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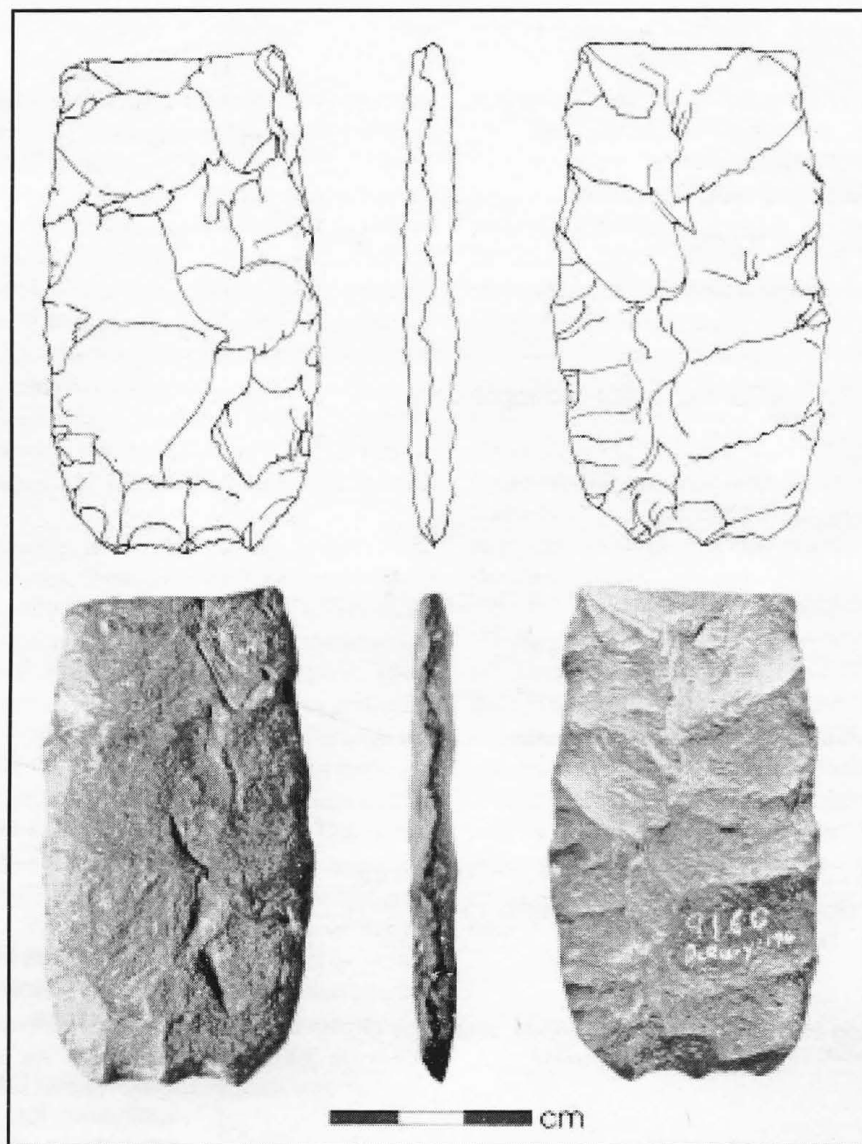


MIDDEN

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FLUTED BIFACES IN B.C.

NWAC 2011: IN REVIEW

ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MEDIA

FIRST NATIONS HERITAGE CONSERVATION

THE SATURNA ISLAND FIGURE MYSTERY...

THE MIDDEN

Volume 43, No. 3 2011

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Cover:

The Lovat Avenue Biface; details on page 8.



The ASBC Pages

Letter from the ASBC's Incoming President...

As this is my first President's Letter, it appears to be customary to introduce myself prior to discussing the issues I wish to address while President of the ASBC.

I am a student and largely a product of the academy. Currently, I am studying at Simon Fraser University, conducting research on site location modelling in archaeology. This project is nested in the Tla'amin-SFU Field School in Archaeology and Heritage Stewardship. My exposure to and experience in archaeology is founded in projects like this, which are designed to collaborate with heritage owners and originate from large educational institutions. These projects have primarily been located in British Columbia. I have been an ASBC member since the early 00s and served the ASBC as the Vice-President and website maintainer for the past two years.

During my membership to the ASBC, efforts have been placed on engaging the media, organizing walking tours and site excavations, adapting ASBC working principles to changing relationships between archaeologists and heritage owners, and working with museums to catalogue existing collections. These are all significant contributions towards our mandates of protecting archaeology in B.C. and continuing ongoing efforts to engage and educate the public. However, it has become clear that there is a widening gap between activities that the ASBC organizes and the interest and participation of members at these events. Discussion at the AGM and elsewhere have emphasized a poor connection between the needs and wants of members and the current program and format of the ASBC. This gap needs to be addressed for the ASBC to continue to function as a membership organization and provide support for *The Midden*. Our first course of action towards this end has involved surveying current and former members to determine what changes are needed to better engage our membership. The results of the survey, once compiled, will be made

available online and in an upcoming issue of *The Midden*.

However, this is not the only matter that is of concern to me. As featured recently in *The Midden*, archaeology has been poorly represented in the media and a great deal of misinformation is circulating regarding archaeology and its practice in British Columbia. I believe that the ASBC has a vocal role to play in these discussions in representing our core values as laid out in the Constitution.

The Society's Executive will also need to focus inward on societal organization, by-laws, proposed changes to the Constitution, and fiscal matters to address the ongoing issues outlined above. This will mean that outward-facing committees will need your help and participation to continue regular Society activities, which have been carried by the Executive in the past. If you have ever considered giving some of your time to the ASBC, now is the time to act.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge those currently contributing to the operation of the ASBC, as the Society would not function without their generous contributions to the ASBC Executive. Continuing as Treasurer and general contributor to all issues ASBC is Jim Pound. Rudy Reimer will be assisting the Executive in the position of Past-President, and Sarah Smith will formally take her position as Membership secretary, after taking over for Erin Hannon late last year. New to the Executive this year is Rich Hutchings as Vice-President, and Kristy Whitehurst as our Secretary. I look forward to serving the ASBC membership with this Executive.

Cheerio,

Craig Rust, President
Archaeological Society of British Columbia

EDITORIAL: *The Archaeologist's Report*

In the last issue of *The Midden*, we featured three short pieces reflecting on recent media coverage of archaeology in the province. At issue was the depiction of archaeological work at the Willow's Beach site in Oak Bay, and comments made in an online news forum, where the concern was the *cost* of archaeology, not the *value* of heritage sites.

Around the same time, as I stood in line at the Rhizome Café at Broadway and Main in Vancouver waiting for a table, I flipped through the most recent issue of *The Carnegie*, a volunteer-run newsletter that often deals with controversial topics and social justice issues. I was struck therein to encounter this cartoon (Fig.1). Entitled "The Archaeologist's Report," it has much to say.

The cartoon features an archaeologist in suit and tie, complete with an Indiana Jones hat, who takes notes on a clipboard while speaking to an Aboriginal person holding a drum. The archaeologist's statement—"Well, that's it ... no native burial sites around here."—is received with an expression of shock by the Aboriginal man as he stares at the mountains in the background. Therein, an Aboriginal family clothed in traditional garb looks down upon the scene.

What is the artist saying in this cartoon? It is, I suggest, fundamentally about power: the archaeologist holds the clipboard, takes the notes, wears the "costume" of a professional, the embodiment of an expert with the authority to judge. The cartoon is also about perspective and location: the archaeologist seems oblivious to his surroundings or unable to comprehend them, able only to focus on physical, tangible, empirical things—archaeological data—which he finds lacking. This cartoon is about humanity: the archaeologist is seemingly impervious to the feelings of the Aboriginal man, for whom the final judgement of "no sites" is clearly devastating. Instead, his focus is on the clipboard, the checklist. And the cartoon is about responsibility, as the ancestors look down at their descendant as if asking, "Why is this happening?"

This artwork evoked many emotions in me and prompted much reflection. At its core, I believe, is the issue of *evidence*.

While studying at university, I have often been taught that archaeology is "the scientific study of the material remains of past peoples." I have also had many discussions and arguments with friends and teachers about this definition of archaeology, and while I have successfully convinced some that archaeology is neither a science nor is it necessarily restricted to the study of *past* peoples, I have had a much more difficult time challenging the primacy given to "material culture." In fact, it seems to be the one thing that still holds archaeology together as a practice and way of viewing the world—a focus on material culture as the physical, tangible, empirical *stuff* that people make, use and eventually throw away.

Yet this focus on tangible things inherently limits our understanding of artifacts, features and sites collectively as *heritage*. By this, I do not mean the heritage of an abstracted concept of "humanity" on whose behalf archaeologists are self-appointed stewards, but the heritage of specific groups who should by all rights be in control of their own culture—past, present and future. An "archaeological" approach disconnects people from places, removes meaning from material, erases emotion from evidence—it "scientizes" heritage, makes it impersonal, apolitical and inanimate, *an object to be studied*.

Like the court system, archaeology is founded in Enlightenment empiricism, wherein the only *real* world is the material one, and the only *true* way to know it is through science. The result in archaeology has been that Aboriginal peoples have been alienated from their heritage and forced to "prove" their cultural connection to places, objects and even ancestral remains. In court, this has meant that, rather than colonial forces demonstrating the legitimacy of *their* claim to the land today called Canada, the onus is instead on First Nations to prove they were here, by proving their villages, camps and sacred sites existed, and then proving that these places are *significant*. In short, *tangible* proof of culture is required, yet the stories, meanings and histories that comprise a culture are fundamentally *intangible*.

This catch-22 means that it is nearly impossible to protect sacred sites where

there is no physical evidence found. Yet, as Hutchings notes in this issue (pages 4-5), it is nearly impossible to protect heritage sites in this province anyway, as the project of growth, development and progress appears insatiable. For me, this cartoon shows that Aboriginal history is embedded in the landscape everywhere around us; however, provincial legislation does not protect cultural landscapes and so, instead, archaeologists must still draw dots on maps, labelling some places "significant" and, by extension, others insignificant.

