

Exploration, Exploitation, Expansion, and Settlement: Historical Archaeology in Canada

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Introduction

Canada's great geographic expanse has seen archaeological investigations of not only prehistoric occupations but also of sites relating to European exploration and subsequent settlement of areas from the Atlantic to the Pacific coasts as well as to the Arctic areas of the country. As a result, since the nineteenth century, Canadian archaeologists have explored the vast and rich history of archaeological sites of national, provincial, and local heritage interest. Following a discussion of the development of historical archaeology in Canada and the evolution of academic programs focusing on the field, the remainder of the chapter will summarize significant contributions and introduce the reader to some of the major historical archaeological sites in the country. The following broad geographic regions will be used to structure the discussion: the Atlantic region, Quebec and Ontario, the Prairies, and the West Coast (Fig. 1).

History of Historical Archaeology in Canada

Probably the earliest example of historical archaeology in Canada was conducted by J.W. Dawson in the 1860s on what he considered to be the historic Hochelaga, a St. Lawrence Iroquoian fortified village near present-day Montreal, Quebec, visited by Jacques Cartier in 1535 (Kidd, 1949). From the late

nineteenth century through the early twentieth century, there were a number of other archaeologists who demonstrated an interest in historical-period sites. These included T. Edwin Sowter, W.F. Ganong, Samuel Kain, Charles Rowe, W. D. Lightall, and Henry Phillips, to name a few.

It was not until 1919, however, that the Canadian government recognized the need to commemorate and celebrate its past. It was in that year that the Advisory Board for Historic Site Preservation met and was renamed the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. This was preceded by the setting aside of historic Fort Anne in Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, in 1917. In 1930, the National Parks Act allowed Cabinet to set aside lands as national parks. In 1953, the National Historic Sites and Monuments Act gave the government the legislative mandate to establish historic parks and sites. But it was not until the 1960s that a number of significant park projects began. With the development of the Fortress of Louisbourg (see Fig. 1), multidisciplinary teams that included historians, architects, engineers, conservators, curators, and archaeologists focused their attention on the preservation and restoration of historic sites.

As early as the mid-1980s, Parks Canada and many provincial ministries and agencies involved in the management and research of historical-period sites began to experience financial constraints. In the 1990s, Parks Canada moved to agency status. Professional and Technical Service Centers are spread across the country, located in the former regional offices in Halifax, Quebec City, Ottawa, Cornwall, Winnipeg, and Calgary.

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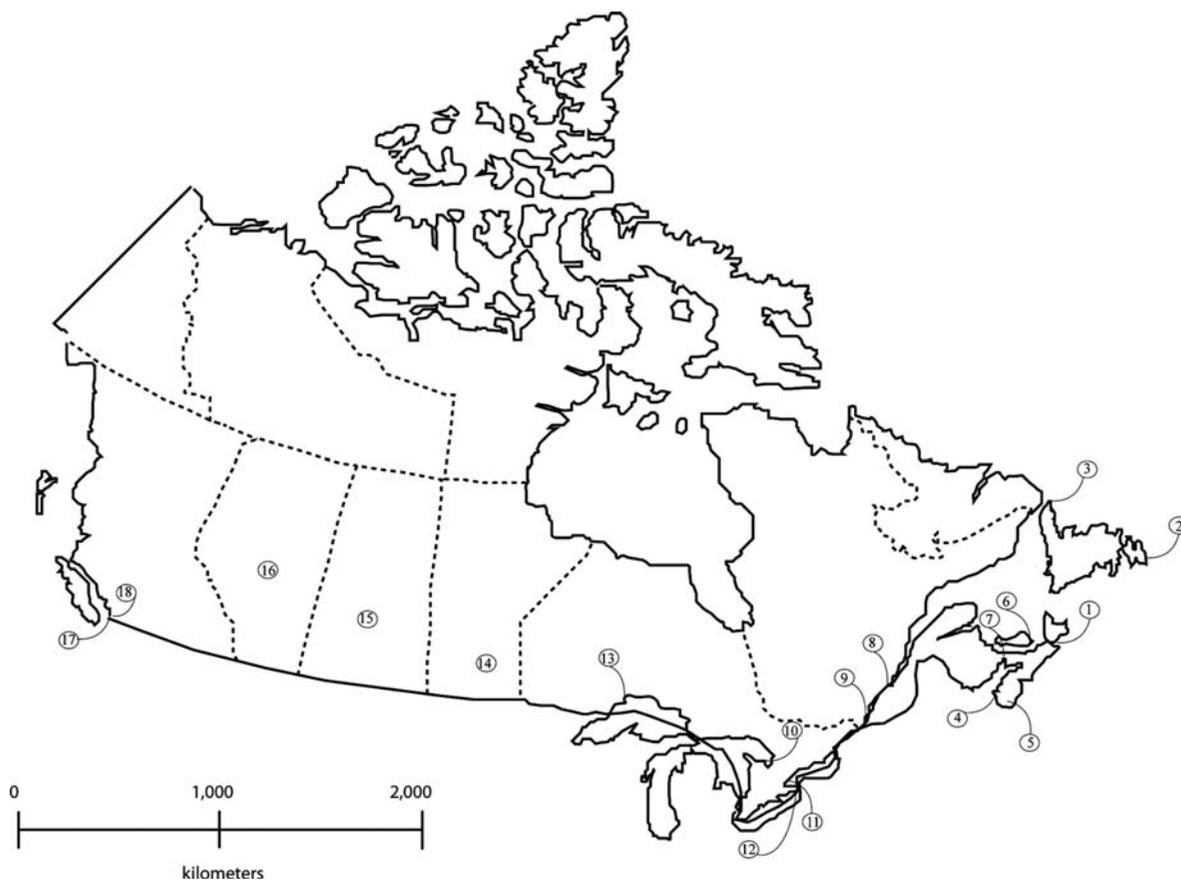


