabilities and accomplishments attributed to these shamans are still respected.

To become a shaman, an apprentice had to undergo a rigorous undertaking. Acquiring the status of shaman meant that person had attained the required wisdom and strength. The oral history associated with the Kapu'naaq stones reveals the tribulations one man endured to achieve this goal. One apprentice shaman named Kapu'naaq was made to sit on one of three stones, and would only move to the next when ordered. "The process was painful for him and took many days. After days without a drink of water, Kapu'naaq's lips became dry and cracked" (Aniksak in AHS 1992: 2). Kapu'naaq was hallucinating and likely near death, when the shaman overseeing the initiation could no longer bear seeing Kapu'naaq's torment, and ended his suffering by recognizing him as a shaman.

Kattaujaq—The Shaman's Healing Cairn

Shamans were expected to be mediators between the spirit world and the real world. Disorder in the real world meant there could be disorder in the spirit world. The shaman had the power to remedy the situation. According to Minor (1991: 36), the shaman:

...was to ascertain the cause of personal ill fortune, which could affect not only the individual but also bring misfortune to the whole group. The Inuit believed that non-harmonious spirits caused disturbances that upset the balance of the soul. A release of the spirit from the inflicted soul would result in harmonious well-being. Various approaches were used to discover the evil spirits, and once the source of causation was determined.

Figure 4. Shaman's healing cairn. (Photo: L. Henderson)

The shaman prescribed a way to rid the soul of these spirits. It was generally expected that the results would be a return of the soul to its normal, natural balance and a restoration of emotional and psychological harmony among the group. This restoration of harmony would in turn allow the energies of the group to be centred upon the processes of physical survival.

According to oral history, the shaman's healing cairn found on Arvia'juaq was one method used to help restore stability. The cairn comprises two walls one-half a metre apart, each approximately four metres long and one metre high. A large, probably flat rock was placed across the cairn to form a tunnel. A sick person was made to crawl through the tunnel, and if they safely made it to the other side, they were expected to recover from their ailment (Figure 4).

Gaming Areas

Some of the stones arranged many years ago to play some of these games are still left the way they were put in place at Arvia'juaq. Inuit used to enjoy playing games greatly. Now it seems that all of the traditional games have been forgotten. All the games played these days are ones introduced by the Qablunaat. People have completely turned their heads away from the traditional games (Aniksak, cited in AHS 1992: 9).

Arvia'juaq's access to abundant food and water enabled the people to find time to participate in recreational activities. This is evident in the different types of features identified that are described through the oral histories as game and play areas. Adult games were meant to keep hunting skills and strength sharp. Childrens' games imitated the adult's world. Adults would participate in these games to help teach the lessons that were intended to develop hunting skills needed for survival.

Kibvakaatait—Weight-Lifting Stones

A number of weight-lifting stones are found on Arvia'juaq (Figure 5). One area in particular contains a concentration of stones of different size and weight, the larger one being exceptionally heavy. The competitors began by lifting the smaller stones first. If successful, they would try to lift a heavier stone, and would continue until they failed. A person won the competition after they successfully lifted a stone that their opponent could not. According to Margaret Aniksak (AHS 1992: 11), the game originated as a means of friendly competition between two men:

Aijaranniiralaa'juaq and somebody else. I think it was my father's uncle or somebody by the same name as my son. He was my husband Aniksaq's father's name sake. He and his companion used to joke a lot amongst themselves and devised a game. It was a game of challenging each other's strength. They would lift various sizes of rocks to out-do each other. They came up with two large stones that were suitable to test one's strength. The other men got interested in their game, and it wasn't long until other people began using the stones every time they came to the island. The stones look impossible to lift. It makes me wonder if Inuit men were stronger then.

Collecting information regarding weight-lifting stones is a good example how oral histories can contribute to the archaeologists' lexicon. Weight lifting stones are usually not considererd to represent cultural features. The fact that many of the boulders on the island were identified as such during the survey is the result of collecting the oral histories of the island.

Qillalugaujarvik —Beluga-Kayak Game

The beluga-kayak game (Figure 6) is an excellent example of a children's game that developed skills that they would use as an adult. The stone outlines represented kayaks. Behind the kayaks is a semi-circle of stones, in which there are six piles of rocks that may represent the hunters' base camps. The game was played when children sat in the kayaks, and a rope with a loop tied at the end was dragged around the outlines. The children would then try to spear the "beluga whale" (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1993).

Figure 5. *Kibvakaatait*—Weight Lifting Stones. (Photo: L. Henderson)
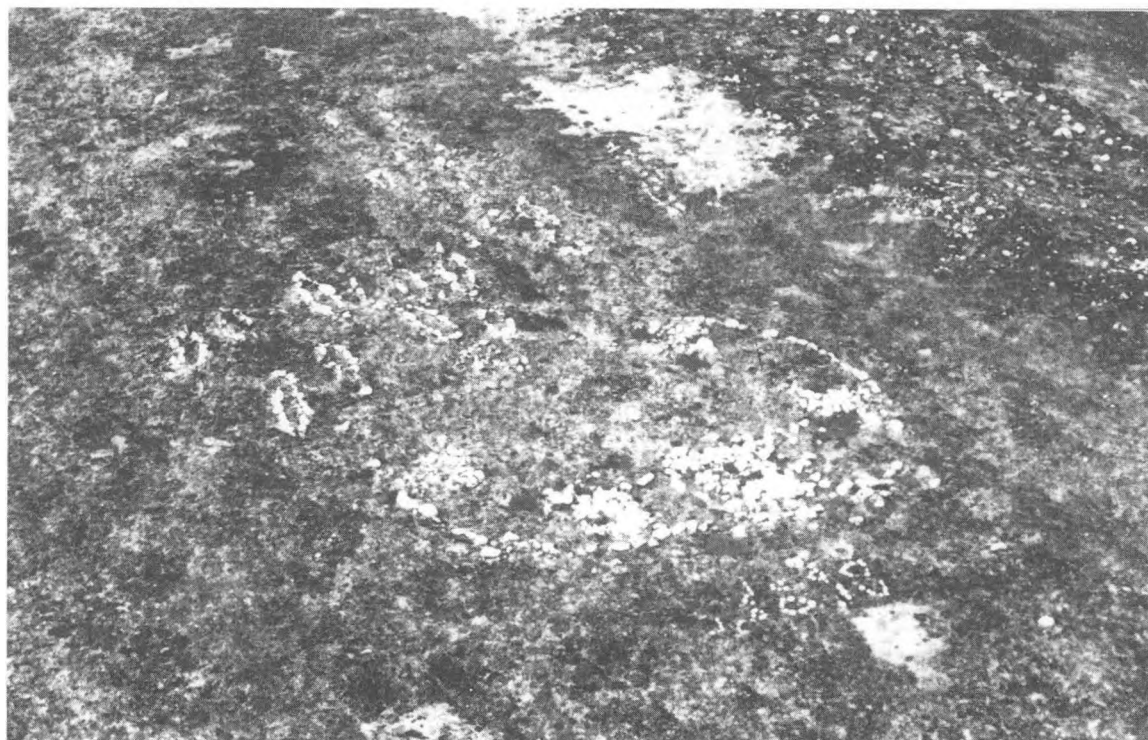
Figure 6. *Qillalugaujarvik* —Beluga-Kayak Game. (Photo: L. Henderson)

An adult version of the game was described in 1994. A player would sit in a kayak behind the small ring of stones at the top of the game. This ring was a target into which a competitor would try to throw a harpoon. If successful, he would move to a kayak that was further from the target, so that the degree of difficulty increased. After a person missed, the next competitor would begin his turn. After all of the contestants had missed the target, the first person would once again try to hit the target from the kayak where he last missed. This would be repeated until a winner was declared. Birket-Smith (1929: 289) attributed the stone outlines of the beluga-kayak game to belonging to "an earlier period." Oral tradition tells that the game was played until recent memory. This is also indicated by the fact that Birket-Smith reported ten kayak outlines were visible when he was on the island. Today, fifteen kayak outlines are visible, evidence that five more were added to the game since his visit.

Nallujarviit —Caribou Crossing Game

The caribou crossing game imitated the hunting of caribou. Two long rows of rocks represented the edges of a river. People imitating caribou would attempt to cross the river. The purpose of the game was to try to catch the caribou before they reached the other side:

> Another game was a caribou crossing game where stones were placed in a parallell form. They [people] would form a group standing side-by-side across each other in a parallel form. A person would drag a thick rope, with a tiny loop on the end and walk along inside the parallel while people try to poke the loop much like the game called nugluktuq. People would remain standing in their position as they try to poke the loop. They held an item in their hand to give away to the winner (Aniksak, cited in AHS 1992: 9).

The parallel lines of stones may also have been used as the start and finish lines for foot and hopping races.

HABITATION AND STORAGE FEATURES

Tupirviit—Tent Rings

Because Arvia'juaq was a summer occupation area, tent rings visibly dominate the landscape. The rings are remnants of caribou skin tents usually only used during the summer months. Stones secured the tent bottoms to prevent them from blowing away during high winds and to keep out poor weather. When it was time to leave the island, the tents were pulled from under the rocks, leaving a distinct stone ring and clearly indicating a habitation area. Most of the tent rings are located on the successive beach ridges, further testimony to the oral histories that the island was occupied each summer for generations. The ridges not only offer an abundance of rocks to secure tents, but also operated as a drainage system when a tent was built over them (Smith 1970: 123). This proved to be a useful function if the snow had not completely melted by the time the people arrived to the island, as well as in heavy rain storms during the summer.

Two distinct types of rings attributed to different cultural groups. Birket-Smith (1929: 5) and Bertulli (1989: 3) designate tent rings made of larger and tightly placed stones to be Thule. Tent rings that are made of stones that are spaced further apart are designated as being Caribou Inuit. Single tent rings are most common, but double, triple, and even quadruple tent rings are found. "Internal features were rarely visible except for the occasional cooking area or hearth and tent rings were often associated with an adjoining storage area or cache. On the average, tent rings are about 4m in diameter" (Bertulli 1990: 3). Among the numerous tent rings, Luke Suluk identified particular rings that were associated with families that experienced some type of distress:

> During another famine at Arvia'juaq, people were going through a period of no food shortly after they arrived there. They couldn't get any seals and apparently caribou were very scarce at the time. So all the food was gone and people started peeling off each stone to brew up some sort of soup. There were many people down there and each one of them was out peeling stones.

One time my mother's father got two seals east of Amaroqtalik [Wolf Esker] shallows and Tarpani'juaq claimed both of the kills but then died shortly [after]. She was my father's sister. My mother's father told her to come over with her cooking pot after he got the two seals. He asked her to skin the seals and fill her cooking pot with seal meat. He also asked her to collect fire wood and get some water for the pot.

The old lady was overjoyed, picked her big cooking pot with no handle and rushed over to skin the seals. My mother's father killed the seals and left them there for others to pick up since he didn't bring his sled and didn't bring any rope to pull the seals with. Other men were out seal hunting, but none of them got any. My mother's father was the only one to get the seals but left them where he killed them. As a marker, he took off his outer parka and pulled it over ice that was sticking up.

Getting back to the lady who claimed two seals. She went out and brought the seals back. When she arrived she started preparing the food to cook for the people. She had a big square stone cooking pot which she filled with food and blood from the seal. As she proceeded to carry the full pot inside, she tripped over a huge stone they had placed as a step at their entrance. She fell on the edge of the big pot face down and fractured her chest bone. One of the people saw her as she fell and ran to her quickly. She tried to move her to save her but she was already gone. Her husband was out seal hunting at this time in the area of Ihatik, but wasn't getting anything. People were wondering how they could get a message out to him and were scared of breaking the news.

They saw the man coming in their direction from his seal hunt east of Ihatik. He didn't get any seals. People just stood there watching him come walking home. They wondered who would break the news to him and coaxed each other to be the one to break the news. They finally decided that her husband's brother be the one to break the news. They did this knowing that he would be respected more than anyone else. As he started walking out to meet him, naturally he expressed his apprehension. He approached him very slowly, crying at the same time. He looked into his face and said, "I have caused death to Taqpaniq. When Naqsingayoq got two seals, I asked her to help herself to the kill and cook some food. She fell and fractured herself in the chest and died."

The man just nodded and said that he will not weep over her since she smashed up his double barrel rifle when they lived in Churchill. She did it because she was mad at another woman. The man said that it was very hard to own a rifle such as the one she smashed up, so he will not weep. When he said that the other man was relieved of his apprehension. He explained to him that she smashed up his brand new rifle one time by pounding it with a rock, so he has no reason to weep for her (Aniksak, cited in AHS 1992: 13).

Larger tent rings allowed people to gather for special occasions. Birket-Smith (1929: 270) noted that a tent 25 feet (7.6 m) in diameter and 12 feet (3.6 m) high could accommodate fifteen people and still have plenty of room. The largest tent ring on Arvia'juaq is approximately 45 feet (13.7 m) in diameter, and may have been the location where the competing cousins began their fight for a woman (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1993)

When people did gather together, one of the evenings highlights was drum-dancing. The purpose of drum-dancing was described by Alice Suluk (AHS 1992):

> There are different forms of dancing and drum-dancing of Paalirmiut Inuit. Most of the songs composed are to be used for expressing ones innermost feeling and experiences in the person's life. They are used mostly during drum-dances and often by an elder singing alone in the evening. This is the time to remember the highlights of his life and to express one's joy and thanksgiving. These songs express the innermost feeling of a person and sometimes is a way to express in song that could not be said in words.

One particular tent ring was identified as a ceremonial tent used after a boy had caught his first seal. The family would organize a feast in the boys honour and everyone would attend (Luke Suluk, pers. comm. 1993). The ring is significantly different from other rings in that it has two distinct sitting platforms.

Caches

Caches are the most abundant feature found on the island. Access to an abundant food supply allowed the people to cache for the coming winter. Most caches are found along the beach ridges because they are not usually covered by snow, and any snow that does accumulate quickly melts in the spring. Meat and oil caches are found on Arvia'juaq. Oil caches are easily noticed because oil that has spilled on the rocks has prevented the lichen from growing on them (Luke Suluk pers. comm. 1994).

SITE INTEGRITY

The cultural resources found at Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk are extremely well preserved, although there are some modern intrusions; such as using rocks to write personal names and the date the person was there. Fortunately, this practice is not extensive at either site. Erosion is destroying features on the island. The sandy plain that covers most of the island is encroaching upon cultural features such as the beluga-kayak game. As a result, one play kayak is almost gone. Also, as sea-ice melts each spring, it pounds the south shore due to wave motion. Therefore, cultural resources located close to the shore are being destroyed.

Arvia'juaq is still a centre of activity during the summer. The excellent fishing and whaling that attracted the Inuit to Arvia'juaq for generations still attracts fishermen and whalers from the community, and temporary camps are usually erected in the summer. During August, people from Arviat visit the island for a day or weekend to collect berries. Although subsistence activities continue on and around the island and point, the sites' integrity has not been compromised.

CONCLUSIONS

Parks Canada has worked in partnership with the people of Arviat to create a national historic site to commemorate local Inuit significance. By consulting with the people before, during, and after the process, their concerns were incorporated into research designs and reports.

Arvia'juaq and Qikiqtaarjuk were chosen by the community of Arviat as sites to conserve and depict local Inuit history and culture, and were documented using the oral histories and traditions as told by elders and other knowledgable Inuit. It is clear that documenting Inuit oral histories and traditions is essential to appreciate and interpret Inuit culture. Explaining oral histories and traditions at sites specifically chosen by Inuit groups demonstrates that their culture is significant within the nation's framework. As a result, we established an equal partnership, working together to achieve this goal. This project also demonstrates that archaeological research is enhanced by incorporating Inuit knowledge of cultural features. Cultural resources, such as weight-lifting stones, would have been misidentified using only the scientific knowledge of archaeologists. Other cultural resources, such as the stone associated with the story of Kivioq, would have been missed altogether.

Including Aboriginal perspectives into archaeology provides insights that are not always available to archaeologists. Oral histories and traditions document past events that are not evident in the archaeological record. For example, a tent ring that is identified with an oral history is no longer an object only to be measured and recorded. It is a place where a family celebrated life, or where they experienced a personal tragedy. It now has meaning.

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14

The *Sddlnewhala* Bowl: Cooperation or Compromise?

Barbara Winter

Diana Henry

First Nations and museum-based archaeologists have worked together on an increasing number of projects over the past three decades. Cooperative projects are increasing in both number and complexity. Joint field schools, excavations, publications, and development of interpretive centres are becoming more commonplace. Each group, whether First Nation or non-Aboriginal archaeologist, has its own situated point of view, agendas, and goals for the future. It has often been said that First Nations and archaeologists are natural allies, both working for the preservation of heritage, archaeological sites, and information. While this is generally correct, the details of cooperation can often become difficult points of negotiation and compromise.

It seems to us that much of the discussion about and between First Nations and archaeologists has been an example of well-intentioned but misunderstood messages. Each group is speaking from a specific position, often using the same words but meaning different things. Both the nuance of a statement and its larger context can create a climate of misinterpretation. In some ways there is a dialectic of epistemologies—each group views the heritage field in a manner fundamentally different from the other.

A beginning of understanding may be reached by allowing both voices to speak. This chapter is jointly authored by two people, each representing a different voice. Many museum exhibits are now presenting two voices in parallel. Head-Smashed-In Buffalo Jump provides this through a processual presentation of the seasonal round with the Napi's creation of the world. Other museums present both the Bering Strait land bridge theory of colonization of the continent and indigenous creation accounts. An impressive number of museums, cultural centres, and interpretive centres that are governed, administered, and operated by First Nations have opened in the past two decades. The U'Mista Cultural Centre in Alert Bay and the Secwepemc Museum in Kamloops, both in British Columbia, and the Woodland Cultural Institute in Brantford, Ontario, are examples of this trend. Recent revisions to heritage legislation have included provisions for meaningful consultation between First Nations and archaeologists. Aboriginal task forces and provincial heritage ministries have also been able to find some common legislative ground through a lengthy negotiation process. Both voices are beginning to be heard.

The questions First Nations face are different from those questions faced by museums. First Nations political representatives and organizations wonder if it is possible to have truly cooperative action? Cooperative action is based on trust. To achieve this, both sides must work within an equal partnership. Given the differences, is a level field possible?

In practical terms, given the gulf of meaning between the two groups, can joint projects work smoothly? Are they doomed to failure by definition? Can we have cooperation, or is there always an element of compromise? These issues have been on our minds a great deal in recent years as we have worked through the implications of the definition and museum curation of sacred objects, the evaluation and purchase of archaeological objects, and the development of a relationship between equals based on trust.

THE SAANICH SEATED HUMAN FIGURE BOWL—*SDDLNEWHALA*

In 1993, the Saanich Native Heritage Society (hereafter the Society) and the Simon Fraser Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (hereafter the Museum) worked together to prevent the export of a seated human figure bowl. This effort succeeded in keeping a significant object in Canada, and in doing so has highlighted the complexities of cooperative actions. Both the Society and the Museum had to compromise on ethical, moral, intellectual or other positions, and even legal rights to accommodate the needs or wishes of the other to make the project work. In this

chapter we explore some of the larger issues surrounding this case study. We also outline the positions each took and the elements of cooperation and compromise that each experienced.

The circumstances surrounding the export of the bowl have been detailed elsewhere (Henry 1995; Walker and Ostrove 1995; Winter 1995; Winter et al. 1994), and are summarized here. Is this an example of cooperation between archaeologists, a museum, and a First Nation—or is it an example of compromise? And if the latter, what exactly was compromised, and by whom?

Before the turn of the century, the bowl was ploughed from a field on the Saanich Peninsula north of Victoria, British Columbia, by Mr. Thompson, a man who farmed land on Mount Newton Cross Road. The bowl was retained in his family for nearly a century. A drawing of the bowl was published by Harlan Smith (1907, 1923), and by Wilson Duff in 1956. In 1992, one of Mr. Thompson's heirs offered it for sale. The bowl was purchased by a Victoria antiquities dealer who had exported two other privately held bowls in the early 1980s, a series of events reported by Kathryn Bernick in the newsletter of the British Columbia Archaeological Society (Bernick 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986, 1987). In April 1993, the dealer found a purchaser for the bowl in Chicago and applied to the federal government for an export permit. Under the *Cultural Property Import and Export Review Act* (hereafter the Act), an export permit is needed for such an object.

Northwest Coast Seated Human Figure Bowls

On the Northwest Coast, seated human figure bowls share some common features: a seated, squatting, or kneeling person holds a bowl in its arms, balanced between its legs. Anatomical features such as ribs, the backbone, and scapulae are often sculpted in low relief. These bowls are quite different from other anthropomorphic and zoomorphic stone bowls used on the Northwest Coast (Duff 1975). At least 67 other seated human figure bowls from British Columbia and Washington State are now known. Most are in museums and private collections.

These seated human figure bowls may be divided into two types. The smaller, and probably more recent (Roy L. Carlson, pers. comm. 1994) type originated in the Fraser Canyon region of the interior. These are carved from a number of the finer local carving stones, including soapstone or steatite. The human figure has a large head, with prominent eyes, often with an up-raised face. Some have an elaborate coiffure or headdress. These often have rattlesnakes, toads, or owls carved along the back, on the top of the head or on the front of the bowl itself (Hannah 1996).

The second type of seated human figure bowl form probably dates to an earlier period (Roy L. Carlson, pers. comm. 1994). These are found in the lower Fraser, Gulf of Georgia, Sechelt, and southern Vancouver Island region. These are generally larger than the middle Fraser type, and carved from a coarser local sandstone; the form of these bowls varies.

The Saanich bowl (Figure 1) has recently been named *Sddlnewhala* (medicine bowl) by the Saanich. *Sddlnewhala* is an excellent example of this second type, with its finely carved features. It is unusual in its representation of female genitalia. While these bowls are metaphorically female, with their abdomen becoming a containing bowl (Duff 1975), *Sddlnewhala* is unique in its explicit detailing. In addition, the shape of the mouth and head is strongly reminiscent of a sculpin, a local marine fish. While other seated human figure bowls do not share this trait, it may shed some light on the symbolic referents of this bowl. Some have seen these bowls as representations of the basic oppositions of the human condition, containing and reconciling them in one being (Duff 1975).

Early anthropologists collected some information about seated human figure bowls. For example, Franz Boas (1890) published an account of the use of a stone bowl at the conclusion of a girl's puberty seclusion. A shaman mixed herbs and water in a small "steotyte" bowl carved with a snake and a woman giving birth. Water from this bowl was sprinkled on the girl as the shaman prayed for the girl.

Seated human figure bowls are enigmatic, both visually and functionally. It seems obvious that these bowls were significant to the peoples who carved and used them. They are widely regarded as sacred objects by contemporary First Nations. The export of another seated human figure bowl to a private collection in the United States would have meant not only the loss of information on the early development of the Northwest Coast carving traditions, but also the loss of a sacred object, and would be symbolic of the continued erosion of Aboriginal rights.

Figure 1. The Saanich bowl named *Sddlnewhala* (medicine bowl). This figure is 28.5 cm tall. (Photo: R. Carlson)

THE CULTURAL PROPERTY EXPORT REVIEW PROCESS

In Canada, part of the process of the issuance of an export permit involves the assessment by an expert examiner of the object(s) to be exported. The examiner then reports back to the Cultural Property Export Review Board (hereafter the Board) on the cultural significance of the object under the terms of the Act. The Act protects objects deemed significant to the history or culture of Canada. The role of the expert examiner is to advise the Board on this significance. In this case, the British Columbia expert examiner for archaeology wrote a detailed and comprehensive report, recommending to the Board that the permit be denied.