After finding this cartoon, I wrote to *The Carnegie* editor, Paul Taylor, who informed me that the piece was drawn by an artist known locally as Tora, and had originally featured in an issue of the newsletter over 20 years ago. I was both shocked, and completely unsurprised. While, arguably, some practices and perspectives within archaeology have changed since this cartoon was first published—indeed, a major project run out of Simon Fraser University is focused on intangible values in archaeology (<http://www.sfu.ca/ipinch/>)—the issues and challenges obviously remain very much the same.

Accompanying Tora's piece was this quote by anthropologist Margaret Mead: "Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful committed citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has." Towards this, I encourage archaeologists to use their power—in the field, in the classroom, in their reports, and in court—to change the culture of heritage stewardship, give priority to intangible cultural meanings, push to have heritage landscapes formally recognized. Be vocal, be allies and support the work of organizations like the Joint Working Group on First Nations Heritage Conservation (featured here on pages 11-14), who are fighting to revise the *Heritage Conservation Act* and improve the practice of archaeology in B.C. There is more at stake than simply material culture, for heritage *is* culture—history, memory, meaning, and identity—and is embedded in the very landscape itself. Thank you, Tora, for this reminder.

Marina La Salle
Editor, *The Midden*



Figure 1. "The Archaeologist's Report." This cartoon featured in the March 1, 2011 edition of *The Carnegie Newsletter*. The artist's *nom de plume* is Tora, who is well-known locally in the Downtown Eastside of Vancouver for his art, poetry and articles. He originally created this cartoon over 20 years ago. *The Carnegie* has been publishing on average 23 issues per year since 1986. It is free and produced by volunteers, with a standard print of 1200 per edition. Issues may also be accessed online: <http://carnegie.vcn.bc.ca/about>. Reprinted with Permission of Paul Taylor, volunteer editor of *The Carnegie* for over 24 years.

FORUM: *Media Representations of Archaeology in B.C.*

A Response to *The Midden's* Forum on Media Representation and Cultural Resource Management in British Columbia

In an effort to orient my response, I would like to begin by noting that I am a PhD Candidate in the University of British Columbia's Interdisciplinary Studies Graduate Program. My current research addresses the issue of modern coastal change and maritime heritage. I have 10 years of experience in Northwest Coast archaeology and cultural resource management (CRM), studying and working on both sides of the great Salish Sea divide that is the U.S./Canada border.

It was with great dismay that I read *The Midden's* latest Forum comments (2011, 43[2]:1-3) regarding the Willow's Beach and Qualicum Beach imbroglios. As the Archaeological Society of British Columbia's (ASBC) editorial staff noted there, the central issues at the time were who should pay for archaeological management work and how to address potential ethical violations. As the three Forum pieces highlight, the discussion quickly moved beyond such mundane issues of cost to more visceral problems with the state of archaeology and CRM today, and ensuing displays of racism in online newspaper comments. The three responses were provided by (a) the ASBC, (b) the British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologists (BCAPA) and (c) a recent university graduate in Archaeology with a certificate in CRM.

So, what did they have to say? First, and sadly, the ASBC really had nothing to offer, other than "supporting" the Provincial Government for upholding the *Heritage Conservation Act (HCA)* and advocating for "the protection and management of cultural heritage" (2001:1). In a time of such great social and environmental change, this hardly seems adequate. For the BCAPA, it was "especially important to note that registered Professional members (RPCA) of the BCAPA are required to recommend avoidance through project re-design as the first option to mitigate against potential adverse effects to an archaeological site" (2011:2). Furthermore, they reminded us that "the *HCA* is in place to protect B.C.'s heritage, including archaeological sites, regardless of their location on Crown or private land." Like the ASBC, the BCAPA called for "greater education" and "open dialogue between stakeholders, ensuring that issues such as those recently experienced can be avoided." I was uplifted, however, by the third respondent, Nicole Slade, who astutely observed that it seems these controversies represent "a continuation of a power struggle that has been going on since Europeans first set foot in B.C." (2011:3). As with the others, more effort to "educate people" was called for.

I will start with this observation: "Education" is not the answer! Resource managers have been playing this card since the 1970s and it no longer flies. I was born in Seattle, Washington in 1971, the exact same time modern environmentalism and resource management emerged, and since then, and despite 40 years of "public education" efforts, I have seen the situation in the Pacific Northwest (and in the world) getting much worse,

not better. The latter view is shared by virtually all social and environmental scientists specializing in the study of contemporary resource management. While education may be useful to some very specific ends, it is irresponsible to market it as some sort of panacea. It is not education that is necessarily lacking, rather the interest of the public in a history that is not their own—especially when that history interferes with Progress. A useful concept here is *cultural cognition*, which refers to "the tendency of individuals to form risk perceptions that are congenial values" (Kahan et al. 2011:147).

This leads to the comments by the BCAPA. Promotion of organizational Professionalization and State governance must be counter-balanced by the observation that both represent concentrated power, increased bureaucracy and internal policing. The bigger and more "Professional" the BCAPA gets, the more it will become a rigid, bloated, insular, top-down, hierarchically-structured organization. As virtually all resource management literature shows, from the 1970s onwards, top-down control has been recognized as the core management problem—not the solution. In this way, the BCAPA is running counter to ongoing efforts to decentralize resource management and build "local," "community-based" or "bottom-up" resilience. There is also little evidence to suggest that Professionalization leads to "better management" of resources; there is however significant literature supporting exactly the opposite. BCAPA's recent move to Professionalization and formalized control (see <http://www.bcapa.ca>) may well represent an unhealthy and irreversible power shift in B.C. heritage politics.

My discontent with the issues as they are framed by the ASBC and BCAPA emerges from my observation that many archaeologists, for various reasons, seem unwilling to confront two concepts with which we should all be intimately aware. The first lesson we learned comes from our "Introduction to Archaeology" course: that is, management—be it of Ancient Mesopotamian irrigation systems or contemporary heritage—is all about social power and State control (King 2009; Smith 2004). Put another way, (State-controlled) CRM has virtually nothing to do with "preserving the past" and nearly everything to do with controlling access to "the resource." In particular, this includes transnational mega-corporations who work as proponents and advocates for the very developers whose interests necessitate the destruction of archaeological heritage (King 2009). In B.C., and now nearly everywhere else, this directly facilitates the neoliberal agenda of "freeing up" markets (i.e., communities) for "growth and development" (i.e., economic "Progress"). The second lesson is that our current land use practices that impact and shape how archaeological heritage is "managed" are not only unsustainable; they are also an injustice to living people and their land.

To proclaim that archaeologists are "saving" or "preserving" heritage, archaeological or otherwise, in the midst of the most culturally and environmentally destructive period in human

FORUM: *Media Representations of Archaeology in B.C.*

history—from industrialization to globalization—is the height of absurdity. The “rise” of Modern British Columbia only dates to the 1950s; as such it is hard to ignore its ideological and political influence on present land use, and resulting management practices. The ongoing commodification, scientization and bureaucratization of heritage (King 2009; Smith 2006), which follows perfectly the path laid out by W.A.C. Bennett and his cohorts a mere sixty years ago, is indefensible. It must be stopped. It must be reversed. My conclusion is that in Modern CRM, more heritage destruction yields more dollars for (nearly) everyone working in the heritage industry. The only losers are those whose heritage is being destroyed in the name of Progress—in this case, the First Nations.

In the greatest of ironies, twenty-first century CRM is, at its core, about nothing less than global heritage destruction. By not addressing these ugly truths, archaeologists are merely maintaining (and, if we “educate,” propagating) the status quo. True heritage stewardship involves less concrete and steel, not more. Yet we continue to deceive.

Thank you for letting me speak, and I leave you with these

words from 40-year heritage expert Thomas King (2009:7):

We now have bureaucracies overseeing environmental impact assessment (EIA) and cultural resource management (CRM), and we have well-heeled private companies doing EIA and CRM work under contract. What we do not have is an orderly system for actually, honestly considering and trying to reduce impacts on our natural and cultural heritage. It's all pretty much a sham.

Rich Hutchings
Halfmoon Bay, B.C.

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Archaeology in the News

Many of our readers will be familiar with the South Fraser Perimeter Road (SFPR) Alignment, a major highway construction project designed to “offer goods movers an efficient transportation corridor, while restoring municipal roads as community connectors by reducing truck and other traffic on municipal road networks in Delta and Surrey, improving quality of life for residents and local businesses” (Gateway website 2011; Figure 1). This project has been in the works for over 5 years and has seen a flurry of recent media attention since about last October, intensified now that archaeological investigations are now fully underway at the St. Mungo and Glenrose Cannery sites.

Newspaper headlines have included the following:

- “Highway would cut key first nations archeological sites: Construction of the South Fraser Perimeter Road will have a destructive impact on two of B.C.’s oldest and most important first nations archaeological sites and the project will likely require the disinterment of ancient human remains.” (Randy Shore, *Vancouver Sun*, 24 April 2008)
- “Human activity goes back some 8,000 years, digs showed” (Michael Blooth, *Surrey Now*, 30 April 2010)
- “Ancient history could be paved: 9,000-year-old First Nations site threatened” (Brian Lewis, *The Province*, 1 October 2010)
- “South Fraser Perimeter Road opponents turn to courts to stop development” (Elaine O’Connor, *The Province*, 25 May 2011)
- “Paving history—or protecting it?” (Jeff Nagel, *Surrey North Delta Leader*, 26 August 2011)
- “First nations take government to court to save ancient burial sites from road: Government has known since 2006 plan could damage millennia-old plots, plaintiffs say” (Tracy Sherlock, *Vancouver Sun*, 31 August 2011)

These articles focus on the impact of the SFPR project—but, rather than addressing environmental degradation, noise increase

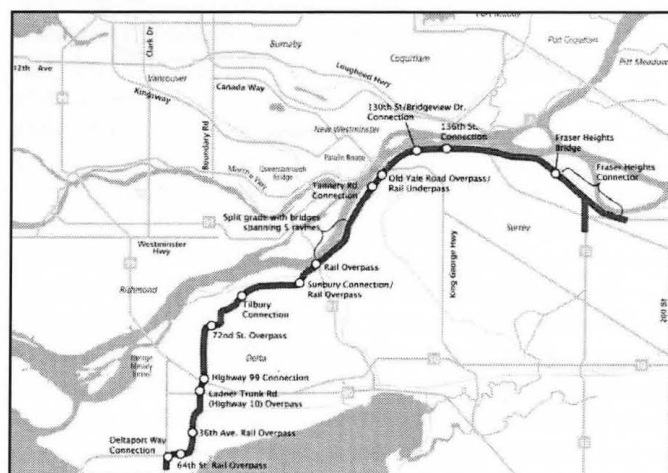


Figure 1. Plan for South Fraser Perimeter Road Alignment, from the Gateway Program website: <http://www.th.gov.bc.ca/gateway/>

and visual disturbance, or potential declining property values in the area, they almost exclusively emphasize the imminent destruction of the St. Mungo and Glenrose Cannery sites, commonly described as “sacred burial grounds.” Lewis’ (2010) article summarizes the situation neatly: “It’s certainly one of B.C.’s oldest heritage sites and it’s also well known internationally in archeological circles, but as important and priceless as it is, that’s still not going to stop the B.C. government from building the \$1.2-billion South Fraser Perimeter Road over it.”

