THE MIDDEN

Publication of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia ISSN 0047-7222 Vol. 49, No. 1

*Gumx ts'a'ax**

Preservation Through Conversation: Public Engagement and Archaeology in Kamloops

Coastal GasLink and the Wet'suwet'en Controversy

THE MIDDEN

Published three times a year by the
Archaeological Society of British Columbia

Editorial Committee

Editor: Seonaid Duffield
seonaid.e.duffield@gmail.com

News Editors: Jacob Earnshaw
asbc.president@gmail.com
Angela Dyck

Midden Manager: Alex Lausanne
asbc.midden@gmail.com

Subscriptions: asbc.midden@gmail.com

SUBSCRIPTION: For 2019 and going forward the ASBC has decided to make The Midden digital and open access. The latest issue of The Midden will be sent to ASBC members upon release, and will be open access to the public six months after release at

https://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/midden

Remit to:

Midden Subscriptions, ASBC
c/o G. Hill
Royal BC Museum

675 Belleville Street

Victoria, BC, V8W 9W2

SUBMISSIONS: We welcome contributions on subjects germane to BC archaeology. Guidelines are asbc.bc.ca**.** Submissions should be directed to the editor by email. It is the author's responsibility to obtain permission from relevant parties, particularly First Nations communities, regarding the publication of photographs or archaeological information.

Archaeological Society of British Columbia

Dedicated to the protection of archaeological resources and the spread of archaeological knowledge.

President
Jacob Earnshaw
asbc.president@gmail.com

Membership
Nicole Westre
asbc.membership@gmail.com

Recording Secretary: Cal Abbott

Financial Secretary: Jacob Salmen-Hartley

Society Manager: Robin Smith
asbc.victoria@gmail.com

Annual membership includes a year's subscription to ***The Midden***.

Membership Fees

Individual: $25 Family: $35 Seniors/Students: $18
Send cheque or money order payable to the ASBC to:

ASBC Memberships
c/o G.Hill
Royal BC Museum
675 Belleville Street
Victoria, BC, V8W 9W2

ASBC on Internet
http://asbc.bc.ca
https://www.facebook.com/ASBCVictoria/
https://twitter.com/archsocbc

Archaeological Society of British Columbia meetings in Victoria featuring illustrated lectures are now generally held on the third Tuesday of each month from September to June at 7:30 p.m. at the University of Victoria, Cornett Building, 3800 Finnerty Road, Victoria, BC. Details on lectures are often listed on the *Conferences & Events* page (back cover). New members and visitors are welcome. Admission is free.

THE MIDDEN

Volume 49, No. 1, 2019

In this issue

News

President's Letter....4
By Jacob Earnshaw

Features

Gumx ts'a'ax....5
By Jacob Earnshaw

Preservation Through Conversation: Public Engagement and Archaeology in Kamloops....6
By Joanne Hammond

Dig It: A 5,000-year-old Kamloops story....7
By Joanne Hammond

Water's Destructive Power....8
By Kim Christenson

Melt Can Reveal Traces in Ice Patches....9
By Ramsay McKee

Archaeological Sites in Alpine Environments....10
By Matt Begg

And It Stoned Them to Their Souls....11
By Simon Kaltenrieder

Archaeobotany Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Plants I Encounter....12
By Ryan Dickie

Stories of Behind Ancient Artifacts....13
By Clinton Coates

Yes, You Can Get a Job in Archaeology....14
By Todd Paquin

Blazing Ancient Trails From Our Past....16
By Phoebe Murphy

Indigenous Oral History and Archaeology....17
By Nola Markey

The Inconvenient Truth of Indigenous Archaeology....18
By J. Hammond

Archaeology News

Coastal GasLink Pipeline and the Wet'suwet'en Controversy....19

Events & Conferences....Back Cover

Cover: View north from Riverside Park, artifacts.

The Midden Subscriptions

Subscriptions to a digital copy of The Midden are included with the ASBC membership or $15 to non-members. To maintain a hardcopy subscription within Canada (mailed out once per year), it is an additional $25 on top of your ASBC membership fee.

Subscription form and membership application are available on our website (http://www.asbc.bc.ca/the-midden/).

Coastal GasLink Pipeline and the Wet'suwet'en Controversy

The ASBC Pages

President's Letter

We are happy to announce that we are making moves at the ASBC to improve quality and consistency of our society business with the hiring of two part time managers. Alex Lausanne MSc., a recent graduate from the University of Victoria is the new Midden Manager. She will be managing journal business, email inquiries, advertising, keeping us on schedule and doing the rounds shaking article submissions out of fellow archaeologists. She can be contacted at asbc.midden@gmail.com. We would also like to welcome Robin Smith, an experienced archaeologist who has recently moved (back) to Victoria. She will be handling general email inquiries to the society email (asbc.victoria@gmail.com), managing society business, and helping the ASBC executive board and our local Kamloops chapter in upcoming projects.

On that note, we would like to welcome the Kamloops ASBC Chapter. This group of archaeologists has been already meeting regularly to discuss archaeology and produce their ongoing Kamloops This Week newspaper column Dig It. Last fall we inquired if they might be interested in starting their own ASBC Chapter to pursue semi regular archaeology events, lectures and tours for the public. The group expressed interest and in January formalized their group into a Regional Chapter. Their Regional Director is Phoebe Murphy, Recording Secretary Maggie Poirier and Membership Secretary Kim Christenson. The Members at Large of the group are, Clinton Coates, Reah Theobald, Joanne Hammond, Simon Kaltenrieder, Meaghan Griffith, Matt Begg, Ryan Dickie, Heleana Moore, Nadine Gray and Todd Paquin.

We are looking forward to working together in the future. Please stay tuned for upcoming events in the Kamloops area. To highlight the incredible service this group has provided for public archaeology in the Kamloops area, this issue of The Midden will present a collection of Dig It articles. The column will also continue as a semi regular feature within future Midden issues.

We hope that this demonstration of public archaeological education, produced by busy consultant archaeologists, can be an example and inspiration to others of the value of putting concerns, ideas and discoveries down on paper and making them available to the public and larger archaeological community.

Jacob Earnshaw
ASBC President

*Gumx ts'a'ax**

By Jacob Earnshaw

Webster's and Oxford English Dictionaries define "Midden" as related to the Middle English midding, from the Old Norse mykdyngja (myki meaning dung and dyngja meaning manure pile). Its primary meaning, Dungheap, is often passed over for its more common usage and archaeological application, Kitchen Midden, which refers to "a prehistoric refuse heap which marks an ancient settlement, chiefly containing bones, shells, and stone implements."

The archaeological use of the term Midden has wide application to similar prehistoric sites around the world. Though a bit of inquiry into the over 30 distinct languages within the province of British Columbia will find a wealth of parallel terms that more appropriately describe ancient settlement and processing sites, known for their shell, black earth, charcoal, bone, fire alteredcracked rock, and cultural items. For future issues we hope to show some of this diversity of terms and meanings alongside our Journal's title.

Gitga'at archaeologist Spencer Greening, researching the Tsimshian language (Sm'algyax) within the SFU/Gitga'at "Old Town Project" inquired for us about the Sm'algyax term for "midden" with elder Mathew Bolton of Hartley Bay. Na gumwill dzoga gyet would describe people living on a site before: Na (past tense) + Gum wil (Old/emphatic/just) + Dzoga (live) + Gyet (People). Many other terms and phrases may be used to describe a place, a village, or the types and 'lifestages' of shells, charcoal, pits, and refuse.
One term in particular,

***Gumx ts'a'ax** was considered representative of the mounds upon which old villages are found: Gumx (old/emphatic/just) + ts'a'ax (Clam, colloquially specific to butter clam). Tsa'ax is the most well known noun for this usage, but interchangeable with gaboox (cockle), Hugwin (giant mussel), etc.

Thanks to Spencer and Mathew for these words.

THE MIDDEN
CALL FOR SUBMISSIONS:

The Midden welcomes submissions on any topics of interest and relevance to archaeology in BC, and is also currently accepting submissions for the Historical Archaeology issue. Please submit Historical Archaeology submissions by May 15, 2019 to asbc.midden@gmail.com. Papers on other topics can be sent to this email on an ongoing basis.

Preservation Through Conversation: Public Engagement and Archaeology in Kamloops

By Joanne Hammond
19 March 2019

In September 2016, I stood on a promontory overlooking the Thompson Valley at Kamloops, contemplating the view with two other archaeologists. Below us, a golf course built where locals had told me about artifact hunting, next to it, dust flying around two new housing developments underway, and right beneath our feet, the crumbled soil of a 7,000 year old archaeological site that had just been bulldozed for a swimming pool.

That all that heritage gone, without even an idea of what was lost, struck us deeply. We felt that we had failed to protect the sites. We had failed to preserve their value. Because we had failed to communicate their importance to the public.

In the months that followed, a group of professional colleagues here rallied to respond to these losses: we lobbied city council for protections, discussed the situation with the provincial regulators, and reached out to the media for help.

We knew, though, that the task of lessening site destruction is bigger than chasing the gaps that led a single developer to overlook archaeology—we needed to start educating those around us, inspiring communities to care. For archaeology to stand a chance in rapidly-developing places like Kamloops, we need to do more than inform people, we need to mobilize them through information.

With this goal, we reached an agreement with our local newspaper to provide a biweekly column on archaeology, and wrangled ten local archaeologists to share knowledge with community about the rich and sensitive Indigenous heritage around us. In May 2017, Kamloops This Week began to publish Dig It.