When an export permit is denied, the applicant (i.e., vendor) may appeal. There are only two allowable outcomes of an appeal—the Board can impose a delay period ranging from two to six months to allow a Canadian museum the opportunity to purchase the object; or, if it is thought unlikely that a Canadian institution will purchase the object during this time, it must issue the permit, allowing the export regardless of the expert examination. If a delay period is imposed and no Canadian institution comes forward before the end of the delay period, the Board is obligated to issue the export permit immediately upon demand from the applicant. In this case, the Board imposed a three-month delay period. Denial of an export permit does not ensure the object is not exported.

A Proposed Change to the Cultural Property Export Review Process

Expert examiners provide a useful service in assisting the Board to control the movement of many types of significant objects. However, archaeological artifacts often have special significance to specific communities who are not represented by these examiners. We are thus recommending changes to the Act during the current review of this legislation which may address this deficiency. Recognition of the expertise resident in the First Nations must be written into an amended Act. While it would be difficult to maintain a list of designated expert examiners from each First Nation, it is nonetheless possible to provide meaningful consultation. The expert examiner for the province has the contacts and knowledge to be able to refer the Board to the appropriate First Nation. If each expert examiner incorporated an additional step at the beginning of their examination, consultation with First Nations could be increased. This additional step could be dealt with quite simply, with the examiner determining the possible cultural affiliation(s) of the object, and then notifying the Board of the affiliation(s) and contact person(s). The Board could then send an examination package to the First Nation(s). Although this would undoubtedly complicate the process, and probably extend the examination and delay periods, it would ensure proper notification and consultation with all parties having an interest in the potential export. The issue of overlapping territorial claims is often raised in objection to such a process; In our view the proper resolution of this issue lies within the First Nations community.

Evaluation of Archaeological Materials Within the Export Review Process

In most cases, particularly cases involving artistic works, objects of cultural significance can be purchased by a Canadian institution. As an incentive, partial funding is available from the Board to assist with purchases provided the purchasing institution is recognized by the Board. This process works for fine art, objects of historical significance, and other types of objects originally produced with the commercial market in mind. Archaeological objects, on the other hand, do not fit well in this scheme, and are not, in practical terms, protected by this legislation.

On receipt of the application for the export of the *Sddlnewhala* bowl, the Board circulated a notice of the impending export to museums designated under the Act. As a category "A" institution, the Simon Fraser University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology (the Museum) received the notice. As Curator of this museum, I (Winter) read through the accompanying documentation package, and was disturbed by the lack of First Nations' input into the procedures. Accordingly, I contacted the Saanich Native Heritage Society. We discussed the case and a copy of the documentation package was sent to the Society, beginning a relationship that would raise complex issues of artifact acquisition, collections management ethics, the legal status of material culture, and Aboriginal rights.

For the Museum, the first issue that arose was the legal requirement (under the Act) to assign a monetary value to the bowl. Monetary evaluation of the object is inherent in the process of pre-

venting export required under the Act. Under the Act whereby the fair market value of the object must be determined. Fair market value is usually judged according to recent sale figures. As archaeologists oppose the sale of archaeological objects, we also oppose the establishment of fair market value by comparison to unethical sale. In this case, the rarity of these bowls and their absence from the commercial market also made the determination of fair market value a difficult issue. The vendor claimed to have a purchaser who was willing to pay $45,000 US—this set the fair market value in a *de facto* manner.

While the sale and evaluation of archaeological materials was common earlier in the history of the profession, in the past 30 years archaeologists have eschewed the evaluation of archaeological materials as it is considered both unethical and a promotion of the looting of sites. Where the practice of evaluating and purchasing archaeological specimens or donating them for tax credit is widespread, sites are looted and destroyed in the search for artifacts to sell. The destruction of archaeological sites by looters is a worldwide problem, linked to the international market in such objects. Participation in this market through exhibition, writing of catalogues, or even use of unprovenanced objects in research are ethical dilemmas facing archaeologists the world over. As museums and archaeologists are committed to the preservation of heritage resources, they do not participate in or support the destruction of sites through looting.

One way archaeologists and museums can influence those who would loot sites for profit is to refuse to participate in the evaluation or purchase of archaeological sites. This position was adopted by the Canadian Archaeological Association in the Loy Resolution (since rescinded), and is currently held by the Society for American Archaeology (1993: 3). The collection policies of most archaeological museums specifically prohibit the purchase of such materials. In addition, most museums will not evaluate donated collections of archaeological materials for tax purposes. Archaeological materials are often listed as NCV "no commercial value").

Non-archaeological museum collections are routinely evaluated, during acquisition, and for insurance purposes either during exhibition or loan. Archaeological materials are customarily exempt from such evaluations—NCV. Very recently, however, archaeological objects have been evaluated for exhibition insurance in a Canadian museum.

THE PURCHASE OF *SDDLNEWHALA*

After much discussion and exploration of alternative possible actions, the Museum was left with a simple choice—either purchase the bowl or let it follow other seated human figure bowls into private collections in the United States (Bernick 1985a, 1985b, 1985c, 1986a, 1986b). Purchase by an institution designated under the Act was the only legal method of retaining the bowl in Canada.

The Saanich Native Heritage Society was also in an ethical dilemma. Could the Society work with the Museum in the purchase of the bowl? By doing so, would it be legitimating the ownership of the bowl by the dealer? The purchase of sacred objects by collectors and museums is particularly offensive to many First Nations. It is the view of the Society that sacred objects such as the bowl belong to the First Nation. While many types of property title were recognized aboriginally (such as private or family ownership of objects), sacred objects intrinsically belonged to the whole First Nation. It is not possible to know the circumstances under which the bowl was placed on the slopes of Mount Newton. Was it lost? Was it placed with a burial? Was it cached for future use? Regardless of whether it is lost or cached, found or left in the ground, it is the view of the Society that the bowl belongs to the Saanich people.

As mentioned previously, at some time prior to 1900, the bowl was found by a Mr. Thompson, who had a farm on the property. The bowl remained in the possession of the Thompson family on this property until it was sold the Victoria antiquities dealer who wished to export it to Chicago. It is the Society's position that even when the bowl was in the possession of the Thompson family, it belonged to the Saanich people, as it always had. Why should the Society purchase something it already owns?

The Society could have elected to try to obtain a court injunction preventing the export and sale of the bowl. During the recent Saanichton Marina case, the treaty rights of the Saanich Nation were examined. Based on the understanding of the treaty rights presented in that case, the

Society felt it had a right to claim the bowl. This would have set a precedent that would have stopped further trade in similar objects and further exploitation. The Society decided against this route based on financial considerations, as a lengthy court battle could have drained Society resources. Neither the Museum nor the Society wanted the bowl to be exported and sold to a private individual. This would have prevented access by the First Nations and scholars. The only legal way to prevent its export was through purchase, which we all fundamentally opposed. We investigated several alternatives, but in the end were faced with the choice of either purchase or export.

The Museum successfully applied for Board funds to cover 70% of the purchase price of the bowl, with the remainder contributed by the Archaeology Branch of British Columbia. In the application for funding, the Museum made a clear and explicit statement that it was applying on behalf of the Society, and also noted its intention to turn the bowl over to the Society.

The Transfer of Title

The Museum received the bowl in late 1993. During the spring of 1994, we drew up two agreements: a transfer of title and a custodial agreement. The transfer of title ensured the Saanich Native Heritage Society had clear title to the bowl. By transferring title, the Museum gave up ownership of the bowl, and it now is the property of the Society, which has control over it. The Society is committed by its charter to collect and preserve artifacts. Holding title to the bowl is consistent with its mission and mandate.

However, some archaeologists, museologists, and others have objected to this transfer. These people are not associated with the Museum but are affiliated with other museums or universities in the United States and Canada. They have spoken to me (Winter), expressing dismay that public funds were directed to the purchase of the bowl, that the bowl did not remain in a "proper museum." Their argument was that once the bowl had become the property of the Society, there was no guarantee that it would be preserved. They posited a situation where an urgent need for funds could arise, and the bowl could be sold by the Society to finance any number of good causes, such as a fire truck, for example, that could save lives.

We recognize that economic difficulties are common on reserves in Canada. Very few have funding for adequate housing and social services, fire protection, or many other community services most municipalities enjoy as a matter of course. We recognize that the temptation to sell the bowl may arise. However, the Museum fundamentally trusts that the Society will act consistently with its mandate to preserve artifacts of cultural value to the Saanich people.

The bowl now belongs to the Society, which is responsible for it and for decisions made regarding its preservation. To whom is the bowl important? Surely the Society has *at least* the same level of concern for the bowl as any museum would have.

Municipal, university, provincial, and federal museums have seen attrition to their collections. Objects have been lost, stolen, broken and deaccessioned over the years. Museums are also under pressure to balance their books and achieve some measure of cost recovery. Recently, museums have even sold portions of their collections to finance the collections management of the remainder. To point a finger at the Society, suggesting they would be less professional than a university museum in regard to the artifacts in their care, is not justified. It may also be racist.

THE CUSTODIAL AGREEMENT AND THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY

The custodial agreement set out the terms under which the Museum agreed to care for the bowl, and is a more complicated document than is the transfer of title. The agreement was drawn up by Mandell Pinder, legal counsel to the Society, based on models used in other Canadian museums. One clause covered the right of the Society to remove the bowl from the Museum for exhibition and for traditional or ritual use. This clause required a written request from the Society's Board of Directors with sufficient notice. The notification was to "include the Society's proposed plan for the use and care" of the bowl, a phrase taken from other agreements. This clause was not included in the final agreement, as it could have required the Society to divulge private, secret and/or sacred information about ritual that a non-initiate had no right to know. If such knowledge was revealed, it could have carried an obligation to perform certain actions. Under the indigenous belief system, this information could have been physically or spiritually dangerous to

the Museum staff member. In this conflict between the Curator's professional concern for the physical well-being of the bowl and the Saanich right to privacy, we agreed the Saanich had a stronger case, and elected to deviate from the precedent.

The Custodial Agreement and Handling and Storage Issues

An associated issue arose. The Society's proposed plan could include actions that might physically damage the bowl, such as cleansing it by passing it through a fire. Would the Curator have the right to object or refuse to release the bowl under such conditions, given that title had been transferred to the Society? While the Curator has the professional obligation to advise the Society on handling and use, the Curator cannot dictate handling and use of an object that is not formally part of the Museum collection.

Perhaps an analogous example could be the repatriation of metal vessels and utensils to reconsecrated churches in Eastern Europe. Do Curators have a right to demand that priests follow standard museum practices when handling repatriated metal objects, such as the wearing of cotton gloves during services? The return of the stone bowl to the Saanich is part of a global effort to return many important cultural objects to their nations or peoples of origin. The wording of the Society/Museum agreement has been influenced by these international agreements, and has had an effect on some international agreements. Representatives of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) have requested a copy of our custodial agreement, using it as one of many models researched during their work on the repatriation of sacred materials removed from churches in Albania.

Museologists, chemists, and other conservation scientists have developed conservation practices now standard in professionally managed museums. Supported by the International Committee On Museums (ICOM), approaches are being developed that treat objects in ways that will promote their physical well-being and prolong their enjoyment by future museum visitors. These tend to be blanket practices based on the type of material from which the object is made. Organic objects, for example, are subject to specific temperature and humidity controls. Stone objects are more stable, but must be protected from extremes of temperature and humidity, and protected from shock. Museum storage schemes and treatments are based on these standards.

However, when sacred objects are stored in museums, the originating group may request certain storage conditions or access to perform certain rituals. In some cases these requests may be easily accommodated; in others, the request is antithetical to conservation practices. For example, the Canadian Museum of Civilization in Hull houses a number of sacred masks which have been ritually fed by First Nations religious leaders at the museum. This practice has left food residues on the masks that were not removed, contrary to museum conservation practices. Likewise, the Curator at the Glenbow Museum in Calgary has been instructed in the proper ways to care for some of the sacred materials housed at the Glenbow (Janes and Conaty 1992). He regularly performs certain rituals, including the burning of sweet grass in the storage areas.

I (Winter) have been asked by another First Nation to store their carved stone bowls separately from all other objects, and warned never to handle certain objects as this would bring me harm. Separate storage can be arranged, but a prohibition on any handling is difficult. Similar requests have been made of curators in Australia, where women may be restricted from handling certain ritual objects. However, in the event of crisis situations, where an object must be moved immediately to protect it, anyone may handle it (John Stanton, pers. comm. 1994).

Accommodation of such requests is increasing, and indicates a dramatic shift in Canadian museum's policies and procedures. This is in keeping with the recommendations of the Assembly of First Nations/Canadian Museum Association Task Force Report (Hill and Nicks 1992). This joint task force was convened in response to the Lubicon boycott of *The Spirit Sings* exhibition at the Glenbow during the Calgary Olympics. It was an effort to avert confrontation through cooperative action. Two recommendations of the Task Force are relevant here:

> There is wide agreement that enhanced access to collections related to First Peoples is appropriate and needed. . . It was noted that different First Peoples have different customs and will therefore have different interests with regard to utilizing museum collections. Since narrow policies are unlikely to accommodate this diversity, cultural institutions must be flexible with regard to working out access arrangements with First Peoples.

and;

> There was a consensus in favour of the return of . . .sacred objects to appropriate First
> Peoples. In addition, there was some agreement on the return to originating communities
> of a selection of other objects considered to be of special significance to cultural patrim-
> ony (Assembly of First Nations/Canadian Museums Association 1992: 5).

These recommendations are also in keeping with the spirit of the recently circulated Canadian
Archaeological Association Guidelines for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Heritage
Research and Communication, and extends this recognition from features and sites to sacred
objects.

Fiduciary Trust

Another issue the Museum faced in the case of the stone bowl was fiduciary trust. Museums
hold many kinds of collections. Some may belong to the institution, as in the case of historical
objects or artistic works which are purchased on the commercial market or donated by individuals
who held title to the objects. In such cases the museum holds legal title to the objects.

Museum holdings of archaeological collections are rather different. By definition, archaeolo-
gical collections are comprised of objects that have been collected through archaeological means,
i.e., generally through excavation or surface collection. The collections have been assembled sys-
tematically, according to a research design, and as part of a larger investigation. Since the 1960s,
archaeological collections have been made under permit from government. Public funds have
been spent in the permitting, often during the planning, excavation, and documentation stages,
and in the museum curation of the collection. Therefore, while a small percentage of archaeologi-
cal collections in older museums has been acquired from individuals who "owned" them by right
of having excavated them prior to the enacting of heritage legislation, the vast majority of
museum-held archaeological collections is held in the public trust. In other words, the museum is
the legal repository for the collections and has a legal fiduciary responsibility to care for the
objects to the best of its ability, preserving them for the public. This responsibility extends to the
preservation of the documentation of the collection.

Museums cannot return objects to the originating community and discharge their fiduciary
responsibility to preserve objects for future publics. Some feel that by returning objects to one
group, museums deny access by the general public who have supported the acquisition and cura-
tion of the collection through their tax dollars, and to whom the museum has a legal obligation.
Objects are removed from museum collections through the deaccessioning process, which is
highly controversial. While most would not contest the disposal of highly radioactive ore samples
from geological collections, many would contest the deaccessioning of sacred objects or works of
art. There have been several court cases centering on deaccessioning and fiduciary responsibili-
ties in museums in both the United States and Canada.

How does the issue of fiduciary responsibility relate to the stone bowl? Over $60,000 (Cdn)
of public funds were spent to remove the bowl from the private sector. By acquiring it with public
funds, the bowl was given some measure of security; it could not then be arbitrarily sold to a third
party. However, in our application to the Board, and in discussion with the Director of the
Archaeology Branch, the Museum clearly indicated its intention to turn the bowl over to the Soc-
iety. On this basis, the Museum received the funding to purchase the bowl. If it failed to transfer
title of the bowl to the Society, it could be subject to legal action from the Society

FIRST NATIONS CHALLENGES TO
THE LEGITIMACY OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESEARCH

While museums legally hold title to archaeological collections as repositories designated by
permit, the basic premise of the holding of objects in this manner is challenged by First Nations.
Under current legislation the relevant First Nations are consulted prior to the issuance of an
archaeological permit. One of the issues to be settled in this consultation is the ultimate reposition
of any collections resulting from the research— "Where will the artifacts go after the analysis is
complete?" First Nations recognize the enormity of the responsibility of proper curation of

archaeological collections, and recognize that they generally do not have the resources to preserve the artifacts. Therefore, few First Nations direct the archaeologist to return collections to the Band after his or her research is completed.

This question required by legislation of "where will the artifacts go", however, presumes that the First Nations agree to the legitimacy of archaeological research. Many would prefer excavation to cease, and the artifacts be left in the ground. To many, then, the question should not be "Where do you want them stored?," but "Should this project proceed?"

Cultural and Spiritual Obligations of Curation

An associated issue is the intrinsic power of the excavated materials. While the Society has a responsibility for the preservation of artifacts of cultural, artistic, and historical value to the Saanich people, in some cases it is difficult to accept such objects. Some artifacts carry with them a constellation of responsibilities. To accept care of certain artifacts brings onerous cultural and spiritual obligations. Some need intensive ritual care. Some artifacts may only be returned to individuals who are culturally appropriate be reason of family, lineage, gender, or initiation. Such people may not be available, or may not be willing to personally undertake the effort and personal expense.

CONCLUSIONS

The Simon Fraser University Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology faced several compromises in this case. Similarly, the Saanich Native Heritage Society also had to deal with conflict and compromise. This is an example of a First Nation and a museum working together. It involved compromise of ideals and ethics on both sides, but also lead to a fruitful, cooperative relationship that centered around a specific project. The most tangible result of this cooperation was the preservation of an important heritage object in Canada.

The *Sddlnewhala* Bowl purchase has raised a number of very difficult issues for the Museum and for the Heritage Society. In a climate of First Nations empowerment, increasing cooperation between First Nations and archaeologists, and the co-management of collections by museums and First Nations, these issues will continue and grow in importance.

We hope that this paper has furthered the discussion around the specific issues of ownership of artifacts, rights of access and control of artifacts by the First Nations, the commodification of artifacts as a result of the cultural property review process, and the needed changes to that legislation. These issues are based on the different valuing of objects and the issue of the significance of archaeological objects and collections to the archaeological profession and to First Nations.

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15   Archaeological Native Internships at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature

E. Leigh Syms

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

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

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

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

DEVELOPING THE NATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTERNSHIP PROGRAM

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

The Program Goals

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

To address these needs, our program had four goals:

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

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

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

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

Focussing on Objectives

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

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

GETTING STARTED:
BUILDING COMMUNITY LINKS AND ELECTING CANDIDATES

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Interns And Their Programs

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

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

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

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

For the exhibit, Eva developed a poster-sized cultural history chart for her local area in northern Manitoba (Figure 3); nothing like this had been done by archaeologists. Although this chart was initially only a draft copy on graph paper, it proved very popular[1] (several hundred copies had been distributed), particularly for Native individuals and groups such as school classes. This cultural history is the first that has been produced in Manitoba by a Native researcher, and members of the Aboriginal community are now looking for additional materials created by Native researchers—they want the products of research done by their own people.

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

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

Chronology of North Central Manitoba

Calendar Years	Years Ago	Archaeological Traditions		
		Northern Influences	Southern Influences	Northern Boreal Forrest
1700 1500	300 500	Fur Trade		
1000	1000	Late Woodland / Middle Woodland	Blackduck / Taltheilei (Dene)	Selkirk
A.D. B.C.	2000	Pre-Dorset (Arctic Small Tool Tradition)	Pelican Lake / Besant	Laurel
1000	3000	Archaic	Old Copper / Oxbow / Duncan/Hanna	
2000	4000			Shield Archaic
3000	5000			
4000	6000			
5000	7000	Palaeo	Rejuvenation of Land	Palaeoindian (Agate Basin)
6000	8000		Drainage	
7000	9000		Glacial Lake Agassiz	
8000	10,000		Glaciers Retreat	
18,000	20,000		Full Glaciation	

Cree Oral History

Cree Oral Traditions
Nåhithowá Acimówina Mina Acathokiwina

The Beginning of Time / Ancient Time / Long Ago / Recent Past		Supernatural Beings Interact With Ancient and Contemporary Worlds

Recent Past — Anohciki:

Reserves	Iskonkana
Trapping	Owunihikawin
Fishing	Pakitawawin
Gathering	Mawacicikewin
Treaties	Okimawewin Usutumakiwin

Long Ago — Kiyahs:

Wasahkacahk Puts World Into Order For The Time When There Will Be People
Wasahkacahk Ki-o-thastow Askiy Ispiykawi Ithiniskathik

WasahkacahkTests The Earth's Size
Wasahkacahk Ka-ki-nanatawitisahahk Ka-ispihcathik Askithiw

Wasahkacahk Recreates the Earth
Wasahkacahk Kitwam Ka-ki-osihtat Askithiw

Wasahkacahk And The Flood
Wasahkacahk Akwa Ka-ki-thiskipik Askithiw

Ancient Time — Mawac Kiyahs:

Misipisiw
Misipisiw

Wasahkacahk's Contest With Wimithothaw
Wasahkacahk Ka-ki-mahwinihat Wimithothwa

Rolling Head
Cicipistikwan

Chakapis Shares the Sun
Chakapis Ka-ki-nakwatat Pisimwa

The Beginning of Time — Mimoci Kiyahs:

Kici Manito Creates Four Major Orders of Being: Physical World, Plant World, Animal Beings and Human Beings.

Kici Manito KakiositatNao Kikwana: Ithinito Askiy, Kanitowikiki [Tapiskoc Mistihwak], Pisiskiwak, Mina Athisithiniwak.

(Right side vertical text: Supernatural Beings Interact With Ancient and Contemporary Worlds — Acahkwak Kiwaciwikonawak Anoch Akwa Mina Mimoci Kiyahs)

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

use in pre-contact times.

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

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

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

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

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

RESULTS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

PERSONAL IMPACT OF THE PROGRAM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE FUTURE

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

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

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APPENDIX A

ASSESSMENT FORM
MANITOBA MUSEUM OF MAN AND NATURE:
NATIVE ARCHAEOLOGICAL MUSEUM INTERNSHIP 1991-1993

A. Scholastic Training
    Advanced Degree
        Complete
        Courses in Archaeology
        Courses in Anthropology
        Courses in Archives, Western Canadian History or related courses
        Courses in Native Studies
        Other courses
    Undergraduate Degree
        Complete
        Courses in Archaeology
        Courses in Anthropology; Courses in Archives
        Western Canadian History; Courses in Native Studies
        Other courses
    High School Degree
        Completed

B. Archaeological Experience
    Manitoba Fieldwork
    Canadian Fieldwork
    Other Fieldwork
    Identifying Collection(s)

C. Northern Community Experience
    Raised in Community
    Competent in Cree or Dene
    Some ability in Cree or Dene

D. Other
    Mature demeanour
    Verbally articulate (English)

16 Presenting Indigenous History: The First Peoples Hall at the Canadian Museum of Civilization

Robert McGhee

Most of the discussions that have taken place in recent years between archaeologists and First Peoples, have centered on questions of cultural property—the bones and artifacts in the ground, and the various rights, interests, and ethical issues involved in digging up that material and keeping it after it is dug up. But this is only one side of a complex structure of questions. Another side, and one that has been much more poorly illuminated by recent discussions, deals with the presentation of Indigenous history by non-Aboriginal archaeologists. It can be argued that the public presentation of our interpretations is the most important final goal of archaeological work: providing the public with an understanding of the origins and development of their own and other societies, and of the historical roots of contemporary problems. If this is the case, we should take very seriously our roles as both public interpreters and, especially, practitioners of a European-centered discipline interpreting other peoples' history.