A few key players have starring roles in these articles. Richelle Giberson, a local resident and part of the “Stop the Pave” organization (stopthepave.org), has been vocal in her opposition to the SFPR expansion, both for environmental reasons

(continued on Page 7...)

COMMON GROUND: 64TH ANNUAL NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE

Rastko Cvekić

This year's Northwest Anthropological Conference was held at the Best Western University Inn in Moscow, Idaho. Over the course of this three-day event, expertly organized by the hosts from the University of Idaho, knowledge and ideas were shared, old acquaintances revived and new friends made. What follows is not a comprehensive conference report but rather a sampling of some of the talks that I was able to attend. With such a varied offering of thought-provoking papers in simultaneous sessions, it was impossible to cover everything.

The first session that caught my attention was the Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO) symposium. Camille Pleasants and Mary Marchand (Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation), Dennis Lewarch (Suquamish Tribe), Keith Patrick Baird (Nez Perce Tribe) and Jill Maria Wagner (Coeur d'Alene Tribe and symposium organizer) presented about the activities of their respective offices and what they look for when dealing with outside researchers. I was completely oblivious to how consultative archaeology is done south of the border and was satisfied to learn that Native American Tribes (as First Nations are called in the U.S.) have a say in the research conducted in their territories through government-to-government consultation. It is a little disheartening, however, to learn that THPOs are often underfunded and understaffed. The services and resources they offer, ranging from research permitting through GIS databases to unpublished ethnographic and tribal archives, are surely worth as much to outside archaeologists as to tribal members.

Two further symposia stood out for their emphasis on tribal initiated research: a session by Grande Ronde and Quinault scholars, and another by colleagues from the Colville Confederated Tribes. A subject that came up in these sessions and many others was the Dawes Act of 1887, which allowed the U.S. government to cut up and privatize reservations (the U.S. term for reserves), allotting some land to individual tribe members and selling off the remainder to Euro-American settlers. Nora Pederson, in particular, described how resistance to this land alienation was eventually successful in reinstating tribal governments at Grand Ronde. David Lewis and David Boxberger went on to discuss how the Southwest Oregon Research Project helped the Grand Ronde conduct research into the history of land alienation by bringing ethnographic documents back to the communities where they originated from. Boxberger and Larry Ralston revisited an incident in which some Spanish sailors were killed by the Quinault, providing a Quinault point of view that was missing from the official histories which thus hindered reconciliation. The Spaniards appear to have encroached on a female initiation rites site, and the Quinault—having had bad experiences with a previous Spanish expedition that kidnapped some of their women—took no chances this time around. Finally, Boxberger, Pederson and Justine James Jr. described a Quinault ocean fisheries oral history project which brought to light the irony that the Boldt Decision of 1974, which reinstated Washington tribes' treaty rights to fish commercially, actually restricted where the

Quinault could fish.

Elder Mary Marchand opened the Colville Confederated Tribes (CCT) symposium, which I found to be among the most informative, with a Good Friday prayer. Amelia Marchand illustrated the workings of the CCT interdisciplinary team for traditional cultural properties and archaeological sites with a discussion of efforts to record and preserve a sweatlodge that has been in use for more than a hundred years. Jon Meyer presented on the problems caused by the U.S.-Canada border for Lakes and Okanagon people to access traditional use areas on the other side of the border and the THPO's efforts to rectify this infringement on traditional land use rights. Brenda Covington exposed the alarming destruction of archaeological sites by the annual spring draw-down of the Grand Coulee Dam Reservoir, while Donald Shannon revealed how CRM archaeology and tribal-initiated place name research can go hand-in-hand with case studies of transformer rocks. Lawrence Harry described in great detail the duties of a traditional cultural property technician, from protocols for conducting and transcribing interviews through curating historic photographs to transferring older media to newer formats. It was fascinating to learn such specifics of how a THPO functions and to listen to tribal members share the results of their research. Mary Marchand's message—that one must not forget one's ancestry and keep learning—is significant for all formerly and currently colonized people. History *is* important.

In a general session on American Indian identity, rights, resistance and implications, Charles Luttrell provided evidence that the Spokane were not only farming for subsistence but for a market economy prior to 1887. Rebecca Wood described her planned dissertation research on Pend d'Oreille language use, Emma Jean Mueller reported on her undergrad thesis on Native art appropriation in Puget Sound, and Christina Heiner spoke about everyday forms of resistance to the Dawes Act on the Flathead reservation. I was particularly absorbed by Mueller's discussion of the complications caused by ideas of "authenticity" and the emphasis on aesthetics in understanding art, causing a disengagement from the art's social context and the Native artists' social roles. Rodney Frey ended the session with a wonderful explanation of Tom Yellowtail's conceptualization of the wagon-wheel, the hub and rim of which represent our shared humanity and the spokes the diversity of our roles. Understanding that the spokes need to be kept separate yet equally moving allowed Yellowtail to be equally at ease in apparently exclusive roles, as Baptist and Sundancer, as self-serving trickster and self-effacing elder.

The general session on Northwest Coast archaeology began with Kathleen Hawes' description of environmental reconstruction through charcoal macro-remains analysis, illustrated with examples from her work at *Qwu?gwe*s and Sunken Village. I presented work that attempted to understand shell middens as more than mere garbage dumps and proposed instead considering them also from an Eliadean perspective of the sacred. Dale Croes discussed how tribal affiliation of archaeological remains in the Salish Sea can best be achieved through basketry. James Holmberg reported on

the analysis of clam digging sticks made of ocean spray that were recovered from the Qwu'gwas wet site, while James Chatters and colleagues added to archaeological understanding of the Olcott cobble tool tradition. Colin Grier and Meghann Stevens spoke about the 2010 excavations at Dionisio Point on Galiano Island, and Jacqueline Cannon argued that precontact Nuu-chah-nulth fishing was both intensive (based on ethnographic accounts) and extensive (based on archaeological accounts). Finally, Kenneth Ames and colleagues presented the results of chemical analyses (portable XRF, SEM) of contact-era copper artifacts from Cathlapotle and Meier, which turned out to be made of trade copper alloys.

In other talks, Alexander Stevenson and colleagues presented results of tribal initiated research in support of a salmon restoration project in the Upper Klamath Basin. The combination of ancient mitochondrial DNA, geochemistry, and the presence of head elements in archaeological fish remains indicates that anadromous salmonids were indeed caught prehistorically. Astrida Blukis Onat spoke on "The Art of Archaeology," describing the practice of a collaborative investigation of a historic homestead that brought together members of the Sauk-Suiattle Tribe and artists from the Earthwatch Institute for a culturally more complete project. Julia Altman discussed the so-called shield-bearing warrior rock art of southern Idaho, while George Poetschat, James Keyser and David Kaiser introduced their database of Bear Gulch and Atherton Canyon rock art in Montana. E.S. Lohse made one of the most provocative arguments of the conference when lobbying archaeologists to share their data: we need to standardize the recording of artifacts in the field so that we can cut down on curatorial costs by keeping only artifacts from well-defined behavioural contexts.

Furthermore, because archaeological interpretation is not a science, we should share data in order to beef up our stories. Let's do it! Describing the curatorial crisis in museums and repositories, Bethany Hauer Campbell further urged archaeologists to take into consideration the needs of future researchers. Lourdes Henebry-DeLeon discussed problems encountered in documenting NAGPRA repatriable material on the Columbia Plateau, particularly tracking down objects that had been moved from their original repository. It is ironic that NAGPRA doesn't require institutions to list material that they're supposed to have but don't have any more.

There were many other interesting talks that I couldn't attend, including Adam Rorabaugh's modelling of demographic impacts on social learning and Patrick Dolan's analysis of lithic debitage from Dionisio Point in a symposium on technological organization and social complexity, as well as a plethora of presentations on Idaho archaeology. Regardless, what impressed me the most about NWAC 2011 was (1) the willingness of researchers from diverse walks of life to share ideas and experiences, and (2) the emphasis on tribally initiated and locally relevant investigations. If this is the future of archaeology in the Northwest, and I certainly hope it is, then we are in very good and able hands indeed.

Rastko Cvekić is a UBC alumnus and is studying pictographs in shishálh traditional territory for his PhD dissertation at the University of Toronto. This was his first time at NWAC and he is grateful to the UoFT School of Graduate Studies for partly deferring attendance costs through a conference travel grant.

A complete list of NWAC 2011 presentations and posters is available here: <http://www.class.uidaho.edu/nwanthconference/schedule%20final.pdf>.

(Archaeology in the News: continued from Page 5...)

and because of the impact on archaeological sites. Tony Hardie, a local artifact dealer, features particularly in Nagel's (2011) piece, questioning the security now in place at these sites and the "secrecy" surrounding what is being found and where it will go. He defends his beachcombing practices as "preservation." Most recently, a lawsuit has been filed against the government by two Indigenous women, Tsawwassen and Cree Sioux.

A steady stream of comments—some more thoughtful than others—have also been flowing on Quentin Mackie's blog (<http://qmackie.wordpress.com/2010/10/02/glenrose-cannery-under-threat/>) since last October. In particular, criticism seems now to be falling not on the government, the private industry that is driving development, the archaeologists who have all signed confidentiality agreements, or even the consumers whose appetites are fed by the trucks that will use these roads (in other words, us). Instead, blame is being directed at the local First Nations who are involved in the project. On Quentin's blog (17 Aug. 2011), Richelle wrote: "Seems to me the only people NOT trying to stop the road are the only people that really could have: the First Nations. Instead, the Nation in charge of this project worked hard to silence those who had the courage to speak out." In her view, "This isn't just about local First Nation history and artifacts. This is about the evolution of mankind, and is of global significance."