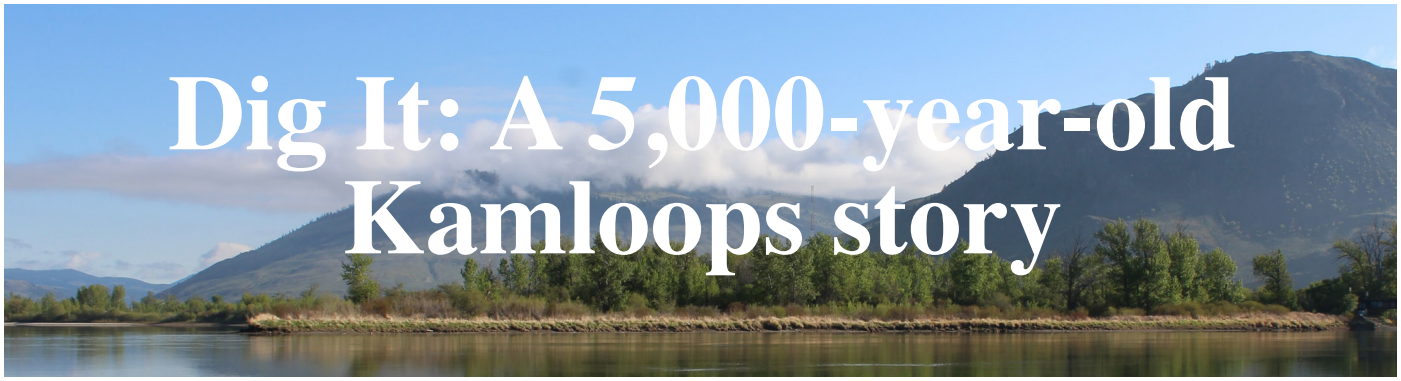
The Dig It columns showcased in this edition are a cross section of our professional and personal experiences working in Kamloops and across BC. They introduce the public to the art and science of archaeology- and the business and politics too. The kinds of topics we can bring to the public are nearly limitless: from a tightly focussed look at a specific artifact, to the broad and critical idea of archaeological context, to the potential for making a career in archaeology.

A key goal of our outreach is to help settlers understand the Indigenous past, to notice and appreciate the inscription of that past on the land, and to motivate communities to work for the preservation of archaeology and all cultural heritage.

An invaluable dimension to the Dig It column is the exposure we get to bring to the local cultural resource management scene, which in our area includes a considerable Indigenous presence. Through Dig It, we're able to promote the very good work that Indigenous communities have done to propel themselves into a position of considerable strength, capacity, and influence in BC archaeology.

Archaeologists are a privileged bunch. We're responsible for a protected public trust, and benefit from the knowledge it generates. Sharing that knowledge with our communities is a crucial way to cultivate public understanding and support for heritage conservation. Dig It opened a dialogue with the public, an open-ended conversation through which to enlist community support for real conciliatory change.

We can't expect anyone else to do this work, and the work needs doing. Communicating archaeology is all of our business. Dig in, and enjoy the conversation.



Dig It: A 5,000-year-old Kamloops story

PUBLISHED 04 May 2017

Welcome to Dig It, KTW's new regularly published column on the history beneath our feet in the Kamloops region. A group of nine professional archeologists living and working in the local area will create columns that will educate and fascinate. From writing about specific sites to the life of an archaeologist, the new series of columns will uncover the complex past of the land on which we walk in the present.

By Joanne Hammond
republicofarchaeology.ca

If you stood on the beach in Riverside Park on a spring day 2,000 years ago, you'd probably see a lot that is familiar: houses, boats, gardens and public spaces. You might look upstream and see, on the sandy shores on both sides, neat rows of beached canoes draped with reed mats to protect from sun damage.

Behind them on the banks, you'd see racks holding fishing gear in various states of drying and repair, waiting for the next trip. And, among it all, you'd see dogs and kids and moms and dads, families stretching in the sun after a long, cold winter.

Today, not a hint of that past is visible, but it's there still, underfoot — and under road and park and parking lot and field. It's our buried heritage. It's the incredible archeology of our region and it is as much a part of Kamloops as the soil itself.

In some places, it is the soil.
Ten-thousand years of continuous occupation will do that to a place. How do we know? That's what archeology does — and we're doing that in Kamloops.

Figure 1. Bone points

Figure 2. Ochre

Figure 3. Projectile points

Figure 4. Harpoon head

Local archeologists have worked for decades to understand the Kamloops that was built long before Canada began to form. Through the material culture, the stuff of peoples' lives, archeologists can piece together ancient stories written on the land.

We look at Tk'emlups and see Secwepemc families and the neighbouring First Nations who came to visit and trade, who were the heart of this region for millennia. We see where Kamloops came from and want to share that with you.

Now imagine that spring day again, but just 200 years ago: little would be different, but change was already here. Over your shoulder were the first rough log buildings of Thompson's River Fort. You'd see a beach crowded with canoes piled with fur, fish and meat for sale.The fur trade was just a few years old, already thriving on the centuries-old commercial trade routes that met at this hub of rivers and overland trails.

Let us take you back there, in this regular archeology column in which we will bring you stories of the region's history. In this space, we will explore ideas of the past through the artifacts and sites that dot our region and the people that today work to protect them.

Stay tuned.

Dig It: Water's Destructive Power

By Kim Christenson
PUBLISH DATE 18 May 2017

The destructive power of water. It's a hot topic right now as we see municipalities all over the province declaring States of Emergency, including our own city where unstable slopes are threatening homes near Rayleigh. In my own neighbourhood, residents are mourning damage to their yards and gardens as raging creek waters have forged new paths with little regard for structures or roadways.

These flooding events also have the power to damage what remain of some the area's earliest First Nations village sites. Many of these early villages, which have become archaeological sites, were built on the very banks of the waterways that are flooding today. And they can be damaged in the same way that houses built on creek and river banks are.
An example of this can be seen at an archaeological site north of Kamloops, on the bank of the North Thompson River just downstream from the outlet a large creek. This particular archaeological site is made up of nearly twenty circular depressions of varying sizes; these depressions represent what remain of the village's original pit-house structures as well as cache and roasting pits.

(Figure 1. 1947 airphoto of an oxbow channel on the North Thompson River.)

What is interesting about this site in particular, is that it is located across the river from an oxbow channel. When visiting the site, I wondered how the oxbow had formed, and if that process had affected the archaeological site. A review of historic airphotos revealed the river was still in its original channel in the mid-1940s, and what is now the oxbow was the main channel at the time. Air photos from the 1960s however, revealed that within the intervening 20 years the river had pushed through the narrow strip of land and created a new river channel.

(Figure 3. 1966 airphoto of the same section of North Thompson River showing a new river channel.)

Digging deeper, I learned that in the late 1940s (during a year of especially heavy rain and flooding… sound familiar?) a small local dam had given way and an enormous flood of water came rushing downhill and slammed into the river just upstream from this archaeological site. This, coupled with the otherwise unusually high flood year, was the force that pushed through the skinny strip of land, and created the new river channel and oxbow we see today.

Unfortunately, this event also swept away a portion of the archaeological site, which appears to have stretched across the river. Adding to this, the new river channel continues to erode into the bank, and the remaining cultural depressions are being lost to the annual rise and fall of water levels. The unfortunate reality of this of course is cultural heritage, and scientific information, is lost forever when an archaeological site is damaged, even by natural processes.

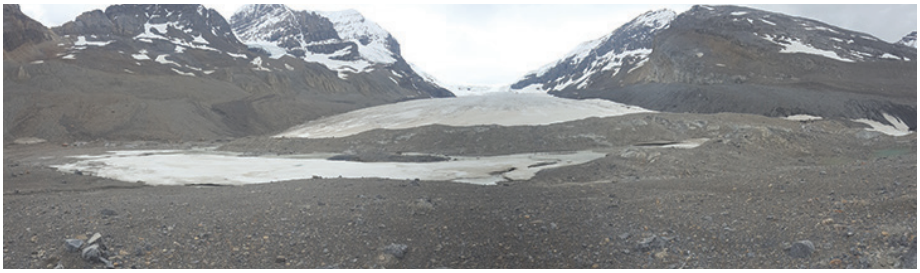
(Figure 2. Multiple circular depressions within an archaeological site north of Kamloops.)

(Figure 4. Photo of the remainder of a cultural depression on an eroding North Thompson River bank.)

So as we continue to face ongoing episodes of heavy rain, I am concerned not only for our current villages and homes, but also for the damage done to the region's original village sites, and the knowledge that will be lost with the archaeological sites that are swept away in the floods.

Dig It: Melt Can Reveal Traces in Ice Patches

By Ramsay McKee
PUBLISH DATE 23 Jan 2019



(Figure 1. The Athabasca Glacier – The Athabasca Glacier in Jasper National Park. Glaciers like these have shrunk drastically in the last century.)

It is generally well accepted that climate change is real, that it is caused by humans, and that there are some big changes ahead for us. One well documented effect of climate change is that glaciers almost everywhere are shrinking. While the environmental effects of reduced glacial ice in alpine glaciers in Southern BC are not considered a good thing, it presents a unique opportunity to gain valuable insight about the past. As these "ice patches" that have been present on the landscape for thousands of years melt away, archaeologists in other parts of the country, including the Alberta Rockies and in the Yukon, conduct surveys of areas of recent glacial melt to look for archaeological traces. Incredibly well-preserved artifacts, including entire dart and arrow shafts with attached fletching and stone projectile points hafted with sinew, along with a variety of other organic artifacts including cordage, basketry, clothing, bone, wood, and sinew that rarely survive in other environments have been recovered. These kinds of artifacts are incredibly rare in other archaeological sites in BC, which makes the few that have been recovered a valuable resource.

The most well known "Ice Patch Archaeology" discovery in BC is that of Kwäday Dän Ts'ìnchi (Long Ago Person Found) first observed by bighorn sheep hunters in the far northwest of BC near the Yukon border, in the traditional territory of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations. The remains of a young man and his travelling/hunting gear that were radiocarbon dated to between 300-550 years old were studied in detail, with the permission of the Champagne and Aishihik First Nations, revealing an incredible wealth of knowledge about past lifeways that archaeologists rarely get the opportunity to study.

The recent opportunities that climate change has presented to archaeologists has also challenged some long-held assumptions about land use by past peoples. Many archaeologists did not conduct surveys in high elevation areas because they assumed that past people would not have spent much time in the alpine, and that any archaeological sites present in these locations would be nearly impossible to find and would likely consist of small scatters of stone artifacts. This has partly led to a long-held assumption that past peoples have left little to no archaeological footprint in high elevation areas. Ice Patch Archaeology has both begun to open a window to a previously poorly understood part of past lifeways and seasonal hunting and gathering practices and challenge our assumptions about where some of the most valuable pieces of information about the past can be found on the landscape.

(Figure 2. The Frasier Canyon)

The work is challenging, as many of these areas are extremely remote, and in rugged, high elevation terrain. Based on the results of other Ice Patch Archaeology projects being carried out in other parts of western North America, the cost of completing these surveys is fairly high, and the archaeological finds are few and far between. Unfortunately, this has meant that many melting glaciers in BC remain uninvestigated for archaeological remains.