There is a great deal of difference between doing archaeology and presenting archaeology. The two crafts require different domains of awareness and sensitivity. A good example is our use, as working archaeologists, of the terms *prehistory* and *prehistoric*. These are perfectly good and useful scientific terms, precisely defined, and referring simply to periods and cultures which did not leave written records. The real problem with the terms, however, comes when they are used in presenting archaeology to the public. The public also has a precise definition of *prehistory*, which is much different from that of the archaeologist, that often involves three phenomena: dinosaurs, volcanos, and primitive people with clubs living in caves. To most publics, the prehistoric world is essentially the world of the cartoon *Flintstones*. When the archaeological remains of a culture are presented to the public as "prehistoric," the people who left these remains are added to the inhabitants of this mythical ancient world. North American First Peoples are clearly justified in objecting to seeing their recent ancestors described in books or films or exhibits as "prehistoric." It helps to establish them in the public mind as a people of the past, as survivors of an ancient way of life that became obsolete in 1492.

Museums are seen by Indigenous peoples as being important contributors to this image. The widespread traditional displays of "golden age" ethnographic cultures has helped the public to associate contemporaneous Indians and Inuit with ancient ways of life which are assumed to be "lost". The public has a curious tendency to think of modern Indigenous peoples as relics, as vestigial ancients of the kind seen in museum exhibits; at the same time, people of European descent see their own remote ancestors as intellectually modern humans placed in an ancient setting. In the cartoon version, our own ancestors competently handle automobiles and computers, which just happen to be chipped from stone rather than manufactured from metals and plastics; museum exhibits presenting our own ancestors are less fanciful, but they seem to convey much the same message.

When it comes to the museum presentation of archaeological interpretations, First Peoples are understandably concerned, and for a variety of reasons which go well beyond the sterile debates over "appropriation of voice" or of heritage:

1. Concerns such as those outlined above—Will the exhibit contribute to the public perception of Indians and Inuit as peoples of the past?
2. Concerns over contradictions between archaeological and traditional versions of ancient history—will archaeology lead to decreased respect for the elders and their stories: will it lead to a decrease in respect for traditional culture as a means of transmitting knowledge?; and finally
3. Concerns over the Bering Strait origins theory, which some use to portray Indigenous peoples as "just another bunch of immigrants who simply got here a little earlier than the rest" and which may decrease the legal and moral rights of First Peoples as original landholders.

At the same time, archaeologists have in recent years developed similar levels of concern regarding the place of their discipline in the academic world and in public perception. They worry that their theories, methods, and in fact their entire reason for working in the field may be denigrated, or not given the public airing that it deserves. They are concerned that claims of "appropriation of heritage" will impede their freedom to express ideas and the results of research. Like the First Peoples, archaeologists are also concerned over how they are viewed by the public: are they to be seen by the public as members of an appreciated academic discipline, or as a "rogue scientists" depicted as stealing other peoples' pasts and portraying them in a demeaning and imperialistic manner?

Can these diverse points of view be reconciled, and can we accommodate the wide range of concerns held by both archaeologists and First Peoples? This question cannot yet be answered, but we can report on the progress of one attempt to bridge the gulf: the development of a First Peoples Hall in the Canadian Museum of Civilization.

A major permanent exhibition area devoted to the histories and cultures of Canada's First Peoples, was to have been a part of the new Canadian Museum of Civilization when it opened in Hull, Quebec, in 1989. Initial plans were made for a hall that would have a floor area of 5000 square meters. However, funding problems intervened and when the museum opened in 1989 the only permanent exhibits that were in place depicted the traditional cultures of the Northwest Coast peoples, and the European history of eastern Canada.

The delays brought about by funding problems brought other factors into play. The reaction to the *Spirit Sings* exhibit produced by the Glenbow Museum as part of the 1988 winter Olympics brought the representation of First Peoples by Museums into sharp and public focus.[1] In an attempt to bridge the adversarial positions developed during this dispute, the Assembly of First Nations and the Canadian Museums Association established a joint task force to investigate the problems encountered by First Peoples and the Museum community, and to recommend various paths of action.

Meanwhile, at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, it was obvious that our original plans for a First Peoples Hall were no longer of any use; the construction of 5000 square metres of permanent exhibition was well beyond the budget that could be foreseen as the depression of the 1990s deepened. We were also bound by agreement to abide by the recommendations of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples, which included mandatory consultation as an initial step before any project such as the First Peoples Hall could be undertaken. We were faced with the question of whether or not it was any longer feasible to construct a "First Peoples Hall." Were such exhibits as politically and culturally obsolete as Wild West Shows?

SETTING A NEW DIRECTION

Beginning in 1992 we have pursued a process of consultation that has had rather surprising results. There will be a new First Peoples Hall in the Museum, but it will be much different than that which we had originally planned, and should be considerably stronger and of greater public interest. We also expect that it will be more effective than any exhibit which we could have developed using traditional modes of museum planning.

The approach that we chose grew out of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples that was formed in 1990, and the recommendation of that group's final report were followed closely. A Joint Consultation Committee was established, comprising both First Peoples representatives chosen on the basis of ethnic representation and expertise in the fields of culture and culture history, and museum professionals from the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The fact that some members of the committee had been on the previous Task Force allowed the momentum developed by that group to be carried on in the exhibition planning process.

The initial approach of the committee favoured a model of two separate presentations: one a view of ancient history as seen by Euro-Canadian archaeologists; the other as seen by traditional Native scholars. But with the passage of time, and long training in the art of consensual decision-

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[1] The strengthening voice of Aboriginal concerns (or the increasing sensitivity of our hearing regarding such concerns) was not limited to North America at that time, but indeed was a widespread trend, as witnessed by the One World Archaeology conference and subsequent publications.

making, the group eventually arrived at a basis from which a much different, and we feel a much more interesting, project can be undertaken.

The Committee began to approach the question of representation by establishing a set of 13 principles that summarize many of the concerns and solutions developed during the discussion. The preamble sets out the overall model for development of the exhibit:

> We are a group of people of diverse backgrounds, both Native and non-Native, working toward a common goal. We contribute to the discussion on an equivalent footing, always recognizing the particular expertise, knowledge, and insights of each particular member.

Most of the principles deal directly with the presentation of traditional cultures and current situations, reflecting the primary interests of the committee in portraying First Peoples as living peoples in the modern world. This overriding concern is voiced in Principle 8, which also bears on the presentation of ancient history:

> The Hall will present to the public an opportunity to hear and understand the voice of the First Peoples, proclaiming that "We are still here, still contributing, and still playing our own distinctive part in the modern world, as we always have." In exhibits, care will be taken to explore the relationship between the present and the past.

Finding a Place for Archaeology

How can ancient history be presented in such a way as to reinforce the view of First Peoples as a modern and contributing segment of world society? How can it be presented so that it does not leave the public with impressions that First Peoples are "nothing but another bunch of immigrants from northern Asia," or that their way of life is mired in the stone-age hunting and farming cultures of the ancient past? How can the ancient history constructed by archaeologists be reconciled with the traditional histories of distinct origin and special development?

These and other questions remained in the committee's mind throughout our discussions, during which archaeology and ancient history tended to be ignored until consensual solutions could be found for less controversial matters. It became obvious that the committee was much more comfortable discussing matters of language, traditional culture, and recent social and political history than with discussing archaeology. In order to reflect the desired emphasis on current issues, it was decided that a significant portion of the Hall would be devoted to changing exhibits, through which communities, cultural centres, and other agencies could present contemporary views on traditional culture and current realities. Long-term exhibits would be restricted to topics that were less subject to changing interpretation, examples of which are the importance of Indigenous languages as a means of understanding, transmitting and perpetuating culture; the history of relationships between Indigenous and European cultures through the various phases of containment, acculturation, and revitalization; and ancient history, which was initially conceived in terms of legendary history and oral tradition. Finally, an approach was found that brought archaeology into the discussions, and provided a place for it in the Hall.

This approach takes the form of a critique of "The Myth of the Virgin Land," a phrase used recently by Ronald Wright in his book *Stolen Continents*, to describe the chartering myth that has been used to explain and justify European occupation of the American continents. The myth, recounted in numerous history books, tells that Europeans found an underpopulated and underutilized continent that they took over as a sort of natural right. It can be argued that this view of post-Columbian American history, as an encounter between a technologically and socially sophisticated civilization and a "sparse population of wandering primitives" lies at the root of the negative stereotyping that continues to be a plague to the Aboriginal peoples of the hemisphere.

A public critique of this myth serves not only the aims of the First Peoples to oppose denigration of their history and culture, but also provides an opportunity for the practioners of archaeology to present their findings on the ancient history of the continent. This critique is organized around three themes:

Theme 1. The ancestors of the First Peoples have occupied this land since Time Immemorial.

In fact, the First Peoples of Canada have been here since before most of the land that is now Canada existed at all in its present form. Archaeology's stories dealing with the Paleoindian occupation of an Ice Age continent—a land of immense moving glaciers, giant animals, sinking land-bridges, and huge ice-dammed lakes that suddenly appeared and disappeared in a single season—have much the same quality as many traditional origin stories. The two modes of dealing with ancient history are natural allies, and beg for comparison rather than contention.

The second, and very important aspect of this theme, requires that the original Indian occupation of the Americas not be presented as an early episode of immigration. Rather, it is clearly a part of the same process of land-taking by which all other early human groups established their ancestral homelands—in Europe, Asia and elsewhere—at the time of the last Ice Age.

There is clearly nothing in this version of history which serves to reduce Indigenous title to the lands of the American hemisphere. Rather, it invokes a quite remarkable meaning to the quasi-legal phrase "time immemorial," and establishes occupation at a far earlier date than the few centuries implied in the legal interpretation of the phrase.

Theme 2. Canadian history is as long and complex as that of any other part of the world, and as filled with intriguing events.

Canada is not a "Young Country," a "country with more geography than history," that our politicians are so fond of telling us. Canadian First Peoples were part of an American civilization that produced ways of life as different as Mayan astronomers and Inuit whalers, both of whom, in their times, led the world in developing their unique skills and knowledge. An investigation of the variety, complexity, accomplishments, and time-depth of indigenous American societies provides a framework for presenting a great variety of findings and interpretations: the early metal working and complex ceremonialism of the eastern Archaic cultures; the artistic accomplishments of the Paleo-Eskimos; the remarkable time depth of a sustainable economy demonstrated at buffalo jump sites in the Plains; the development of some of the world's most important agricultural products; the political innovations of the Iroquois; the trade networks which crossed the continent, and which linked the Indigenous peoples of Canada with those of the more densely populated regions to the south.

Indigenous history is presented as something worthwhile and valuable in itself—as something that has made significant contributions to world history and which is valuable for the world to know. It is not presented as a curiosity, as something outside the mainstream of world cultural development, or solely as examples demonstrating the principles and techniques of archaeology. This theme leads naturally to the third and most important, of the thematic statements made by the exhibit.

Theme 3. At the time of the first sustained contact between Eurasia and America, was there really much technological or economic superiority on either side of the Ocean?

The exhibit will investigate the proposition that in the fifteenth century A.D., the two hemispheres were on a much more similar level—demographically, technologically, economically, and culturally—than has been assumed by proponents of the Virgin Land myth. A tableau of American civilizations as they existed at the time of effective contact with Eurasia, reconstructed from archaeological, historical, and traditional sources, serves to present a picture of a continent that was quite different from the Virgin Land of historical mythology. This approach obviously grows out of recent reassessments, on the part of Indigenous peoples, of the significance of their own history. It also coincides with a rethinking of the effects of European diseases on the sixteenth century aboriginal populations of the Americas, and the suspicion that the Virgin Land was not an indigenous condition but was caused by massive depopulation and cultural disruption during the early years of European contact.

The major aim of this theme is to refocus the public's attention on the comparison of fifteenth century cultures, rather than comparing indigenous American cultures of the fifteenth century with European cultures of the twentieth century. The public should leave this exhibit with the realization that fifteenth century populations of American and Europe had much more in common with each other than with any of their twentieth century descendants. In A.D. 1500, the Indige-

nous peoples of Canada will be shown as playing their distinctive part in the modern world of the time, just as they do today.

In sum, archaeology seems to have found a valued place in presenting the ancient history of Canada's Indigenous peoples in the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The value of its contribution lies not only in the information that it can present as evidence of past cultures, but in providing a basic shift in the perspective through which Indigenous history is generally viewed by the Canadian public. In undertaking this shift in perspective, it also provides itself with an opportunity to develop a much stronger, more interesting, and more challenging set of exhibits than would have been developed using traditional patterns of interpretation. Perhaps this is an indication of what lies ahead for archaeology in North America: by forging links with the perspectives and interests of First Peoples, we may be discovering opportunities to develop a revitalized and much more interesting discipline.

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17 Native Land Claims and the Future of Archaeology in the Northwest Territories, Canada

Thomas D. Andrews

Charles D. Arnnold

Elisa J. Hart

Margaret M. Bertulli

The settlement of comprehensive land claims is ushering in major changes in the management of land and resources in the Northwest Territories, including heritage resources. This chapter summarizes the progress that has been made in completing land claims, anticipates the impact that the claims will have on the way archaeological research is conducted, and discusses how the Government of the Northwest Territories (GNWT) is responding to these changes. Suggestions for dealing with the current social and political setting in the design and implementation of archaeological projects are also presented.

OUTLINE OF NATIVE LAND CLAIMS IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

In the early 1970s, the Government of Canada established a comprehensive claims policy to guide negotiations with Native groups in settling Aboriginal interests in lands that they traditionally occupied. Although the Northwest Territories has its own legislative assembly and its own bureaucracy to administer most of the business of government, the Government of Canada has the sole responsibility for settling Aboriginal land claims in the Northwest Territories.

The Indigenous peoples of the Northwest Territories are the Inuit, the Dene, the Cree, and the Métis. The Inuit include the Inuvialuit of the Beaufort Sea and Amundson Gulf areas of the western Arctic, who, in 1984, were the first Aboriginal group in the Northwest Territories to settle a land claim with the Government of Canada (see Figure 1). In May, 1993, the Inuit of the eastern Arctic, an area commonly referred to as "Nunavut" signed a final agreement on a land claim. This agreement provides for, among other things, the creation of a new territory in 1999. In April of 1990, the Dene Nation, representing the five regional Dene groups—the Gwich'in, Slavey, Dogrib, Chipewyan, and the Sahtu Dene, along with the Métis Association of the NWT (now the Métis Nation)—reached a tentative agreement with the Government of Canada respecting their land claim. Later that year, the Dene National Assembly and the Annual Assembly of the Métis Association of the NWT rejected the agreement, largely because of a clause that extinguished all other Aboriginal rights. The Gwich'in opposed that decision, and, with the approval of the federal government, negotiated an independent claim based on the main elements of the Dene-Métis agreement. This was signed in 1992. The Sahtu Dene soon followed, completing negotiations in 1993.

Specific or comprehensive claim negotiations are underway in other Dene regions of the Northwest Territories. The Dogrib Treaty 11 Council has begun comprehensive land claim negotiations and it is expected that an agreement will be reached in the near future. Treaty land entitlement negotiations are underway with Treaty 8 communities in the southeastern NWT, and the federal government has announced that it will enter land claim negotiations with the Métis Nation of the Northwest Territories. The Deh Cho Tribal Council has recently called for the creation of a Dene sovereign territory for the Slavey of the southwestern area of the Mackenzie Valley.

NWT and Yukon Land Claim Settlement Regions

1. Nunavut Settlement Region
2. Inuvialuit Settlement Region
3. Gwich'in Settlement Area
4. Sahtu Settlement Area

   Dene and Metis Claim Areas of South Mackenzie
5. Deh Cho
6. North Slave
7. South Slave
8. Council for Yukon Indians Claim Area
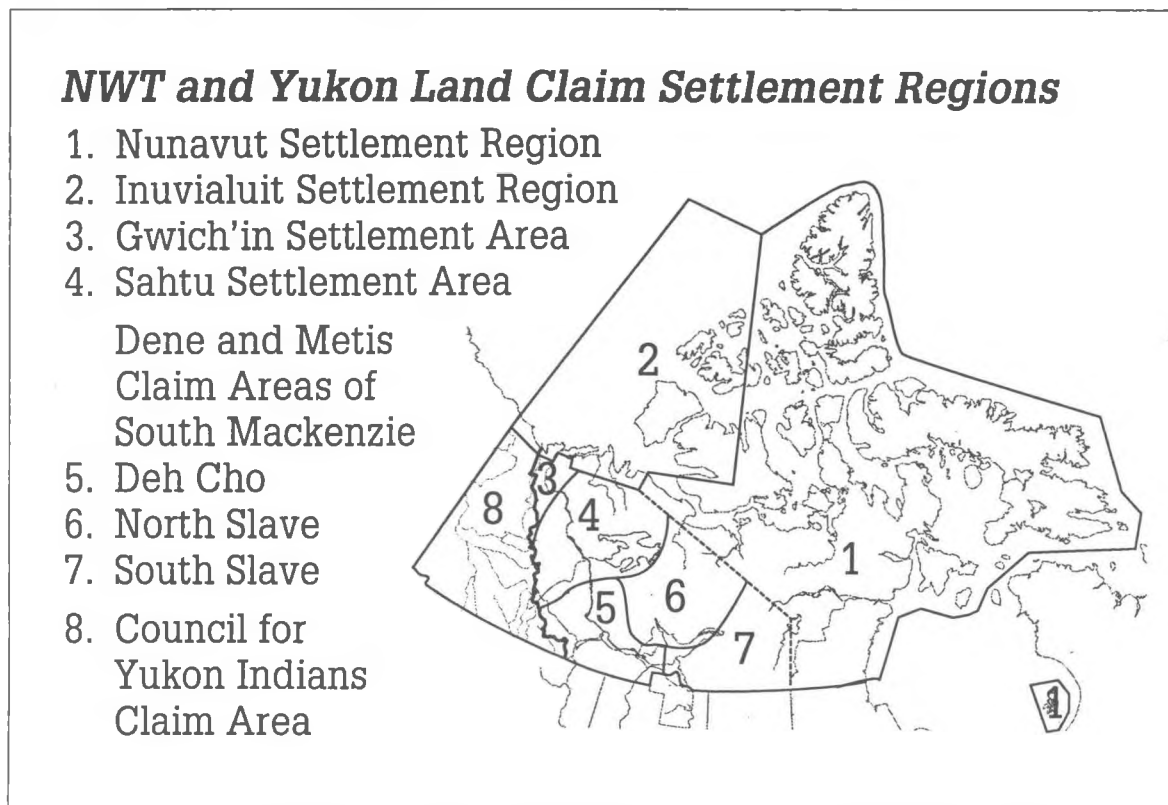
Figure 1. Northwest Territories and Yukon Land Claim Settlement Regions.

WHAT IS THE IMPACT OF LAND CLAIMS ON ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES?

The Inuvialuit Final Agreement is silent on the matter of archaeology, although the land use regulations administered by the Inuvialuit Land Administration require that archaeologists obtain land use permits in order to gain access to Inuvialuit private lands. Applications for land use permits are reviewed by the six community corporations, which may deny a land use permit if proposed research interferes with Inuvialuit activities, or there are insufficient benefits to Inuvialuit. The two systems must mesh to ensure that local concerns are addressed before an archaeologists' permit is issued.

The Nunavut Final Agreement deals with archaeology in greater detail. It recognizes that Inuit have a unique relationship with archaeological evidence of occupancy of their lands, and this is expressed in terms of special rights and responsibilities. The agreement establishes the Inuit Heritage Trust, which is responsible for "supporting, encouraging and facilitating the conservation, maintenance, restoration, and display of archaeological sites and specimens in the Nunavut Settlement Area." Of great importance to archaeological resource management is an agreement that the Trust and government jointly own all archaeological specimens that are found within Nunavut. The Trust reviews all applications for archaeologists' permits to ensure that adequate efforts have been made to secure Inuit participation and benefits, and to ensure that sites of Inuit religious or spiritual significance are not disturbed. The Nunavut Final Agreement also assigns the Trust the responsibility for determining the disposition of artifacts recovered from Inuit lands, and establishes a preference for Inuit on contracts for archaeological work issued by government.

The Gwich'in and Sahtu agreements are modelled after the Dene-Métis claim. These claims recognize that the heritage resources of each settlement area are of spiritual, cultural, religious, and educational significance. The Gwich'in and Sahtu claims establish the right of each group to be actively involved in the conservation and management of heritage research, which shall take into account their cultural values. For example, the Gwich'in Tribal Council shall be consulted on the formulation of government policy; given the opportunity to be represented on boards, agencies, or committees established by government to manage heritage resources in their area; and invited to participate in review of land use permit applications. The recently established Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute will exercise some of the responsibilities for heritage matters identified in their land claim (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8).

The Sahtu agreement is somewhat more detailed. For example, the Sahtu Tribal Council "shall have the responsibility for managing Sahtu historic sites and burials sites that are on Sahtu lands, unless otherwise agreed," and that "no archaeologist permits in respect of heritage resources on Sahtu lands shall be issued without the consent of the Sahtu Tribal Council." A joint Sahtu-government working group has been established to make recommendations for the protection and management of a number of culturally significant heritage sites in the region.

In general, the archaeological provisions of final agreements call for increased consultation with Native groups, the establishment of boards and agencies to deal with management of heritage resources, repatriation of artifacts, curation of artifacts in trust, and further dissemination of information about archaeological resources in claims areas.

OUR RESPONSE

Since 1982, the Territorial Archaeology Program, housed at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre (PWNHC), has been responsible for cultural resource management on Commissioner's Lands (equivalent to provincial crown lands, but making up less than 1% of the land mass of the Northwest Territories), as well as on Federal Crown Lands, on behalf of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, the legal land manager. The Archaeology Program manages the NWT Archaeologist Permit system, undertakes land-use reviews and assessments on behalf of the territorial and federal governments, and assists with the curation of archaeological collections at the PWNHC. Research, public education, and advising communities and cultural organizations on heritage matters are also prominent responsibilities of the program.

With the successful completion of several land claims in the Northwest Territories, the Archaeology Program has had to evolve to meet these new challenges. These changes include the development of new legislation, a heritage management plan to bridge the different perspectives presented in the various claim agreements, modifications to the permit-issuing system, and the adoption of a collaborative approach to most of our own research. Each of these responses is outlined below.