Of course, the First Nations have been in negotiation over

this project for years and have come to their own arrangements. In Nagel's (2011) article, Tsawwassen Chief Kim Baird defends her Nation's participation in the project: "We're very diligent in trying to do the best we can for those sites against all odds—especially in the Lower Mainland, which is constantly under development pressure." The SFPR development has also been shifted to avoid most of the archaeological sites, and a plan is in place for a First Nations-designed interpretation area to acknowledge and celebrate the historical and ongoing connection of Aboriginal peoples with these (unceded) lands. If local First Nations are satisfied with the process, why isn't anyone else?

Nagel (2011) suggests that home-owners and environmentalists are simply appropriating the archaeological cause to bolster their own agenda. Indeed, far less press coverage was paid to the Katzie wapato farmlands, which were destroyed by the construction of the Golden Ears Bridge (Jeff Nagel, *Maple Ridge News*, 17 June 2008), and there were no sit-in protests. Archaeological sites are destroyed every day in this province. Where is the public outcry over these losses? Where is the media?

Whatever the motivations, it remains to be seen whether this media attention will help or hinder public attitudes towards heritage and archaeological practice in B.C.

Marina La Salle, Editor

The Lovat Avenue Biface

Martina L. Steffen

Recently, while looking through the archaeology collections at the Royal BC Museum, I found a projectile point with attributes of an unfinished fluted point (DcRu-y:196, Fig.1). Fluted points are characteristically large and finely flaked lancolate bifaces that have been thinned at the base by the removal of long channel flakes—called flutes—along the central axis of one or both faces facilitating hafting to spear shafts or knife handles (see Fig. 2). Fluted points have become an icon of early period archaeology in the Americas because of their broad geographic distribution and early age. The technology has been found throughout North America and as far as South America, and it typically dates from earlier than 11,000 to about 8,000 radiocarbon years ago, or 13,000 to 9,000 calibrated calendar years ago. Some basally thinned points are similar in shape to fluted points. They date to about the same age or are slightly younger and, instead of flutes the tools, have been thinned along the base by the removal of several smaller flakes that are not as long as flutes. This is important to note because the point that is described herein is not fluted, but its flake scar patterning, base shape, length, width, thickness and lancolate form are consistent with an unfinished fluted point or possibly a basally thinned type. The Lovat biface is noteworthy because fluted points and similar tools are not common in British Columbia.

A local resident donated the biface in 1959. Fortunately, museum records document the find location: the artifact was found on Lovat Avenue in the municipality of Saanich in Greater Victoria (Fig. 3). Here I describe the biface and place it into context with similar artifacts nearby.

A Description

Only the medial and basal sections of the biface are intact. It is 73 mm long (broken), 39 mm wide, 7 mm thick, and has a maximum width to thickness ratio of 5.6. Complete biface length cannot be determined but it likely extended to a total length of about 100 mm. The terminal break is transverse to the blade margin and it appears to have broken as its maker was flaking the tool laterally.

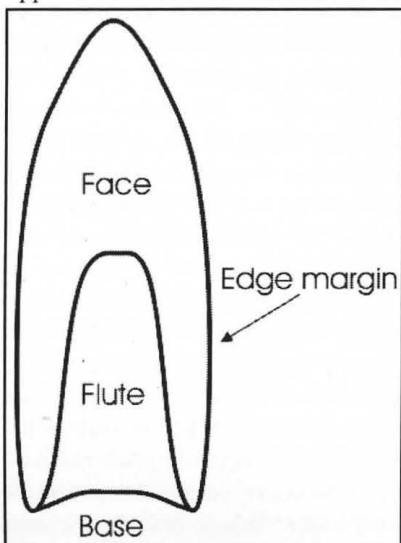


Figure 2. Schematic of a fluted point

The point is made of a volcanic stone, probably dacite or basalt, that can be tough to flake and raw material constraints may have contributed to it breaking.

Widely spaced collateral and irregular thinning flakes formed a flattened lenticular cross-section. Flake scars extend to or beyond the centre of each face and its surfaces are even with few lumps or hinge terminations. Ridge crests from flake removals form small striking platforms along the

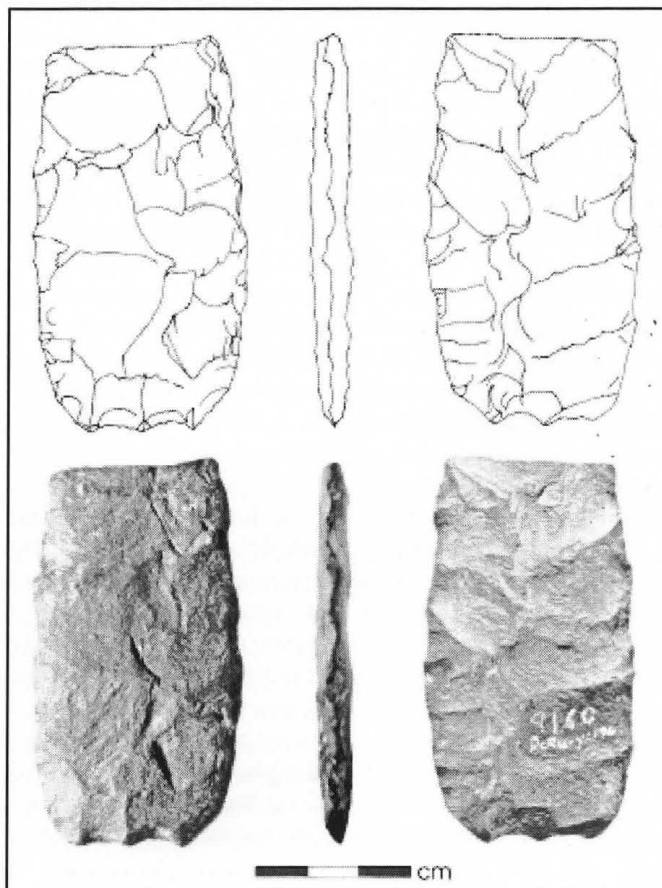


Figure 1. The Lovat Avenue biface (DcRu-y:196) showing both faces and one edge margin. Brian Seymour drew the artifact (top).

edges of the biface that are to or above the center plane resulting in a wavy margin. Its blades are parallel to convex and taper to a biconcave or v-shaped base. One face is beveled at the base toward the opposite face.

How it was made

Similarities between the Lovat biface and unfinished fluted or basally thinned forms can be understood in the context of how the tools are made. According to Callahan's observations of artifact replications (2000), the process of manufacture begins with preparing a stone blank by flaking it from the edges inward on both faces until the tool has an even, sometimes flattened cross-section with a moderate to high width/thickness ratio. Edge margins are straightened at an intermediate or late stage in the production process. If the biface is to be fluted its base is prepared by selective flaking to isolate a striking platform from which to remove a flute that can result in a biconcave or v-shaped base as on the Lovat specimen. Producing basally thinned points may also require platform preparation for removal of small flakes from the base. Retouch along the margins and grinding to smooth rough flake scars before hafting are common attributes of finished tools. Unlike many finished fluted and basally thinned points, the edge margins of the Lovat biface have not been extensively retouched

nor straightened, it still has a v-shaped basal platform as preparation for flake removal from its base, and it is not ground on the base or margins as the finished points often are.

It is possible the biface wasn't intended to be fluted, however its flake patterning, width to thickness ratio and basal treatment are consistent with an intermediate to late stage fluted point or possibly a basally thinned form.

How old is it?

The Lovat biface was not collected by archaeologists during careful excavation and there is no radiocarbon date associated with it.

In some cases archaeologists can narrow the age range of projectile points that come from undated contexts by comparing them with similar dated tools. Fluted points are an example of this. Together the suite of fluted point types, including Clovis, the oldest fluted type, and numerous regional variants usually date from close to 13,000 to about 9,000 years ago. Basally thinned point types, such as Goshin and others, commonly date to within the time range of fluted forms or slightly younger.

Because the Lovat biface is an incomplete isolated find it cannot easily be assigned to one point type or a very specific time range. For instance, Beck and Jones (2009) have defined criteria for identifying Clovis points which do date to a fairly specific time period, but because the Lovat point is incomplete it cannot be expected to fulfill all of the criteria of the finished tools. That said, the Lovat specimen does have common characteristics with points that have been called Clovis at various times, including width to thickness ratio, estimated length, width and shape, yet these attributes are not typical only of Clovis or of another type making its relationship to these types unclear. That no flake was removed from the prepared base of the Lovat specimen also complicates its characterization as a specific type, though future analyses that compare it with similar early points in the region may be able to define its morphological and possibly its temporal relationship with Clovis or other point types that are present nearby. At the moment what can be said about the age of the Lovat biface is that it probably dates to within the time range of fluted and similar basally thinned points but a more precise age estimate is not possible.

Similar bifaces from British Columbia and nearby

The Lovat Avenue specimen is a new addition to the early record

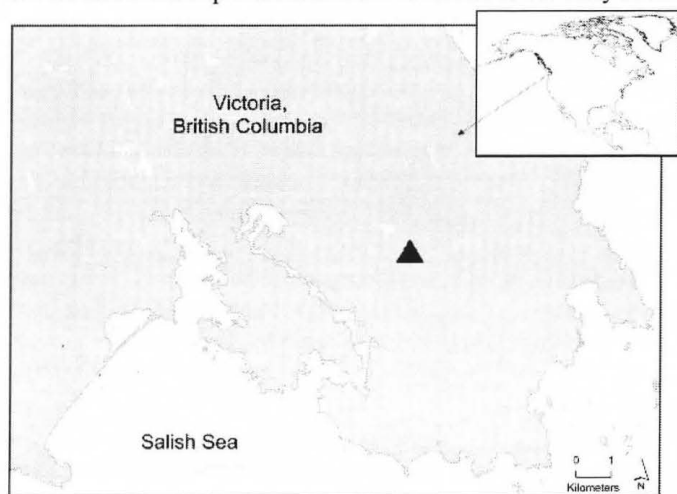


Figure 3. Portions of Greater Victoria with the location of Lovat Avenue indicated as a black triangle.