Fig. 1 Map of Canada showing locations of archaeological sites mentioned in text: (1) Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, Nova Scotia; (2) Ferryland, Newfoundland; (3) L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland; (4) Port Royal National Historic Site, Nova Scotia; (5) Birchtown site, Nova Scotia; (6) Roma site, Brudenell Point, Prince Edward Island; (7) Fort Beauséjour-Fort Cumberland National Historic Site, New Brunswick; (8) Quebec City, Quebec; (9) Point-à-Callière, Montreal,

Quebec; (10) Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, Midland, Ontario; (11) First Parliament Site, Toronto, Ontario; (12) Snake Hill, Fort Erie, Ontario; (13) Fort William, Thunder Bay, Ontario; (14) Red River Settlement, Manitoba; (15) Doukhobor Pit-House Public Archaeology Project, Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan; (16) Fort Edmonton, Edmonton, Alberta; (17) Gulf of Georgia Cannery National Historic Site, British Columbia; (18) Fort Langley National Historic Site, British Columbia

Contributions by Parks Canada staff since the 1960s have resulted in myriad publications through series such as the *Microfiche Report* and *Studies in Archaeology, Architecture, and History*, which includes books on underwater archaeology (Bryce, 1984; Sullivan, 1986; Zacharchuk and Waddell, 1986), material culture (Jones, 1986; Jones and Sullivan, 1989; Karklins, 1992; Sussman, 1985; Woodhead, 1991), and archaeology (Light and Unglik, 1987). Older, discontinued series such as *Canadian Historic Sites: Occasional Papers in Archaeology and History* Numbers 1–26 (e.g., Sussman, 1979) and *History and Archaeology* Numbers 1–66 (e.g., Emerson et al.,

1977; Jones and Sullivan, 1978; Wilson and Southwood, 1976) were also venues of publications.

The Federal Archaeology Office in Ottawa strives to increase Canadians' appreciation of and responsibility for their archaeological heritage. Through archaeological resource management, Aboriginal heritage programs, archaeological information management, material culture research, underwater archaeology programs, and publications, they provide the advice, information and expertise required to document, protect, preserve, manage, and make this cultural heritage accessible.

Over the past three decades, the Canadian Archaeological Association Bulletin (CAAB) (1969–1976) and the Canadian Journal of Archaeology (CJA) (1977–2006) have reflected the general interests of Canadian archaeologists. More province-specific publications can be found in such publications as Quebec's *Collection Patrimoines Dossiers* (published in French) and Ontario's *Ontario Archaeology* journal. Across the country, however, there exists an enormous quantity of unpublished manuscripts, reports, and papers in a variety of repositories including federal agencies, provincial government offices and agencies, amateur/avocational societies, museums, and universities.

Similar to the development of archaeology as a discipline in other countries, Canadian archaeology went through a number of stages. These stages include a period of antiquarianism, a period of developing cultural historical frameworks, and the development of archaeology as a discipline in academic institutions and museums (Handly, 1995; Jenness, 1932; Noble, 1972; Wright, 1985).

It was only with the opening of departments of archaeology at the University of Calgary in 1963 and at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia in 1971 that the discipline of archaeology became firmly established (Kelley and Williamson, 1996). Collectively, these universities began to produce far larger numbers of graduate students than in previous decades.

In general, historical archaeology in Canada developed out of an interest in fur trade sites and early contact period sites. This has not been true for the work of Parks Canada, however, owing to its focus on nationally significant historic sites. Despite Parks Canada's interest in nationally significant sites, a broader interest in historic preservation was growing across the nation's provinces during the 1960s. This resulted in following the model of Parks Canada when it came to reconstructions and/or restoration projects. By the 1970s, a number of province-level agencies had been formed and were beginning to include archaeology as part of their research strategy for their properties. As a result, a focus on the archaeology of historical-period domestic sites developed in a number of provinces in the mid-to-late 1970s, and it continues to be an important research topic. Large-scale urban archaeology projects began to

occur across the country in the 1980s, sparking an interest in this topic that continues to this day, primarily in the context of cultural resource management (CRM) projects.

Public education programs, such as the one developed at the Toronto Board of Education's Archaeological Resource Center (ARC), evolved in the mid-1980s and ran for almost a decade until fiscal restraints at provincial and local levels resulted in termination of educational programs such as this one. Despite financial pressures, public archaeology is a growing trend across the country and can now be found in every province, practiced by professionals in association with federal and provincial agencies as well as universities and archaeological societies.

Atlantic Region

Approximately 1,000 years ago, Vikings traveled to Newfoundland and built a small settlement at L'Anse aux Meadows (see Fig. 1). Archaeologists uncovered the remains of six sod houses, a smithy, sauna, and cooking pits, along with artifacts such as a bronze pin and stone lamp beneath grass-covered mounds (Ingstad, 1977; Wallace, 1977, 1978). The lifestyles of these early settlers are depicted in reproduction sod houses constructed near the mounds, and reproductions of the artifacts are on display in an interpretation center.