New Heritage Legislation

Heritage resources in the Northwest Territories are protected through two separate legislative instruments. The *Northwest Territories Act* (and pursuant regulations) governs archaeological research and heritage resource protection on federal public lands. The *Historical Resources Act* pertains only to Commissioner's Land. The acts and regulations are seriously outdated and do not provide adequate protection for, or definition of, heritage resources. Moreover, both acts were developed without the consultation of Native communities or heritage agencies. Provisions pertaining to heritage resources recently passed as part of land claims settlement legislation have also altered the existing management regime and have highlighted the inadequacies of the current legislation. Recognizing these deficiencies, the Government of the Northwest Territories has begun to develop new legislation governing heritage resource management on Commissioner's Land. It is hoped that, through consultation with federal heritage agencies, parallel changes to the Archaeological Sites Regulations will complement the new territorial legislation.

Essentially, there are two critical differences between the existing and proposed legislation. The latter will recognize and protect Aboriginal burials and found human remains as heritage resources. Through an oversight, graves located outside the boundaries of communities were not adequately protected through the existing heritage legislation or through the *Vital Statistics Act*, which governs cemeteries. This has long been a concern of both government and Native communities. Second, it is anticipated that the new legislation will permit the minister responsible for heritage resources to designate official repositories for northern collections. Presently there are only two: the PWNHC and the Canadian Museum of Civilization. The proposed act will also strengthen the enforcement aspects of heritage resource protection by providing for stiffer penalties. It creates a mechanism for designating significant heritage properties, including sites that are considered to have sacred or important cultural significance without material evidence of human presence. The proposed act also foresees the establishment of a heritage resource fund for the preservation, management and interpretation of heritage resources.

Over the past two years, the GNWT (1993, 1994) has consulted widely on the proposal for new heritage legislation. While there is strong support for the initiative from most quarters, the impending division of the Northwest Territories, Aboriginal self-government initiatives, and ongoing discussions on devolution of a broad range of Federal responsibilities, create an uncertain political climate for change to the legislative regime.

A Revised Management Plan

As an interim measure, until a more comprehensive legislated framework is in place, the PWNHC has begun to develop a management plan that will identify new responsibilities flowing from each of the land claim agreements, establish areas of joint responsibility with claimant groups, initiate communication and consultation procedures, and identify technical and operational requirements needed to meet new responsibilities. The philosophy of the plan is to provide for a management regime that bridges the differing approaches to heritage resource management proffered by the various land claims acts. This will require further changes when Nunavut becomes a separate territory in 1999 and assumes responsibility for heritage resource management within its borders.

In preparation for this, the Archaeology Program at the PWNHC will solicit the views of Native communities and organizations regarding the direction the management plan should take. A discussion paper (GNWT 1996) has been prepared that describes the present management structure and regime in the Northwest Territories and identifies areas for change. Consultation with Native organizations is presently underway.

An Evolving Permit System

Permits for archaeological work in the Northwest Territories have been issued since 1949. The early permits were issued in what has been described as a "refreshingly informal" manner. It was in 1971, with the transfer of authority for the permit system to the Commissioner of the Northwest Territories that applications were reviewed by a joint federal-territorial committee, a form of peer review. Over the last twenty-five years, a growing body of stakeholders in government, local communities, and land claim groups have reviewed permit applications. Until recently, this review was coordinated from Ottawa; we have now taken the necessary steps to assume the coordinating role in the NWT.

A permit system is necessary to obligate archaeologists to assume responsibilities in the conservation and management of the artifacts they unearth through their field research. What is more important, local community and land claim groups wish to have a voice in, and some measure of control over, how the research on their lands is conducted. This can be exercised through the permit system. As many readers will appreciate from personal experience, this process of consultation can be lengthy and complicated. We issue about twenty-five permits each year, mostly for work in the Arctic regions of the Northwest Territories.

An important development that may be the precursor of other similar initiatives was the establishment of the Inuit Heritage Trust, which had its inaugural meeting in Gjoa Haven in 1994.

The four Trust members review applications for archaeological work in the Nunavut Settlement Area, which will become the new territory of Nunavut in 1999. The Trust decides on the disposition of artifacts collected from Inuit lands, and reinforces awareness of the importance of the Nunavut archaeological record and its interpretation. Further, the Trust can request that a permit holder visit the community nearest the research area to discuss his or her work, and to give the residents an opportunity to examine the artifacts collected. These conditions will have implications for archaeologists at all stages of any research project, and will do much to encourage continued interest in archaeological research.

Presently we are also developing a tiered permit system. Under this system, archaeological research that requires no invasive excavation or disturbance to surface deposits would be eligible for a different type of permit, one requiring less bureaucratic involvement. Archaeological investigations involving excavation of any type will require the usual permit. A tiered system would also permit trained personnel in the communities to hold permits for certain kinds of investigations (such as site inventory research), and to assist with impact management and monitoring.

Collaborative Research

Recent debate regarding scientific research in the Northwest Territories has centred on the way in which research is conducted. Native organizations, communities, and claimant groups have clearly stated that control of research must rest with local institutions, and that Native people must be directly involved in its execution (for examples, see Yellowknives Dene First Nation 1995; Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8). In response to this, most of the research conducted by archaeologists at the PWNHC now employs a collaborative or partnership approach (see Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10; Arnold and Hanks 1991; Hanks and Pokotylo 1989; Hart 1994).

There are many approaches to collaborative research. These may range from meeting with the community before and after fieldwork to discuss research design and results, to more intensive efforts as undertaken through traditional knowledge research (cf. Ryan and Robinson 1990). Collaborative research is not new, however, and has been undertaken by a number of researchers in northern Canada (see Greer, Ch. 9).

DISCUSSION

The consequence of these recent changes in the control and administration of cultural resource management in the NWT is that archaeologists must consult directly with Native groups before undertaking fieldwork. Additional financial resources and time commitments may be required to meet the level of consultation expected by communities. Funding agencies will have to be made aware of these new requirements.

For archaeologists choosing to document traditional knowledge as part of their research, further time and financial resources must be budgeted. Interpreter's wages, elder's fees, and transcription can be costly. The greatest amount of time comes not from documenting elders' knowledge, but from the time involved in transcribing and editing interview tapes and verifying the information with follow-up interviews (Hart 1995). There are other challenges for archaeologists undertaking traditional knowledge research. For example, an archaeologist's agenda may not be viewed as important within the community, particularly during times of resource harvesting or local crisis. This requires the archaeologist to be flexible in terms of work plan and attitude.

A traditional knowledge component to archaeological research can offer many benefits to both the researcher and the community (see Denton; Ch. 7; Hanna, Ch. 5; Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8). For the researcher, documenting aspects of traditional life can provide useful information on land use and settlement patterns to allow the archaeologist a broader perspective of relating sites to a cultural landscape (Greer, Ch. 9). Information on aspects of technology is useful for interpreting the manufacture and function of artifacts and for providing a better picture of the role those artifacts play in daily life (Hart 1994). This research can also provide information on areas of culture that are difficult to access through archaeological remains including spiritual practices, social

customs, and language (Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10).

For the community, there can be many benefits to having a traditional knowledge research project take place. We share the concern expressed in many communities that elders are dying without their knowledge having been transmitted to the next generation. Archaeologists can play a vital role in documenting this information, particularly if local people have been involved in project design, and a clear understanding exists from the outset that information will be returned to the community. Copies of interview transcripts and the final report can be provided to the local education boards for use in developing school curricula on traditional life. Each elder should be provided with a copy of his or her own interview tape as a record of their life history. Copies of interview tapes should also be submitted to the Northwest Territories Archives for long-term preservation and public access. Many elders are delighted to have their tapes sent to the archives as they know information will be preserved for their descendants. One of the most important benefits is that local people are directly involved in the recording of their own history. All of these obvious benefits to the community help to promote archaeological research and help to bridge the gap that can sometimes exist between researchers and local people.

CONCLUSIONS

In February of 1994 at Igloolik, elders and youth delegates from Inuit communities across northern Canada met to discuss archaeological research on Inuit lands (see Webster and Bennett, Ch. 18). The delegates presented over twenty resolutions concerning archaeological research and heritage resource management. Noteworthy among the resolutions are several that call for increased local participation in all levels and aspects of heritage research. The resolutions also call for increased Inuit control of cultural resource management, a higher profile for archaeology in northern educational institutions, increased protection of archaeological sites, and local hiring preferences. Other resolutions seek acceptance of Inuit cultural values regarding the interpretation of archaeological sites, the direct involvement of elders in research, and the translation of reports into Inuktitut. Resolutions dealing with the disturbance of graves, repatriation of skeletal remains, and removal of artifacts from the Northwest Territories underscore our comments about the GNWT's proposed heritage legislation.

The implication for practicing archaeology in the future involves accepting the political reality of working on private land or on crown land within the boundaries of settlement areas. This will require a closer working relationship with communities and may involve changes to the way research projects are designed and executed. As communities, Native cultural organizations, and claims organizations participate more directly in heritage resource management in the Northwest Territories, archaeologists wishing to pursue research will need to be more attentive to local concerns. This may involve a re-examination of the need for any particular research project from the community's perspective. A collaborative approach permits community and archaeological research agendas to be combined.

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The *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference on Inuit Archaeology

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster
John Bennett

The *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference on Inuit Archaeology, held at Igloolik, Northwest Territories, from February 7th to 9th, 1994, brought together Inuit archaeology and culture specialists of all ages from across the Canadian Arctic. The objectives of the Conference were to listen to what Inuit, especially the elders, know about their heritage, and to discuss how Inuit can direct the course of archaeology in their homeland.

BACKGROUND

The *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference, the first of its kind, was the idea of three Inuit: Gary Baikie, who has worked in archaeology and is director of Torngasok Cultural Centre in Nain, Labrador; George Qulaut, who dealt extensively with scientists during his fourteen years working at the Igloolik Research Laboratory; and Deborah Kigjugalik Webster, Northern and New Parks Archaeologist, originally from Baker Lake, Northwest Territories.

In the spring of 1993, the three were invited by the Smithsonian Institution to attend a conference honouring a number of distinguished Arctic archaeologists, all over eighty years old. Over the course of the three-day conference, they were reminded that while a great deal of valuable archaeological work has been conducted in the Arctic, in the past it has often excluded Inuit or involved them only as guides. A few archaeologists do involve Inuit in their work, consulting with Elders, and helping young people learn about their history. Inuit have seen sites disturbed and artifacts taken south where they are inaccessible to most of the people whose history they represent. Southerners, studying artifacts away from the places where they were used and without consulting Inuit experts, have occasionally been inaccurate in their interpretations of Inuit history.

While conferences have been held for years by others on the subject, Inuit archaeology and history specialists have never come together to discuss archaeology in their land. Their experience at the Smithsonian archaeology conference inspired the three Inuit to organize a conference that would give Inuit elders, young people, and others with a special interest in archaeology a chance to meet and discuss archaeology. The main goals of the conference were two-fold: first, to provide an opportunity for Inuit archaeology and history specialists from across the north to meet and exchange information; and second, to produce a list of guidelines for archaeological work in the Inuit homeland.

A volunteer organizing committee (*Ittarnisalirijiit Katimajiit*) was formed, including three more people: Luke Suluk, a culture and history specialist from Arviat; Tommy Weetaluktuk, assistant archaeologist with Avataq Cultural Institute; and John Bennett, then-editor of *Inuktitut* magazine. After consultation with elders, the name *Ittarnisalirijiit* was chosen for the conference. It can be translated as "those who deal with the distant past, the time of legends." The term refers to the very essence of Inuit culture, and implies an obligation to protect it. This word has significance for those who truly understand its meaning.

Igloolik was chosen as the location because of its history of community involvement in archaeology, particularly in regard to the Ataguttaaluk Field School, which was started in 1990.

Youth and elder delegates were invited from the western Arctic, the three regions in Nunavut including Kitikmeot (Central), Kivalliq (Keewatin), and Qikiqtaaluk (Baffin), as well as Nunavik (northern Quebec) and Labrador. Several Inuit history and culture specialists were also invited, as well as a small number of southern archaeologists. Jack Anawak, Member of Parliament for Nunatsiaq, also attended.

Participants at the *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference on Inuit Archaeology, February, 1994.

INFORMATION EXCHANGE

Seven papers focusing on local heritage projects were presented by Inuit cultural specialists and archaeologists:

- Tommy Weetaluktuk presented a paper on his relative the late "Daniel Weetaluktuk," the first Inuk archaeologist, and his contributions to Arctic Archaeology;
- Luke Suluk focused on the "Arviat Historical Society," its objectives, and the projects that it has undertaken;
- Deborah Kigjugalik Webster talked about "The Piqqiq Research Project," an archaeological and oral history research project conducted at a caribou crossing on the Kazan River, near Baker Lake, Northwest Territories;
- "Archaeology and Labrador Inuit," by Gary Baikie, dealt with the unauthorized collection of artifacts and human remains in Labrador;
- Susan Rowley explained "The Ataguttaaluk Field School," an archaeology course for high school students in Igloolik;
- Paul Antone provided information on "The Access to Archaeology Program;" and lastly,
- Bjarne Gronnow discussed "Museums and Archaeology in Greenland" and how the importance and visibility of archaeology and ethnology has increased significantly since the beginning of Home Rule in 1979.

The opinions expressed by conference participants reflected the experiences of people of different ages from different regions. For example, elders from Labrador felt that archaeology is harmful as it disturbs sites best left alone, and that it should be stopped entirely. Others, including elders and young people who had been involved in archaeology, felt that it can be useful to Inuit if it is done properly. A young Inuvialuk said that so much Inuit language and culture has been lost in the Western Arctic that the information gained from archaeology has become essential if young people are to learn about their history (see Riddle, cited in Syms, this volume, Ch. 4). A young person from the Keewatin said his ambition is to become an archaeologist.

As delegates learned more about each other's experiences over the course of the conference, it became clear that Inuit can benefit from archaeology when they participate in it and have control over how it is practised in their land. Young people learn new skills and gain deeper understanding of their own culture; elders have the satisfaction of passing their knowledge on to young people; and when the results of the research are shared with the people of the local community, they have the opportunity to learn more about their own history. When the community works in partnership with archaeologists on a project from beginning to end and Inuit expertise is used, the quality of the archaeological research improves. This benefits everyone.

Discussions were tape-recorded, with the tapes now housed in the Northwest Territories Archives. A report on the proceedings of the conference was prepared by John Bennett (1994) and was made available for participants in *Inuktitut* syllabics, Roman orthography, and English. Financial assistance for the production of the report was provided by Parks Canada. The Igloolik community supported the conference wholeheartedly. Mayor Louis Tapardjuk took charge of organizing accommodation (local boarding) and evening entertainment, including a community dance. The conference was open to the public, and many local people attended. At Ataguttaaluk School, students who had participated in the annual archaeology field school at Igloolik set up a display of artifacts and photographs of the summer course, which teaches young people practical archaeology skills and involves elders in the interpretation of artifacts. The Inullariit Society, the Igloolik elders' group, took particular interest and held a special meeting with the guest elders.

GUIDELINES

Conference delegates produced a list of guidelines and recommendations on how Inuit would like to see archaeological projects being conducted. An unedited version follows:

1. There should be more control by Inuit throughout all stages of archaeological projects in

the Inuit homeland;

2. Archaeology permits should be approved by the appropriate regional Inuit organization and the community;

3a. Archaeologists should involve local people in the projects. Priority should be given to those people whose ancestors are being studied. Traditional knowledge is crucial to the understanding of Inuit history; archaeologists should thus involve elders by asking them about features and artifacts, and their locations;

3b. People from the community should be invited to visit the site, and should be made welcome there;

4. Consultation with the local council, with the community, and with any other appropriate cultural group, is required;

5. In determining where to set up camp, archaeologists should follow the traditional customs of Inuit;

6a. Archaeologists should not disturb graves, human skeletal remains, or objects associated with them: these were meant to rest where they were placed. If a grave is found, the archaeologist should record it and report it to the community. It should not be disturbed unless the archaeologist receives direction to do so from the community;

6b. Archaeologists should not disturb sacred sites or objects associated with them;

7. The nearest community should be consulted about archaeological sites that are being destroyed by natural or human causes. The community should then decide if nature should take its course, or if the feature should be saved. If it is saved, the objects should be returned to a place close to the original location;

8. Historic or recent artifacts and sites should be treated with the same respect as older sites and artifacts;

9. Archaeologists should obtain permission from the community about collection and removal of artifacts;

10. It is recommended that casts of artifacts obtained by excavation be made and left in the community. Not all artifacts should be removed; some should be left behind;

11. An archaeological site should be returned to its original state as much as possible after excavation;

12. Reports should be translated into *Inuktitut*. Elders should be given credit in reports for information that they have passed on to the archaeologist;

13. Archaeologists should share their information with the community. There should be a follow-through after the project;

14. Both archaeologists and Native communities should refer to the World Archaeological Congress Code of Ethics and Human Remains Section for additional guidelines

RECOMMENDATIONS

Along with the drafting of the specific guidelines relating to archaeology, conference partici-patants also discussed the larger context of archaeological investigations and Aboriginal con-cerns. The result of these discussions was the following recommendations:

1. Historical societies should be formed in each community. Such societies should have input into the regional museums, the collection of oral histories, and the overseeing archaeological projects in their areas;

2. Regional and community museums are needed;

3. There should be a mechanism, such as site stewards or guides, by which local people can monitor heritage sites and ensure that artifacts are not taken. Rules for the protection of archaeological sites should be enforced;

4. There should be more information (e.g., pamphlets, posters, radio and television programs) about archaeological sites and regulations to improve public awareness. This will help in the protection of artifacts and sites;

5. Archaeological courses should be part of education. It is recommended that Arctic College have an archaeological department;

6. Municipalities should conduct archaeological surveys to make an inventory of sites in the area so that they will not be disturbed by development; and
7. Concerns relating to the repatriation and reburial of skeletal remains should be addressed.

CONCLUSIONS

With the successful settlement of land claims, Inuit are guaranteed that archaeology projects in the Arctic will directly involve and benefit Inuit (see Andrews et al., Ch. 18). The Inuit Heritage Trust, Inc., for instance, is responsible for reviewing archaeological permits for the Nunavut Settlement Area.

The *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference was an historic event in that the work done by Inuit archaeologists, elders, and the Inuit heritage specialists who have played a significant role in Arctic archaeology were officially acknowledged. The *Ittarnisalirijiit Katimajiit* Organizing Committee attained their goal. While a future conference of the same kind is not planned at this time, the Inuit will continue to voice their opinions about archaeology projects in their homeland.

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19 Archaeology and the *Sechelt Indian Self-Government Act*

Eldon Yellowhorn

WHEREAS Parliament and the government of Canada are committed to enabling Indian bands that wish to exercise self-government on lands set apart for those bands to do so;

AND WHEREAS the members of the *Indian Act* Sechelt band, in a referendum held March 15, 1986, approved of

(a) the enactment of legislation substantially as set out in this Act for the purpose of enabling the Sechelt Band to exercise self-government over its lands, and

(b) the transfer by Her Majesty in right of Canada to the Sechelt Indian Band of fee simple title in all Sechelt reserve lands, recognizing that the Sechelt Indian Band would assume complete responsibility in accordance with this Act for the management, administration and control of all Sechelt lands;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the *Sechelt Indian Self-Government Act*.

Preamble, Bill C-93, An Act relating to Self-Government for the Sechelt Indian Band

For the Sechelt people of British Columbia, the long search for justice in the modern Canadian federation received renewed impetus from the overhaul of the *Indian Act* in 1951. Although some of the more blatantly discriminatory sections of the Act were removed at that time, it continued to be viewed as an imperfect document that only served to inspire disaffection with the *status quo*. Tired of the paternalistic rule emanating from Ottawa during the 1970s, the Sechelt began to pursue amendments that would secure greater control of Indian lands for the local council. In 1986, the Sechelt leadership finally achieved a model of self-government that is as advanced as an Indian band can be under present legislation in Canada. Bill C-93 (an act relating to self-government of the Sechelt Indian Band) came into existence to fulfill the desire for local control over lands and resources. The net effect of this legislation was to enable the Sechelt Band to "exercise and maintain self-government on Sechelt lands and to obtain control over the administration of the resources and services available to its members" (Sechelt Indian Band 1986).

At the time of negotiations, heritage sites and archaeological concerns were not on the Sechelt agenda, hence issues of stewardship, control, and protection remain ambiguous. The main objective of this article is to examine this "silence" in the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act* (see Table 1) and perhaps to arrive at some point for interpreting the relevant sections in such a way as to include the above-mentioned issues. I would argue that the lack of any explicit mention of heritage-related matters in the act should not be regarded as an impediment. Indeed, one need only apply liberal interpretations to existing clauses when necessary to demonstrate their plasticity. Such concerns as impact assessment, cultural resource management, and heritage preservation are well within the meaning and intent of this statute. I examine this Act from this perspective, and explore several possible routes of action that may prove helpful to the goals of heritage management.

THE SECHELT IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Sechelt, along with the Homalco, Klahoose, Sliammon, Comox, and Pentlatch, comprise the Northern Coast Salish culture group that occupied land on both sides of Georgia Strait on the south coast British Columbia. They are part of the large Salishan language family that extends along the coast and into the interior of British Columbia (McMillan 1995). The traditional land of the Sechelt Indians is centered on Jervis Inlet, and encompasses the watershed that drains from the enclosing mountains. In historical times, they maintained 17 villages along the coast and the inlet, with the principal villages at the head of the inland arms. Coastal groups were on the frontier and could retreat towards the inlets in the case of hostile raids. The main villages were strategically located for trade with such interior tribes as the Squamish. The waterways of the coast and inlets served as a transportation corridor that linked the villages with each other and neighbouring groups. Today, two villages at Trail Bay and Porpoise Bay house the majority of band members.

The ancestral culture of the Sechelt was maritime adapted and looked to the waters of the inlet, and those of Georgia Strait, for sustenance. The productive marine fishery provided them with salmon and other fish, along with shellfish and kelp. Small fishing stations were maintained at the mouth of every stream to intercept spawning salmon. Much of their technology, including gill nets, hooks, and harpoons, was produced specifically for the exploitation of the fishery and of sea mammals. They also used weirs and traps to procure fish, and collected shellfish on the tidal flats. From the forests they procured wood for houses, totem poles, and canoes; bark for baskets, cloth, and rope; and edible plants, berries, and roots. They also hunted for ungulates such as deer and mountain goats using bows and arrows, snares, and traps. The hides of these mammals were used in making clothing and the meat was roasted or dried for consumption. Birds were hunted for food, and the feathers used in decorating clothing (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990).

Post-Contact Political Changes

In pre-contact times, the independent Sechelt polity controlled all activity on their land and maintained relations with neighbouring groups through trade, marriage, and warfare. The first truly foreign contact occurred in 1792 when Captain George Vancouver sailed into the Strait of Georgia. This event marked the beginning of their gradual incorporation into a much larger world, a change that would ultimately transform virtually every facet of their cultural traditions.

At first, contact was episodic since the maritime fur trade followed a standard pattern in which individual ships would sail into the strait and trading would commence. Within a few years, however, this pattern changed significantly. When Simon Fraser floated down the Fraser River in 1808, the land-based fur trade was just expanding to the coast where it would soon become a permanent presence. Shortly thereafter, Fort Langley was established as a centre for commercial activity and soon after as a civil community. By 1849, the Hudson's Bay Company not only had another colony on Vancouver Island, but was actively trading with the local Indians. The non-Indian population on the island and adjacent mainland was sufficiently large enough in 1858 that it was promoted to the status of a Crown colony.