Dig It: Archaeological Sites in Alpine Environments

By Matt Begg
PUBLISH DATE 19 Oct 2017

This past summer, while camping in Wells Gray Provincial Park, I came across a broken stone projectile point in the alpine tundra. There it was, lying on the surface, tucked slightly into the mosses. I described this find to a colleague, who told me they had found another broken projectile point nearby. Busy spot, I thought, but what were people doing way up in the alpine?

(Figure 2. Recording an archaeological site high in the Northern Rocky Mountains.)

As with much of BC, archeologicalsites tend to be where archeologists look for them. Most archeological assessments are development-driven and it's less common that large-scale archeological survey and assessment targets high alpine environments. High-elevation archeology has been the subject of at least three masters studies in BC, all of which go into greater detail than presented in this column.

(Figure 1. Archaeological site at Wells Gray Provincial Park.)

A Simon Fraser University study was conducted from 1986 to 1988 in alpine settings near Pavilion, on the east side of the Fraser River, within the traditional territories of the Ts'kw'aylaxw and Xaxli'p bands (Alexander, 1989). During this study, five archeological sites were identified in the alpine. These sites included a scatter of stone artifacts, a burial cairn and three sites with loosely stacked rock features that were identified by local First Nations informants as hunting blinds. Informants described how deer would be driven up gullies, where hunters waited behind hunting blinds. Ethnographic research conducted as part of the Pavilion-area study was consistent with the number and types of archeologicasites identified in alpine settings.

The seasonal round of activities described by First Nations informants, and identified in the archeological record, indicates people accessed both animal and plant resources in the alpine periodically through the summer months. People would set up larger base camps in sub-alpine settings and travel into the alpine for shorter, specific hunting or gathering trips.

There are many other archeologcal sites recorded in Wells Gray Provincial Park, most during an inventory and assessment conducted in the late 1980s. Four of these sites were found in alpine settings near my find spot. Three of these sites are scatters of stone artifacts and one is a possible petroglyph. The artifact scatters are small and likely represent locations where hunters camped, waited for game or killed and butchered animals.

I had the privilege of conducting a combined archeological inventory and traditional use study in alpine settings in northern BC several years ago. Like the Pavilion study described above, it was fascinating to see how stories shared by elders provided context and interpretation to the archeology we identified.

Past installments of this column have taught us about the variety of archeo-

Dig It: And It Stoned Them to Their Souls

By Simon Kaltenrieder
PUBLISH DATE 28 June 2017

Why do archeologists seem preoccupied with stone tools?

Stone tools are ubiquitous in the archeological sites in our region. First Nations peoples made a great variety of tools and equipment out of wood, bark, tree roots, mammal bones and antlers and many other organic materials. But many of the things people made in the past do not preserve well under most conditions.

(Figure 1. Examples of chipped stone tools found on the Central Canadian Plateau.)

Commonly, organic artifacts decay in the ground, so what's left for us to find? Stone tools.

Archeologists rely on stone tools to understand the pre-contact life of First Nations in the Kamloops area and beyond. The study of stone tools has been a fundamental part of the archeology of the BC Interior for over a century.

Making tools from stone is difficult (I know, I've tried). You can't make anything out of most kinds of stone (I've tried that, too). Only specific kinds of stone share the physical properties that allow them to be predictably shaped into usable tools .

First Nations peoples in our region have known for many thousands of years where to acquire the best tool stones. One especially important source is located near Cache Creek, in the aptly named Arrowstone Hills. Pebbles and cobbles of dacite, a fine-grained volcanic rock, were collected on a massive scale across an area of at least 100 square kilometres.

Hand-dug pre-contact mining pits, still visible in parts of the site, testify to the importance and intensity of use of this resource. This prehistoric quarry was used for millennia.

One of the challenges in the regional trade in tool stones was their weight. To keep loads manageable, people with access to tool stone sources would coplete the preliminary preparation and shaping of stones into what archeologists call "blanks," creating lighter and standardized trade items.

These could be manufactured into a variety of different tools by their eventual owner. Archeologists have used a variety of techniques to match the artifacts they find to particular tool stone sources. The recent development of portable X-ray fluorescence devices has allowed archeologists to confirm the geochemical fingerprint of both tool stone sources and artifacts and has led to a renewed interest in this kind of study.

Archeological research shows the high-quality dacite tool stone collected and quarried from near Cache Creek was traded across the region and beyond -- and this trade persisted over thousands of years. First Nations communities established an interconnected series of pedestrian trails and canoe routes that facilitated regional trade. These trade networks allowed access to important resources that were not locally available. Regional trade and exchange helped maintain social connections forged through kinship and marriage.

Recent archeological excavations near Vancouver confirmed that Cache Creek dacite was traded down the Thompson and Fraser rivers all the way to the coast 5,000 years ago.

So, if you discover stone tools while you enjoy the outdoors around Kamloops, please don't collect them.Instead, consider that what you've found represents a very rare resource, a tool stone collected and carefully curated and traded across dozens or hundreds of kilometres.All that before it was carefully crafted into the tools you've discovered.

Dig It: Archaeobotany Or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Plants I Encounter

By Ryan Dickie
PUBLISH DATE 06 Sept 2017

The profession of field archaeology at first may seem exciting and adventurous to some, but in reality most of the time this job involves hiking seemingly endless kilometers across difficult terrain or digging an infinity of small, yet deep test pits into hard, hard ground. And it is an incredible job to have. As someone interested in stone tools and starting out in archaeology, after digging what felt like thousands of shovel tests without a single stone artifact to be found I grew bored. So I occupied myself with plants! Obviously, plants are abundant and an easy distraction while in the forest. More importantly, knowledge of plant species is a good skill for a field archaeologist to have as certain types of plants can provide information about soil conditions and drainage at a particular location (e.g., horsetail in wet areas) or whether an area has been recently disturbed (e.g., thistle, mullein). These are often referred to as indicator species.

Typically, the study of modern vegetation is associated with traditional use studies that aim to document aboriginal land use patterns. However, field archaeology can at times be an important source of traditional use information, especially where associations between archaeological site types (such as cooking features), and modern vegetation become apparent. While not totally conclusive, it is interesting when it is possible to associate ancient cooking features with an existing patch of a traditionally economically important plant such arrow-leaf balsamroot. The unique semi-arid environment of the Interior is more amenable to the preservation of buried plant remains than in more temperate areas of BC. While there is no doubt that plants were important economic resources during pre-contact times, plants are rarely found in archaeological contexts, as organic materials simply decay too fast. One of the most common indirect kinds of evidence for plant utilization in the Kamloops area are small, round cultural depressions, with blackened charcoal-stained soil and fire broken rocks: the remains of ancient earth ovens. Since many of the important edible root species had to be cooked prior to consuming, people developed the technology of hot rock cookery. This involved digging a pit in the ground, filling the bottom with hot rocks, layering the pit with tree boughs before adding the roots and finally covering with soil. The roots would then slowly roast underground for up to two days before being dug up again for consumption or for winter storage. Radiocarbon dates obtained from these cooking features provide point to the considerable antiquity of hot rock cookery in the BC Southern Interior, with sites in the Kamloops area dating to as early as 7,000 years ago. These cooking features are found all across the landscape in various settings, sometimes in clusters of several hundred or as an isolated occurrence.

(Figure 1. Patch of balsamroot)

(Figure 2. Fieldmint)

While the use of earth ovens declined in the contact period, traditional use information and ethnobotanical studies document the continuing importance of a wide variety of plant species to the Secwepemc people. In my time hiking through the forests and grasslands in the surrounding area, I have come to recognize a few culturally important plants and have learned a little of their past and current uses. With beginner's knowledge of only a few of the traditionally important plant species, one can start to see the forest for what it once was: the grocery store, the pharmacy, and the hardware store all in one place.

Dig It: Context Tells Stories of Behind Ancient Artifacts

By Clinton Coates
PUBLISH DATE 24 Jan 2018

Archaeologists are storytellers that use (hopefully!) scientific methods to assist in chronicling past lives. Context is one of the most powerful tools at our disposal, and is a concept so basic that it is often overlooked. This installment of Dig It illustrates this idea using an example from the southern interior of BC.

Imagine I have passed to you the object in the photo and asked you to discuss it. Upon examination, you see that it is a thin, flat, sedimentary rock, about 4 cm by 8 cm, with what appears to be two notches removed from the sides: hardly a ground-shaking discovery. The only real clue is that,

(Figure 1. Photo illustrating a net weight without much background information.)

since I am an archaeologist from the southern interior of BC, you think it might be something more than "just another rock." In isolation, this object does not provide very much information to tie a story to. The story so far, "a little flat rock that might be an artifact" is hardly riveting, is it?

(Figure 2. Harpoon.)

However, when we place this artifact in the context of other, similar looking ones found in archaeological sites around the southern interior, and combine it with information gleaned from ethnographic accounts and traditional First Nations knowledge, it looks like it might have been used to weigh down the bottom edge of fishing nets. Now we have the first beginnings of a story! Still, "someone, somewhere, at some time, might have used this rock for fishing," is a rather bland tale.

We now add more layers of information about this artifact. It was found at an archaeological site overlooking a lake in the Southern Interior of BC where fish, including Kokanee salmon, lived. It was found in association with over forty very similar artifacts, all at about the same depth, scattered in a linear fashion for about 4 m, perhaps showing where a net was left hanging to dry. In this site very little fish bone was found, even though large amounts of deer bone were recovered, suggesting that bone preservation would be good. The only other obviously fishing-related artifact was a small antler harpoon point in the second photograph, recovered from a nearby archaeological site, also overlooking the lake.

Now, we are getting somewhere! We have the foundation of a pretty good story, but the question "where are all the fish?" still puzzles us. One of the great privileges that we, as archaeologists, have in Canada, is that we get to work within a complex web of knowledge regarding past lives that extends from living memory, far into the past. Tapping into this treasure of information (through research and talking to local First Nations community members), we find the final keys to the puzzle. First, this area is specifically known as a fishing location. Second, the local cultural practice was, and still is, to return the bones of fish back to the water once processed.

Though artifacts are interesting objects in and of themselves, when considered in isolation, they only take us a short way towards understanding the past. This is the underlying reason why it is so important to leave artifacts where they are observed. Without recording the context, archaeologists are not storytellers, merely treasure hunters.