Ferryland, Newfoundland (see Fig. 1), is home to the 1621 Colony of Avalon, one of the earliest British colonies in North America. The colony was founded by Sir George Calvert, the first Lord Baltimore, in Ferryland's inner harbor, known locally as The Pool. The colony changed hands in 1638 after Charles I awarded the entire island of Newfoundland to Sir David Kirke (Fig. 2). The Kirke family maintained a substantial fishing operation there for the rest of the seventeenth century. Ferryland was sacked by the Dutch in 1673 and again by a combination French and Micmac Indian forces in 1696. The English population returned the following year, and the harbor has been in continuous use ever since.

Fig. 2 Gold seals attributed to David Kirke discovered at Ferryland, Newfoundland (courtesy Dr. James Tuck)



Archaeological testing around The Pool has been carried out, in one form or another, since the 1930s. It was not until the mid-1980s that excavations led by Dr. James Tuck (Memorial University of Newfoundland) uncovered substantial ruins from the Colony of Avalon (Tuck, 1985, 1989a, 1996; Tuck and Robbins, 1989; see Harper, 1960). Dr. Tuck's findings led to a major project that began in the 1990s, still ongoing in 2008, which has exposed numerous features from the colony's earliest years, including foundations from Lord Baltimore's mansion (Fig. 3), commercial store houses, a blacksmith's shop, a privy/cesspool, fortifications, and portions of a cobblestone street. Hundreds of thousands of domestic and work-related artifacts from within these ruins offer tantalizing views into many aspects of seventeenth-century life, including foodways, trade networks, and occupational activities. Structural evidence includes massive dry-laid foundations, interior and exterior pavements, drainage networks, and a substantial stone seawall that formed the colony's quay.

Evidence of sixteenth-century European exploitation exists on the site in the form of English West Country, Portuguese, Spanish, and possible Norman or Breton ceramics recovered in contexts that apparently predate the fourth quarter of that century. Nearby, Native Beothuk encampments were found that contained large quantities of sixteenth-century European ceramics and iron fragments, including fish hooks (Tuck, 1999). The Beothuk sites are of particular interest as they represent some of the earliest Aboriginal contact with Europeans in North America.

James Tuck is also well known for his work in Labrador at the Basque whaling station at Red Bay, Labrador (Tuck, 1989b; Tuck and Grenier, 1981). When Red Bay was at its peak between 1550 and 1600 C.E., it was the largest industrial operation in the New World. Dr. James Tuck excavated the land site here between 1977 and 1992. The underwater site was excavated by Parks Canada during the late 1970s and 1980s, and the results of the extensive research have recently been published in five volumes by Parks Canada (Grenier et al., 2007). An interpretive center at the site highlights many of the archaeological discoveries. Tuck has been instrumental in developing the cultural tourism industry at Red Bay and Ferryland over the past two decades.

Castle Hill, Placentia Bay, on the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland, was the site of a French redoubt established in 1692, one of the defenses of Plaisance. It was ceded to the British in the Treaty of Utrecht who used it until 1811. Excavations were conducted in 1965, 1968, and 1969 by Parks Canada (Grange, 1971; Morton, 1970). Other notable sites in Newfoundland/Labrador investigated by Parks Canada include Signal Hill (Jelks, 1973) and Cupers Cove. Memorial University of Newfoundland continues to play a major role on the historical archaeological front with ongoing excavations at a number of sites, including Ferryland. William Gilbert, in association with the Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation, has excavated and surveyed a number of sites in this area, most notably in the Town of Cupids, where he is active in establishing

Fig. 3 Structural remains of Lord Baltimore's mansion in Ferryland, Newfoundland (courtesy Dr. James Tuck)



the location of the first colony of John Guy (Anton, 1996). Other outport towns across Newfoundland have initiated archaeological investigations because they have seen the value of doing so for increasing the heritage tourism potential of their communities (Pope and Mills, 2007).

At the Fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton (see Fig. 1), archaeological work by Parks Canada, beginning in 1959, was essential in providing specific information about structures where planning for reconstruction was already underway or around areas that would be disturbed. Beginning in 1961 until the present day, archaeological excavations have resulted in collections numbering more than 5,000,000 artifacts. Excavations at this eighteenth-century port over the past 36 years have resulted in a remarkable collection from approximately 50 properties reflecting the growth of the community. The extensive sites left by the British military during the sieges of Louisbourg have yet to be excavated (Burke, 1989). As a result, the amount of literature related to the site is too voluminous to provide in this chapter, and interested researchers are encouraged to contact the site directly for information. Public archaeology programs are held at the site annually (Fig. 4).

St. Peters Canal National Historic Site is situated in Battery Provincial Park, St. Peters, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia (<http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/ns/stpeters/>). In addition to the nineteenth-century canal, begun in 1854 and operational in 1869, there are other historic sites of interest, such as the fortified community of Saint Pierre, built by the French *Compagnie de Breton* as a fur-trading post ca. 1636 and operated by Nicolas Denys from 1650 to 1669. Test excavations to investigate the site were conducted in 1985 by Parks Canada. The archaeological evidence from this site is particularly rich, because the site was destroyed overnight by fire in 1669 and never rebuilt (Hansen, 1989). Also of note is the settlement of Port Toulouse, built by Acadian colonists in 1713 after the French lost mainland Nova Scotia to the British. Port Toulouse soon became a major supply center for Louisbourg, 120 km to the north, originally rivaling Louisbourg in importance. To protect the new settlement and transportation across the isthmus, the French built a fort on the shore. Small-scale test excavations in the area were conducted by Parks Canada in 1985 (Wallace, 1985, 1986a, 1986b). Both the fort and the settlement were destroyed by the British in 1758

Fig. 4 Public archaeology program at the Fortress of Louisbourg in 2005 (courtesy Parks Canada/ Fortress of Louisbourg/ National Historic Site of Canada/Photographer: Rebecca Duggan, Image number: 20724E)



after their capture of Louisbourg. In 1793, as revolutionary France declared war on Great Britain, the British built Fort Dorchester on the summit of Mount Granville, the highest spot in the region.