By the time British Columbia joined the Canadian federation in 1871, the balance of power had definitely tilted away from the Indians to the extent that the "terms of union" assigned responsibility for Indians to the Dominion government. The first *Indian Act* was passed in 1876, by which time both federal and provincial levels of government felt able to limit the activities of the Indians. Without negotiating treaties to extinguish Aboriginal title, the federal government had lands surveyed and then reserved for the use and benefit of the Indians. In this manner, the Sechelt and other reserves came into existence. Thus, the Indians in the province increasingly became spectators to the politics that were affecting their lives (Hawthorn et al. 1958).

The work of the Reserve Commission was slow and fraught with obstacles as the two levels of government negotiated for land. At the turn of the twentieth century, the commission had dwindled to one member; in 1910, the Office of the Reserve Commissioner was abolished. The federal government continued to manifest its responsibility for Indians through paternalistic policies that severely limited their ability to act on their own behalf. Indeed, when the Indians pressed their claims for compensation for loss of land, the *Indian Act* was amended in 1927 to make it illegal for them to raise funds or hire lawyers to advance their cases. This particularly discriminatory section was not removed until 1951 and land claims were not considered until 1973 when the

Calder case rehabilitated the doctrine of Aboriginal title (Brizinski 1993). Thereafter, the federal government became more amenable to changes that extended greater control of Indian lands to the band.

Prior to European contact, the land, sea, and forest nurtured Sechelt culture and fostered their identity as a distinct community. Although the ancestral Sechelt participated in the ancient traditions that existed along the west coast, the contemporary Sechelt have not been stranded in that past. While the conditions that supported their former autonomy have changed radically in the last century, today they are confronting the challenges of living in the middle of an alien polity that has grown around them. Working under the constraints imposed by an obstinate government and an indifferent society, they follow a course that they hope is leading them back to their independence.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE SECHELT INDIAN BAND

For the Sechelt, the mechanics of self-government began by approaching the federal government and requesting a new deal, one that would require either amendments to the *Indian Act* or companion legislation. The request was neither unusual nor unprecedented as the government of the day had already created statutes for groups like the Cree/Naskapi of northern Quebec and such legislation as the *Indian Self-Government Act* (Bartlett 1990). Therefore, when the Government of Canada in the first session of the thirty-third Parliament (Elizabeth II) gave approval to Bill C-93, an act relating to the self-government of the Sechelt Indian Band, it was not working in a legislative vacuum. The ultimate effect of the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act* (1986) was to transfer title of Sechelt lands to the Sechelt Indian Band and remove them from the constraints of the *Indian Act*. The *Sechelt Act* must, however, be understood within the context of the *Indian Act*.

Ultimately, the *Indian Act* is an administrative document that describes the powers of the federal government over its Indian wards. The complex implement that exempts the Sechelt from the *Indian Act* is found in Section 60, which authorizes the Governor in Council to delegate administration of Indian lands to any band that requests it; this same section also declares the power to revoke that order. Application of the *Indian Act* is expressed in the wording of Sections 35 and 36 of the *Sechelt Act* (Table 1). Further, the powers conferred on the Sechelt are limited as Section 37 stipulates that the statutes of Canada are applicable to the band, its members, and their lands, while Section 38 affirms that provincial statutes also apply unless they are inconsistent with the terms of any treaty. There is a provision in Section 3 that clarifies the position of the band in regard to treaty and Aboriginal rights, i.e., the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act* will not negate any such rights obtained under Section 35 of the *Constitution Act* (1982). These limitations led Bartlett (1990: 164) to conclude that self-government is not an accurate description; rather, the "regime is more properly termed self-management and community government."

Bringing the full intent of the act to fruition was not simply a dialogue between the Canadian government and the Sechelt. Without the cooperation of the province of British Columbia, this experiment would not have succeeded; in 1987, in the first session of the thirty-fourth parliament, the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia gave royal assent to Bill 4, the *Sechelt Indian Government District Enabling Act*. It stops short of conferring legislative power on the band; instead its main function enables the provincial government to "extend municipal benefits to the Sechelt Indian Government District, and to provide assistance where the District desires to provide municipal type services." By mutual consent, this particular legislative creature will be repealed in the year AD 2006 unless the provincial and Sechelt governments agree to extend it. In this way, both provincial and federal governments recognize the powers of this local Indian government.

The Sechelt Band thus proceeded to autonomy by directing the Governor in Council to expand their interest by replacing the *Indian Act* with an act that was more responsive to their needs. As directed in the self-government act, the band developed a constitution that was, in due course, ratified by the members and brought into effect. The *Sechelt Act* addressed such issues as the type of government, band elections, membership, and disposition of land.

Although the transfer of title of Sechelt land to the band in the *Sechelt Act* is subject to pro-

vincial interest (Bartlett 1990), it is seen as sufficient to allow the band to act in its own interest and to influence decisions affecting band lands. The status of their land title is based on *fee simple ownership*, which Etkin (1988: 77) describes as "The most common type of estate in land...[it] is the type of ownership most Canadians understand. Under this type of ownership, land can be bought, sold, used as collateral, mortgaged, transferred and inherited." However, title is not conferred on individual band members; rather the band holds the land in trust for its members. This does not mean unilateral action can empower the band council, which represents the band, to alienate Sechelt land, for there are safeguards that act to prevent loss of land. Matters pertaining to the use, occupation, and leasing of Sechelt lands are detailed in the *Sechelt Act*; accordingly, the band may exercise its rights through the band council. Although the band has the power to dispose of land, it must be with the consent of at least 75 percent of eligible voters, as stipulated in their constitution.

The preceding discussion chronicles part of the convoluted pathway that one First Nation traveled to arrive at a point where it could manage its own affairs. The result is a model of self-government that required the action of both the federal and provincial governments to enable this legislation, plus that of the Sechelt band to create a constitution, before it came into effect. While the final products—the *Sechelt Act* and the Sechelt Band Constitution—may be imperfect, they represent the backdrop against which attempts to create heritage protection will operate. As found in any new government, policies are developed through the process of exercising its power, and evolve through experience and precedents. The absence of extant by-laws therefore does not indicate an absence of concern. Instead, the exercise of power by a responsible government at Sechelt to decide on policy issues and, more specifically, to declare heritage protection measures are all viable options within their present constitution.

MANAGING THE CULTURAL LEGACY OF SECHELT

How does heritage protection work under the Sechelt Act, as, for example, when a site of exceptional value is discovered? A comprehensive, long-term management policy has yet to emerge within the present regime. Nonetheless, the mechanics for engaging aspects of the act to make heritage management possible merit special attention; a timely review of pertinent sections is thus in order.

Although a number of sites has been recorded on Sechelt lands, and these are a matter of public record, the Sechelt have yet to designate any as eligible for heritage management. Their embryonic efforts have established a modest museum, however, that serves as a repository for antiquities incidentally collected by residents. Beyond this, the extent to which archaeological material can be embraced by this act is conditional upon the interpretation those sections of the Act that define the legislative powers of the council. In Section 14, for example,

14(1) The Council has, to the extent that it is authorized by the constitution of the Band to do so, the power to make laws in relation to matters coming within any of the following classes of matters:
  (b) zoning and land use planning in respect of Sechelt lands;
  (c) expropriation, for community purposes, of interests in Sechelt lands by the Band;...
  (f) the administration and management of property belonging to the Band;
  (j) the preservation and management of natural resources on Sechelt lands;...

Although heritage is not explicitly mentioned here, there is enough latitude to interpret its various subsections to include it. Furthermore, Section 6 states that the Sechelt Band "is a legal entity and has, subject to this act, the capacity, rights, powers and privileges of a natural person..." In addition, it allows the band council to "do such other things as are conducive to the exercise of its rights, powers and privileges." Therefore, acting as a "natural person," the Sechelt band, as represented by the council, can exercise its various rights on Sechelt land, including overseeing work conducted by archaeologists (Taylor and Paget 1988).

In the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act*, title to Sechelt land is vested in the band, in

trust for its members, and the council acts as the manager, making decisions over land use. Under such an arrangement, designating sites as special areas becomes an issue with local solutions since the council has power over zoning and planning. The act also contains a clause for expropriating band land for community purposes. Presumably this would mean that there are no constraints on designating parcels of land for parks, where heritage or archaeological themes are promoted. As a general rule, public parks on Indian reserves are a rarity, but they do exist; for example, the Kamloops Indian Band maintains a heritage theme park where an archaeological site and reconstructed traditional pit-houses are open to the public (see Nicholas, Ch. 6). Thus, if the Sechelt desired to set aside, or restrict development in, an area so as to display examples of their historic or prehistoric cultural traditions, it would fall within the intent of this clause.

Inevitably, archaeological sites are tied to land issues, and these necessitate a clearly defined land-related policy. The management of artifacts is more problematic since they tend to be portable and thus removable from their original provenience or indeed from Sechelt land. Again, this issue was not anticipated in the wording of the *Sechelt Act*, but this does not preclude the band council controlling artifacts discovered on their lands. There are precedents for treating artifacts either as property or natural resources, two options that may be equally applicable and immediately recognizable to professional archaeologists. Since the council has control over the administration and management of property, *and* the preservation and management of natural resources, the Sechelt Chief and Council thus have two approaches to choose between; they can treat portable artifacts as *property* or they can incorporate antiquities under the umbrella topic of *natural resources*. Either approach would place control of artifacts within the jurisdiction of the council's authority, although there are different implications for each, as discussed below.

Archaeology and the Property Clause

The interpretation of archaeological material as *property* would be a strong statement of legislative control. In the *Sechelt Indian Band Constitution* (Sechelt Indian Band 1986: 48), Section 6, which deals with laws, contains the statement that the leadership "shall have the right to make fair and reasonable laws with respect to the control and management of property belonging to the Band." Although *property* is not defined, the term is broad enough to include cultural material; in addition, in the vocabulary of the archaeological and legal disciplines, the phrase *cultural property* has specific connotations (Burke 1990). It defines the products of different traditions and speaks not only to the spiritual achievements of past societies, but to those contemporary people who may ally their cultural identity with those products. Even the Canadian government employed that term when creating the *Cultural Property Import and Export Act*. Therefore, it is not stretching the imagination to apply it in this instance.

Given that both the *Sechelt Act* and the *Sechelt Band Constitution* acknowledge the right of the Sechelt to assume responsibility for property, the council subsequently becomes trustees for cultural property, which is analogous to the role the British Columbia government adopts with respect to archaeological sites on provincial Crown lands. Since this class of property is unique, and inalienable by band members, curating it merely expands the extant duty of the council. In other federal institutions, like Parks Canada, individual departments routinely exercise responsibility for archaeological materials within the ambit of their legislation. The absence of federal legislation assigning responsibility over cultural property on Indian lands should therefore not be viewed as a constraint.

Another consideration regarding portable cultural property is the ease with which it can be removed from its original provenience, an incalculable loss if not done properly owing to the loss of valuable data that might be gained from its context. While archaeologists are trained to record such information, illicit collectors are not so conscientious and may deliberately seek out artifacts for collecting or trafficking. In response, the council may make laws restricting illicit collecting, contravention of which can result in penalties as described in Section 14(2):

> A law made in respect of the class of matters set out in paragraph (1)(p) may specify a maximum fine or a maximum term of imprisonment or both, but the maximum fine may not exceed two thousand dollars and the maximum term of imprisonment may not exceed six months.

Furthermore, if the council decides to sanction archaeological research, they can develop and control a permitting system as indicated in Section 14(4):

> A law made by the Council may require the holding of a license or permit and may provide for the issuance thereof and fees therefor.

Archaeology as a Natural Resource

The alternative scenario—of antiquities as a *natural resource*, not property—is consistent with the definition adopted by the British Columbia government, whereby archaeological material falls within the aegis of Section 109 of the *British North America Act of 1867*, which acknowledges provincial title to "Lands, Mines, Minerals and Royalties." As Spurling (1986: 90) relates, "archaeological properties were equivalent to timber, fisheries and other provincial resources... Archaeological sites and objects no longer were strictly viewed as objects of purely scientific or antiquarian interest. Rather they began to be considered as common property resources... Obviously this view was owed to the B.C. legislation which treated archaeological sites more or less the same as other natural provincial assets." My consideration here relates to the interaction between the archaeological community and the Indian's heritage.

Spurling (1986: 89), in describing the proceedings of the Western Canadian Archaeological Council meeting hosted by the Glenbow Foundation in Calgary in 1960, states that a "significant outcome of this meeting was the explicit acknowledgment of archaeological sites and objects as *resources*" (original emphasis). This was the first phase in the process of incorporating culture into a resource dependent economy. As a result, provincial jurisdiction over these "cultural resources" became the unchallenged opinion.

Trepidations about the cultural resources approach in archaeology flow from the poor record of resource management in North America since the advent of recorded history. During that time, resource management has come to mean exploitation and harvesting. While this approach may conceivably work for timber plots, it is a dangerous model to follow for *non-renewable* "resources," given both demonstrated the short-sighted goals of professional resource managers and the fact that archaeological sites are finite. Indeed, the historic record provides us with too many examples of extinctions caused by indifferent attitudes toward natural resources. If there are any lessons to be learned, the main one is the need for a more sympathetic model of resource management when applied to antiquities.

Indeed, there are instances this century where Indians utilized their culture as an economic resource, thereby liquidating the inherent value of medicine bundles and other objects of culture (Stepney and Goa 1990). Private collectors, museums, and other such institutions were the main beneficiary of this traffic. This practice has had a disastrous impact on tribal patrimony, which the current generation is still trying to undo. Benefiting from hindsight, the present generation of Indians should ensure that they leave a better legacy of dealing with their inalienable cultural property. A starting point would be to reassess the merits of regarding antiquities as equivalent to natural resources and to consider other options.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE CONTEMPORARY SECHELT COMMUNITY

In their claim to the Jervis Inlet watershed, the Sechelt have acknowledged provincial interests, yet they are also aware of their own rights to a share of the region's resources, and a voice in matters relating to their disposition. Therefore, the Sechelt must determine their policies relating to the survey and excavation of archaeological sites, and to the curation of archaeological material, including human remains. The band must clearly articulate their position on such related issues as informed consent, access to sites, and an archaeological permit system, if so desired. They must also implement such a policy with haste so as to avoid unnecessary encumbrances for managers working in the region *and* to insure that Sechelt interests are protected.

There is no need to reinvent heritage management. A variety of precedents exists where

viable programs have been developed that can serve as models. For example, the Navajo Nation has perhaps the most advanced heritage management scheme under the control of a tribal administration. The initiatives for such management must come from the local community, however, if there is to be any support from the membership. The community must feel comfortable with the decision-making apparatus, which should be responsive to the needs of that community. Guidelines can be implemented only if there is a continuous dialogue with the citizens to avoid the appearance of dictatorial laws. There also must be an awareness of heritage management as an *on-going* responsibility, of which an impact assessment process is part. And a tribal heritage trust must be created to direct the mandate of the tribal government's policy on antiquities. These are some of the elements that will inevitably influence the reclamation of tribal patrimony.

Managing the cultural legacy of Sechelt lands is the responsibility of the leadership who must apply unambiguous language in a comprehensive by-law with the assigned task of protecting antiquities. In doing so, they will be defining or at least influencing the relationship their citizens will have with their heritage, hence those by-laws must reflect their cultural values. The by-law mechanics can be framed within the legal context of the *Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act*, which it has already been demonstrated can be construed to provide for impact assessments and protection of historic sites and buildings. Therefore, it is well within the powers of the council to make such by-laws, which would have the full weight of federal law once approved. Any prescribed penalties would then be enforceable.

Sole responsibility for curation, using explicit terms to remove any potential conflicts, can be declared by the Sechelt Chief and Council, which is already in a position of trust, to formalize their role in managing antiquities on behalf of band membership. At the same time, encouraging membership compliance with regulations would place the onus on the leadership both to designate antiquities as a common heritage and ensure that immovable artifacts are properly managed. Creating a registry with the intent of maintaining records of site location and updating it at regular intervals would facilitate heritage site administration and protection. It would be available as a public reference for researchers, archaeologists, or managers involved with terrain-altering activities. Registering heritage sites and protecting them from damage does not actually prevent vandalism; sites are only truly protected when people do not want to damage them. To this end, educating members about the merits of preserving the integrity of archaeological sites could be incorporated into school curricula.

Finally, the band should consider itself to be the representative of all anonymous, deceased persons buried on Sechelt lands and their traditional lands. As a standard practice, the band should avoid disinterment to respect the "final" resting place; if it is unavoidable, a policy of reburial should be persuaded. If the excavation takes place in traditional lands, then human remains should be brought to Sechelt for reburial. This procedure would reflect the Sechelt's particular spiritual concepts, with local support for reburial being a function of their reverence for the deceased. Applications could be entertained that propose to subject human remains to scientific examination, although it would have to be demonstrated that the research would be non-destructive and the results made available to the community. The duration of dislocation also should be limited, with the individual reinterred as soon as possible.

Regardless of the definitions and interpretations identified in the *Sechelt Act*, it should be noted that it is conditional when applied to heritage matters. The current regime has not attempted any archaeological inventory, although many sites have been recorded previously on traditional Sechelt lands by the provincial heritage branch. The nature of the terrain, being both heavily forested and mountainous, has restricted accessibility to much of the interior. Many sites are expected, based on archaeological models and traditional knowledge; for example, Sechelt Chief Thomas Paul (pers. comm., 1992) indicates that prehistoric Indian trails facilitating trade between Jervis Inlet and the Whistler/Squamish region are still known locally.

Excluding heritage issues from the *Sechelt Act* did not mean there was an absence of interest in them. Rather, with so many pressing concerns on the agenda, it was inevitable that some matters would be overlooked. When the act was passed in 1986, archaeology was not high in the public mind. In the intervening years that has changed, and Sechelt interests in these matters must now be heard and considered. This is especially so given current land claims, since the possibility exists that the Sechelt will, at some point, exercise control over a larger portion of the land surrounding Jervis Inlet. The extent to which archaeology is integrated into Sechelt affairs will even-

tually depend on band support and the political will of the leadership. But that, in turn, depends on how archaeologists are prepared to define their discipline and their relations with Native people in the future. Efforts must be made by the Sechelt and archaeologists to find some common ground and to encourage acceptance of archaeological methods as a valid means of exploring the Aboriginal occupation of the inlet without alienating Sechelt traditions. Related events in northern Canada indicate that any land claim agreements negotiated must recognize Native desires to be consulted on heritage matters.

At approximately the same time that the Sechelt were negotiating their agreement, the Inuvialuit of the western Arctic were completing their own agreement with the federal government (Government of Canada 1984). Conspicuously absent in the Inuvialuit Final Agreement is any mention of archaeology or heritage issues. Their absence in both documents appears to be the result of the then-prevailing political climate rather than deliberate omission. Subsequent agreements in the North all contain provisions for dealing with heritage in general and archaeology specifically, as discussed below.

NORTHERN DEVELOPMENTS

Political developments in the North may portend the direction in which land claims in British Columbia will evolve. To date, the major accomplishments of the 1990s have been the signing of two major agreements between Native and federal governments, one in the Yukon with the fourteen First Nations represented by the Council for Yukon Indians (Government of Canada 1993a), the other in the Northwest Territories with the Inuit of the eastern Arctic (Government of Canada 1993b). Both groups have agreed to settle with the federal and territorial governments outstanding claims that will fundamentally change the map of northern Canada. This is particularly true where the Inuit are concerned as their agreement will create in 1999 a new territory called Nunavut. The nature of these agreements is such that they will not be creating reserve lands for the Native people; rather, these will be lands directly controlled by the Natives, with certain rights applicable to activities conducted in their traditional territories. As with the *Sechelt Act*, this new arrangement will remove the affected groups from the confines of the *Indian Act*. A final indication of the evolution of interest in heritage and archaeology is the inclusion of articles that specifically mention the manner in which these groups shall interact with sites, artifacts, and professional archaeologists.

The Yukon Land-Claims Agreement

The Council for Yukon Indians began negotiations in the mid-1970s for a comprehensive land claim agreement that would cover the entire Yukon, and which takes into account the fact that the First Nations comprise a significant minority of the population there. The umbrella agreement carries no legal obligations since it only sets out the broad structure that would apply to all fourteen Native groups. The agreement worked out by each group includes provisions specific to their concerns; for example, one group might place the emphasis on harvesting salmon, while a neighbouring group would be more concerned with harvesting caribou and other wildlife. The parties involved have agreed on boundaries for their traditional territories; where overlaps occurred, disputes could be referred to a tribunal.

Within their traditional territories, two types of land status are identified—Settlement "A" or Settlement "B" lands, with certain rights and privileges associated with each. On Settlement "A" lands, the affected First Nation might have subsurface rights, while they would have surface rights only on Settlement "B" lands. They could establish a community on Settlement "A" land, but only have timber harvesting rights on Settlement "B" land. Some issues, like heritage, are not so easily confined to boundaries drawn on a map and must be given special consideration.

One chapter in the umbrella agreement is devoted to heritage and sets out a comprehensive framework for the treatment of antiquities, heritage sites, human remains, heritage trails, archival documents, and the cultural landscape. A point of interest is their adoption of the resource model of heritage management, at least in the wording of the text. The objectives for heritage are to promote public awareness, appreciation, and understanding of culture and heritage in the Yukon; to promote the traditional cultural knowledge of Yukon Indians; to involve First Nations in the man-

agement of heritage resources; to promote protection and conservation; to facilitate public access and research; to apply assessment processes to planning and development; and to recog-nize the cultural landscape of Yukon Indians. Ownership and management of heritage resources in their settlement lands will rest with the First Nations. Priority in allocation of government programs shall be given to developing heritage resources of Yukon Indians until there is an equitable distri-bution. Government agencies will also assist Yukon Indians to develop programs, consult the First Nations in formulating policy and legislation, and facilitate preparation of an inventory of moveable heritage resources. A Yukon Heritage Resources Board will be created, comprised of ten members, five nominated by Government and five by the Council for Yukon Indians. It will operate in the public interest and make recommendations to the Minister over a broad range of topics related to heritage resources. Research conducted in the Yukon will include a report that will be made available to the affected First Nation, but recognizing the sensitive nature of some information, this may be restricted from general release. Heritage sites in the traditional territory of a First Nation will be the subject to ownership and management between the Government and the affected First Nation; the parties will institute a permit system for research at any site that may contain moveable heritage resources, and access to any site may be limited. Burials will be given special protection to preserve their dignity and will be the responsibility of the First Nation in whose traditional territory they rest. Under the supervision of the First Nation, exhumation will be allowed if it is as a result of some other activity, and scientific examination and reburial will be at the discretion of the affected First Nation. Finally, the naming of geographical features in any traditional territory will apply Native names to recognize the cultural landscape of Yukon Indians.