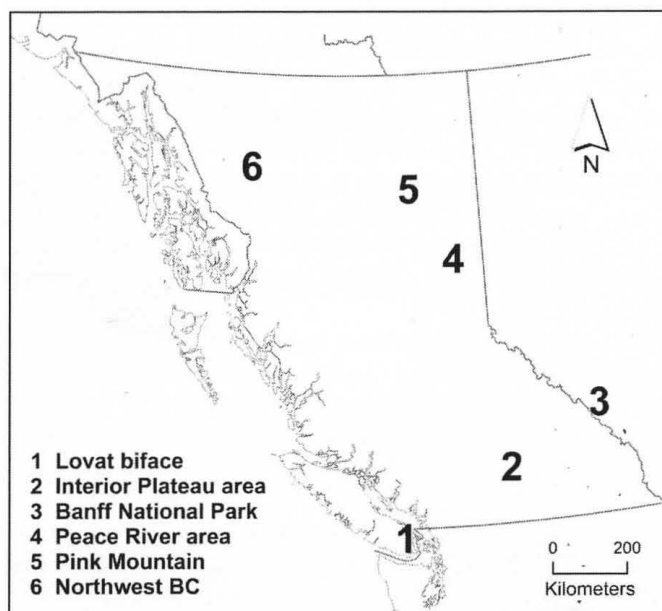


Figure 4. Biface locations in British Columbia that are mentioned in the text

of archaeology in British Columbia. To provide a regional context for the artifact, here is a list of points from the province and nearby that have been characterized as fluted by the authors who reported them along with a number of points that are basally thinned and similar to fluted forms (Fig. 4).

In British Columbia the finds began with two points that Fladmark (1981) documented during archaeological inventories of the Peace River area. Continuing archaeological interest in the Peace region resulted in excavations at Charlie Lake Cave where a fluted point was recovered from stratified deposits directly associated with radiocarbon dates of between 10,100 to 10,770 before present (Fladmark 1996). Wilson (1986) and Wilson and Carlson (1987) found two more sites in the northeast: the Anderson site and a lithic scatter near Pink Mountain. Brolly and Begg (2008) reported a fluted point from the Williston Lake Reservoir and subsequent ground surveys of the area by Eldridge et al. (2008 and later reports) have turned up least five early period basally thinned points. The artifacts found by Eldridge and company resemble finished fluted points though with base flake removals that are smaller than what is typically characterized as fluted.

Archaeological surveys in the northwest portion of the province (Baseline 2010; Mathews 2007) have uncovered two basally thinned obsidian point fragments that may date to an early period. Further archaeological work in the area could better define a temporal range for these tools. It would also be interesting to compare the two points with basally thinned forms that have been found to the north in the Yukon and Alaska. Analyses of fifty or so fluted points from Yukon and Alaska are currently underway (Goebel pers. comm. 2011).

Just across the border to the east in the Vermillion Lakes area of Banff National Park, Alberta, a small number of projectile points that are comparable to diagnostic fluted points were recovered (Fedje 1996). A long-term effort to inventory fluted points throughout Alberta has documented over two hundred (see Ives 2006).

From the Canadian Plateau in south-central British Co-

lumbia, Rousseau (2008) has identified five basally thinned and fluted forms, one of which has a v-shaped base. To the west and south of British Columbia in Puget Sound, Croes et al. (2008) mention nine Clovis localities including one site on Whidbey Island, about 50 km southeast of Victoria, where a complete Clovis point was found that it is not entirely unlike the Lovat biface (Avey 1992); it is slightly smaller than the Lovat biface and its blades do not taper to the base. Together in Washington, Oregon and Idaho over 120 fluted points are known (Haynes 2002).

Fluted points have not been found on the British Columbia coast north of the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Carlson 1991) nor from many of the mountainous interior portions of the province. The lack of fluted points from these regions may be for want of looking in the mountainous interior but the same cannot be said for the coast where extensive archaeological surveys have been done, particularly along modern shorelines. Fluted points that are found in the future will undoubtedly be highlighted in published form wherever the points may be found in British Columbia.

Where it was found

Ancient archaeological sites can be found along relict ocean shorelines that are either higher or lower than the modern shore. In Greater Victoria, the most substantial sea level changes occurred when glaciers last receded from area more than 14,000 years ago. As glaciers melted the land rebounded from the weight of ice and the sea dropped in relation to the land. The changes were rapid at first with sea level dropping from as much as 75 meters above modern shoreline to near 30 meters below (James et al. 2009). In fact, the water's edge in Victoria has been lower than it is today from about 13,000 to 4,000 years ago or later (Eldridge and Steffen 2008; Fedje et al. 2009). In terms of archaeology this means sites that were occupied when sea levels were lower are now submerged.

But not all early sites are underwater. The Lovat biface indicates that there was an early period of human occupation in Victoria along the gently rolling terrain of Lovat Avenue which is now about two kilometers distance from the nearest coastline and ~50 metres elevation above high tide. The locality could have been a shoreline occupation as sea level dropped soon after glaciers receded though it is more likely to have been an inland habitation or hunting place that was occupied when the sea was lower.

Conclusion

Characteristics of the Lovat Avenue biface are consistent with a nearly finished fluted point or basally thinned form. Few such points have been found in British Columbia and because higher numbers of fluted points have been found to the south, east and in the Yukon and Alaska to the north it is likely that the technologies moved into the province from these adjacent areas. The Lovat biface may be most closely related to similar points that have been found nearby to the south and east as additional analysis could demonstrate.

Martina Steffen is the Senior Collections Manager of Archaeology at the Royal BC Museum. Among other projects, Martina is studying early period archaeology on Vancouver Island through an environmental archaeological approach. Email: msteffen@royalbcmuseum.bc.ca

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INTRODUCTION TO THE JOINT WORKING GROUP ON FIRST NATIONS HERITAGE CONSERVATION

Judith Sayers, Dan Smith, Murray Browne, Andrea Glickman and Shannon Cameron



The B.C. Assembly of First Nations (BC AFN), First Nations Summit (FNS) and Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), working together as the First Nations Leadership Council (FNLC), have passed resolutions mandating that B.C. First Nations representatives work together with the Province via the Joint Working Group on First Nations Heritage Conservation (JWGFNHC). The members of the JWGFNHC work to explore options and provide recommendations for consideration by B.C. First Nations for improvements in policy and legislation that will adequately address First Nation interests with respect to the protection and conservation of our heritage sites, sacred sites and archaeological heritage objects. Neither the FNLC, nor the JWGFNHC purport to speak for any First Nation on this important issue, but rather seek to provide Nations with access to tools in order to address their respective heritage work, including through establishment of their own Heritage Memorandum of Understanding (MOUs), Protocols, Position Papers, etc.

First Nations representatives on the JWGFNHC form the Internal Working Group (IWG), which is composed of volunteers and does not receive any core funding for its activities. The purpose of the Internal Working Group is to work with provincial representatives to improve the protection and conservation of First Nations culture and heritage sites in the spirit of *The New Relationship and Transformative Change Accord*. The membership of the IWG generally strives to have legal representation, political representation, practical experience and technical support. Currently the IWG is composed of Chair Judith Sayers (Hupacasath First Nation); Dan Smith (First Nations Summit Task Group/ FNLC Lead); Murray Browne (Woodward & Company); Andrea Glickman (UBCIC/ FNLC); and Shannon Cameron (UBCIC). Former Chief Vern Jack from the Tseycum First Nation was previously part of the IWG.

This article provides an introduction to the JWGFNHC, the IWG and our work plan which includes drafting the First Nations Heritage Action Plan ("Action

Plan"), an Archaeology Branch Policy Review and developing the framework for a pilot project geared towards implementing section 4 of the *Heritage Conservation Act*.

Background of Issues

British Columbia's current heritage legislation does not afford a meaningful role for First Nations in provincial heritage conservation. The current legislative management regime in B.C. is premised on the provincial government as the sole steward of First Nations heritage and cultural resources and is not reflective of a government-to-government relationship between First Nations and the Province of B.C. The B.C. provincial *Heritage Conservation Act (HCA)* assumes provincial

Figure 1. Over 150 delegates from BC First Nations attended the First Nations Heritage Forum in February 2011 and participated in the opportunity to directly prioritize both the work of the JWGFNHC and the content of the Heritage Action Plan. (Photo: UBCIC, February 22, 2011)

jurisdiction over First Nations heritage and cultural sites and allows the Archaeology Branch to issue permits to alter or destroy those sites. The *HCA* and associated policies and management regime fail to adequately protect First Nations culture and heritage resources or provide for the protection of our sacred and spiritual sites, the sanctity of our artifacts and the remains of our ancestors and other archaeological resources in accordance with First Nations' individual laws and customs.

At the root of it, the *HCA* and associated policies and management regime do not adequately recognize Aboriginal Title and Rights, and are insufficient in protecting that which is important to First Nations. The lack of meaningful measures, legislative tools or policies to protect heritage resources has increased frustration within First Nations communities as they continue to be impacted by development activities. Despite the increasing frustration, no structured way forward has previously existed for B.C. First Nations concerning the conservation and protection of our cultural heritage resources, ancestral remains, and sacred and spiritual sites.

The core issues have remained static for many years. An example of this can be seen from records from a meeting between the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board and representatives from the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs that took place thirty-eight years ago, in October of 1973. In a corresponding document titled "Recommendations to the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board by the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs," one can see that UBCIC recommended raising penalties for violations of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act; the need for increased policing of archaeological sites; and the need for archaeologists to hire First Nations field representatives. In addition, UBCIC stressed the need for legislation to be changed so "artifacts of prehistoric origin are recognized as belonging to the Indian people of the area, and that artifacts held by researchers, universities, museums, or any other person or institution be recognized as 'being held in trust' for Indian people."

These issues of insufficient penalties for contravention, lack of enforcement, lack of sufficient First Nations representation in the field, lack of acknowledge-

ment of Aboriginal Title and Rights and ownership of artifacts, and the need for First Nations stewardship of First Nations heritage and cultural resources are still being discussed in JWGFNHC meetings today. Significant reform is still needed in current legislation and policies to ensure the protection and conservation of First Nations heritage sites, sacred sites, cultural property and human remains. The amount of work that needs to be done to update the *HCA* is extensive and costly, yet human and financial resources are very limited within First Nations communities and at the provincial government level.