Grassy Island National Historic Site, Canso, was the site of the flourishing Canso fisheries, in

operation by the 1550s, and possibly earlier. The land was ceded to the British in 1713. Most of the site is on neighboring, privately owned islands. Parks Canada reports deal with the British material, which is vast and varied (see Ferguson, 1980; Hansen, 1986). The Melanson site, Granville

Beach, was a site of Acadian settlement established by Charles Melanson in 1664 and inhabited until 1755. Excavations were undertaken in 1984 and 1985 by Parks Canada (Crépeau and Dunn, 1986).

Outside of Parks Canada, the Nova Scotia Museum is responsible for the management and preservation of archaeological collections recovered in the province. This includes donated private collections as well as specimens recovered by professional archaeologists working under a Heritage Research Permit issued by the Minister of Education and Culture. At present, the museum manages over 25,000 archaeological specimen records and in excess of 175,000 artifacts.

Compared to elsewhere in North America, the subsequent growth of archaeology in the Atlantic region was slow. Only after the work by Parks Canada at Louisbourg did the province of Nova Scotia hire a professional archaeologist in 1968. St. Mary's University and St. Francis Xavier University hired archaeologists in the 1970s, and this led to the establishment of archaeology programs in the province of Nova Scotia. Parks Canada established an Atlantic Region Archaeology Section in Halifax in 1979, coinciding with research at Grassy Island National Historic Site.

The founding of Port Royal (see Fig. 1) in 1605 marked the beginning of French settlement in the region the French called Acadia. By 1750, about 10,000 Acadians had developed a prosperous agricultural community around the Bay of Fundy. The colonial power struggle that ensued between England and France came to a climax between 1755 and 1763. It was at this later date that the Acadians were expelled from Nova Scotia. Belleisle Marsh was settled by 1679, upriver from Annapolis Royal. By 1775, the year in which the settlement of Belleisle was destroyed, there may have been as many as 30 houses. Archaeological work in 1983 uncovered the foundations of one of the house foundations (Christianson, 1984). The frame house was built of wood on a fieldstone foundation and is an example of the French construction method known as *charpente*. A massive hearth, oven, and chimney stood at one end of the building. The walls were partly infilled with clay, and the roof was thatched. Over 5,000 artifacts were recovered, and these provide valuable insights into early Acadian life (Lavoie, 1988).

The habitation site of Baron Jean de Biencourt de Poutrincourt (1605–1613) has been reconstructed at Port Royal National Historic Site, Port Royal. The site was excavated in 1938 by C. Coatsworth Pinkney in preparation for the 1939 reconstruction. During recent years, there have been minor monitoring excavations by Parks Canada staff on the site preceding physical disturbance such as digging for new waterlines or other facilities. The excavated material shows that the reconstruction is not on the site of the original habitation. However, the original habitation was probably close to the reconstructed location (Guilfoyle, 1991).

Port Royal/Fort Anne National Historic Sites, Annapolis Royal, contain the site of the Poutrincourt wheat fields; the site of the French fort 1632–1636, and the Fort of d'Aulnay and his successors 1636–1710. Excavations were conducted in 1962–1963, 1965, 1968–1970, 1989–1992, and 1996–1997 by Parks Canada. The site is rich in material; the records, photographs, and artifacts are curated with Parks Canada, Halifax (Dendy, 1970; Dolby & Associates, 1996; Henderson, 1994; Leonard, 1994; Unglik, 1992).

The Birchtown Archaeology Project in Nova Scotia was sponsored in 1993 by the Shelburne County Cultural Awareness Society and by Saint Mary's University in 1994 (Niven, 1994). Birchtown (see Fig. 1) was a community originally founded by a group of freed slaves in 1783, followed by a second larger emigration of Black Loyalists in that same year. It was, briefly, the largest settlement of free Blacks in North America. Close to Shelburne, these settlers worked as laborers, carpenters, ship builders, and harbor pilots and competed for jobs with the people of Shelburne, leading to a riot in 1784. Birchtown's decline mirrored that of Shelburne and led to its eventual demise in the 1790s. Steven Davis's field school in 1994 discovered that the site was more complex than expected, apparently destroyed and intentionally buried at some time in the 1790s. Features uncovered during this interesting project included middens, house foundations, and a cellar hole (Niven, 1994). There are many other sites of notable interest in Nova Scotia, such as the Halifax Citadel (Parks Canada), Castle Frederick, and Shubenacadie Canal. All have been the subject of archaeological investigations.