Dig It: Yes, You Can Get a Job in Archaeology

By Todd Paquin
PUBLISH DATE 27 June 2018

(Figure 1. Frank and Todd south AB 1999)

I wanted to be an archaeologist since I was 8 years old. My "ah-ha" moment came when I was exploring a southern Saskatchewan beach and found two stone spear points. I knew they had been made by human hands and, for some reason, was convinced they were 5,000 years old. I was engrossed by this physical connection to a distant past and fascinated that people had made a living in the wilderness by using the materials at hand.

When I became an archaeology student at the University of Saskatchewan, I was captivated learning about the more than 10,000 years of human occupation in western Canada. I also loved how archaeology incorporated knowledge from many branches of the social and natural sciences. Getting my hands dirty in the field school cemented my passion for the discipline. Over the next years, as I progressed through my undergraduate degree and into graduate studies, I joined the local archaeology society as well as the professional archaeology association, delivered papers at conferences, worked with fellow graduate students and professors on research projects, was an assistant instructor on field schools, and met or worked with those in the cultural resource management (CRM) industry.

(Figure 2. Frank and Todd central SK 2004)

Fast forward to 2017. Since finishing my MA, I've had a 20-year career in the CRM industry. For the first several years of my career, I worked seasonally on a project-by-project basis for several CRM firms as a shovel-jockey or crew supervisor. I continued to deliver educational programs in archaeology and conducted research and writing on a contract basis to fill gaps between projects. Eventually, I gained long-term employment with a large consulting firm. Today, I'm in business for myself. Through this career, I've worked from James Bay in eastern Canada across western Canada into interior BC, and from the tundra of the Northwest Territories to the lava fields of southern Idaho.

Yes, there is work in archaeology. I can't tell you the number of times I've heard "I was always interested in archaeology but didn't think there were jobs so didn't pursue it". Today, the main employment opportunities in archaeology are in CRM, where developers commission archaeological studies to meet regulatory requirements before their projects move to construction. For instance, this includes development related to mining, transportation, forestry, power generation, infrastructure, oil and gas, and residential projects.

Those aspiring to become professional consulting archaeologists in BC must meet requirements established by the provincial Archaeology Branch. This includes training and experience associated with achieving Field Director and/or Permit Holder status. In general, these requirements involve completing a minimum of an undergraduate degree in anthropology or archaeology and demonstrating ability by accumulating a specific number of days working in archaeological resource management. These comprise experience on excavations, supervising work under Heritage Conservation Act permits, and receiving regulatory acceptance of a permit report. You may need to work for several years on seasonal projects to gain the experience to become a Field Director. But once you have a field directorship or

(Figure 3. Todd Paquin Okanagan 2009)

permit-holding status, employment opportunities open up.

Archaeology is not your typical job. No two projects are ever the same. You see some amazing places, work with wonderful folks, and make incredible discoveries. You gain a unique perspective that spans thousands of years relating to the adaptations that people have made to their physical, social, and spiritual environments. Rarely have I ever been bored at work.

And guess what? One of the spear points I found at age 8 did, in fact, turn out to be almost 5,000 years old.

(Figure 4. Todd Paquin N. Thompson 2007)

Dig It: Blazing Ancient Trails From Our Past

By Phoebe Murphy
PUBLISH DATE 14 Dec 2017

The sprawling trail networks surrounding Kamloops allow us access to grasslands, mountain peaks, waterfalls, rock bluffs, and hoodoos whether by hiking, biking, or snowshoeing. As someone who regularly uses the recreational trail systems around Kamloops, one of the areas I find particularly interesting in archaeology is the location of ancient trail networks.

As part of the pre-field planning before undertaking an archaeological assessment, archaeologists complete a thorough review of past archaeological work conducted in the local area. This includes identifying the location of previously documented archaeological sites and any cultural heritage information provided by the local First Nations communities. This can include the location of ancient foot trails.

Unfortunately, many ancient trails are not documented. Historic maps produced by the Hudson's Bay Company, early mining prospectors, and ethnographers can be a useful source to help identify ancient trail locations and routes. Early explorers often spent considerable effort drawing maps of the local area and the trails depicted on the maps were almost always originally established by local First Nations communities.

Besides travelling by boat through lake and river systems, travel by foot (and later horses) was the primary means to move around the landscape in the past. Trails networks were used extensively to access resource gathering locations, such as fishing, fur trapping, or berry picking areas, to interact and trade with neighbouring

(Figure1. Blazed tree)

groups, to access important sacred and ceremonial sites, and general day to day travel throughout a region. Travel corridors generally followed a logical route over the most favourable terrain for foot travel through varying landscapes ranging from open grasslands in valley bottoms to steep mountain passes. These trail networks covered distances of thousands of kilometers. In many cases, trees along the trails were marked in various ways in order

(Figure 2. Portion of the pack trail)

to assist travellers with wayfinding. Blazed trees marked with axes or intentionally bent trees are sometimes found at intervals along trails in order to mark the route. The bent trees are referred to as trail marker trees with the bend in the tree indicating the direction of travel along a path or at a trail junction. Sometimes when the trail bed is overgrown from disuse and difficult to see, archaeology field crews can locate the path of a trail by following trail marker trees.
For an archaeologist, finding a segment of an ancient trail is an exciting process. If archaeology sites are found along the trail, such as stone artifacts, it further highlights the antiquity of the use of the trails.

This summer, less than a hundred meters away from a major highway, the archaeology team I was working with came across a portion of a trail in a thickly shrubbed area. Once we cleared some of the brush out of the way and followed the trail, it became evident that it was an overgrown pack trail. The trail was about one metre wide and contained a well-defined and level trail bed that was cut into the side slope of the hillside. The trail followed a fairly linear path skirting above the steepest portions of the landscape. We were able to follow the trail for a few hundred meters until it was lost at the junction with the current highway. Presumably parts of the pack trail followed the same path as the current highway. We were able to locate a second portion of the same trail several hundred meters away. In total we recorded over half a kilometer of the pack trail during our study and found numerous stone artifacts in the surrounding area suggesting the trail was used many hundreds of years ago.

Unfortunately, development activities have impacted many ancient trail systems. Over the past two centuries, trails have been modified from foot paths to pack animal trails to wagon roads and eventually present-day paved highway and road systems. Although the look of the trails has changed over time, the purpose has remained unchanged – to transport people efficiently and safely across a vast province, including areas of high elevation and rugged terrain. The next time you drive through one of the many high mountain passes surrounding Kamloops, take a moment to consider the fact that for millennia people continually travelled and navigated similar routes by foot.

Dig It: Indigenous Oral History and Archaeology

By Nola Markey
PUBLISH DATE 01 Nov 2017

Much of the general knowledge of archaeology often seems to be associated to the excavation fieldwork. The preparation of the archaeology project prior to fieldwork is making sure project objectives are defined, heritage permits are in place, safety plans are set up, organizing a team, establishing the equipment for the field, such as shovels, trowels, sifters, tapes, GPS units and more, depending upon the type of project you are working on. Yet, once the fieldwork begins and something has been found, it is always exciting, especially when you find that 7, 000-year-old artifact and wonder if you are the first person to touch something that was cleverly stored, accidently lost or purposely discarded. However, the fieldwork only represents part of what we do. The other part is the interpretation of the field maps that locate all the shovel tests or evaluative units and to define the site and landforms they are found on, the environment they are found in, inventorying and analyzing the artifacts collected including the documented features (i.e., hearths, cultural depressions). How do we interpret all of this?

Prior to the fieldwork there is some background research that is completed to understand the local culture area, followed by a comprehensive investigation after the completion of the fieldwork. Presenting the long-ago past, includes a thorough understanding of the study area that comprises building on the work of others to include the paleo-ecology, geology, historical use of the area, archaeological sites recorded in proximity to the project, and ethnographic studies (written from a non-Indigenous perspective), and importantly the language. More recently some archaeologists have been including oral histories of the culture group in the study area as it does provide another source of evidence. Oral traditions provide information about the area, such as the environment or certain land formations, migrating into certain areas, and some of the pictograph symbols. This is of great interest to the local and younger Indigenous peoples, as much of their culture was interrupted due to various practices imposed in the past; therefore, archaeology results and linking their oral histories connects them to their heritage and long-ago ancestors.

(Figure 1. Little Shuswap Lake Indian Band - Archaeology Team)

There have been some excellent studies completed where the oral history provided by community members have augmented, corroborated, or enhanced the information of the area, practices, events or meaning of artifacts. For instance, we assume designs found on various bone tools is artwork, or a signature design, but we know from oral history that some of these designs were in fact markers that an individual had kept track of the number of items made in their lifetime. In other cases, oral stories passed down through generations that identified a flood or volcanic eruption, which studies completed by Western knowledge also supported the same information, but more excitingly it dated the story more than 4,000 years old. There are many other examples, however the importance here is this kind of information brings together both Indigenous and Western ways of interpreting the past.

Dig It:The Inconvenient Truth of Indigenous Archaeology

By J. Hammond
PUBLISH DATE 19 Feb 2019

Last week, a pair of artifacts were identified on the site of a planned work camp related to the construction of the Coastal Gas Link pipeline in Unist'ot'en, a subunit of traditional Wet'suwet'en territory (Figure 1) . The inland northwest LNG project has been in the news lately as authorities struggle with how to address the different jurisdictions of traditional hereditary governance and Indian Act band administration.

The unearthing of the artifacts, believed to date to at least 2,400 years ago, would not come as a surprise to most archaeologists or Indigenous people: 15,000 years of land use with technology dominated by stone tools guarantees an abundance of such evidence.

Yet discussions in mainstream and social media have been full of accusations that Indigenous land defenders "planted" the artifacts, that they may not have actually originated in that place. Why have these artifacts stirred up this kind of debate and what does it mean about how we see ourselves and our history?

The answer to this lies in the four-century old idea of terra nullius, a key tenet of the Doctrine of Discovery, the philosophy endorsed by the Catholic Church that kicked off the age of exploration and led to the colonization of the global south.

Terra nullius, known as the "empty lands doctrine", essentially said that lands not occupied by Christians were to be considered open and free for the taking, and that colonization of such lands (and religious conversion of their Indigenous occupants) was fulfilling god's will.

Far from being history, terra nullius remains foundational to Canada's national historical narrative. We see tend to see ourselves as pioneers, taming an empty wilderness, earning our place on this land by improving it, making it more productive, more profitable, in a way that past Indigenous owners did (or could) not.
Our origin story doesn't have room for 500 generations of Indigenous people. It doesn't acknowledge the depth, intensity and continuity of Indigenous relationship with this land. And it can't grasp that more than 15 millennia of use has virtually carpeted the continent with archaeological sites, the marks of the all the ancestors. Admitting Indigenous precedence here is admitting that we took what wasn't ours, and that to this day we live on stolen land. So we don't.