The Northwest Territories Land Claims Agreement
    The other settlement that may serve as a model concerns the Inuit of the Northwest Territor-ies who have accepted an agreement in the eastern region, known as the Nunavut Settlement area. There are parallels with the Yukon agreement, but, significantly, the Inuit are still the majority population in the eastern Arctic and they consist of one homogeneous culture. The new territory will not be a large Inuit reserve; instead, it will be similar in nature and function to existing poli-ties. There will be a territorial government with elected members who will act on behalf of the total population. Within the territory, however, there will be Inuit Owned Lands that will be the exclusive domain of the Inuit. They will be able to exercise control over surface and subsurface resources on these lands, while in the larger region they will be able to exercise only surface rights. There are no overlapping traditional territories, hence no competing claims within the ter-ritory.
    Shifting to topics of heritage, the general principles of the Inuit settlement acknowledge that the archaeological record reflects "Inuit use and occupancy of lands and resources through time," and is of "spiritual, cultural, religious and educational importance" to them. Of interest is the fact that the Inuit are opting for a model that does not apply the language of resource management to heritage; instead, it is a cultural legacy that has spiritual significance. The agreement commits both the Government and Inuit to share responsibility for management and conservation, and to establish facilities within the territory. Inuit will have special rights and interests in certain areas because of their spiritual, cultural and religious importance. They will participate in developing policy and legislation on archaeology, and an Inuit Heritage Trust (IHT) will be created that will assume responsibility over archaeology. A permitting system will be established in legislation to protect archaeological sites; the respective government agencies and the IHT will share owner-ship of all archaeological specimens found in the settlement area; and archaeological specimens will remain in the north, with the IHT able to recall specimens curated by other federal and terri-torial agencies. Toponomy will also become a part of the mandate of the IHT, which will review place names within the settlement area to reflect the cultural landscape of the Inuit people.
    The Yukon Umbrella Final Agreement and the Nunavut Final Agreement both contain arti-cles addressing the very topics that are usually the concern of archaeologists. If these documents are used as templates for settling land claims in British Columbia, then, in all likelihood, similar structures will be embedded in a Sechelt agreement. These examples also indicate that the Sechelt will have to accept greater responsibilities where heritage management is concerned. Thus, the creation of heritage by-laws by the band council will not be a frivolous exercise in complicating

matters for themselves and archaeologists. Instead, this situation represents an opportunity for the band council to exercise its authority in this sphere, since doing so will give them a clearer idea of what exists within their current boundaries, and what they can expect to encounter over any new lands that come under their control. This could be accomplished through such activities as impact assessments, site inventories, and traditional use surveys.

CONCLUSIONS

The Sechelt negotiated a form of self-government that removed them from the constraints of the *Indian Act*. Subsequently they began to act on their own behalf in areas of land and resource management. When the *Sechelt Act* came into being, archaeology was not on the public agenda; this has changed in the intervening years. Although heritage is not specifically mentioned in the *Sechelt Act*, it should not be viewed as an obstacle. Even if the act is silent on that issue, it is certainly possible to interpret existing clauses so as to address heritage and archaeology matters. The act also has significance when future events are considered because the Sechelt are now in the process of negotiating a land claim over their traditional territory; in all likelihood, any imperfections of earlier negotiations will rectified during this process. This has implications for archaeology since heritage issues are now on the public agenda and will be addressed, particularly now that the Sechelt are cognizant of agreements between governments and Aboriginal people in northern Canada. In addition, both the Yukon and Nunavut agreements will probably serve as prototypes for future settlements in British Columbia, especially those provisions that deal with archaeology. In any event, archaeologists will see more, not less, Native involvement in future archaeological management and research.

In the political realm, decolonization begins with recognizing indigenous governing systems as responsible entities that are capable of assuming independence (MacDonald 1990). Autonomy proceeds with the local population establishing its own agencies of government along with a social code that expresses the basic order. Internal affairs then become the responsibility of the regime, hopefully with the support of its constituents. Accepting that logic indicates that the Sechelt, like other Native people, have a certain obligation to assess their role in this process. They must demonstrate responsibility for tribal patrimony by defining their position on heritage matters and articulating their own system of management. This would be in keeping with the principles of self-determination and would reinforce the Sechelt role in defining Aboriginal government.

The first stage in reclaiming their past can start by providing archaeological cultures and sites with Sechelt tribal names. This would impress on students of archaeology that the objects of research are perceived as part of the ancestral heritage of contemporary Native peoples. Like other Native people, they will also have to grapple with the fact that cultures do change and that antiquity tends to obscure cultural identities (see Trigger, Foreword). Sites will be found that represent ancient times, and may not have historical or cultural analogs. Ancillary issues, although not trivial ones, will revolve around ownership and stewardship of such antiquities. Understanding them may require defining Aboriginal archaeology in terms that do not isolate the past as a purely antiquarian pursuit. It may become necessary to create a formula to ensure that research contributes to the immediate well-being of the community and the extant culture.

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Table 1: Selected Sections of The Sechelt Indian Band Self-Government Act (1986)

The House of Commons of Canada: 1st Session, 33rd Parliament, 33-34-35 Elizabeth II, 1984-85-86

Bill C-93, An Act relating to self-government for the Sechelt Indian Band

Preamble: WHEREAS Parliament and the government of Canada are committed to enabling Indian bands that wish to exercise self-government on lands set apart for those bands to do so;

AND WHEREAS the members of the *Indian Act* Sechelt band, in a referendum held March 15, 1986, approved of

a) the enactment of legislation substantially as set out in this Act for the purpose of enabling the Sechelt Band to exercise self-government over its lands, and

b) the transfer by Her Majesty in right of Canada to the Sechelt Indian Band of fee simple title in all Sechelt reserve lands, recognizing that the Sechelt Indian Band would assume complete responsibility in accordance with this Act for the management, administration and control of all Sechelt lands;

NOW, THEREFORE, Her Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate and House of Commons of Canada, enacts as follows:

1. This Act may be cited as the *Sechelt Indian Self-Government Act*.

3. For greater certainty, nothing in this Act shall be construed so as to abrogate or derogate from any existing aboriginal or treaty rights of the members of the Sechelt Indian Band, or any other aboriginal peoples of Canada, under section 35 of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.

4. The purposes of this Act are to enable the Sechelt Indian Band to exercise and maintain self-government on Sechelt lands and to obtain control over and the administration of the resources and services available to its members.

5. 1) The Sechelt Indian Band is hereby established to replace the *Indian Act* Sechelt band.

   2) The *Indian Act* Sechelt band ceases to exist, and all its rights, titles, interests, assets, obligations and liabilities, including those of its band council, vest in the Sechelt Indian Band established under subsection (1).

6. The Band is a legal entity and has, subject to this Act, the capacity, rights, powers and privileges of a natural person and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, may

   a) enter into contracts or agreements;

   b) acquire and hold property or any interest therein, and sell or otherwise dispose of that property or interest;

   c) expend or invest moneys;

   d) borrow money;

   e) sue or be sued; and

   f) do such other things as are conducive to the exercise of its rights, powers and privileges

7. The power and duties of the Band shall be carried out in accordance with its constitution.

8. The Sechelt Indian Band Council shall be the governing body of the Band, and its members shall be elected in accordance with the constitution of the Band.

9. The Band shall act through the Council in exercising its powers and carrying out its duties and functions.

10. 1) The constitution of the Band shall be in writing and may

    a) establish the composition of the Council, the term of office and tenure of its members and procedures relating to the election of Council members;

b) establish the procedures or processes to be followed by the Council in exercising the Band's powers and carrying out its duties;

c) provide for a system of financial accountability of the Council to the members of the Band, including audit arrangement and the publication of financial reports;

d) include a membership code for the Band;

e) establish rules and procedures relating to the holding of referenda referred to in section 12 or subsection 21(3) or provided for in the constitution of the Band;

f) establish rules and procedures to be followed in respect of disposition of rights and interest in Sechelt lands;

g) set out specific legislative powers of the Council selected from among the general classes of matters set out in section 14; and

h) provide for any other matters relating to the government of the Band, its members or Sechelt lands.

2) A membership code established in the constitution of the Band shall respect rights to membership in the *Indian Act* Sechelt band acquired under the *Indian Act* immediately prior to the establishment of that code.

11. 1) The Governor in Council may, on the advice of the Minister, by order, declare that the council of the Band is in force, if

a) the constitution includes or provides for the matters set out in paragraphs 10(1)(a) to (f);

b) the constitution has the support of the majority of the electors of the *Indian Act* Sechelt band or of the Sechelt Indian Band; and

c) the Governor in Council approves the constitution.

2) The support of a majority of the electors of the *Indian Act* Sechelt band or of the Sechelt Indian Band shall, for the purposes of this section, be established by a referendum held in accordance with the *Indian Referendum Regulations*.

12. The Governor in Council may, on the advice of the Minister, by order, declare in force an amendment to the constitution of the Band, if the amendment has been approved in a referendum held in accordance with the constitution of the Band and the Governor in Council approves the amendment.

13. The Minister shall cause to be published in the *Canada Gazette* the constitution or any amendment thereto forthwith on issuing an order declaring the constitution or amendment in force under this Act.

14. 1) The Council has, to the extent that it is authorized by the constitution of the Band to do so, the power to make laws in relation to matters coming within any of the following classes of matters:

a) access to and residence on Sechelt lands;

b) zoning and land use planning in respect of Sechelt lands;

c) expropriation, for community purposes, of interests in Sechelt lands by the Band;

d) the use, construction, maintenance, repair and demolition of buildings and structures on Sechelt lands;

e) taxation, for local purposes, of interests in Sechelt lands, and of occupants and tenants of Sechelt lands in respect of their interests in those lands, including assessment, collection and enforcement procedures and appeals relating thereto;

f) the administration and management of property belonging to the Band;

g) education of Band members on Sechelt lands;

h) social and welfare services with respect to Band members, including, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, the custody and placement of children of Band members;

i) health services on Sechelt lands;

j) the preservation and management of natural resources on Sechelt lands;

k) the preservation, protection and management of fur-bearing animals, fish and game on Sechelt lands;

l) public order and safety on Sechelt lands;

m) the constuction, maintenance and management of roads and the regulation of traffic on Sechelt lands;

n) the operation of businesses, professions and trades on Sechelt lands;

o) the prohibition of the sale, barter, supply, manufacture or possession of intoxicants on Sechelt lands and any exceptions to a prohibition of possession;

p) subject to subsection (2), the imposition on summary conviction of fines or imprisonment for the contravention of any law made by the Band government;

q) the devolution, by testate or intestate succession, of real property of Band members on Sechelt lands and personal property of Band members on Sechelt lands and personal property of Band members ordinarily resident on Sechelt lands;

r) financial administration of the Band;

s) the conduct of Band elections and referenda;

t) the creation of administrative bodies and agencies to assist in the administration of the affairs of the Band; and

u) matters related to the good government of the Band, its members or Sechelt lands.

2) A law made in respect of the class of matters set out in paragraph (1)(p) may specify a maximum fine or a maximum term of imprisonment or both, but the maximum fine may not exceed two thousand dollars and the maximum term of imprisonment may not exceed six months.

3) For greater certainty, the Council has the power to adopt any laws of British Columbia as its own law if it is authorized by the constitution to make laws in relation to the subject-matter of those laws.

4) A law made by the Council may require the holding of a licence or permit and may provide for the issuance thereof and fees therefor.

35. 1) Subject to section 36, the *Indian Act* applies, with such modifications as the circumstances require, in respect of the Band, its members, the Council and Sechelt lands except to the extent that the *Indian Act* is inconsistent with this Act, the constitution of the Band or a law of the Band.

36. The Governor in Council may, on the advice of the Minister, by order declare that the *Indian Act* or any provision thereof does not apply to

a) the Band or its members, or

b) any portion of Sechelt lands,

and may, on the advice of the Minister, by order revoke any such order.

Cultural Property and the Question of Underlying Title

Michael Asch

The perspective I wish to address concerns the ownership of cultural property. As an anthropologist interested in comparative legal issues, my goal is to present some ideas that might help to frame an answer to the issue of ownership in a manner that is consistent with contemporary anthropological principles and remains faithful to the ethics of Canadian culture. It is a framework that I have found helpful in thinking through issues surrounding my own work as a cultural anthropologist. I hope it will be useful to archaeologists as well.

The approach I am suggesting ultimately concludes that First Nations hold a better jurisdictional title than does either Canada or the Provinces. Hence, the discussion is bound to raise sensitive matters that might, at first blush, seem divisive and counter-productive. This is not my intent. Rather, I am hopeful that the consequence of this exploration will be to further the sense of cooperation and sharing that is beginning to infuse the relationship between First Nations and archaeologists with regard to archaeological research, cultural property, and the presentation of artifacts and their ownership. At the same time, given the kinds of issues I raise, I am sanguine that the approach may not yield any practical results, at least in the short run. In fact, such results may only arise when governments are prepared to conclude governance agreements with First Nations on matters related to fundamental jurisdictional relationships.

UNDERLYING TITLE

Within Canadian legal culture there are two matters that need to be addressed in answering the question "who owns a particular piece of cultural property."[1] The first focus is on who owns the actual artifact itself. In the Western legal framework from which I am working, this answer would focus on *ownership* in the *private property* sense. In this meaning, one could say that any artifact might have an individual owner. I do not intend to discuss *ownership* in this sense.

Ownership in the sense I intend to address here concerns the matter of *jursidiction*. It focuses on the identification of the party and the political institution (or institutions) that have the legitimate legislative authority to make laws within a territory and includes laws respecting cultural property. This meaning of the word *ownership* pertains to *sovereignty* and *dominion,* as well as to *legislative authority* and *jurisdiction*. It is ownership in a *collective* and *political* sense rather than in an *individual* and *economic* one. Another term for this aspect of *owning* found in Canadian jurisprudence is *underlying title*.

My focus in this paper is on the concept of *ownership* solely in relationship to the issue of *underlying title*. I do this not because I find other issues uninteresting or unimportant. Rather it is because I believe that a discussion of this matter will be of value in furthering the resolution of issues pertaining to the ownership and management of cultural property as well as history—issues that lie at the heart of archaeological and anthropological inquiry and concern.

Canadian Law of Underlying Title

It is a self-evident fact that Aboriginal peoples held legitimate underlying title, jurisdiction, and sovereignty prior to the arrival of the Europeans. It is also reasonable to conclude that, notwithstanding the existence of Canada as a state, unless there is clear evidence that they were extinguished, such sovereignty, jurisdiction, and underlying title must be presumed to continue to exist today. This is what I call *the Aboriginal fact*.

What, then, is Canada's position on underlying title in the face of the Aboriginal fact? While the scholarly literature on this topic provides a range of views, the official position is settled, at least for the present, within Canadian law. It is that, notwithstanding this fact, the state holds undisputed right to underlying title and sovereignty. It is a position that can be found through examination of many statements by legal councils for federal and provincial Crowns and by government officials acting in their official capacity. It is confirmed by reference to court judgments,

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[1] See Bell (1992) for a discussion about ownership.

including ones that have been decided in the very recent past.

While the position of Canada has been stated, albeit obliquely, in many recent court decisions regarding Aboriginal rights and Treaty issues, there is at least one place where a clear and highly authoritative statement on this matter is made. This one expression will suffice to illustrate the point. The citation comes from a decision of the Supreme Court of Canada in 1990. Called *R. vs. Sparrow,* this decision has been hailed, on other grounds, as a major victory for Aboriginal people.

In the *Sparrow* case, the Supreme Court agreed that Aboriginal fishing was an inherent right which existed even though it was not specifically mentioned in the *Constitution Act* of 1982. Prior to the passage of that Act, this right could have been diminished or extinguished by Canada, but only through specific legislation made by the Canadian Parliament. The Supreme Court concluded that such legislation had not been passed. Therefore the right continued to exist at the time of the passage of the *Constitution Act* of 1982. The Court further determined that this Aboriginal right to fish had become a constitutional right with the passage of the 1982 Act. It then asserted, given the constitutional status of this existing right, Parliament could only affect the exercise of that right after it had met a very strict test. Although not mentioned specifically, it would seem to follow that this Aboriginal right to fish, as well as other Aboriginal rights that are found to still exist, could only be extinguished, if they could be extinguished at all, through Constitutional amendment.

In the course of its judgment, the Court stated the following with respect to the question of underlying title:

> It is worth recalling that while British policy toward the native population was based on respect for their right to occupy their traditional lands, a proposition to which the Royal Proclamation of 1763 bears witness, *there was from the outset never any doubt that sovereignty, legislative power, and indeed the underlying title, to such lands vested in the Crown* (*Sparrow* 1990: 404, emphasis mine).

In short, the court has stated that legitimate possession of underlying title by Canada in the face of the Aboriginal fact is unproblematic. Canada, or particularly the Crown (now in right of Canada), holds it. Their solution regarding fishing rights—and indeed all existing Aboriginal rights (which might include ownership of and jurisdiction over artifacts)—derives from this premise.

This view provides the basic framework for the development of government policy with respect to First Nations whether or not they have a treaty relationship with the Crown. It also finds expression in statements by the Crown in court pleadings. For example, in the *Delgamuukw* case in which the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en First Nations asked for a declaration that their jurisdiction over their own lands still existed, notwithstanding the existence of the Province of British Columbia, the Attorney General of Canada stated: "Ownership and jurisdiction constitute a claim to sovereignty. If the plaintiffs ever had sovereignty, it was extinguished completely by the assertion of sovereignty by Great Britain" (Canada 1989).

In a series of papers (Asch 1992a, 1992b, Asch and Bell 1994, Asch and Macklem 1991), I have questioned, as an anthropologist, the cultural basis for the presumption by Canada that a unilateral assertion of underlying title was ontologically true in the face of the Aboriginal fact. The answer, as I have found in my examination of many court precedents and statements of government officials over the past century and more is that there is a premise that Canada was a *terra nullius,* or empty landscape, devoid of people, at the time of the arrival of Europeans.[2] This claim is sustained in the presence of human beings based on a schema deriving from 19th century cultural evolutionary principles. These principles are clearly articulated in a decision of the Privy Council in England of 1919, which at that time acted as the highest appeals court for the British Empire. Entitled *re Southern Rhodesia*, it is still the leading case upon which Canadian prece-

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2 For archaeological commentary on the question of colonialism and the assumption of *terra nullius*, see Rupertone 1989: 33-35.

dents respecting court assessments of ownership and jurisdiction of First Nations are based. This decision states:

> The estimation of the rights of aboriginal tribes is always inherently difficult. Some tribes are so low in the scale of social organization that their usages and conceptions of rights and duties are not to be reconciled with the institutions or legal ideas of civilized society. Such a gulf cannot be bridged. It would be idle to impute such people some shadow of the rights known to our law and then to transmute it into the substance of transferable rights of property as we know them. In the present case it would make each and every person by a fictional inheritance a landed proprietor 'richer than all his tribe.' On the other hand, there are indigenous peoples whose legal conceptions, though differently developed, are hardly less precise than our own. When once they have been studied and understood they are no less enforceable than rights arising under English law. Between the two there is a wide tract of much ethnological interest, but the position of the natives of Southern Rhodesia within it is very uncertain; clearly they approximate rather to the lower than to the higher limit (*re Southern Rhodesia*, 1919: 233-234).

The utilization of the premise enables the courts assert that some are societies "so low on the scale of evolution" that their culture does not include "sovereignty" and "jurisdiction" over their own people and territory. This allows courts to presume, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that Canada was a *terra nullius* notwithstanding the fact that Aboriginal people lived here at the time Europeans first arrived. It also enables the courts to reject an application by a First Nation that they possessed underlying title and jurisdiction on the grounds that the evidence does not convince the judge that their societies were sufficiently high on the scale of evolution to assert such a claim. And this is precisely what occurred in the case of the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en. The judge stated, for example: "I do not accept the ancestors 'on the ground' behaved as they did because of 'institutions.' Rather I find they more likely acted as they did because of survival instincts which varied from village to village" (*re Southern Rhodesia*, 1919: 213).

He also stated that they really did not have law, but flexible customs which were generally not followed. The judge therefore had no trouble concluding that the Gitksan-Wet'suwet'en had a very low form of social organization in the pre-contact period. With respect to underlying title, he said that he could assume only that some minimal sense of ownership and jurisdiction, which was limited to village sites, may have existed in the "legal and jurisdictional vacuum" that was present in the area "prior to British sovereignty." He did not accept the premise that it survived the arrival of British sovereignty.

Underlying Title and the Ownership of Artifacts and of History

The presumption that underlying title manifestly vests in Canada despite the Aboriginal fact is fundamental for the organization of current political and institutional arrangements of Canada. It is, for example, the basis for the principle that provincial legislatures, along with the Federal Parliament, have a monopoly on Crown title as well as ultimate legislative authority over all lands and people within the borders of Canada. Among other matters, it explains why Canada and the provinces have jurisdiction with respect to antiquities legislation, as well as authority regarding the disposition of cultural property even when it dated from a period prior to the existence of Canada or even the arrival of the first Europeans. In short, it is the *ownership*, in the underlying title sense, of the surrounding soil that determines the jurisdiction over cultural property found within it.

The fact that Canada (and the provinces) claim jurisdiction over cultural property that was created in a period prior to the inception of the state or even the presence of Europeans on this soil is also about jurisdiction over the past. Canada and the provinces assert they are the legitimate *owners* of a history that long pre-dates the existence of the state (or its colonial predecessors), based in the first instance on the ontological presumption of the legitimacy of underlying title in the face of the Aboriginal fact. The question is where to place Aboriginal people and their

history in this framework. Based on the work of a number of legal scholars in Canadian law (e.g., Slattery 1987), it may be assumed that First Nations citizens have been incorporated both individually and collectively into Canada (ultimately as citizens), either willingly or unwillingly. It follows, then, that their history, even from the period before contact, now becomes part of *Canadian* history and therefore lies within the ultimate jurisdiction of the political institutions of Canada (and the provinces) rather than with First Nations.[3]

UNDERLYING TITLE, CULTURAL PROPERTY, AND ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY

It comes as no revelation to any member of the profession that the 19th Century cultural evolutionary premise that rendered this land as a legal *terra nullius* cannot be supported either ethically or scientifically. The notion that some human cultures are so low on an evolutionary scale as to not have jurisdiction over their members and their lands is simply not supportable in the face of the evidence about the nature of all cultures of *Homo sapiens*. Equally, if we look at Canada's record at the United Nations, as well as surveys of popular opinion, it is also clear that Canadians would reject the legitimacy of a decision about the right to govern that was based on the presumption that one race of people or culture was inherently superior to another. In short, the basis upon which we decide the legitimacy of underlying title within Canada is one that runs counter to the ethical values of contemporary Canadian culture. The question is what to do about it.

Of course, the answer to this question is multifaceted and it is not my goal to elaborate on it here. My focus is how the issue of who owns an artifact—in the jurisdictional sense—might contribute to its resolution. Within that context, I think that an aspect of the answer which archaeologists might consider is how they might relate this question to contemporary anthropological theory. My reasoning is as follows. Nineteenth century cultural evolutionism provides the intellectual justification for the existing rationale regarding the legitimate disposition of underlying title in law. In this sense, it is 19th century evolutionism that lies behind how the law designates the ultimate authority over cultural property. As we now reject 19th century unilinear evolutionism in our own practice, it is useful to ask what contemporary theory might say about underlying title and hence about how to determine the legitimate ownership of cultural property.

In the first place it is clear that, were the Privy Council in the *re Southern Rhodesia* case to look at contemporary theory, they would have found no support for a proposition that it is valid to measure legitimacy regarding territorial control and social regulation on an evolutionary scale. There is, in fact, no people so low on the scale of evolution that they have no system, or that their system must give way to one that is presumed to be at a *higher* level. Instead, I would imagine that contemporary theory, even contemporary evolutionary theory, would suggest there are at least two principles upon which to base any comparative analysis. The first would be to assert that an analysis must be based on a presumption of cultural relativism (or its equivalent).[4] The second would be that we must eschew comparison based on ethnocentric reasoning when developing any framework for analysis.