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First Nations Heritage Action Plan Background

Throughout late 2010 and 2011, the FNLC has been developing a First Nations Heritage Action Plan ("Action Plan") with feedback from Chiefs, technicians and community representatives involved in heritage conservation management. The process included the two-day Heritage Forum (discussed below). The First Nations Leadership Council proposes this community driven and Nation based Action Plan as a way forward in developing interim measures to ensure that individual First Nations are able to manage their own cultural heritage resources in the short term, while they continue to feed into longer-term strategies which can be developed and implemented at the provincial level.

The Action Plan, which is broken into two main parts, is intended as a means for collective advocacy on these important issues. The context section provides a background to First Nations' outstanding need for protection of their cultural heritage resources, and details the current

legislative and political frameworks which leave little room for the incorporation of cultural laws and protocols specific to each First Nation. In response to the urgent need to establish a flexible range of policies that reflect the specific concerns of each community, the second section of the Action Plan contains a collective Vision, Goals, and Action Items, as well as a description of necessary long-term projects and a discussion on implementation.

Due to the current fiscal context and lack of core funding for the work of the JWGFNHC or the IWG, there are necessary limitations which have been placed on the scope of the Action Plan and it has been streamlined in order to reflect the mandate and capacity of the FNLC, the JWGFNHC and the IWG and emphasize the most pressing priorities of B.C. First Nations. Action Items have been prioritized in a table that identifies the lead, potential partners, resources identified and resources required. The Action Plan does not address First Nation languages, culturally important plants, medicinal plants and minerals, and those areas where these items are traditionally gathered and harvested. All of these issues fall outside of the mandate of the JWGFNHC and the scope of the Action Plan.

First Nations Heritage Forum

The draft First Nations Heritage Action Plan was originally circulated to all First Nations for feedback in February 2011 prior to the First Nations Heritage Forum. As part of our mandate to ensure First Nations input into the process and direction of the work of the JWGFNHC, the IWG organized a two-day facilitated First Nations Heritage Forum held on February 22nd and 23rd, 2011. The Forum was hosted under the FNLC by the JWGFNHC and Nesika Cultural and Heritage Society. We invited all First Nations and sought funding to assist in covering the costs of one political or technical representative from each B.C. First Nation, Tribal Council and First Nation political organization to attend and provide direction on prioritizing our work. Through the forum we sought to integrate further feedback into the Action Plan and gather information on cultural heritage issues; facilitate constructive dialogue on current legislation, policies and practices within the Archaeology Branch, municipalities and local governments; showcase

successful collaborative heritage conservation projects; promote networking between communities; and increase awareness of the work of the JWGFNHC. Forum participants engaged in plenary sessions on cultural laws and protocols and legal issues; contraventions and enforcement; Archaeology Branch policies and procedures; local governments; forestry and the work of the JWGFNHC, including the Heritage Action Plan and Pilot Project. Several case studies were also presented for consideration, including the inspiring work around culture and heritage from Bands and Nations such as the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group; the Haida Nation, the Laich-Kwil-Tach Treaty Society, the Chehalis Indian Band, the Upper Nicola Band, the Lillooet Tribal Council, the Stó:lō Nation and Esh-kn-am CRM Services.

At the root of it, the HCA and associated policies and management regime do not adequately recognize aboriginal Title and Rights, and are insufficient in protecting that which is important to First Nations.

Throughout the Heritage Forum, the Heritage Action Plan was revised and re-circulated, with appendices including the compiled feedback and direction from forum participants. After the Heritage Forum, an amended version of the Action Plan was circulated in March 2011, and another round of input was collected and integrated. The IWG then streamlined the Action Plan for implementation, and circulated a third version to First Nations for final input in late July 2011. Following this final round of input, the IWG will bring the Action Plan to the BC AFN, FNS and UBCIC for ratification at their respective meetings.

Policy Review

The JWGFNHC has been seeking revisions to several policies currently in place at the Archaeology Branch that First Nations have repeatedly expressed concern

about. The IWG has determined through community-driven feedback which policies give rise to frequent issues in relation to the protection of archaeology sites and sacred sites. Policy sections currently under review include the Archaeological Impact Assessment Guidelines, Local Governments, Heritage Permits, Enforcement of the HCA and Found Human Remains. Archaeology Branch Information Bulletins under review include Recording Post-1846 CMTs, Revised Interim Permit Reporting Procedures, Permits and Archaeological Site Boundaries, and Site Alteration Permit Reports.

Pilot Project Initiative on Section 4 Agreements

The JWGFNHC has also been spearheading a parallel initiative to secure provincial approval for a pilot project with a B.C. First Nation. The aim of the pilot project is to develop a Schedule for a section 4 (s.4) agreement, with the intention of working towards a full s.4 agreement. The use of s.4 agreements is something that B.C. Bands have repeatedly indicated is a high priority in their cultural heritage management.

As a quick background on s.4 agreements, in 1993 the B.C. Court of Appeal rejected in a split decision the appeal by the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en in the Delgamuukw case, but ruled that the provincial government did not have the constitutional authority to extinguish aboriginal Title². This led to extensive negotiations between provincial and First Nations representatives, which spawned a number of initiatives including the proposed amendment to include s.4 in the HCA. Section 4 of the HCA enables the Province to "enter into a formal agreement with a first nation with respect to the conservation and protection of heritage sites and heritage objects that represent the cultural heritage of the aboriginal people who are represented by that first nation."³ During the second reading of the Bill to support the inclusion of s.4, the Minister responsible for the HCA stated "the bill reflects our government's commitment to create a responsible, fair and appropriate framework for the conservation of heritage resources by the province, by local governments and by First Nations."⁴ He continued, "[the bill] further enables the province to enter into formal agreements with First Nations on a government-to-

government basis regarding protection and stewardship of cultural heritage sites and resources valued by First Nations."⁵ The HCA was amended in 1996 to include s.4 as a direct result of the Delgamuukw/Gisday'wa ruling and continual pressure from B.C. First Nations.

Though heritage sites of cultural value can be protected through an agreement between the province and a First Nation under s.4 of the HCA and approved by Order in Council (OIC), no such agreements have been developed and s.4 has not been properly implemented. B.C. has a legal opinion that says parts of s.4 are not legally valid: as a result, no agreements under this section have ever been realized. The legal opinion has been questioned by a number of lawyers and the IWG has requested a second opinion or an independent review.

A full s.4 agreement could enable First Nations to issue permits. Even a modest s.4 agreement may be a good start as First Nations could identify specific spiritual, ceremonial and cultural site types for protection beyond what is currently automatically "protected" in the HCA. Section 4 agreements could also enable First Nations to set policies for decisions on permits relating to cultural sites. Many B.C. First Nations and the members of the IWG hope to see fully implemented s.4 agreements within B.C.

To this end, the JWGFNHC continues to work toward a Pilot Project for a First Nation that is willing to develop a Schedule to an s.4 agreement that lists cultural sites that are important to them. The First Nation would work with B.C. to determine protective mechanisms for these sites, define what would constitute desecration, and determine confidentiality parameters for the Schedule. Concurrently, the JWGFNHC will continue to support development of a framework for a full s.4 agreement that will ultimately guide the First Nation in negotiating such an agreement with the province once the Schedule is completed. The Minister of Forests, Lands and Natural Resource Operations has already approved a Pilot Project, but is seeking approval from related Ministries to ensure complete provincial cooperation. If approval is granted, the JWGFNHC will issue a call to First Nations for participation, and subsequently begin working with the selected First Nation on the Pilot Project.

Long Term Goals

Policy revisions, pilot projects and implementing section 4 of the *HCA* are just short-term steps. The *HCA* has major problems that will not be fixed by tinkering with policies and pilot projects. The *HCA* is premised on the assumption that First Nations do not have aboriginal rights or title and that the Crown and "fee simple" owners are the true owners who only share "stewardship responsibilities" for lands and associated resources with First Nations, provided that issues of ownership are not challenged.

Ultimately, we aim to amend provincial legislation to recognize and respect Aboriginal Title and Rights, cultural laws, and the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*.

We are hopeful that with the support of First Nations and the archaeology

community we will be able to accomplish the short and long term goals. This is a significant test of the commitments made by the provincial government to recognize Aboriginal Title and Rights and honour both the *New Relationship* and the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*. As is the case with many things, time will tell, but our sincere hope is that these same issues are not still on the table thirty-eight years from now.

This article has been compiled by the First Nations representatives/Internal Working Group (IWG) members of the JWGFNHC. The IWG is composed of volunteers Judith Sayers (Hupacasath First Nation); Dan Smith (First Nations Summit Task Group/FNLC Lead); Murray Browne (Woodward & Company); Andrea Glickman (UBCIC/FNLC); and Shannon Cameron (UBCIC).

Notes

1. *Nesika*. October, 1973, pg 7.
2. *Delgamuukw v. British Columbia* (1993), 30 B.C.A.C. 1, [1993] 5 C.N.L.R. 1.
3. See http://www.bclaws.ca/EPLi-braries/bclaws_new/document/ID/freeside/00_96187_01#section4
4. Hansard, Monday, April 18, 1994, Afternoon Sitting, Volume 14, Number 7 (emphasis added). Bill 21, predecessor to the *Heritage Conservation Statutes Amendment Act*, 1994.
5. Hansard, Monday, April 18, 1994, Afternoon Sitting, Volume 14, Number 7 (emphasis added).

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Due to increasing costs of production and postage, rates for subscriptions to *The Midden* and ASBC Memberships will be going up effective January 2012.

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We thank you for your continued support of the ASBC and *The Midden*!

ASBC Executive

THE MYSTERY OF THE SATURNA ISLAND FIGURINE HEAD

Grant Keddie



David Scott's Discovery and the Never Ending Story

The topic of trans-Pacific contact is a controversial one. It is often said of academics that they ignore evidence that does not fit the accepted status quo. The story of this case is an interesting scenario of how the discovery of an artifact is dealt with when it does not fit our understanding of local history. This story transcends a period of four Museum Curators and now 62 years later is still unresolved. Are we dealing with evidence of ancient long distance trans-Pacific voyaging, long distant

trade between the continents of the New World, or an example of unusual refuse from the early 20th century?