So those artifacts in Unist'ot'en territory? Two beautifully made stone tools, knapped and used by an ancestor more than two thousand years ago? Those are the incontrovertible marks of the Indigenous past. So too are the names of the places they were found: in Unist'ot'en, at the confluence of Wedzin Kwah (Morice River) and Talbits Kwah (Gosnell Creek).

Those artifacts, and those names, represent an undeniable underlying title to this land that we have yet to come to terms with as a nation. The archaeology of Indigenous peoples will be seen as an inconvenience, even a ruse, until Canada makes peace with its past.

A couple of stone tools appearing where a pipeline was planned represent, in microcosm, the challenge of reconciling our occupation on unceded land. We can build on it, we can buy and sell it, we can profit from its resources, but we can't wipe it clean and make it ours. We cannot erase the past.

(Figure 1. Unistoten artifacts F. Huson)

Coastal GasLink Pipeline and the Wet'suwet'en Controversy

We would now like to focus some attention to the Coastal Gaslink Pipeline controversy. In recent months there has been several news stories (including J. Hammond, this volume) related to the development of an LNG Canada pipeline proposed to run from Dawson Creek to a plant near Kitimat. While TransCanada claims all First Nations have signed agreements along its proposed route, the hereditary leadership of the Wet'suwet'en Nation say the agreements do not apply to their traditional territories (one third of the pipeline runs through Wet'suwet'en territory). In early February artifacts were identified in bulldozed sections of the proposed work camp on the route of Coastal Gaslink's pipeline within Wet'suwet'en territory and the hereditary leadership called for a stop work order through the release of an open letter. Changes to the archaeological overview assessment were highlighted by the Nation in which high potential areas had been reconsidered as low potential prior to development. In early March the BC Oil and Gas Commission, acting under the Heritage Conservation Act, released a brief bulletin suggesting the artifacts that had been found were likely out of context and not in their original location.

In order to fill in some of the gaps and provide an update on the situation The Midden has reprinted the Wet'suwet'en "open letter", the ASBC's letter of concern, as well as a follow up article by Denzel Sutherland-Wilson, Anne Spice and Chelsey Geralda Armstrong addressing the situation.

Open Letter to the Archaeology Branch of the BC Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations

On February 13, 2019, multiple artifacts were recovered from the bulldozed portions of Coastal GasLink Pipeline Ltd. (CGL) construction site in Ya'tsalkas (Dark House) Talbits Kwah yintah (territory) of the Wet'suwet'en near Houston in northwestern British Columbia. The recovery of artifacts from disturbed ground at the construction site indicates that the Heritage Conservation Act of British Columbia (HCA, RSBC 1996) and its accompanying guidelines have failed Indigenous communities in British Columbia once again.

Consideration of cultural heritage resources is mandated in British Columbia to:

"…encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in British Columbia." (HCA Part 1, Section 1)

The HCA legal framework is further grounded by the Forest Act (RSBC 1996), where a cultural heritage resource is defined as:

"…an object, a site or the location of a traditional societal practice that is of historical, cultural or archaeological significance to British Columbia, a community or an aboriginal people." (Forest Act, Section 1 [1])

The Unist'ot'en have permanently reoccupied their territory since 2009. The proposed CGL work camp is on Unist'ot'en territory and at the confluence of three river systems, the Gosnell Valley bottom tributary in particular, is one of the largest in the Skeena Watershed and produces substantial coho salmon runs (Oncorhynchus kisutch) (Gottesfeld and Rabnett 2008). The main Gosnell trail (trade and war trail) is subsumed by the Shea Creek Forest Service Road, which accesses Unist'ot'en and bisects the CGL work camp and other ancillary CGL developments (Rabnett 2001). Dozens of heritage and archaeological sites are recorded at the confluence of the three river systems (Weathers 2006; Office of the Wet'suwet'en 2010). Rich oral traditions (histories and stories) highlight the Morice River area as a major travel corridor between the Interior and the Coast and as home to Wet'suwet'en people for millennia (Daly 2005).

In October 2018, CGL was given the green light to begin construction on a 670 km pipeline, various compressor stations, and work camps in northwestern British Columbia. No consent for pipeline construction has been obtained from the Dinï ze' and Ts'akë ze' (Wet'suwet'en Hereditary chiefs). A significant portion of the pipeline and a work camp were proposed on Talbits Kwah yintah, where no archaeological inventory/impact assessment (AIA) was conducted.

In 2013, under permit 2013-0004, CGL consultant archaeologists described the entire Morice River area (which runs through Talbits Kwah yintah) as having "high potential" for cultural heritage resources (5-29 of the 2013-0004 report). Yet, when archaeologists were not granted access to the territory by the Hereditary Chiefs (whose decisions were enforced by Unist'ot'en), the permit was closed.

A new permit was opened (2013-0033) and CGL consultant archaeologists reversed the findings of the original overview assessment stating that the proposed development area in Talbits Kwah (known as Multi Use Site 9A, Camp 9A, CGL work camp) now had low archaeological potential. In consulting contexts, the change in designation from "high" to "low" potential is highly irregular.

Furthermore, the CGL consultant archaeologists claim that the new low potential designation was the result of 1) "the moderately steeply sloping terrain…lack of microtopographical variation...logging activities…impacts from pine beetle", and 2) a lack of archaeological sites within 2000 m of the CGL work camp. To the first point, logging activity and pine beetle infestation only lower the potential of locating culturally modified trees (CMTs), other types of archaeological features and artifacts often remain intact. Furthermore, camp volunteers and spokesperson Freda Huson assert that the claim in the AOA that the site lacks "microtopographical variation" is objectively false.

To the second point, previous cultural heritage investigations in the proposed development area reveal extensive and concentrated use in the past (Rabnett 2001; Trustler et al. 2002; Whaggus n.d.). Indeed stone tool artifacts were recovered from the CGL worksite on February 13, 2019 by camp volunteers and are estimated to be from the Shuswap Horizon (3500–2400 BP). Two artifacts were photographed in situ (see below), and removed from the construction site for fear of destruction. Other artifacts and fragments were left on site.

Cultural resources such as trails, villages, artifacts, and food resources on

the Talbits Kwah yintah are intimately tied to Wet'suwet'en identity and cultural practice and are part of the larger Wet'suwet'en cultural heritage infrastructure. Wet'suwet'en cultural resources associate to landscape, placenames, stories, language, and identity, and their destruction leads to dispossession, disenfranchisement, and further colonial distress. The education value of cultural heritage resources in this area is high given that Unist'ot'en territory has been a site of land based education for Unist'ot'en and Wet'suwet'en members returning to the land to live and heal for over a decade. The work of the healing center continues to draw on the ancestral knowledge embedded in the land to help community members connect to their cultural heritage, inheritance, and unextinguished Wet'suwet'en law.

Furthermore, the Wet'suwet'en cultural heritage resources located in Talbits Kwa yintah inform both Canada and BC laws, and Wet'suwet'en law. Cultural heritage denotes use and occupation, which in turn determines Aboriginal Rights including Title. This cultural heritage singularly and as aggregate is a significant component of Wet'suwet'en law with linkages to access, use, trespass if any, and reparations where appropriate (Budhwa 2005).

We, the undersigned condemn the approval of a permit that reversed the initial valuation of archaeological potential (from high to low) because of a political conflict. Furthermore, we charge that the newly found artifacts reveal that archaeological heritage is clearly present, and that adjacent areas in the claimed for CGL development area should be evaluated as high potential and AIAs conducted in consultation with Ya'tsalkas (Dark House).

We, the undersigned request a review of the archaeological overview assessments and all archaeological permits granted to CGL in Wet'suwet'en territory, and that all construction and vehicle activity cease in Talbits Kwa yintah until these legal concerns for cultural heritage are met.

Signatories:

Freda Huson
Spokesperson
Dark House- Unist'ot'en

Chelsey Geralda Armstrong, PhD
National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution

Michael Deal, PhD
President, Canadian Archaeological Association

Michael Blake, PhD
Professor and Chair, Anthropology, University of British Columbia

Andrew Martindale, PhD
Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of British Columbia

Gary Coupland, PhD
Professor of Anthropology, University of Toronto
Past-president, Canadian Archaeological Association

Neal Ferris, PhD
Professor and Lawson Chair of Canadian Archaeology, University of Western Ontario

Sue Rowley, PhD
Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of British Columbia
Curator, UBC Museum of Anthropology

Charles R. Menzies, PhD
Professor of Anthropology, University of British Columbia
Gitxaała Nation

Antonia Mills, PhD
Professor Emerita, First Nations Studies
University of Northern British Columbia

April Nowell, PhD
Professor and Chair of Anthropology, University of Victoria

Dana Lepofsky, PhD
Professor of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

Rudy Reimer / Yumks, PhD
Associate Professor of Archaeology and First Nations Studies, Simon Fraser University
Director, Bill Reid Centre, Indigenous Research Institute, Simon Fraser University
Squamish Nation

A. Catherine D'Andrea, PhD
Professor of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

James Conolly, PhD
Professor and Chair, Anthropology, Trent University

John Welch, PhD
Professor of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

Ross W. Jamieson, PhD
Associate Professor of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

Leslie Main Johnson, PhD
Professor Emeritus, Anthropology, Athabasca University Alberta Canada

Farid Rahemtulla, PhD
Assistant Professor of Archaeology, University of Northern British Columbia

Peter Johansen, PhD
Assistant Professor of Anthropology, McGill University

Kisha Supernant, PhD
Associate Director, Institute of Prairie Archaeology
Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta
Métis Nation of Alberta

Dr. David Geary, PhD
Assistant Professor of Cultural Anthropology, University of British Columbia, Okanagan

Christina M. Giovas, PhD
Assistant Professor of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

Sean Connaughton, PhD, RPA, RPCA
Consultant Archaeologist

Bill Angelbeck, PhD
Department of Anthropology and Sociology, Douglas College

Chris Arnett, PhD
Honourary Research Associate, Department of Anthropology, University of British Columbia

Patrick Morgan Ritchie, MA
Sts'ailes First Nation Heritage Research Archaeologist