Were we to accept these two principles, it would not be possible to found the legitimacy of Canadian underlying title on the premises now used by the courts in the present day: it would be rejected as ethnocentric and biased, for it rests upon the legitimacy of a comparison based on the inherent superiority of our legal system and traditions. As a consequence, as good scientists, we cannot accept the appropriateness of laws that derive from that premise; and specifically the set of laws that assert that Canada (and/or the provinces) have ultimate jurisdiction over the cultural

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[3] Some legal scholars would suggest that First Nations have a measure of jurisdiction. However, I do not believe that any would disagree that, under the appropriate conditions, the *Sparrow* decision recognizes that the Federal government (and perhaps the provinces) would have the ability to override legislation made by First Nations' authorities.

[4] I do not mean to imply that the use of such a premise would lead to the avoidance of comparison or even questions regarding comparative morality. Rather, I mean that there would be a *presumption* of cultural relativism which nonetheless could be successfully challenged by the introduction of specific facts in specific cases.

property of First Nations or over their history. It follows, then, that were we to apply these principles from contemporary anthropological theory to our legal system, there would be significant implications for, among many other matters, archaeological research and the collection of artifacts.

TOWARDS RESOLUTION

Who, then, has legitimate jurisdiction over cultural property, especially that which clearly was produced by First Nations? If we follow the implications of contemporary anthropological theory with respect to underlying title, most likely the answer is not Canada or the provinces, notwithstanding what the courts have said. However, it does not follow that non-Aboriginal Canadians and especially professional archaeologists necessarily have no interest in this property or have no value in contributing to its interpretation. Archaeologists have technical and scientific knowledge that, in principle, is of immense value to any people who wish to ensure the continued life of its ancient material culture. Archaeologists also have settings, like archives, which enable the careful organization and accession of materials. Archaeologists, by and large, also have good will and a genuine scientific interest in the cultures of the peoples with whose cultural property they are involved. What archaeologists do not have and what legislation based on the existing law of underlying title alone cannot provide them with is comfort that their possession of cultural materials is ultimately immune from a challenge respecting their *jurisdictional* rights.

Archaeologists, anthropologists, and the profession as a whole are now well-aware of the issues respecting the values and jurisdiction of Aboriginal cultures. On the practical level, speaking as a cultural anthropologist, I believe that archaeologists responded to this realization in a very sensitive way in general, through such means as co-management regimes, some of which are discussed elsewhere in this volume. Equally, in jurisdictions such as the Northwest Territories where there is often a higher appreciation of Aboriginal concerns by legislators as well as the general public, archaeologists have helped to create new legislative requirements that extend a degree of sensitivity about Aboriginal cultures and values into the legislative regime. Within the profession itself, the report of the Task Force on Museums and First Peoples has provided a guide to the curation and use of artifacts that shows respect and concern for Aboriginal values. Finally, the *Statement of Principles for Ethical Conduct Pertaining to Aboriginal Heritage Research and Communicatio*n (Nicholson et al. 1996), which was discussed and adopted at the 1996 meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association, acknowledges that the profession as a whole will act to ensure respect for the cultural needs and aspirations of the First Nations.

These initiatives are extremely important. They are practical. They will have an immediate impact on the way archaeology takes place. Measures such as these will serve to educate professionals in other disciplines, the general public, and even legislators of the need for respect and perhaps reform. As such, they are crucial and represent a positive advance in the whole process of developing better relations between First Nations and Canada. I applaud them.

I am suggesting that there is another aspect of the challenge, one which archaeologists as well as other anthropologists might now begin to consider. It concerns fundamental issues of jurisdiction over cultural materials. Who really owns this cultural property? Clearly, as I stated above, it is not Canada or the provinces. A better answer, drawing on contemporary anthropological theory, is *The First Nations*, for it is based on the premise of cultural relativism rather than ethnocentric comparison. Further, this answer enables us to disconnect Canadian concepts such as jurisdiction over cultural property and underlying title from colonial justifications.

At the same time, I certainly acknowledge that this answer gives rise to many practical concerns. Among other matters, these range from adjudication of disputes over ownership to concerns that cultural property of importance to both the individual culture and the larger community might be damaged. Nonetheless, these practical matters are resolvable in the longer run. To my mind, it is also very important at this time for archaeologists and others to consider the acknowledgment of a fundamental principle regarding jurisdiction over cultural property and to assist Canada and the provinces to recognize it legislatively. Given our contemporary understanding of

culture, as well as the ethical stance of contemporary Canadian society (and notwithstanding what the law now states), this principle is that it is the First Nations—not Canada and/or the provinces—that are presumed to have ownership and jurisdiction over at least the cultural property that comes from their own cultures and from their own history.

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Native People and Archaeology

Ethel Blondin-Andrew

I would like to tell you about a First Nation that has protected its cultural heritage and whose community has been involved with archaeological explorations for years. They are the *Shùhtagot'ine*, or Mountain Dene. The Mountain Dene inhabited the continental divide of the Mackenzie Mountains of the western Northwest Territories. They moved between five rivers— the Keele, Naatla, Tuchi, Redstone, and Gotlin—and into the Yukon. Their livelihood depended on moose, caribou, and sheep, and they were known for their generosity. They shared the fruits of their hunt with the whole community. The *Shùhtagot'ine* are unique to most First Nations peoples as they were not greatly impacted by the coming of the Hudson's Bay Company to our land. Their lifestyle was not dramatically altered until after the Second World War.

As with any group of people, we are proud of our heritage and our ancestry. We want to teach our children about their ancestry. In my family, my grandfather Zaul Blondin was one of the signatories of Treaty 11, signed in 1921 between the Dene and the Queen's representatives. My eldest son is named after him: such are the intergenerational bonds of the Dene people.

As archaeologists, I ask you to remember the people whose history you are excavating. I ask that you respect their traditions and more importantly, that you involve as many as possible of those people who are connected with the site. It is important that in doing your research you involve all the members of the community. Young people need opportunities to be connected to their heritage. Hands-on experience is the vehicle that will connect them with their cultural heritage and history.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE *SHÙHTAGOT'INE*

The *Shùhtagot'ine* began trading with the Europeans in the early 19th century. They came down from the mountains to trade, and immediately returned to their home once the trading was completed. These transactions were completed on *Shùhtagot'ine* terms. They were independent of the European traders as it was the *Shùhtagot'ine* who provided the settlers with food. As a matter of fact, many of the supplies that the *Shùhtagot'ine* received from the settlers were used up before they left for the mountains. The Europeans were never invited into the mountains, and they were not able to find an easy way through them until much later.

Guns were not essential until the mid-20th century. When they ran out of ammunition, they resorted to snares and bone-tipped arrows. According to elders, guns were often impractical because enough shells could not be packed for extensive use, as the hunters were usually away from the trading post for long periods. Mountain Dene elders can still describe how to peck and grind a stone adze and use it to fell a tree. Traditional ways are still used today by the *Shùhtagot'ine* when hunting. Although they may no longer use drift fences for hunting caribou and sheep, elders and younger hunters will still discuss fence locations.

Beginning in the late 19th century, dogs were used with increasing frequency for both packing in the summer and hauling in the winter. Dog sleds gave hunters a great deal more range than before and permitted partially dried meat to be hauled long distances back to camp. The continued demand by traders for greater supplies of fish, meat, and fat to supply posts in the Mackenzie Valley led to the late 19th century development of the mooseskin boat.

The creation of the mooseskin boat reflected the best of two different designs. According to archaeologists, the Dene used the York Boat, from the Hudson's Bay Company, as a model and then applied their own technology and traditions to create a new type of boat suitable to their needs. This was much larger than the traditional mooseskin craft, yet it proved to be every bit as reliable. Elders credit the design to a Dene man named Soldat. This craft suited the conditions of the mountain rivers, while using the materials naturally available in the Dene mountain habitat. The mooseskin boats were made at mountain camps in early spring to transport people, dogs, meat, furs, and other goods down the Mackenzie River to the trading posts. These boats were designed as temporary watercraft to be dismantled after the journey. The hides were then tanned and used for clothing and other items, while the wooden frames were abandoned. These boats are

significant because they demonstrate the creativity and adaptability of the *Shuhtagot'ine*. By the 1920s, certain events changed the dynamics of the Mountain Dene and, for that matter, of all Dene people forever. The fur market collapsed, oil was discovered in Norman Wells, large steamers and gas-powered boats appeared on the Mackenzie River, and Commissioners arrived to visit the people. Treaty 11 was signed in 1921. In 1928, an influenza epidemic swept through the Mackenzie Valley and decimated the Dene population.

Yáts'ule (Mackenzie Andrew), the last traditional chief of *Shuhtagot'ine*, foresaw many of these changes and attempted to prepare his people. In the last few years of his life (1945-1946), he composed 52 songs, a drum cycle, that established a moral basis for his people to use in coping with an uncertain future. *Yáts'ule* not only revived the drum songs, but redefined them to give his people a beacon in a rapidly changing world.

Yáts'ule realized the great need to protect *Shuhtagot'ine* heritage. This need is now greater than ever. Several projects have occurred in the last 15 years to revive and remind the *Shuhtagot'ine* of their heritage. These projects in the Northwest Territories have been driven by elders for the most part. Some archaeologists have also gone to great lengths to inform and involve the Dene communities in their projects (see Andrews and Zoe; Hanks; Henderson; Kritsch and Andre; Webster and Bennett; all this volume). These projects are unique and deserve attention because they have not only incorporated the skills and knowledge of the elders, but have attempted to address the needs and interests of Native youth. Through their involvement in archaeological projects, Dene youth have gained an understanding of their own history. The two cooperative, largely community-based approaches to Dene heritage research described below are particularly imporant as they have included training opportunities for some *Shuhtagot'ine*.

The Mooseskin Boat Project

In 1981, a project to build the first mooseskin boat in many years took place, and involved many Mountain Dene, young and old. The project was driven by elder Gabe Etchinelle. The building of the boat, from its construction to its arrival in Fort Norman, took three months. The moose were hunted, the skins prepared, the meat dried. The forests were scoured for straight-grained spruce trees with an appropriate natural curve. This project enabled all those who participated to learn more about their people. The project was recorded on film and has become the First National Film Board Slavey Language Project. In having the entire process filmed, the *Shuhtagot'ine* will be able to educate others about this aspect of their culture and history.

Drum Lake Field School

During 1985 and 1986, an archaeological field school for Dene students was run at Drum Lake, sponsored by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and the Northern Oil and Gas Action Plan. The school was directed by archaeologist Chris Hanks, who for many years has been involved in heritage research in the *Shuhtagot'ine* region located in the Mackenzie Mountains. Drum Lake was selected because of its research potential, being an important hunting and fishing area. It was also an area where *Yáts'ule* spent many of his winters.

The Dene trainees first began by building a fish camp. While they were processing and drying the fish, discussions were held as to the potential archaeological significance of the debris they were leaving behind. The students subsequently learned archaeological survey and excavation techniques, worked with elders to record traditional place names and stories, and learned how to set fish nets and other important bush skills. They also learned how to make stone tools.

The Drum Lake Field School also encouraged community participation. Dene youth were given an opportunity to learn from both elders and archaeologists. Everyone benefited from this approach. The archaeologists were able to gain a better understanding of, and respect for, the differences in attitudes, perceptions, values, and aspirations held by Dene elders and youth. In turn, the community participants, many from regions far from *Shuhtagot'ine* lands, learned from each other, and gained from the archaeologists a new perspective on Dene heritage.

Both the Mooseskin Boat project and the Drum Lake Field School involved the entire community. One result of such an integrated approach was that the amount of suspicion and distrust within the community toward archaeologists dropped significantly. However, the single most

important feature of both projects was the involvement of the youth. It is important to ensure that they are taught the significance of their culture. These experiences provided them with a greater understanding of their ancestry.

THE VALUE OF ORAL TRADITIONS

The incorporation of knowledge derived from oral traditional has greatly assisted archaeological explorations. Oral societies have developed sophisticated memory devices to structure their myths and legends. Events may lose their chronological sequence, but still retain the elements necessary for a group's on-going social relationships. Narratives about *Yamoria*, an important hero, provide pertinent information about the landscape for the Dene by naming key geographical features and relating them to the power of spirits (see Hanks, Ch. 11). For the Dene, the landscape reflects the oral tradition, and the oral tradition reflects culture; consequently the landscape becomes inseparable from culture (see Andrews and Zoe, Ch. 10). When oral stories are written down, they lose some of their meaning because the intonations of the voice and the gestures cannot be translated onto paper. In order for the Dene, and indeed all people with an oral tradition, to preserve their culture, they must also protect this oral tradition.

LESSONS FOR THE FUTURE

I feel that there are some important lessons to be learned from the work of the *Shuhtagot'ine*. The first is the need for archaeologists to gain the trust of the people whose heritage they are trying to uncover. Trust is attained through community involvement. Archaeologists must not simply take from the elders, but should try to give something back.

Youth-Oriented Programs

It is important that archaeological research involve the youth. Through training, hands-on experience, and direct exposure to archaeological knowledge, young people will be provided with new and exciting ways to interact with and understand their own heritage. This will require a commitment from archaeologists and funding agencies to ensure that research activities provide training opportunities for young people. There are many programs available to assist with the costs of training (for example, the Youth Service Canada program) and archaeologists will need to work in partnership with communities to access these programs.

Cultural Institutes

The Dene have begun to take control of preserving their own heritage and to regain control of their education. For example, the Dene Cultural Institute coordinates research and educational activities that promote Dene culture, language, spirituality, heritage, traditions, and customs. The Dene Cultural Institute is hoping to share Dene skills and to provide educational programs for both Native and non-Native youth. They have, for example, recently completed a project on the use and preparation of medicinal plants and animal parts for traditional healing practices, which includes a report and data base on ingredients for treatments and cures.

The Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute (GSCI) has also been working to take control of heritage in the Gwich'in Settlement Area. Among their many programs, the GSCI has been directly involved in archaeological research. This research involves youth, elders, and archaeologists working cooperatively toward common goals (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8). Archaeologists working in the north, and indeed throughout Canada, should seek partnerships with cultural institutes and work together to forge a new future of cooperative projects that will foster and strengthen communities and their heritage.

CONCLUSIONS

I believe that if partnerships are forged between the First Nations peoples and those who are studying their culture, much of the distrust and suspicion common in the past can be avoided. For my people, the past and the future are not as separate as they are for Euro-Canadians. Sacred sites are places that are culturally and historically important, not because of the physical remains on the ground, but because of their mythological and legendary connections with traditional Native beliefs. Even if we do not practice all of the old traditional ways, our cultural heritage is extremely important to us. It is my hope that archaeologists and Native people can come together to integrate their knowledge and skills. This partnership must be made with the whole community. The youth are an integral part of First Nations society and only through their education can our *Shuhtagot'ine* heritage hope to live on.

George P. Nicholas
Thomas D. Andrews

Adventures are never fun while they're happening (Unknown).

Gone are the binary oppositions dear to the nationalist and imperialist enterprise. Instead we begin to sense that old authority cannot simply be replaced by new authority, but that new alignments made across borders, types, nations, and essences are rapidly coming into view, and it is these new alignments that now provoke and challenge the fundamentally static notion of identity that has been the core of cultural thought during the era of imperialism (Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* 1993: xxiv).

These are truly interesting times to be doing archaeology in Canada. As in many other areas of contemporary life, things are changing very rapidly in some regards while standing virtually still in others, and this is especially the case with the evolving relationship between archaeologists and Aboriginal people. People are listening to each other with greater care and new protocols are being established, yet old concerns and bottlenecks persist. The old rule book has been thrown out. Doing archaeology in the postmodern world is not simply a matter of incorporating new perspectives and partners, for as Said's commentary above indicates about the post-colonial world, entirely new alignments must be created and new relationships defined. This volume offers a glimpse into that new world.

The contributors to this volume are all involved with doing archaeology with, for, or as Indigenous peoples, often on a daily basis. In this, they represent a much larger number of people and organizations whose involvement with what we have termed indigenous archaeology has placed them on what some may consider the leading edge of Canadian archaeology's relationship with First Peoples, or what others would see as situated between the frying pan and the fire. Being on the "leading edge" of anything may carry some status (real or imagined). However, as many of us have discovered, it can also be a very uncomfortable, if not dangerous place to be, and there is the constant danger of falling off, of doing the wrong thing.

In the introduction to this volume, we have explored several dimensions of contemporary archaeological-Aboriginal relations, while the subsequent chapters present a wide variety of examples, approaches, and problems. One theme that permeates this collection is the need for seeking greater relevance in what we do, in recognizing what has meaning and importance for us (and here we speak for both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal People). This, along with an increased respect for each other, remains at the center of accomplishing positive change in this arena.

Despite the successes noted here and elsewhere, the adjustments that have taken place so far probably only hint at even more significant changes yet to come. Indeed, the pace of change has accelerated in recent years in response to the changing sociopolitical and economic milieu in which archaeology is being done, to the increasingly strong voice of First Peoples, and to the many internally-generated changes (e.g., the emergence of postprocessualism) that have broadened the discipline of archaeology. In fact, what marks this decade is a suite of problems and tensions that may be best characterized as growing pains. The discomfort that we feel, as with heated debate in academic circles, should be viewed as a healthy sign of the discipline's vigor and of its willingness to debate controversial topics or make difficult decisions. We hope that this optimism is shared by others.

Reburial and repatriation remain and will continue to be sensitive topics, as well they should. Through the dialogue that has ensued on these topics in recent years, fruitful discussions and resolutions have resulted, as has growing mutual respect and understanding. Archaeologists have become more sensitive to the treatment of the dead and to other aspects of world view, while at least some Aboriginal people see that responsible archaeological methods can illuminate the past for the good of Native communities and still be respectful of their most important values. Such

dialogue is now expanding to include other issues of consequence, such as intellectual property rights, the protection and preservation of secret/sacred knowledge, and definitions of significance.

Two topics that have not received as much attention as they deserve provide a pair of alternative endings to this volume. The first concerns what can be termed the dark side of archaeological-Aboriginal relations—a topic that tends not to appear in print or be discussed in public because of its potentially incendiary nature concerning "who did what to whom." The second topic concerns the future of archaeological-Aboriginal relations, another theme not widely discussed, but in this case it is because we don't know what it will entail.

The Dark Side

This collection represents mainly the positive aspect of archaeological-Aboriginal relations, a point noted by Bruce Trigger in his Foreword, and certain problems and issues are not extensively discussed. That such topics as reburial or the politics of doing archaeology on Aboriginal land are not emphasized here in no way reflects their lack of importance; it merely means that the contributing authors are concerned with other issues in these particular papers.

The dark side of archaeological-Aboriginal relations is known to many through personal experience or anecdotal accounts of incompetence, conflicting interests, double standards, and unprofessional behavior, among other things. There are stories of archaeologists who have been paid off by developers, and of Natives who have bulldozed burial mounds on their own property. Some of these stories are patently false or exaggerated; others are true. However, they tend not to be spoken of publicly due to the threat of law suits for libel or other potential penalties or retaliations. As with the stories themselves, some of these fears are exaggerated, and some are very real.

Many archaeologists know of colleagues who have given up in frustration after attempting to consult with or work in good faith with particular bands or tribal organizations. Others are dismayed by the persistence of "straw-man" arguments against archaeology, of critiques of the discipline that are based upon incorrect information. For example, archaeologists in British Columbia involved in investigating "cut blocks" as part of the new B.C. Forest Code have been accused by representatives of First Nations organizations of "being in the pocket" of forest companies, yet formal complaints or evidence of such corruption have not appeared.[1]

Archaeologists may also find themselves in a position whereby criticizing First Nations policies or actions may result in their dismissal or loss of access to research areas. In situations like this, it may be impossible for reputable *and* respectful archaeologists to continue their work. The result may be a loss of scientific and other knowledge not only to the archaeologists, but more importantly to the Native community. There is also a very real fear among academics of both censorship and revisionism

The danger of revisionism looms large and represents a particularly troublesome topic. Past peoples may be presented, by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal People, as being totally in harmony with each other and their environments, when the reality may be much different. More problematical are issues concerning contemporary Native groups or others interpreting past behavior or thought from a "privileged" perspective. There are many instances, for example, where rock art has been interpreted in a particular way by an elder; the degree to which such explanations may reflect *contemporary* world view is often ignored, while at the same time a static view of the past may be imposed. As another example, Russell Handsman once raised the very real possibility of the remains of a christianized 17th century "Praying Indian" in New England being reburied by a contemporary Native group. While reburial incorporating grave goods and a flexed burial position may reflect the traditional world view of that Aboriginal group, these would be inappropriate given the different world view of the christianized Aboriginal individual. A third example concerns the potential danger of "readback" (Burch 1994: 444), whereby Native consultants[2] may give anthropologists information on their ancestral way of life that they had acquired, not directly from their elders, but from reading archaeological and anthropological reports.

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[1] The fact that the new Code requires that archaeology be done at all, when it wasn't previously required, has been ignored.

[2] The more familiar term *informants* is now being used with decreasing frequency. In addition, Madonna Moss (pers. comm. 1996) notes that "readback" is something that archaeologists should be able to recognize in most cases, that it is an interesting phenomenon, and that the contemporary spin it puts on the past can be illuminating.

There may be situations in which archaeologists working with a particular band find themselves in a position to monopolize, control, or otherwise influence access to that territory by other archaeologists. On the other hand, individuals overseeing archaeological resources or projects on behalf of Aboriginal organizations may have no knowledge of archaeology, yet be making decisions that require such knowledge. Likewise, an increasing number of Native organizations is demanding that Aboriginal peoples be involved in any archaeological project in their territory, yet they are not encouraging community members to seek archaeological training.

Archaeologists may have to contend with political maneuvering by Aboriginal peoples, stemming either from the exertion of their political and cultural autonomy, or local politics. In some cases, archaeologists may end up as the "whipping boy" or scapegoat because of their visibility. Local and provincial politics may also have an equally strong influence on matters of archaeology and heritage preservation. First Peoples are being confronted by a bewildering array of bureaucratic rules and regulations, and may also be receiving conflicting advice from outside the reserve or land claims area. Many Aboriginal people are still not comfortable with the idea of archaeology, or aware that they can have a real and positive influence on it, both locally and more widely. They may lack confidence in such matters.

Aboriginal organizations and communities have had to grapple with concepts and practices common to cultural resource management. Concepts such as *site significance*, when measured in "scientific" terms, are sometimes contrary to the cultural significance of these sites. Conversely, archaeologists, heritage managers, and governments have had to learn to respect Aboriginal concepts of cultural significance, often requiring major changes to policies and procedures.

Certainly none of these problems is limited to archaeological-Aboriginal relations by any means, but are found in many other contexts (indeed the problems that archaeologists have had with "Developers" and municipal governments are legion). The point is that archaeology no longer operates in a world that can be characterized as black and white; the various social and political spheres of influence currently operating now require that we at least consider the implications of what seem simple or innocuous decisions. Part of this stems from this rapid period of adjustment, during which time the various parties involved may be oversensitive to any slights.