Sites on Prince Edward Island include Port La Joye, the site of a French village established in 1720. The fort was built in 1726 and held until 1745; the British fort was established in 1758. Test excavations were conducted by Parks Canada in 1987, and in 1988, the house of Michel Hacheacute-Gallant, one of the village's first inhabitants, was excavated. There have also been excavations on the British Fort Amhert (Ferguson, 1990). On Brudenell Point, on the east coast of the island, the Roma site (see Fig. 1), associated with the 1732–1745 fishing and trading settlement of Jean Pierre Roma, director of the *Compagnie de l'est de l'isle St-Jean*, has been excavated in 1968 and 1969 by Parks Canada (Alyluia, 1979; Korvemaker, 1968–1969, 1969–1970, 1972).

The Archaeological Services Branch (ASB) is part of the New Brunswick Department of Municipalities, Culture and Housing. The mandate of the ASB is to preserve, manage, and develop New Brunswick's archaeological heritage. The branch administers the provincial archaeological collection of artifacts and site inventory, encourages fundamental and applied research, and promotes archaeological resource development through commemoration, site interpretation, publications, and exhibitions.

In New Brunswick, Fort Beauséjour (see Fig. 1), Fort LaTour, and the Enclosure site have been excavated by Parks Canada. Fort Beauséjour was built by the French in 1751 and occupied by them until 1755 when it fell to the British, who used it until 1833. Archaeological work at the fort has been extensive, with excavations in 1962–1963, 1965, 1966–1968, 1969–1970, 1975, 1978, and 1984, and a conductivity survey in 1990. Most of the material recovered date to the British occupation. There are more than 60 archaeological reports on the site. Most deal with the British occupation, as it had the longest duration (see Herst and Swannack, 1970; Rick, 1970:17–21).

Fort La Tour, Saint John, was built by Charles de la Tour in 1630–1631 and surrendered to d'Aulnay in 1645. The fort was returned to de La Tour in 1650 and then sold to New Englanders in 1756. Excavations were conducted in 1955 and 1956 by J. Harper for the Province of New Brunswick, and then in 1963 by Norman Barka under contract with Parks Canada (Barka, 1965; Geiger, 1957; Harper, 1956a, 1956b, 1957).

Fort Gaspareau was a fort built by the French in 1751 on Baie Verte at the mouth of Gaspareau River near Port Elgin, New Brunswick. It was ceded to the British in 1755 and burned in 1756. It was excavated in 1966 by Parks Canada archaeologists (Coleman, 1968; Harris, 1974; Long, 1974; Rick, 1970:23; Wade, 1975; Walker, 1967; Wylie, 1968).

Quebec and Ontario

The City of Quebec (see Fig. 1) has played a very important role in developing urban archaeology over the past 25 years in Canada. The city's efforts, carried out in collaboration with the province's Culture Ministry as well as Laval University, have included the elaboration of a framework for research in the urban context (L'Anglais and Mousette, 1994; Moss, 1993, 1994). Numerous projects have produced results affording new light on this UNESCO World Heritage Site's history and culture (Cloutier, 1997; Goyette, 1995; La Roche, 1994; Moss, 1997; Simoneau, 1995). In the 1990s, the *Séminaire de Québec* and the *Musée de la Nouvelle-France*, an occupant of the now extensive architectural complex, called in the city's archaeological team in advance of adding underground wings to the buildings (Moss, 2005).

Laval University completed an important research project on the Intendant's Palace site with the publication of a monograph synthesizing 10 years of research by the university's field school on this multicomponent site spanning three centuries of occupation. Sites investigated during the project included (1) Jean Talon's Brewery (1669–1675); (2) the Intendant's Palace (1685–1713); (3) the King's Storehouses (1716–1759); (4) a domestic occupation by squatters (1760–1852); and (5) the Boswell Brewery (1852–1967) (Mousette, 1993, 1994, 1996b).

The Provincial Culture Ministry has published, in French, a series of studies based on 20 years of research on the Place Royale complex in the heart of Quebec's Old Town, site of the foundation of the city by Samuel de Champlain in 1608. These publications are a hallmark for the study of both French and English Colonial America. They include 13 titles concerning the very large archaeological collection and 20 titles concerning thematic studies

(commerce, lifeways, social organization) (e.g., Mousette, 1996a; Tremblay and Renaud, 1990).

Work by Parks Canada at the Château Saint-Louis in Quebec City resulted in a major publication (Beaudet and Cloutier, 1990) that detailed the structural changes through centuries of occupation of this significant city landmark. The project uncovered the structural remains of outbuildings to the château, including an icehouse, greenhouses, and artifacts spanning several centuries of daily life on the Dufferin Terrace.

Montreal's birthplace, Pointe-à-Callière, underwent extensive archaeological investigations undertaken by the Old Port of Montreal Corporation beginning in 1989 (see Fig. 1) (Desjardins and Duguay, 1992). The investigations revealed evidence of native occupations on the site, the first French settlement, the fur trade, and the evolution of the site into an urban landscape, commercial hub, and port. Father Vimont held a mass celebrating the founding of Montréal, attended by Sieur de Maisonneuve and Jeanne Mance, among others on May 17, 1642, at Pointe-à-Callière, a point of land at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and another small river. On May 17, 1992, on the very same site, the Montréal Museum of Archaeology and History opened its doors. The museum owes its existence to the significant archaeological discoveries made on the site during the 1980s. In fact, the museum and its site are inextricably linked. Rising above evidence of more than 1,000 years of human activity, it houses remarkable architectural remnants including remnants of walls from the fortifications of Montréal, an inn, and a warehouse, displayed in situ with respect for their integrity, along with hundreds of artifacts.