Spencer Greening, PhD Student

Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University
Gitga'at First Nation
Pierre Elliott Trudeau Foundation Scholar

Anne Spice, MA, PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology, City University of New York Graduate Center
Tlingit- Kwanlin Dun First Nation

Darcy Mathews, PhD
Assistant Professor, University of Victoria

Bryn Letham, PhD
Postdoctoral Fellow, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University

Lesley R. Howse, PhD
Instructor, Archaeology and Heritage Studies, Wilfred Laurier University
Research Associate, Archaeology Centre, University of Toronto

Kevin S. Gibbons, M.Sc., RPA
Department of Anthropology
University of Maryland

Jessica Metcalfe, PhD
Research Associate of Anthropology, University of British Columbia

Jacob Kinze Earnshaw, MA
BC Archaeological Consultant

Jon Sheppard, BA Hons.
Field Director / Permit Holder — Independent Archaeological Consultant

Jacob Salmen-Hartley, MA
BC Archaeological Consultant

Callum Abbott, MA
BC Archaeological Consultant, Independent

Ginevra Toniello, MA
Archaeology & Cultural Heritage Program Manager
Treaty, Lands & Resources Department, Tsleil-Waututh Nation

Kristen Bos, PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto

Cynthia Fowler, PhD
Professor and Chair, Sociology and Anthropology Department, Wofford College
President, Society of Ethnobiology

Crystal Migwans, MA, MPhil
Doctoral Candidate, Art History, Columbia University

Anishinaabe of Wiikwemkoong Unceded Territory

Kurt A. Jordan, PhD
Associate Professor of Anthropology and American Indian and Indigenous Studies, Cornell University
Director, Cornell Institute of Archaeology and Material Studies (CIAMS)

Willeke Wendrich, PhD
Director Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA

Joan Silsbee Chair of African Cultural Archaeology
Professor of Egyptian Archaeology and Digital Humanities

Alex C. McAlvay, PhD
Postdoctoral Research Associate, Ecology and Evolutionary Biology, Cornell University

Devin Rachar
Former BC Archaeological Consultant

Kristen Simmons, PhD candidate
Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago

David Finch, MES
Heritage Consultant, Yellowknife, NWT

Setrag Manoukian, PhD
Anthropology Department, Chair
Associate Professor Institute of Islamic Studies and Department of Anthropology
McGill University

Sandra Teresa Hyde, PhD, MPH
Anthropology Associate Professor & Undergraduate Program Chair, McGill; Associate Fellow Social Studies of Medicine, East Asian Studies, Institute for Studies in International Development

Kristin Norget, PhD
Associate Professor, Anthropology
McGill University

Megan Taylor Hicks, MA, MPhil
City University of New York (Graduate Center) and Hunter College

Michelle Murphy, PhD
Professor of History and WGSI, University of Toronto

Samantha Walker, PhD (ABD)
McGill University

Adam Fleischmann, PhD (ABD)
Department of Anthropology, McGill University
Diana Allan, PhD
Assistant Professor Department of Anthropology & Institute for the Study of International Development
McGill University

Paulette Steeves
Cree-Metis Archaeologist. Algoma University Faculty History
Nominee Canada Research Chair Tier II Healing and Reconciliation

Seonaid Duffield, MA
Archaeological Consultant

Diana K. Moreiras Reynaga, MA
PhD Candidate in Archaeology/Bioarchaeology, The University of Western Ontario

Brian Noble, PhD
Associate Professor Department of Sociology & Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University

Sara Wickham, MSc, PhD Student
School of Environment, Resources and Sustainability, University of Waterloo

Kyle Forsythe, MA
PhD Candidate, Department of Anthropology, McGill University

Steven Mozarowski, BsC
Archaeologist

Robert Muckle
Archaeologist, Capilano University

Ian Sellers
Archaeologist

Scott Hamilton, PhD
Professor and Chair, Dept of Anthropology, Lakehead University

April M. Beisaw, PhD, RPA
Associate Professor of Anthropology, Vassar College

Stephanie Halmhofer, MA,
BC archaeological consultant.

Alessandria Testani, MA Candidate
Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University
Consultant Archaeologist

Kait Kenel, MA Candidate
Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, University of Saskatchewan

Samantha Markham, MES
Consultant Archaeologist

Natalie Owl, PhD Candidate
University of Regina

Denzel Sutherland-Wilson
Unist'ot'en land defender. BA Anthropology, McGill University.
House of Tsi'basa, Gisghaast clan, Gitxsan Nation

Eréndira M. Quintana Morales, PhD
Postdoctoral Scholar, Department of Anthropology, Penn State University

Alicia Hawkins, PhD
Associate Professor and Archaeology Program Coordinator, Laurentian University
President, Ontario Archaeological Society

Seth Macdonald
Integrity Contracting, owner (Silviculture Services to the Province of British Columbia)
Accredited Silviculture Surveyor

Dorothy Hyslop, M.Ed
Registered Clinical Counsellor, BCACC

Teresa Montoya, PhD
Provost's Postdoctoral Fellow 2019-2021; Assistant Professor of Anthropology 2021-
Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago
Diné / Navajo Nation

Sarah C. Moritz, PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology, McGill University

Guy Lanoue
Directeur, Département d'anthropologie, Université de Montréal

Ted Banning
Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto

Callan Ross-Sheppard, PhD Candidate
Department of Anthropology, McGill University

Katsi'tsahén:te Cross-Delisle,
BA Anthropology Student, McGill University
Bear clan of the Kanien'keha:ka of Kahnawake

Kathleen Godfrey, MA
Current OceanPath Fellow, St. FX University

Jaskiran Dhillon
Associate Professor of Global Studies and Anthropology
The New School

John M. Vandergugten, BA Hons.
Graduate Student, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto

Susan M. Chandler, RPA
Society for American Archaeology President
Hillary Kiazyk, BA,
MA Candidate, University of Western Ontario

Terence Clark, PhD
Assistant Professor, Department of Archaeology and Anthropology
University of Saskatchewan

Craig N. Cipolla, PhD
Associate Curator, North American Archaeology, Royal Ontario Museum
Assistant Professor, Anthropology, University of Toronto

Rita Wong
Associate Professor, Faculty of Culture and Community,
Emily Carr University of Art and Design

Joshua Evans
DPhil Candidate, Geography and the Environment
University of Oxford

Mélanie H. Morin
Cultural Anthropologist
Author - Niwhts'ide'nï Hibi'it'ën: The Ways of Our Ancestors
Witsuwit'en Language and Culture Society Program Coordinator

Jindra Bélanger, BA
Anthropology Department, University of Victoria

Margo L. Matwychuk, PhD
Assistant Professor, Anthropology
Director, Social Justice Studies
University of Victoria

Stephanie Arlt, MA
MSc student, University of Victoria.

Andrew. W. Hickok, PhD
Lead Bioarchaeologist, Stantec, Ltd.; Bioarchaeologist for Wood, Arrowstone and Madrone
Official Osteologist of the Semiahmoo First Nation

Allan Antliff,
Canada Research Chair (2003-2013),
Associate Professor, Art History and Visual Studies, University of Victoria

Leslie Sabiston, PhD (ABD)
Anthropology, Columbia University
Visiting Scholar, Anthropology, University of Winnipeg
Métis Nation, Red River

Egla Martinez, PhD
Xinka,
Associate Professor, Human Rights and Social Justice,
Carleton University, Canada

Melissa Checker,
Associate Professor
PhD Programs in Anthropology and Environmental Psychology, CUNY Graduate Center
Department of Urban Studies, Queens College CUNY

References

Budhwa, R. 2005. An Alternate Model for First Nations Involvement in Resource Management Archaeology. Canadian Journal of Archaeology/Journal Canadien d'Archéologie29(1):20–45.

Daly, R. 2005. Our Box was Full: An Ethnography for the Delgamuukw Plaintiffs. UBC Press.

Gottesfeld, A., and K.A. Rabnett. 2008. Skeena River Fish and their Habitat. Ecotrust, Vancouver.

Office of the Wet'suwet'en. 2010. Wedzin Kwa/ Morice Lake Cultural Heritage Resource Preliminary Field ASsessment. Prepared for Office of the Wet'suwet'en, Smithers B.C.

Rabnett, K., (Suskwa Research). 2001. Selected Wet'suwet'en Cultural Heritage Within Portions of Morice Landscape Unit Planning Areas, Morice Forest District. Report prepared for Office of the Wet'suwet'en, Smithers B.C.

Trustler, S., G. Andrew, S. Schug, K. Rabnett, F. Depey. 2002. Wet'suwet'en Territorial Stewardship Plan. FRBC Final Report 2001/2002. [Office of the Wet'suwet'en, Smithers B.C.?]

Whaggus, n.d. Wet'suwet'en Use Study (WUS) for the Proposed KSL Looping Project. Report prepared by WHAAGUS Applied Ethnography and Research Consulting Services and the Office of the Wet'suwet'en. [Office of the Wet'suwet'en, Smithers B.C.?]

Weathers, B. 2006. British Columbia Archaeological Inventory and Impact Assessment Interim Report (2006-173). Enbridge Gateway Project: Target Area 48 Ancillary Campsite 12. Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations, Archaeology Branch, Victoria, B.C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY of BRITISH COLUMBIA

ASBC
675 Belleville Street, Victoria BC V8W 9W2
asbcpresident@gmail.com
asbcvictoria@gmail.com

16 February 2019

The Archaeological Society of British Columbia (ASBC) has been informed of a recent discovery of archaeological material during active Coastal GasLink Pipeline Ltd. (CGL) construction in Wet'suwet'en territory near Houston, BC. This situation is addressed in an Open Letter to the Archaeology Branch of the BC Ministry of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations, published today.

We, as the elected Board of the ASBC, are concerned that development by CGL and its associated contractors in this area may continue without further archaeological assessment, despite the presence of archaeological material. We strongly encourage CGL, the BC Archaeology Branch, and the BC Oil and Gas Commission to assess the property for associated cultural material and provide appropriate measures for site protection in consultation with Wet'suwet'en and Unist'ot'en representatives.

We also encourage a detailed review of existing archaeological assessment on this project to ensure similar sites within the entire development area are identified and protected under the Heritage Conservation Act.