Emma Scott and Arthur Pickford

On October 4, 1949, Emma Scott of Penticton, sent a letter to the Director of the Provincial Museum, Clifford Carl. Her letter was prompted by a newspaper story about Museum personnel visiting a shell midden site at Lyall harbour:

"When we were at Lyall Harbour on Saturna Island this summer our young son [David] picked up a small mask near the large midden.

The tide was out and he picked it up a short distance below the water line."

The Lyall Harbour site, DeRt-9, has never been excavated by archaeologists. In my visits to the site I have observed cultural debris up to 2.5 meters in depth. At least a meter of shoreline midden has eroded away in the last 30 years.

Artifacts surface collected from site

Figure 1 (above). Original ceramic head from Saturna Island with banacles still attached (Photo: Philip Ward).

over the last 80 years allow us to only guess that it may have been occupied intermittently between about 2000 and 800 years ago. There is no record of the site being occupied by First Nations in Historic times. A small blue, wire-wound Chinese made trade bead dating to the 19th century was found at the site, but is not necessarily indicative of aboriginal occupation. I undertook a systematic collection of artifacts from the beach on August 2, 1982, and April 11, 1995, and the only pottery fragments I found were of recent European or Asian manufacture.

Artifacts found at the site include: 127 small ground slate beads; 14 small shell beads with one larger flat bead and a section of a toredo worm caste bead; three small stone celts; a ground serpentine projectile point; 32 stone bifaces or projectile points of dacite, basalt and chert; a chert tool with a ground edge, 13 stone flakes; a sandstone abrader and a green stone with heavy scrapping.

The ceramic head was sent to Clifford Carl along with Emma Scott's letter of October 6th. Carl, a biologist by training, wrote Emma Scott:

"I do not believe the specimen you have sent for examination is of Indian origin. It appears to be a form of pottery and so far as known our natives had no knowledge of pottery or clay work. However, as a check we will hold the specimen for a few days until we can have someone else look it over."

Carl passed the letter to Arthur Pickford, whom he referred to as a "consulting anthropologist." Pickford had left the Museum on June 30, 1948, after being employed as an "assistant in Anthropology" since 1944. As a horticulturalist, he worked for the Provincial Forestry Branch as a land surveyor and as creator of B.C.'s reforestation program. He had his own artifact collection and considered himself an amateur archaeologist. He had worked with First Nations and developed a keen interest in ethnobotany and archaeology, later publishing material on both subjects. He came to the Museum after he retired from the Forestry Branch.

On October 8, 1949, Pickford wrote to Emma Scott: *"We are very intrigued by this specimen ... we would like to have more details as to the condition under*

which it was found." He then asked specific provenience questions. Mrs. Scott replied:

"1. The exact location of the find was at the south East end of Lyall Harbour. This is a very sheltered spot where canoes could be drawn up. 2. There are indications of Indian life in that locality in the form of a very large deposit of shells in which a number of Indian relics have been found. 3. Yes the mask was found on the beach about twenty feet beyond the shoreline and about thirty or forty feet to the right of the shell deposit referred to. 4. We do not know if any other pieces of pottery have been found—but Mr. And Mrs. Jim Money of Saturna Island told us they had found several interesting relics in the same midden."

Mrs. Scott gave the Museum permission to "keep it for a month or two" and mentioned that it was their ten year old son David who found it.

On October 13, Betty C. Newton (assistant preparatory) sent a letter to Emma Scott explaining that the head was being photographed and would be returned "in about ten day's time." On November 16, Newton again wrote to Scott explaining that the artifact would be delayed in its return because Pickford had just returned the ceramic head the day before and was "anxious to photograph it again with a special camera he hopes to have loaned to him."

On November 18, Emma Scott wrote Newton: *"Please tell Mr. Pickford he is welcome to keep the head longer. If he should like to take the barnacles off he is at liberty to do so. It might improve the photograph."*

April 30, 1950, Pickford wrote to Emma Scott. After giving an excuse for not returning the head, he states:

"We have not yet been able to solve the enigma of a work of art in pottery of a primitive nature being found associated with the kitchen midden of non-pottery making aborigines of this country."

He asks her permission to take it to the May 1950, Northwest Anthropological Conference in Seattle "and there submit

it to the opinions and experience of the Anthropological experts."

On June 23, 1950, Pickford wrote Emma Scott saying he wanted to hold it "just a little longer" to show it to Dr. Douglas Leitchman of the National Museum who had arrived from Ottawa. Pickford stated:

"At the Anthropological conference ... I brought it to the attention of Drs. Ralph Roys, Gordon F. Ekholm of the American Museum of Natural History, and others. All of these were tremendously interested, but none had an idea to suggest as to its origin. Dr. Erna Gunther, of the University of Washington (As I thought, wishing she had found it herself) looked at it with a semblance of disinterest and suggested that it could be none other than the discard of some recent visitor to Central America who had been temporarily interested in the original Rain-God figurine of which (she suggests) that was a part. I made a tentative promise to the more responsible among the anthropologists that I would pay a visit to Saturna and view the site with a view to reporting as to conditions and further evidence. However, being on a very poor pension, funds do not permit of my carrying this project into effect for the present."

On June 27, 1950, Pickford wrote Emma Scott reporting that Dr. Leitchman: *"lacking further evidence is rather inclined to lean towards the opinion of Dr. Gunther. I am now returning your treasured specimen to you by registered mail as you request."*

Emma Scott and Wilson Duff

Wilson Duff became the Curator of Anthropology at the Museum in June of 1950, but it was not until two years later that he saw photographs of the ceramic figure. At this time the museum did not have most of the previous correspondence—these likely remained in the private papers of Pickford. On January 21, 1953, Duff wrote to Emma Scott asking to borrow the "image of a human head, made of pottery or dried clay" for his "exhaustive study of the ancient stone and other

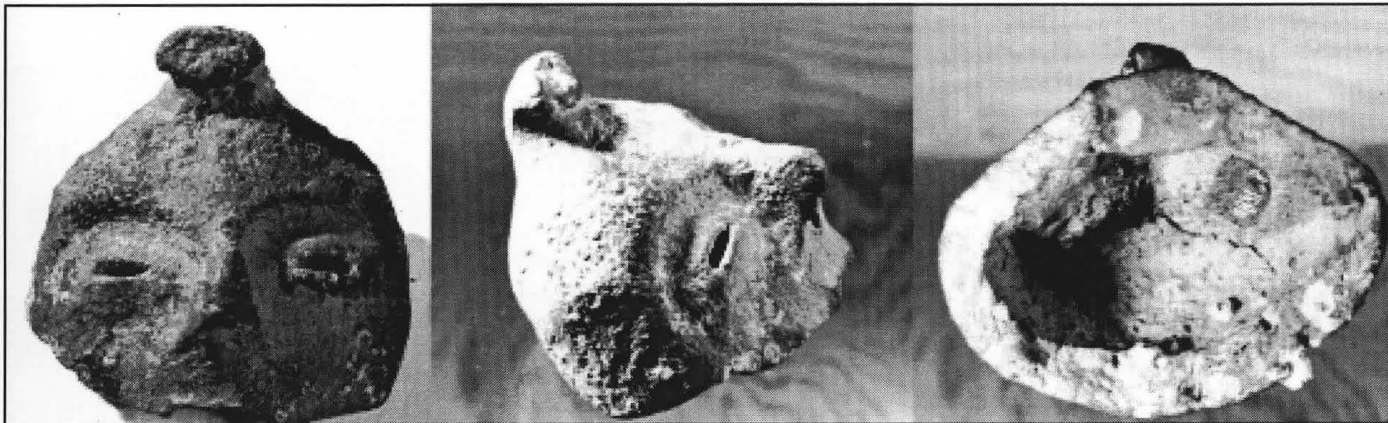


Figure 2. Different views of original Saturna Island head (Photo: Philip Ward).

sculpture of this area ... Your specimen, if our information is correct, is of great importance as it introduces a new type of sculpture—moulding." Duff's study was published in 1956 with no mention of the Saturna Island ceramic head.

On January 23, Emma Scott wrote back to say she is sending the figure to the Museum. She reiterated information previously given to Pickford. She suggested that Duff write Jim Money of Saturna Island regarding artifacts found at the site. On January 28, Duff writes back:

"Many thanks for the loan of the pottery head. It is a strange thing, and definitely does not belong to this area. The closest things I know of similar to it are the pottery figurines of pre-Aztec Mexico. With your permission I will keep it a while longer to be photographed and studied further."

On February 11, 1953, Wilson Duff writes to Jim E. Money:

"...The object seems to me to be of Mexican origin possible part of a mould-made pottery figurine of pre-Aztec times (before about 1100 A.D.). The question is, of course, how did it get to Saturna Island. It is the sort of thing that a traveler in Mexico might easily acquire as a souvenir. Do you know if any of the residents of your area or visitors have ever been to Mexico or have collections of Mexican souvenirs? In the same connection I would be interested in anything you can tell me about Indian middens or other remains on the island, and the types of relics that have been discovered there."

On February 15, Money writes Duff:

"David, Mrs. Scotts' son told me he found the head some 400 ft out at Lyall beach when the tide was extremely low. Most of Lyall beach is very muddy at low tide but there is a reef of hard shale which runs out a long way and would hold up anything from sinking into the mud. ...We have enquired around Saturna and can find no one who has any collection of Mexican pottery or anyone that has ever been south of the American border."

On March 10, 1953, Duff sent a letter to Emma Scott:

"I am returning to you the broken pottery head... I think it is part of a Mexican (pre-Aztec) mould made pottery figurine. I have sent photographs for positive identification to Washington, D.C., ...As soon as I find out more, I'll let you know."

On March 24, 1953, Gordon Eckholm of the American Museum of Natural History wrote to Duff:

"Dr. Roberts of the Bureau of American Ethnology has forwarded to me your correspondence and the pictures of the figure head ...with the idea that I might comment on the figure's possible Mexican affiliation. ...The figure does not suggest any Mexican style of which I know. It certainly does not resemble anything in the well known figurine complexes of Central Mexico, either pre-Aztec or Aztec. There are many less well known local styles in other portions of Middle America and occasional variants

which do not form recognizable styles, but on the whole I am fairly well convinced that it could not be Mexican. Hollow figures are not so common and I particularly haven't seen anything with the peculiarity of a central topknot of the kind possessed by your figurine.