The museum's goals and objectives are to conserve and exhibit the archaeological and historical heritage of Montréal, and to bring visitors to understand and love the city as it was and is, so that everyone can make a more active contribution to its present and future. Since it opened in 1992, Pointe-à-Callière has managed the archaeological collections of the City of Montréal. The remains and artifacts found at the Pointe-à-Callière and Place Royale sites are the basis of the museum's archaeological collections (Decarie, 1993). Artifacts and ecofacts from other excavations in Montréal are gradually being added.

At 214 Place D'Youville, just west of the museum complex in Old Montréal, an archaeological field school has offered through the Point-à-Callière Museum since 2002. The site has seen seven main periods of occupation, including the days of Callière's residence and the activities associated with Fort Ville-Marie.

The development of historical archaeology in the Province of Ontario dates back to the period of antiquarianism, but it was not until the work of Kenneth Kidd (1949) at Sainte-Marie I that projects related to the historical period began in earnest including Jesuit mission sites. The archaeology of Sainte-Marie among the Hurons (see Fig. 1) was reexamined and further tested during the late 1980s (Tummon and Gray, 1995) and more recently by John Triggs in the late 1990s (Triggs, 2004a).

Work by CRM firms in southern Ontario has added much to our knowledge of the province's contact period archaeology. This work reflects a growing movement across Canada regarding the practice of archaeology in terms of the relationship between professional archaeologists and First Nations communities. This evolutionary change stems partly from the desire by many practitioners to develop more direct, regularized interaction and communication in the decision-making process, particularly when human remains are found but more and more when the necessity to conduct full Stage 4 (mitigation or data recovery) excavations of major archaeological sites are to be carried out. The desire is to have more participation by First Nations communities that involves full discourse on the relevance of archaeology within the larger community but also now allows for the possibility of preservation of sites as opposed to full removal due to development. Some provinces, specifically British Columbia, are further ahead than Ontario in this process; recent changes to the Ontario Heritage Act, however, have set the stage for the future.

In Ontario, the Ontario Heritage Act provides for the conservation of heritage resources and provides the Ministry of Culture with the mandate to determine policies and programs related to the provincial interest in conserving, protecting, and promoting Ontario's heritage. The Ministry of Culture plays a key, ongoing role in development planning processes, by assisting and guiding municipalities, approval authorities, and public and private sector

developers in meeting the relevant Ontario Heritage Act requirements. The ministry also reviews investigations conducted by archaeologists and manages the land and marine resources documented by those investigations. The ministry holds an archaeological database that contains information on about 20,000 sites. In 2005, over 1,000 new sites were added as a result of archaeological investigations, approximately 200 of these dating to the historical period. The unit also develops operational policies, technical standards, guidelines, and informational material on archaeological conservation in Ontario. Ministry staff also work with the archaeological community, First Nations, and other groups and individuals who have an interest in conserving Ontario's archaeological heritage.

During the 1960s through the 1970s, a number of projects were carried out on fur trade sites (see Reid [1980a, 1980b], Dawson [1984], and Klimko [1994] for summaries). Work at Fort Albany (Kenyon, 1961), Fort William (see Fig. 1) (Cloutier, 1976), Fort Rouille (Brown, 1983, 1987), and Longlac (Dawson, 1967) examined the impact of the fur trade on indigenous populations and the resulting development of French and later, British occupations. Between 1960 and 1990, 25 fur trade sites were investigated in northwestern Ontario. The research focus for most of these projects was to locate, identify, and describe individual posts, and as a result, the coverage and depth of analysis in the reports produced vary. By the late 1970s, interest in small historical-period domestic sites developed and continues to this day, particularly as a result of the development, in the 1980s, of a very busy consulting industry in southern and northern Ontario.

Work by the Ontario Heritage Trust, formerly the Ontario Heritage Foundation, began in 1970 and has resulted in the excavation, preservation, and protection of 112 sites across the province through ownership or conservation easements. Work on several of these sites has been elaborated on by Doroszenko (2003; Doroszenko and Gerrard, 1991).

Early in the 1980s, interest in public archaeology projects could be seen across the province and particularly within the City of Toronto. The Front Street Archaeological Project, work of the Archaeology Research Centre, Toronto Board of Education, uncovered the structural remains of the Third

Parliament buildings of Upper Canada. Interestingly, the First and Second Parliament buildings have recently been investigated in 2000 (see Fig. 1) (Dieterman and Williamson, 2001). Evidence of charred floorboards (Fig. 5) and foundation walls of the earliest buildings that were set afire by invading American troops during the War of 1812 were revealed. A portion of this site has recently been acquired by the Ontario Heritage Trust to ensure its preservation for future generations.

Military sites in general, as is evident across the country, are also a focus for archaeological investigation in Ontario. In 1987, archaeologists working on a number of waterfront lots in Fort Erie discovered the remains of the Snake Hill cemetery, a U.S. military graveyard dating to the War of 1812 (see Fig. 1) (Litt et al., 1993; Pfeiffer and Williamson, 1991). At Fort York, in Toronto, extensive excavations were conducted over a 10-year period from the late 1980s to the late 1990s and continue today, as required. Parks Canada has an active archaeological program in Ontario, and work has been conducted and continues at various sites, including Fort George in Niagara-on-the-Lake, Fort Malden in Amherstburg, Fort Wellington in Prescott, and Fort Henry in Kingston.