Sincerely,

Jacob Earnshaw
President
Archaeology Society of BC

Ian Sellers
Vice President
Archaeological Society of BC

And the ASBC Board of Directors,
including

Angela Dyck

Jacob Salmen-Hartley

Seonaid Duffield

Meaghan Efford

Callum Abbott

Phoebe Murphy

Commission Follows Up on Archaeological Complaint

The BC Oil and Gas Commission (Commission) received a complaint from the Dark House/Unist'ot'en of the Wet'suwet'en First Nation at 3:51 a.m. on Thursday, Feb. 14, 2019 regarding cultural artifacts at a work site where construction was underway for an industrial camp (Camp 9A); part of the Coastal GasLink (CGL) Pipeline Project. Camp 9A is situated southwest of Houston, B.C.

The complaint stated two "lithic stone tools" had been found and recovered from Camp 9A by Unist'ot'en supporters and additional artifacts were observed but left in place.

The Commission immediately responded, dispatching a team to the site to determine if CGL was operating in compliance with its permits as well as the broader regulatory framework under the Oil and Gas Activities Act and the Heritage Conservation Act. The team included a senior archaeologist and compliance and enforcement officer from the Commission, supported by an archaeological specialist from the Ministry of Forests, Lands, Natural Resource Operations and Rural Development (FLNRORD). Given the complexities of mobilization as well as security and safety considerations, the team arrived at the site on the afternoon of Friday, February 15.

Observations from the site at the time, included:

 No work was underway at the site. Work had stopped upon notification artifacts may be present.

 An area of the site had been marked off by parties other than CGL. CGL noted this was the area where artifacts were reported to have been seen.

 CGL had established a 100 m buffer around the area as an additional exclusion zone and had not entered the area, which had been graded down to glacial clay deposits.

 Upon entry into the marked area and after some snow clearing, the team observed lithics (stone
artifacts) on top of frozen clay soils.

 The lithics were gathered for their protection and further examination under the proper authority
of the Heritage Conservation Act. Subsequent to the site visit, it has been determined:

 The soils upon which the artifacts were found would not typically contain any such cultural artifacts and this was likely not their original location. However, a definitive determination on their exact location of origin can not be made.

 The artifacts referred to in the complaint as "recovered" were not present. Initial examination of the artifacts is complete. Additional work is ongoing but does not require the further retention of the artifacts. As such, the Archaeology Branch within FLNRORD is working towards the return of the artifacts to the appropriate Indigenous communities.

The Commission's permit for Camp 9A includes a condition governing the steps to be taken should artifacts be discovered during the course of work. This permit condition requires CGL to stop work if heritage objects are found and notify the Commission. The permit further requires CGL to file a Mitigation Plan acceptable to the Archaeology Branch of FLNRORD before work can resume – that Plan has now been accepted by the Archaeology Branch and the Commission.

The Plan requires CGL to determine if there is additional cultural material on the site by having archaeologists:

 Assess the area surrounding the location where the artifacts were found – if no cultural material is found in this assessment, CGL will be able to resume work on the site.

 Sample the topsoil stockpiled on the edge of the site once it is no longer frozen.

 Supervise construction operations on the site once work restarts.

 Further assess the topsoil when it is spread back on the site during future site reclamation.

For media inquiries regarding this Information Bulletin, please contact:
Lannea Parfitt
Manager, Communications BC Oil and Gas Commission Lannea.Parfitt@bcogc.ca
250-980-6081

Compliance Archaeology Fails Indigenous Peoples in British Columbia:An Example from Unist'ot'en Territory

Denzel Sutherland-Wilson[1], Anne Spice[2,3], Chelsey Geralda Armstrong[4]
1 Wilp Luugimhetwit, Gisgaast clan, Gitxsan nation
2 [2]Tlingit
3 PhD Candidate, City University of New York Graduate Center
4 National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC

Since the early 2000s, there has been a fundamental shift in Canadian archaeology premised on the need for more meaningful and respectful relationships with Indigenous communities. This shift is represented by a surge of "Indigenous Archaeology" literature theorized by Indigenous and non-Indigenous archaeologists (Nicholas 1997; Atalay 2006, Colwell-Chanthaphonh et al. 2010), and embodied by archaeologists seeking more material and just collaborations with descendant communities (Martindale and Lyons 2014; Lepofsky and Lertzman 2018). While

(Figure 1. Stone tools Feb. 13, 2019)

there have been visible and active attempts to decolonize archaeological theory and practice, it appears as though simultaneous efforts to reduce heritage "restrictions" in a brand of market-driven archaeology, overseen by the British Columbia Oil and Gas Commission (OGC) and the BC Archaeology Branch ("Branch"), has stalled and stymied the discipline's path towards restitution and reconciliation. In order to expedite industrial development on unceded Indigenous lands, the Branch and OGC have helped to further disenfranchise a community from their lands and cultural inheritance under a cloak of "compliance". The ethics and practices of commercial archaeology are arguably more important than any other kind archaeology (Ferris and Welch 2015), and some of those practices are leading practitioners down a dark and oppressive road.

On February 13, 2019, stone tool artifacts were recovered from the proposed "Camp 9A" construction zone (~0.3 km) in Talbits Kwah (Unist'ot'en/ Dark House territory) in northwestern BC. The land was bulldozed for thezconstruction of a work camp or "man camp" destined to house pipeline contractors for the construction of LNG Canada's Coastal GasLink Ltd. (CGL) pipeline. Construction began shortly after January 9, when militarized RCMP forcibly removed Wet'suwet'en people from their land. In response to RCMP arrests and violence, Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs allowed contractors to enter their territory to conclude permitting requirements under the shadow of CGL's court injunction. It was the first time CGL contractors were able to enter Unist'ot'en territory — no live archaeological assessments had been conducted despite the "high potential" designation awarded to the area in the original overview assessment. Citing access difficulties, contract archaeologists for CGL later re-categorized the area as having "low potential".

When the construction at Camp 9A began, Chiefs, Elders and House spokespeople were deeply concerned about how activity would affect their traplines, camps, and archaeological sites. Their concerns were justified — on January 23, CGL bulldozers ploughed through an active trapline and the Kwees War Trail. The Office of the Wet'suwet'en published a cease and desist letter, citing a clear lack of consultation or impact assessment, and noted the rich cultural heritage of the Camp 9A area. CMTs, fish camps, traplines, place names, and known village sites pepper the Gosnell River landscape that surrounds Camp 9A. Such sites have been amply recorded and inventoried, first for the Delgamuukw court case proceedings (1980s–1990s), and then by the Office of the Wet'suwet'en Lands and Resources department (2000–to present).

Fig 1. Stone tools recovered from the construction site at proposed Camp 9A. Note the soil that the OGC claimed should be sterile. The authors suggest the soil is likely fluvial clay (common in the area) and not glacial as it was assumed the OGC concluded. THe OGC/Branch reps removed artifacts before they could be further analyzed.

After artifacts were recovered from a disturbed portion of the Camp 9A site and despite endless attempts to contact the OGC and the Branch — the Office of the Wet'suwet'en and Unist'ot'en Chiefs and spokespeople were ignored outright. There was radio silence for almost a month. Wet'suwet'en Hereditary Chiefs and dozens of professional archaeologists endorsed an open letter to the Arch Branch, published in this volume, which outlines concerns and discrepancies with the archaeological

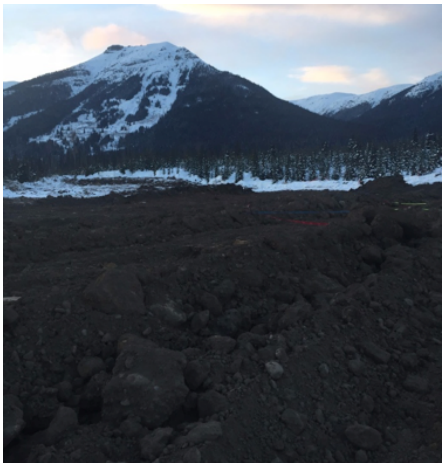
assessment process. There has been no response to the letter. Then on March 8 an unconscionable bulletin by the OGC went public, first to local and then national news outlets. In reference to artifacts recovered at Camp 9A it stated,

"The soils upon which the artifacts were found would not typically contain any such cultural artifacts and this was likely not their original location. However, a definitive determination on their exact location of origin can not be made. The artifacts referred to in the complaint as 'recovered' were not present."

The page and half bulletin gave no detail into the nature of the Oil and Gas Commission's conclusions, such as the parameters or extent of their investigation, how they determined the sterility of the soil, and why they omitted an important piece of information: that the site was disturbed by bulldozers and excavators and any artifacts would almost certainly be moved from their "original location". The Arch Branch was noticeably silent about the bulletin and continued to ignore calls and emails from Unist'ot'en Chiefs. Without investigation, expert opinion, or the slightest inclination of due diligence, the OGC's carefully crafted insinuation that the artifacts were planted sought to discredit Unist'ot'en people, and simultaneously assert that no archaeological heritage was present nor at risk. CGL could resume construction.

The bulletin breathed life into racially charged and cruel comments from the public, and it exacerbated deep-rooted colonial sentiments that were now able to freely surface. Weeks before the OGC posted the bulletin, archaeologist Joanne Hammond denounced claims made in online forums where the authenticity of the artifacts was continuously challenged. In her article in Kamloops This Week, Hammond noted that we see Indigenous peoples histories as an "inconvenience, even a ruse", and that stone tools on the route of a proposed pipeline represent, "in microcosm, the challenge of reconciling our occupation of unceded land". The impulse to deny the origin a Peoples' heritage and ancestry without evidence is a trademark of early anthropology. The rejection of Indigenous heritage and humanity has political and historical precedents in BC too — this tactic squarely de-legitimizes and distances people from the rights of ownership to their ancestral places (Roy 2002).

The effort and work archaeologists have taken over the years to be less extractive and less colonial, and the push for public archaeology to inform and inspire heritage values in BC, was seismically distorted overnight. At its best archaeology is a means of understanding and celebrating Indigenous heritage, but it is also easily twisted into a violent colonial tool for silencing and erasing it. The OGC's attempt at a populous reappraisal (and the Branch's complete silence on the matter) was where the story likely ended for most readers. But this is the beginning of something more damning and troubling for archaeologists across British Columbia. Beyond the OGC's attempt to discredit and erase Wet'suwet'en people from their territory and deprive them of their cultural inheritance, this story highlights problematic and worrisome gaps in how archaeology is regulated and conducted in BC. In a recent meeting with an OGC representative, we asked how the OGC and Branch make their decisions, and who is given authority over whom in issues of permitting, compliance, and enforcement. There was no answer.