The bottom line then is that the relationship between archaeology and First Peoples in Canada is much more complex than this single volume can reveal. Aboriginal people need to be more patient with archaeologists and other well-meaning individuals, much as they would with children who are unaware of rules and proper manners. Non-Aboriginal archaeologists, on the other hand, need to recognize the difficulties these people now face; after having been powerless in their own affairs for so long, there are many problems to resolve in becoming self-governing again.

New Perspectives

What is the future of archaeology in the postmodern world? What will a collection of papers on archaeology and First Peoples consist of ten years from now; twenty years? Will the ethnic affiliation of the authors be broader or narrower? What new topics and issues will be covered? Regardless of whatever form it may take, the archaeology of coming decades will be as different from its present form as contemporary archaeology is from the archaeology of earlier this century, and it will be composed of many more voices, concerns, and understandings than it does today.

One area of great potential influence concerns the emerging role of Native women in Canadian archaeology. Today, more Aboriginal people than ever before are pursuing degrees in archaeology and anthropology, receiving field training, or otherwise getting involved in these disciplines. This will certainly have a significant effect on the field of archaeology. Of even greater significance is that fact that of this number of Aboriginal people, the vast majority consists of women.

Archaeology has traditionally been a male domain (Gero and Conkey 1991), although this has gradually been changing in recent years with women achieving new roles and greater status within the discipline, and also as new perspectives are incorporated into the discipline's theoretical framework. One trend that has become evident in educational programs oriented to Indigenous peoples is that women dominate enrollments. In the Secwepemc Education Institute-Simon Fraser University program in Kamloops, British Columbia, women constituted over 87% of the 1995/1996 enrollments (SCES-SFU 1997); likewise, the vast majority of students in that pro-

gram's archaeology program (including the field school) are women. Recent archaeological field schools and science camps in the Northwest Territories have also been dominated by women. Furthermore, the management of Aboriginal cultural institutions in the Northwest Territories have been largely controlled by Aboriginal women.[3]

The same general trends in enrollment has been noted in Maori education and heritage programs in New Zealand and elsewhere. Regardless of the reason for this skewed pattern, it is expected that Aboriginal women will become more prominent on the future archaeological and heritage preservation landscape both locally and worldwide. The perspectives that they can bring to bear on how we do archaeology and how we interpret the past will be substantial.

The future of archaeology and heritage preservation in Canada will also include a greater emphasis on co-management programs. There are already prominent examples of such programs in the Yukon and Northwest Territories, as a result of recently completed land claims. Still other models can be found elsewhere, particularly in Australia (e.g., Kakadu National Park [Press et al. 1995]; and Uluru [Layton 1989]) and in New Zealand where the indigenous Maori have a strong voice in heritage issues[4] (e.g., Allen 1996). With land claims currently under serious negotiations in British Columbia, the potential for the development of co-management programs is substantial. Other expected developments will be aimed at maintaining local awareness within a global perspective. Greater attention will be paid to what's going on in other parts of the world, both in terms of the general practice of archaeology and the concerns of Indigenous people worldwide—an expanded view made possible by communication barriers being broken down by the Internet, among other things. Cultural brokerage by archaeologists will probably also be much more common, as should other aspects of applied anthropology, all of which will allow us to achieve greater relevance in our work.

Finally, in looking to the future, we should hope that the efforts being made, by both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, will enable us to answer the basic question of "Why do we do archaeology and for whom?" with increasing clarity and conviction.

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[3] Joanne Barnaby, the Executive Director of the Dene Cultural Institute was recently honoured as "Northerner of the Year" by *Up Here* Magazine, largely because of her role in heritage preservation. This year the award was given to Elizabeth Mackenzie, a highly respected Dogrib elder, for her devoted work in education and promotion of cultural heritage. The staff (2) of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute are all women (see Kritsch and Andre, Ch. 8), and the Inuvialuit Social Development Program also have two Inuvialuit women running the organization (I. Kritsch, pers. comm. 1996).

[4] See the Summer 1995 issue of *Northern Perspectives* 23(2) for a general perspective on Aboriginal rights and land claims in New Zealand and their implications for North America.

Contributors

Alestine Andre is a Gwichyah Gwich'in from Tsiigehtchic who spent her younger life traveling on the land with her parents and grandparents, as well as her uncles, aunts, and siblings. She attended one year of mission school in Aklavik, NWT, eleven years in residential school in Inuvik and Yellowknife, and has an associate degree in Public Administration and a B.A. in Anthropology (minor in Women's Studies) from the University of Victoria. Alestine plans to pursue a M.A. degree in the near future. Her current research interests include ethnographic, genealogical and linguistic research.

Thomas D. Andrews worked in the northern Yukon in the late 1970s, and in the Mackenzie Valley since 1980. From 1980 to 1990, he worked as technical manager, and later as director, of the Dene Mapping Project, a traditional land use and occupancy research project based at the University of Alberta. The project provided research services to the Dene Nation's comprehensive land claim negotiations. Since 1990, he has held the position of Subarctic Archaeologist at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre.

Dr. Charles Arnold received his undergraduate degree in archaeology from Simon Fraser University, and a Ph.D. in archaeology from the University of Calgary. He taught for several years at the University of Toronto before moving to Yellowknife in 1982 to establish the Archaeology Programme at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, where he is currently the Director. He has conducted archaeological fieldwork throughout the Canadian Arctic, most recently at the mouth of the Mackenzie River.

Dr. Michael Asch, Professor of Anthropology at the University of Alberta, began his research in the Northwest Territories in 1969. Currently, Dr. Asch's research focuses on how Canadian legal theories regarding the legitimate acquisition of sovereignty and jurisdiction over Indigenous peoples and their territories and how this reflects certain cultural values. A central component of this research concerns an analysis of the political relationship between the Dene of Deh Cho and the Crown through Treaty 11. Among Dr. Asch's publications are two books: *Home and Native Land: Aboriginal Rights and the Canadian Constitution* (Methuen 1984), and *Kinship and the Drum Dance in a Northern Dene Community* (Boreal Institute for Northern Studies, University of Alberta 1990), as well as an edited volume, *Aboriginal and Treaty Rights in Canada: Essays on Law, Equality and Respect for Difference* (UBC Press, forthcoming).

John Bennett holds a Master's Degree in Canadian Studies from Carleton University. From 1985 to 1994 he worked for the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada, first as Assistant Co-ordinator for Youth Councils, and later as editor of *Inuktitut*, the cultural magazine of Canadian Inuit. He is now an independent consultant whose area of specialty includes Inuit culture and history. He and Dr. Susan Rowley are currently preparing a history of Nunavut for use by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and the people of Nunavut. He served on the organizing committee for the *Ittarnisalirijiit* Conference.

Margaret Bertulli currently holds the position of Arctic Archaeologist at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre. She was formerly the Executive Director of the Northern Heritage Society, was as a lecturer at Laurentian University in Sudbury, Ontario, and has worked as a consulting archaeologist in Northeastern Ontario. Recently she participated in the 1995 Governor General's Canadian Study Conference.

The Honourable Ethel Blondin-Andrew, who is a Mountain Dene, is Secretary of State, Training and Youth. She has worked as a teacher, an Aboriginal language specialist, as an acting Director, Public Service Commission of Canada, and as National Manager of Aboriginal Development Programs. She has also served as Assistant Deputy Minister of Culture and Communications for the Government of the Northwest Territories, and taught teaching methodology at the University of Calgary and at Arctic College. Actively involved with several communities, as well as territorial and national organizations, Ms. Blondin-Andrew has received numerous awards for her efforts. She has also earned a B.Ed. degree from the University of Alberta. She was first elected to the House of Commons in 1988 as the member of Parliament for the Western Arctic. She served on the Parliamentary Committees on Aboriginal Affairs, Electoral Reform, Literacy and the Constitution. In addition, she served as the Opposition critic for Aboriginal Affairs. Re-elected in 1993 and 1996, Ms. Blondin-Andrew was appointed Secretary of State for Training and Youth.

David Denton is an archaeologist with the Cree Regional Authority. His interest in the archaeology and history of subarctic Quebec grew from about 10 years work on archaeological impact assessment and mitigation connected with the James Bay hydroelectric project. Beginning in 1975, much of this time was been spent with the Cree trappers and their families whose lands

were ravaged by the hydro project. Since 1986, he has worked for the Cree Regional Authority carrying out a wide variety of cultural heritage projects in collaboration with the nine Cree communities, including place-names surveys, the collection of oral traditions and community archaeology projects. He has studied at McGill (B.A. and Ph.D. course work) and the University of Toronto (MA).

Sheila Greer is a self-employed researcher and Associate of the Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta. She holds a Master's Degree in anthropology from the University of Toronto, where she also studied for her Ph.D. She has been involved in Yukon and Northwest Territories archaeology, traditional land use, and oral history projects since 1976, directing research, impact assessment, interpretation and planning studies for Territorial and Federal government agencies, private industry, and most recently, for the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute and the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations.

Christopher Hanks has worked across the Subarctic for over 20 years as an ethnologist and an archaeologist. Since the early 1980s he has concentrated on the western Northwest Territories, working first for the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre and later Parks Canada. His personal interests have included ethnoarchaeological and traditional knowledge research with the Mountain Dene, the Sahtu Dene, and the Oxford House Cree. Widely published, recent papers include "Narrative and Landscape: Grizzly Bear Mountain and Scented Grass Hills as Repositories of Sahtu Dene Culture," and "The 1825-26 Winterplace of Sir John Franklin's Second Expedition: A Dene Perspective," written for the Historic Sites and Monument Board of Canada, and *Fly Fishing in the Northwest Territories* (Frank Amato Press). Chris Hanks is currently Traditional Knowledge Consultant to BHP Diamonds.

Dr. Margaret Hanna is the Curator of the Aboriginal History Unit, Royal Saskatchewan Museum. She grew up on a farm in southwestern Saskatchewan, and maintains a research interest in both that area and the boreal forest region. She developed an appreciation for the peculiarities of museum-based archaeology after spending three seasons as a summer assistant with the Saskatchewan Museum of Natural History. She has conducted fieldwork in Manitoba and Alberta, as well as Saskatchewan, and is particularly interested in the technological aspects of ceramic production. She began working at the RSM in 1984, initially to register privately held archaeological collections. Beginning in 1986, she assisted with the development of the First Nations Gallery, and in 1990 assumed full curatorial responsibility until the Gallery opened in 1993. In addition to her other museum duties, she is now working with staff of the Resource Management Section of the Heritage Branch to develop co-management policies with First Nations with regard to sacred sites, burials, repatriation of culturally sensitive materials, and care of collections.

Heather Harris is on the faculty of the University of Northern British Columbia in the First Nations Studies Program. She is Cree-Métis from Manitoba. She obtained a B.A. in Anthropology from Simon Fraser University (1980), and her M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Alberta (1992), where she is currently in the Ph.D. program. She has lived and worked with and for the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en for many years, including teaching at Northwest Community College. She also served as an expert witness in the Delgamuk Land Claim case. Her research interests include northern Northwest Coast oral history and its corroboration with archaeological and paleoenvironmental evidence, Gitksan kinship, child welfare issues, and traditional ecological knowledge.

Elisa Hart is an archaeologist living in Yellowknife who has worked at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, and is now a consultant. Her research has involved working with Inuvialuit elders to document traditionally used places to learn about aspects of traditional life and for the purpose of impact assessment. She is interested in developing training manuals and has written a plain language manual called "Getting Started in Oral Traditions Research," and has also written education units for schools on aspects of traditional life as told by elders.

Lyle Henderson is the New Parks and Sites Co-ordinator for the Federal Archaeology Office, Parks Canada, Canadian Heritage. Since graduating with a degree in Anthropology from the University of Manitoba, he has been involved in the development of a number of national historic sites concerning Aboriginal heritage. This work includes ensuring that local community concerns regarding research are addressed, and that research proposals reviewed by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada reflect the communities intended meaning. His research inter-

ests also include the use of Global Positioning Systems and Geographic Information Systems to accurately map and record archaeological sites and graves to monitor site destruction and deterioration.

Diana Henry is the Office Manager of the Saanich Native Heritage Society in Brentwood, B.C. She has been responsible for developing a number of cultural resource programmes and trains Saanich people to work with archaeologists and Saanich elders. Ms. Henry has also developed educational and research programmes about Saanich culture and history for the benefit of her people and the wider community..

Helen Kristmanson received her B.A. from the University of Calgary (1989), and M.A. from Memorial University of Newfoundland (1993), with her graduate research specialization in northeastern North American prehistoric ceramics. Her research focus later shifted to New Brunswick Native history with two long-term archaeological projects for Fort Folly Band in Dorchester, New Brunswick (1992-1995). She is currently freelancing as researcher/writer and graphic artist.

Ingrid (tenKate) Kritsch is a first generation Canadian of Dutch heritage. She is currently the Executive Director of the Gwich'in Social and Cultural Institute where she is responsible for research and management of the Institute's affairs. She has worked for more than 20 years in archaeological, social/cultural anthropological, and historical research, mostly in northern Canada. Ingrid has a B.A. in Anthropology and Geography (McGill University), a M.A. in Anthropology (McMaster University), and is currently on leave from a Ph.D. program in Anthropology from the University of Alberta. Her current research interests include: place names research in understanding hunting and gathering societies; development of educational material from oral history research; the identification and understanding of heritage sites using oral history and archaeology; and the use of traditional knowledge in heritage resource management.

Kimberley L. Lawson is currently the Public Education officer in the Archaeology Branch of the British Columbia Government. She is interested in education about culture, social studies and archaeology at elementary and high school levels, and about archaeology and Native studies at the post-secondary level. Kim has a Bachelor of Arts from the University of Victoria where she is enrolled in the Cultural Resource Management Diploma Program. She is a member of the Heiltsuk Band in British Columbia.

Dr. Robert McGhee is an archaeologist who has undertaken fieldwork across Arctic Canada, as well as in Svalbard and Siberia, and published over 100 books and articles on the history of Arctic peoples. His most recent book is a history of the Palaeo-Eskimos written for a general audience, titled *Ancient People of the Arctic* (UBC Press 1996). He is currently a curator of Archaeology at the Canadian Museum of Civilization, and Co-Chair of the Museum's First Peoples Hall Project Team.

Dr. George P. Nicholas is Lecturer in Archaeology and Anthropology, and Archaeology Program Director, in the Secwepemc Education Institute-Simon Fraser University Program in Kamloops, British Columbia. He received his M.A. in Anthropology from the University of Missouri-Columbia, and Ph.D. from the University of Massachusetts-Amherst. He was a Research Associate of the American Indian Archaeological Institute in Washington, Connecticut, from 1982 to 1990. Publications include *Holocene Human Ecology in Northeastern North America* (Plenum 1988), and many book chapters and journal articles on human ecology, wetland archaeology, Indigenous peoples, and early postglacial archaeology.

Dr. E. Leigh Syms is Curator of Archaeology at the Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature and adjunct professor at the University of Manitoba. He received a M.A. from the University of Manitoba in 1969, and Ph.D. from the University of Alberta in 1976. For many years, he worked on Northeastern Plains and western Boreal Forest archaeology, ceramic ecology, settlement patterns, and collections management. Since 1990, he has focused on northern Boreal Forest archaeology, training programs, and building links with the Native communities. He sits on a number of advisory boards, including the Manitoba Heritage Council and the Heritage Committee of The Forks and North Portage Partnership.

Professor Bruce G. Trigger was born in Preston, Ontario, and has taught at McGill University since 1964. His publications on Native peoples include *The Huron: Farmers of the North* (1969), *The Children of Aataentsic* (1976), and *Natives and Newcomers: Canada's "Heroic Age"*

Reconsidered (1985). He is also volume editor of the *Northeast* volume of *North American Indians* (1978), and most recently co-editor of the North America volume of *The Cambridge History of the Native Peoples of the Americas* (1996).

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster is originally from Baker Lake, NWT. Upon completing her Bachelor of Arts degree in Anthropology at Carleton University, she has worked as a Northern and New Parks Archaeologist for the Department of Canadian Heritage in Yellowknife. Deborah is actively involved in Inuit heritage matters, including the protection of archaeological sites, and programs aimed at encouraging youth to learn about their heritage through archaeological and oral history research. She served as co-chair of the *Ittarnisalirjiit* Conference on Inuit Heritage. In 1994, she was appointed to the Inuit Heritage Trust by Nunavut Tunngavik, Inc. and elected President. In 1997, Deborah will be an independent consultant.

Dr. Barbara Winter is the Curator of the Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at Simon Fraser University, and a Sessional Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology. She was formerly the Curator of the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre in Yellowknife, NWT. Dr. Winter has numerous publications in such journals as *Current Anthropology*, *Boreas*, and *Arctic Anthropology*.

Eldon Yellowhorn received his training as an archaeologist on the northern Plains. Originally from the Peigan Reserve, he attended the University of Calgary as an undergraduate, where he studied Geography and Archaeology. In 1993, he received a Masters Degree in Archaeology from Simon Fraser University, and has the distinction of being the first Aboriginal student in Canada to receive such a degree in Archaeology. His M.A. thesis was entitled "Since the Bad Spirit Became Our Master;" other publications include a chapter entitled "Wintercounts" in a 1992 museum catalogue for an exhibit of the Schriver Blackfoot Collection at the Provincial Museum of Alberta, in addition to three children's books—*Tlachi*, *The Buffalo Hunt*, and *Raven and Echo* (Arnold Publishing). He is currently working towards a Ph.D. in archaeology through the Anthropology Department at McGill University.

John B. Zoe is a Dogrib history specialist with interests in Dogrib language, culture and oral tradition. Beginning in 1990 he particpated in several years of ethnoarchaeological research undertaken by the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, acting as project interpreter and co-researcher. For many years he served on the Rae-Edzo Education Authority, and has spearheaded many education innovations in the Dogrib school system. He is widely respected by Dogrib elders for his devoted attention to Dogrib history and oral tradition. His publications include articles on Dogrib sacred sites, and the history of settlement types and traditional architecture. Since 1992, he has served as chief negotiator for the Dogrib Treaty 11 Council's comprehensive land claim negotiations with the federal government.

ADDRESSES OF CONTRIBUTORS

Alestine M. Andre
Head Office, Gwich'in Social and Cultural
Institute
General Delivery, Tsiigehtchic,
Northwest Territories X0E 0B0

Thomas D. Andrews
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre,
GNWT, Box 1320
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories X1A 2L9

Dr. Charles D. Arnold
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre,
GNWT, Box 1320
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories X1A 2L9

Dr. Michael Asch
Department of Anthropology, University of
Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta T6G 2H4

John R. Bennett
John R. Bennett Consulting, 76 Onslow
Crescent, Ottawa, Ontario. K1S 1G1

Margaret M. Bertulli
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre,
GNWT, Box 1320
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories X1A 2L9

The Honourable Ethel Blondin-Andrew, M.P.
Room 249 WB, House of Commons
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6

David Denton
Cree Regional Authority
2 Lakeshore Road, Nebaska, Quebec
J0Y 3B0

Sheila C. Greer
Canadian Circumpolar Institute
University of Alberta, Edmonton T6G 2E9

Christopher C. Hanks
BHP Diamonds, Inc.
1102 4920-52nd Street, Yellowknife,
Northwest Territories X1A 3T1

Dr. Margaret Hanna
Aboriginal History Unit,
Royal Saskatechewan Museum
2340 Albert Street, Regina, Saskatchewan
S4P 3V7

Heather Harris
First Nations Studies Department,
University of Northern British Columbia
3333 University Way,
Prince George, British Columbia V2N 4Z9

Elisa J. Hart
Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre,
GNWT, Box 1320
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories X1A 2L9

Lyle Henderson
Federal Archaeology Office, National
Historic Sites Directorate, Parks Canada
1600 Liverpool Court, Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0M5

Diana Henry
Saanich Native Heritage Society
Brentwood, British Columbia V0S 1A0

Helen Kristmanson
17 Mason's Point Rd, RR #1 Boutilier's Pt.
Halifax Co., Nova Scotia B0J 1G0

Ingrid D. Kritsch
Research Office, Gwich'in Social and
Cultural Institute
50 Rycon Drive,
Yellowknife, Northwest Territories
X1A 2V6

Kimberley L. Lawson
Archaeology Branch, 5th Floor,
800 Johnson Street
Victoria, British Columbia V8V 1X4

Dr. Robert McGhee
Archaeological Survey of Canada,
Canadian Museum of Civilization
Hull, Quebec J8X 4H2

Dr. George P. Nicholas
Secwepemc Education Institute-Simon
Fraser University
345 Yellowhead Highway,
Kamloops, British Columbia V2H 1H1

Dr. E. Leigh Syms
Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature
190 Rupert Avenue at First Avenue,
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0N2

Professor Bruce G. Trigger
  Department of Anthropology,
  McGill University
  855 Sherbrooke St. W,
  Montreal. Quebec H3A 2T7

Deborah Kigjugalik Webster
  Northern and New Parks Archaeology
  Department of Canadian Heritage
  4914-50th Street, P.O. Box 460,
  Yellowknife, Northwest Territories
  X1A 2N4

Dr. Barbara Winter
  Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology,
  Simon Fraser University
  Burnaby, British Columbia V5A 1S6

Eldon Yellowhorn
  Department of Anthropology,
  McGill University
  850 Sherbrooke St. W,
  Montreal. Quebec H3A 2T7

John B. Zoe
  Dogrib Treaty 11 Council
  P.O. Box 24,
  Rae, Northwest Territories X0E 0Y0

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AT A CROSSROADS
Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada

This collection of papers…reflects the dynamism and creativity of Canadian archaeology at the present time. The authors reject the narrow orthodoxies of the past and express the pleasure and intellectual benefits they have derived from cooperative exchanges with Aboriginal people….
These collaborations in many cases constitute the basis of enduring collegial relations that challenge archaeologists' assumptions, and have expanded the knowledge they have of the past in new and important ways. Everywhere archaeologists are posing the same question: why did they not establish such relations much earlier? This book documents a major step forward in the creation of better relations between archaeologists and Native people, and of an archaeology that is being enriched as a result of its spiritual decolonization.
From the *Foreword* —Professor Bruce Trigger

Contributors
Alestine M. Andre; Thomas D. Andrews; Charles D. Arnold; Michael Asch; John R. Bennett; Margaret M. Bertulli; Ethel Blondin-Andrew; David Denton; Sheila C. Greer; Christopher C. Hanks; Margaret Hanna; Heather Harris; Elisa J. Hart; Lyle Henderson; Diana Henry; Helen Kristmanson; Ingrid D. Kritsch; Kimberley L. Lawson; Robert McGhee; George P. Nicholas; E. Leigh Syms; Deborah Kigjugalik Webster; Barbara Winter; Eldon Yellowhorn; John B. Zoe

George P. Nicholas is Lecturer and Archaeology Program Director at the Secwepemc Education Institute-Simon Fraser University Program, Kamloops, British Columbia.

Thomas D. Andrews is Subarctic Archaeologist at the Prince of Wales Northern Heritage Centre, Yellowknive, Northwest Territories

Front Cover: Mr. Israel Knockwood (Micmac), New Brunswick; Graduate student Lea McNabb (Skeetchetsn Band) and Deborah Harry (Alexis Creek Band) recording stratigraphy, British Columbia; the stone bowl named Sddlnewhala.
Rear Cover: Shaman's Healing Carin, Arvia'juaq, Northwest Territories