Other major sites that have undergone archaeological programs in Ontario include: Dundurn Castle in Hamilton (Triggs, 1999, 2004b), Gage House in Stoney Creek, and the Naval Establishment at Penetanguishene (Triggs, 2005). One of the busiest organizations in Ontario is the Cataraqui Archaeological Research Foundation (CARF) located in the City of Kingston. Founded in 1984, CARF has played a major role in public archaeology and consulting archaeology in Kingston. Their focus on education and research has included a variety of public programs through the years as well as a museum component attached to their headquarters.

Prairie Region

The eighteenth century saw the earliest contacts with traders and initiated the commercialization of the Aboriginal economy through the fur trade. On the Plains, the introduction of the horse, and later, the rifle, intensified bison hunting and the sale of

Fig. 5 Charred floorboards discovered at the site of Ontario's First Parliament buildings in Toronto (courtesy Archaeological Services Inc.)



bison hides and by-products. This formed the basis of the early western Canadian economy.

The bulk of research in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta can be characterized generally as either related to the fur trade period and/or settlement of this region of Canada. Parks Canada has conducted work throughout the western region at a

number of national historic sites including Lower Fort Garry, the oldest fur-trading post built of stone still intact in North America (Monks, 1992; Priess, 1985), and York Factory, a Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post (Adams, 1985). Additional research has been conducted by academics interested in fur trade sites (e.g., Klimko, 1994).

In Manitoba, the earliest excavation in search of a fur trade post took place in the 1940s. Since then, over 30 fur trade posts representing different fur trade companies have been investigated as of the 1990s. Greg Monks, University of Manitoba, conducted a research program focusing on the evolution of the Red River Settlement (see Fig. 1) as a critical node in the northern fur trade during the nineteenth century in Manitoba (Monks, 1985, 1992).

Heinz Pyszczuk conducted archaeological investigations at the Hudson's Bay Company fur trade site, Fort Edmonton V (see Fig. 1) (1830–1907) beginning in 1992 (Pyszczuk, 1993). This important fur trade site, located on the Alberta Legislature grounds in Edmonton, was ideal for promoting archaeology and history to the general public. Fort Edmonton also served as the archaeological field school for the Department of Anthropology, University of Alberta, for 4 years. In 1995, the Provincial Museum of Alberta implemented a public archaeology program to celebrate Edmonton's 200th anniversary as a community. Pyszczuk (1997) has also researched the degree of use of European goods by Plains Indians in central and southern Alberta

The work of David Burley (Simon Fraser University) has included a settlement pattern and architectural study of Métis peoples in southern Saskatchewan (Burley et al., 1992), and the excavation of early fur trade posts on the upper Peace River of northern British Columbia (Burley et al., 1996).

One interesting research project was the 1996 mitigative recording and excavation of the Kirilovka Doukhobor Village Site in Saskatchewan by Western Heritage Services, Inc., a consulting firm based in western Canada (see Fig. 1). The Doukhobors are a pacifist Christian sect that formed as a reaction to religious and social reforms in seventeenth-century Russia. In 1899, 7,400 Doukhobors migrated to Canada to escape persecution and exile in Russia. The village of Kirilovka was built between 1900 and 1902 and inhabited for approximately two decades. Plans by the Saskatchewan Highways and Transportation Ministry were to remove a major portion of the site. During 1996 fieldwork, Western Heritage Services, Inc. recorded numerous features such as privy pits, wells, middens, and possible cellar pits (Kozakavich, 2006).

More recently, in 2004, Meagan Brooks (2005) conducted the Doukhobor Pit-House Public

Archaeology Project in Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan. One of the objectives of this project was to actively involve the Doukhobor community in the excavation of two Doukhobor habitation sites dating to the early twentieth century (Fig. 6).

The West Coast

Historically, early contact with indigenous groups occurred much later than the eastern part of Canada and as a result, expansion into this area is traditionally viewed as a nineteenth century phenomenon. However, notwithstanding the appearance of Russian period fur trade sites, the fur trade period in this province is essentially British. In addition, other work on the west coast of Canada has focused on the contact period between Europeans and First Nation groups, the development of ranching, overseas Chinese studies, and an extensive underwater program.

Fort Langley is recognized for its role in the maritime and interior fur trade activities of the Hudson's Bay Company west of the Rockies in Canada (see Fig. 1). Established in 1827 and relocated in 1839, it became a significant center of cultural interaction and trade. Archaeological excavations at the fort and elsewhere in the region have uncovered evidence of human activity along the Fraser River as early as 8,000 B.P. (Steer and Porter, 1980).

Fort Rodd Hill is a coastal artillery fort built in the 1890s to defend the city of Victoria and the Esquimalt Naval Base. Fisgard Lighthouse was built in 1960 as the first permanent lighthouse on Canada's west coast. Both of these sites have seen archaeological work by Parks Canada (Steer and Rosser, 1982; Steer et al., 1979).

Parks Canada has also conducted work at Fort St. James (Snow et al., 1977) in central British Columbia. More recently, Parks Canada has been conducting research at the Gulf of Georgia Cannery National Historic Site (see Fig. 1). Since its construction in 1894, the Gulf of Georgia Cannery has been a landmark for fishermen. The archaeological resources at this site are related primarily to the human history of the West Coast fishing industry. The cannery is a complex of buildings constructed

Fig. 6 Excavations at the Doukhobor Pit-House Public Archaeology project in Blaine Lake, Saskatchewan (courtesy Meagan Brooks)



between 1894 and 1964 in response to changing technology and the needs of the industry (<http://www.pc.gc.ca/lhn-nhs/bc/georgia/>).