(Figure 3. Disturbed soil at worksite; cleared of forestand Unist'ot'en trapline Feb. 13, 2019)

(Figure 4. Biface recovered from worksite Feb. 13, 2019)

(Figure 5. Fragment of stemmed pointrecovered from worksite Feb. 13, 2019)

The fundamental social and organizational unit of Wet'suwet'en people is the House group (Yikh) and each House is headed by a Chief and associated with

one of the five clans (Dïdikhnï). The main Wet'suwet'en reserve (Moricetown or Witset) is governed by the Wet'suwet'en Band Council and makes up roughly 1% of Wet'suwet'en territory. House groups govern the control, access, and resources in their respective and judiciously delineated traditional territories (Mills 2011; Morin 2011)1. The recognition of House territory jurisdiction is legally mandated by one of the largest land claims cases in Canadian history, Delgamuukw-Gisdaywa V. The Queen (1997). One of the plaintiffs in this court case was Chief Knedebeas of Unist'ot'en/Dark House.

Unist'ot'en people are considered to be the original Wet'suwet'en from whom all other clans originated and are currently represented by Hereditary Chiefs Lht'at'en (Dorris Rosso), Welïh (Kathryn Mitchell), Masgïbu (Helen Mitchell), and Chief Knedebeas (Warner William) — all descendants of Christine Holland who held the Knedebeas name during the Delgamuukw hearings. Hereditary responsibility and obligation to care for and maintain title to their land comes from both Wet'suwet'en law and Canadian law. For these reasons, and many others, Unist'ot'en people and supporters were tasked with controlling access to their territory and monitoring the Camp 9A site after CGL work crews began construction without consent. Similar direct actions in Lil'wat territory were critical in protecting archaeological heritage during development without consent (Angelbeck and Jones 2018). An injunction served to Unist'ot'en community members meant that they could not be near construction during the day. Instead, they would walk transects in the afternoon after CGL workers left for the day, looking through the disturbed soil for upturned artifacts. On the afternoon on February 13, six stone tool artifacts were located on site. The OGC and Branch were immediately notified. Unist'ot'en supporters contacted a number of archaeologists, who urged them to leave all artifacts in place, flag off the site, and take lots of photos and waypoints. Two artifacts had already been removed, but four artifacts were left untouched onsite. Pictures were taken and the area was flagged (Fig 1).

For weeks, archaeologists, House Chiefs and spokespeople attempted to contact the Arch Branch and the OGC to no avail. Meanwhile, representative(s) from the Arch Branch and the OGC went to Camp 9A at dusk on February 15, 2019 with RCMP escorts, and without notifying Wet'suwet'en community members or representatives. Under a ministerial order, they removed all the remaining artifacts that were flagged on site.

Throughout the month of February, we conducted ground and helicopter surveys around Camp 9A. In one afternoon and despite the ~1m of snow, over 20 CMTs were identified within 100 m of the bulldozed site. An extensive library of archives for Dark House territory including maps, affidavits, and interviews from Delgamuukw, and in-house reports from the Office of the Wet'suwet'en informed rich and detailed maps identifying hundreds of CMTs, trails, fish camps, homesteads, dozens of place names, and pre-contact archaeological sites (none of these are indicated on RAAD). Wet'suwet'en people know their lands and history better than archaeologists do; they live and make their living there.

To be certain, archaeologists can provide a high-level and sophisticated suite of methods for identifying and analyzing archaeological sites. But no such methods were used by CGL consultants. Failing to consult with the Wet'suwet'en meant that the Arch Branch, OGC, and CGL's archaeological consultants made and continue to make perplexing errors. The implications of the loss of archaeological materials for Indigenous communities are drastic. The gold standard for Aboriginal Rights and Title in BC is tied to proof and longevity of occupancy, and archaeological sites are direct evidence of such things. Archaeological materials go beyond intrinsic heritage value, the have legal significance for communities as well. Wet'suwet'en people were forced to the sidelines, watching as archaeological sites containing evidence of their continuous use and occupancy were eradicated.

Ignoring community concerns about Camp 9A resulted in the destruction of a site, now designated as a legacy site and currently under more construction. A woefully inadequate mitigation plan was approved by the OGC and the Branch and without consulting Unist'ot'en or the Office of the Wet'suwet'en. In summary it included:

1. Subsurface testing of topsoil pile under non-frozen conditions
2. Full surface visual inspection of the 10 m x 10 m area of interest
3. Fortuitous surface visual inspection of approximately 800 m2 of exposed soils within the disturbance footprint, and
4. Ongoing monitoring throughout the construction and reclamation stages of the Project

The artifacts recovered from Camp 9A were encrusted in what appeared to be fluvial clay. Testing a soil type ("top soil") that has likely been disturbed and mixed with other deposits would not be as productive as, say screening an agreed upon volume of soil from the construction site. A visual survey may be compliant, but it is neither informative nor would it mitigate any further destruction of the site. Shouldn't archaeologists shovel test around the perimeter of the construction site in order to ascertain if intact portions of the site remain and require further protection? Since the precise location of the site is not known, perhaps the Branch could negotiate with the community the intervals of the shovel tests needed to satisfy both parties? An ex-

cavation unit in the vicinity of where the artifacts were recovered might also rule out the possibility of a paleosol or some other stratigraphy. Surely these small acts of mitigation would provide some restitution for the "unknowing impact" CGL had on an archaeological site? A carefully crafted mitigation plan could also act as an investigation into the bulletin insinuating the artifacts were planted. These suggestions were more or less ignored by the Branch and OGC, and requests for Wet'suwet'en people to have their own monitors at the site have been denied.

Another blow was delivered by the Branch when, without an audit or investigation into Camp 9A, Unist'ot'en spokespeople were notified that other First Nations were being solicited for the repatriation of the artifacts. Camp 9A is on uncontested Unist'ot'en/ Dark House territory. Perhaps unsurprisingly every First Nation that was notified turned down offers to claim the artifacts. Instead of transparency and reconciliation, it appears that the Branch has chosen silence, secrecy, and the continuation of a legacy of colonialism; their approach to heritage management has advanced the interests of extractive industry at the expense of Indigenous people. Without an immediate critical appraisal of the archaeology at Unist'ot'en and indeed, of all OGC compliance archaeology in the province, Indigenous people will continue to be dispossessed of their cultural heritage at the hands of a process meant to protect it.

Footnotes

1 Hereditary Chiefs have asserted, in the Wet'suwet'en feast hall, that they do not consent to pipeline construction. Almost one third of the entire pipeline goes through Wet'suwet'en territory.

References

Atalay, S. 2006., Indigenous archaeology as decolonizing practice. American Indian Quarterly, 30(3/4):280–310

Angelbeck, B., Jones, J. 2018. Direct Actions and Archaeology: The Lil'wat Peoples Movement to Protect Archaeological Sites. Journal of Contemporary Archaeology 5(2):117–206

Colwell-Chanthaphonh, C., Ferguson, T.J., Lippert, D., McGuire, R.H., Nicholas, G.P., Watkins, J.E. and Zimmerman, L.J., 2010. The premise and promise of indigenous archaeology. American Antiquity 75(2):228–238

Delgamuukw-Gisdaywa v. British Columbia (1997) 3 S.C.R. 1010

Ferris N., Welch J.R., .2015. New Worlds: Ethics in Contemporary North American Archaeological Practice. In Ethics and Archaeological Praxis. Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice. Gnecco C., Lippert D. (eds) vol 1. Springer, New York, NY

Lepofksy D., Lertzman, K., 2019. Through the lens of the land: Reflections from archaeology, ethnoecology, and environmental science on collaborations with First Nations, 1970s to the present. BC Studies 200:141–160.

Martindale, A. and Lyons, N., 2014. Community-oriented archaeology. Canadian Journal of Archaeology 38(2):425–433.

Morin, M., 2011. Niwhts'ide'nï hibi'it'ën = The ways of our ancestors : Witsuwit'en history & culture throughout the millennia. School District No. 54, Bulkley Valley, BC.

Mills, A., 2011. Eagle down is our law: Witsuwit'en law, feasts, and land claims. UBC Press, Vancouver.

Nicholas, G.P., Andrews, T.D., 1997. At a Crossroads: Archaeology and First Peoples in Canada. Archaeology Press, Burnaby BC.

Roy, S., 2002. Performing Musqueam culture and history at British Columbia's 1966 Centennial celebrations. BC Studies (135:55–90).

Author Bios

Denzel Sutherland-Wilson is an anthropologist from Anspayawx on Gitxsan lax yip, which some know as northwestern British Columbia. After completing a BA in Anthropology at McGill University he has returned home to help the Wet'suwet'en in protecting their territory.
Anne Spice is a Tlingit PhD Candidate at the City University of New York Graduate Center. Her political and academic interests intersect on the frontlines of Indigenous land defense movements. She currently lives and works on Unist'ot'en territory.
Chelsey Geralda Armstrong is an archaeologist in northwestern British Columbia focusing on historical ecology and landscape archaeology. She received her PhD from SFU and is currently a postdoctoral fellow at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History.

Conferences and Events

Society for American Archaeology (SAA) 84th Annual Meeting
April 10 – 14, 2019
Albuquerque, New Mexico
https://www.saa.org/annual-meeting

BC Studies Conference
May 2 – 4, 2019
Thompson Rivers University, BC
https://digitalcommons.library.tru.ca/bcstudies/

42nd Annual Conference of the Society of Ethnobiology
May 8 – 11, 2019
Vancouver, BC
https://ethnobiology.org/conference/upcoming

Heritage BC Conference
May 9 – 11, 2019
Nanaimo, BC
https://heritagebc.ca/events-activities/heritage-bc-conference-2019-welcome/

Canadian Archaeological Association (CAA) & Association des Archéologues de Québec (AAQ) Annual Meeting
May 15 – 18, 2019
Quebec City, Quebec
https://canadianarchaeology.com/caa/annual-meeting

8th Developing International Geoarchaeology (DIG) Conference
June 17 – 21, 2019
Simon Fraser University, BC
http://www.sfu.ca/archaeology/events/events/DIG2019.html

International Language Conference
June 24 – 26, 2019
Victoria, BC
http://www.fpcc.ca/about-us/news-room/news02201902.aspx

British Columbia Archaeology Forum
Date and location TBD

THE MIDDEN
Royal BC Museum
675 Belleville Street
Victoria, BC, V8W 9W2