The Yukon and Nunavut

For thousands of years, Aboriginal people have lived and flourished on the land now called Nunavut and the Yukon Territory. By the mid-sixteenth century, southern Métis—mixed French Canadian and Cree—had crossed into northern Saskatchewan to bring the fur trade directly to the Aboriginal people of the area. This was the beginning of what was to become a distinct cultural group, the Northern Métis.

Soon after came the trader-explorers, searching not only for new areas in which to conduct their trade but also for the Northwest Passage, that elusive route connecting Europe with the Far East across the top of North America. Investigations of explorers in the territory of Nunavut have included searches for evidence of the voyages of Martin Frobisher (Auger, 2000) and Franklin (Beattie and Geiger, 2000).

The early nineteenth century was a period of intense rivalry between two fur-trading companies

in western and northern Canada: the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company. During the first two decades of the nineteenth century, this rivalry spurred the construction of many more trading posts north down the entire length of the Mackenzie Valley. In 1821, these companies merged, and the new northern fur trade monopoly—continuing under the name Hudson's Bay Company—began a period of consolidating its operations.

Archaeology in the Fort Selkirk area was carried out in the late 1980s as a cooperative project of the Selkirk First Nation, the Yukon Heritage Branch, and Yukon College under the direction of Ruth Gotthardt and Norm Easton (Yukon College) with the assistance in 1989 of Greg Hare (Yukon College). The excavation at Fort Selkirk provided information about both the prehistoric and early-historical-period occupations at the site. Through extensive testing, many of the original buildings from Campbell's Hudson's Bay post of the mid-nineteenth century were located and mapped. At various locations in the town site, archaeological investigations uncovered traces of the more recent and well-documented history of Fort Selkirk—a history that saw the establishment of Harper's trading post and the Anglican mission as well as the Klondike Gold Rush during the late nineteenth century.

Historical-period Gwitchin and Inuvialuit archaeological sites in the Old Crow Basin in the Yukon include caribou fences or surrounds. Many of these have been described by Morlan (1973) and Greer and Le Blanc (1992). All of the caribou fences in the Old Crow Flats area are believed to date to the late nineteenth or early twentieth century, based on the use of metal axes in the construction. The caribou fences or surrounds are complex caribou hunting sites, which consist of wooden fence feeder arms; a corral-type structure at the head of the fence, where the caribou were snared or speared; and associated winter villages and cache structures.

The archaeological excavation of a late pre-contact/post-contact Gwitchin caribou hunting camp or village known as the Klo-Kut site, situated on the Porcupine River 10 km upstream from Old Crow, was started by archaeologist Dick Morlan in 1968 (Morlan, 1973). Morlan determined that the beginning of the historical-period occupation of Klo-Kut dated to between 1850 and 1880. Morlan also investigated a number of fishing camps in the Old Crow Basin area.

Conclusions

A number of trends and issues are evident across Canada as we approach the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century. While there appears to be high public interest and support for archaeology and the built heritage, there is a decline in government support on all levels. Several provinces are experiencing reduced funding for heritage while continuing to deal with outdated and/or weak legislation on the provincial level for the protection and preservation of archaeological sites. The paradigm shift in provincial governments from doer to enabler has resulted in decreased funds being directed to archaeological research. The federal rationalization and reorganization has led to centralization and coordination of functions within Parks Canada, which simultaneously is experiencing financial constraints and downsizing as a result of little or no succession planning. This has led to a shift in the labor force in historical archaeology on the federal level, because far fewer people are being attracted to employment in this sector due to fewer and fewer jobs being

replaced. In many provinces, there is an increasing amount of CRM work being conducted, and it is the means by which most historical archaeological work in Canada is being conducted.

While several notable universities have faculty that specialize in the field of historical archaeology, no postgraduate degree programs have formerly been established. Nonetheless, universities such as Memorial University in Newfoundland, Laval University in Quebec, the University of Manitoba, the University of Saskatchewan, and Simon Fraser University in British Columbia have excellent records in teaching and mentoring graduate students in the field of historical archaeology. A number of other universities have also begun to recognize the need for academic training in this subfield, for example, Wilfred Laurier University in Ontario has instituted an undergraduate degree program in historical/industrial archaeology. In conclusion, despite the challenges of decreased funding and the general lack of strong, consistent preservation legislation, there still exists a vibrant community engaged in the archaeology of historical-period sites across Canada.

Acknowledgments This overview could not have been possible without the assistance of my esteemed colleagues across the country. To them I owe great appreciation and gratitude for their patience and guidance during the writing of this brief assessment of historical archaeology in Canada: Steve Mills, formerly with Parks Canada and Memorial University; John Light, Parks Canada, whose loss many feel; Charles Burke, Parks Canada (Atlantic Region); Pierre Beaudet, Parks Canada (Quebec); William Ross (formerly with the Ministry of Culture, Ontario); William Moss, Quebec City; Reginald Auger, Laval University, Montreal; Rob Ferguson, Parks Canada (Atlantic Region); David Burley (Simon Fraser University); and Meagan Brooks (University of Saskatchewan). I am grateful to the following persons for their assistance with the illustrations for this chapter: Margaret Robbins and Statistical Research, Inc., for redrafting Fig. 1; Barry Gaulton and James Tuck for Figs. 2 and 3 from Ferryland; Rebecca Duggan of Parks Canada for Fig. 4; Archaeological Services Inc. for Fig. 5; and Meagan Brooks for Fig. 6.

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