But I think I have another solution for you. The figurine bears considerable resemblance to the so-called Haniwa figurines of Japan, suggested to me in the first place by Mr. Fairservis of our department. I haven't gone very far in searching out illustrations of these."

Eckholm points out figures in N.G. Munro's *Prehistoric Japan* (1911) and William Gowland's *The Dolmens and Burial Mounds of Japan* (1897), as well as H. Motoyama's *Relics of Japanese Stone Age*. He notes that:

"Not all of the Haniwa figurines are closely similar to your piece, but all of them are hollow with slit eyes and mouth, some have the top knot and some have a very similar outline. And note particularly Fig. 395 in Munro which shows red face painting on the mouths of a number of them which may be the red color on yours. I gather that the Haniwa figurines date to about 400 A.D. ...This looks to me like a very interesting find, and I think you should follow it up in detail. Found near a midden site ...it probably comes from the refuse of that site. It might be that some digging would be worth while and you should, with this possible lead, get some experts in the Japanese field to look at it.

You will be well aware of the potential importance of tying up one of your sites with a definite period of the Japanese sequence."

On March 31, 1953, Duff explained to Emma Scott the contents of Eckholm's letter:

"He identifies it as a Japanese Haniwa figurine which may date back to about 400 A.D. This of course raises a lot of questions, which I intend to follow up. I'll let you know of any further developments."

The same day Duff wrote to Dr. Wayne Suttles, then at the Museum of Anthropology, University of British Columbia and later a professor of Anthropology at Portland State University. Suttles was an expert on Salish languages but worked during the war years breaking Japanese codes and spent some time in Japan after the war:

"I have just received a letter from Gordon Ekholm in which he identifies the object pictured in the enclosed photographs as a Japanese Haniwa figure. Isn't that just what you said? I would be obliged if you would look at your books and see if you can pin it down exactly."

My discussions with Wayne Suttles in the 1990s indicated that he did not take this conversation any further, in terms of identification of the figure.

On April 1, 1953, Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., of the Bureau of American Ethnology, writes to Duff:

"After receiving a copy of Dr. Gordon F. Ekholm's report ...we referred the previous correspondence and photographs to Dr. A.G. Wenley, Director of the Freer Gallery of Art. His comment is as follows:

'I cannot identify this piece definitely, and of course it is of very small size. However, it is not unlike pieces found in some quantity in the northern part of the main island of Japan, in the general area of Qu. It certainly seems to be a curious piece to find near Vancouver.'

Dr. Wenley is an expert on Japanese art, but according to him, 'not on archaeological artifacts.' It will be interesting to hear what

Dr.[Phillip] Drucker has to say about the specimen."

David Scott and Don Abbott

On August 8, 1960, Don Abbott joined the Museum as an assistant in Anthropology. When Duff left in 1965, Abbott became the Curator of Anthropology and, in 1967, the first Curator of Archaeology. That year, on December 12, David Scott wrote to the Museum requesting the return of the pottery head and *"any positive identification that has been made on this head."*

Don Abbott wrote a reply letter of inquiry to David Scott on December 19. At this time Abbott did not have copies of earlier letters. Although I later located a Temporary Specimen Receipt dated Nov. 27, 1962, and made out to Mrs. J. Scott, it appears that the artifact had been mistakenly accessioned into the Museum collection on Oct. 18, 1963 (old # 11841). Abbott asked David if he would consider donating it: *"since the possible cultural significance of such a specimen makes it much more appropriate in the Museum Collection than in private hands."* David wrote back on December 23, asking for its return.

On January 10, 1968, Abbott again wrote David Scott:

"Please excuse my delay in answering your letter of December 23rd. Prior to returning your pottery head from Saturna Island I decided to try one last time to get an identification and I showed it to a new member of our staff, Mr. Philip Ward, who is an expert on oriental material culture. Somewhat to my surprise he was quite excited about it and identified it tentatively as early Japanese, probably from the Yayoi Period which dates approximately from 200 B.C. to 200 A.D. Because of this apparent importance, of which I had previously been unaware, Mr. Ward wished to keep it for a few days to make a full photographic record and also to make a cast. He has almost finished doing this and you can be sure I shall send it to you as soon as possible within a few days.

Of course the real significance of this find is still obscure as we can only guess how it got on the beach where your mother found it. It may just have been dropped there in



Figure 3. The Tesuque Rain God Figure (Photo by author).



Figure 4. Comparison of the heads of the caste of the Saturna Island and Tesuque figures (Photo by author).

recent years by a collector or somebody else who happened to have it in his possession. The most exciting possibility, of course, would be if it had been eroded out of an old midden at that spot and was therefore associated with an ancient archaeological site. I would certainly not be very inclined to raise very high hopes for that possibility but I do think it is important now to find out precisely where this was found since we do not seem to have that record. If you could let us know this we would like to check the location to see if there is, in fact, a site there and, if so, whether it would possibly repay professional excavation."

From my own discussions with chief conservator Philip Ward he did not consider himself an expert on the subject, although he had trained under experts and had an interest in Asian ceramics.

On January 10, 1968, Ward wrote to two individuals. The first was to R. Soame Jenyns (Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum):

"I was most interested by your remarks on the possibility of trans-Pacific contacts and it is a coincidence that your letter should arrive just as I was about to write to you on this very subject. I enclose some photographs of an object which has

come to me for identification. ... With the Valdivia site in Ecuador in mind, I wonder if it could possibly be pre-Buddhist Japanese—perhaps Yayoi? I realize that you will probably think me crazy, but I am always looking out for something of the kind. The ocean currents are entirely favourable to voyages from Japan to this coast. Japanese glass fishing net floats are constantly washed up on the west coast of the island and there are numerous records of disabled junks being wrecked on the bar of the Columbia River in Oregon during the last century. I really would be most interested to have your opinion of this fragment."

Ward was overstating the known extent of Japanese shipwrecks here. In my own studies I have shown that Japanese glass floats were only made starting in 1911 and there is only one verified 19th century Japanese shipwreck off the coast of Washington State and none off the coast of British Columbia (Keddie 1994).

The second letter was to Professor W. Watson (School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London). This letter is similar to that written to Dr. Jenyns. Pictures were included and Ward commented:

"It is certainly not of local origin and our anthropologists feel that it cannot be American at all. ... I wonder if it could be Japanese—say Yayoi? Of course, my judgment may be unreliable for reasons other than my ignorance. With the Valdivia site in mind, I have been looking for something of this sort ever since I got here.

Many here feel, as I do, that there have been numerous trans-Pacific contacts, presumably from Japan, in prehistoric times. ... like every-one else I know here who is familiar with oriental material, I feel sure that there is some elusive cultural connection."

On February 7, 1968, Watson replies:

"The less agreeable part of your letter is that it requires me to identify a clay object which I agree so resembles some of the haniwa heads that it may be of Japanese origin. The head with the tuft on top is one of the fairly standard types and in this piece the slit eyes look right.

Nevertheless as you probably anticipate I hesitate to say that this is haniwa and if it proves to be one please don't conclude that the Chou-Mao-shu [Yayoi] people invaded British Columbia. I suggest you send the photographs or even the piece to the National Museum Tokyo ... I have a feeling that the clay, if one can judge by the photographs, is thicker and coarser than the clay of haniwa that I have seen."

On January 24, 1968, David Scott writes to Abbott: *"I gather that you do not have copies of the correspondence regarding the pottery head. I am therefore enclosing copies of the letters. I have as well as the answer to Mr. Pickford's of Oct 8, 1949."* David requested the return of the ceramic head *"within the near future"*—it was returned on January 31.

On February 2, 1968, a newspaper article appeared in the Victoria Colonist by Humphrey Davy with the Title: *"Orientals First to Reach Coast? Tiny Piece of Pottery Raises Questions."* It summarized second hand information obtained at the Museum and added a few other specula-

tive statements:

"The specimen is expected to spur a widespread search this summer for similar artifacts and could lead to one of the most important archaeological finds in the history of the province."

On February 6, 1968, Abbott writes to Scott and comments on the newspaper article and states that the copies of correspondence:

"Are of interest to us and obviously of considerable embarrassment as well. There are clearly some deficiencies in our filing system because in a previous search we had not found any of this correspondence. It is certainly a shame that three successive curators have had to go through the same cycle of interest and investigation."

Abbott enclosed a copy of Jenyns replay to Ward. Abbott states:

"Mr. Ward, who knows Jenyns quite well, interprets his apparently highly tentative identification of it as Japanese to be, in fact, quite strong confirmation since Jenyns is, apparently, particularly cautious in these matters. ... We do hope to consult with contacts on Saturna Island regarding this site and, if it sounds as if it might be profitable, to have a look at it ourselves. You might have seen or heard of a recent write up on this subject in the Victoria Times. I can only tell you about this not only is it totally garbled and inaccurate but it was written and printed without my authorization or even knowledge since I was out of town at the time."

On February 20, 1968, Abbott writes to the National Museum in Tokyo, Japan with attached photographs:

"As a result of enquiries we have made up to now, the consensus seems to be that it is most likely a Haniwa figurine of the Yayoi Period in Japan. Of course, while the possibility that it actually came out of the adjacent prehistoric site must be considered very remote, it is not beyond all reason that this specimen could be evidence of an

ancient culture link between Japan and British Columbia. I have not inspected the site in person though I mean to do so as soon as possible ... Whether or not we do decide to follow this up with greater vigour will depend to a large degree upon your reaction to the specimen. I understand that artifacts of this type are rather rare and unlikely to be found in private collections outside of Japan so that the obvious alternative that the piece was lost in very recent years by some collector sounds unlikely. Would you agree with this? Is it conceivable that such an artifact could have been transported here by ocean currents?"

On February 21, 1968, Abbott sent a letter to David Scott enclosing Ward's letter and his reply from Watson. On April 23, Abbott received a letter from Takeshi Ogiwara (International Relations) of Tokyo National Museum: *"I showed their (sic) photographs to a specialist in our Archaeological Department, and I was told that they are neither haniwa figures nor dogu (clay figures). I think they have nothing to do with Haniwa figures."*

Grant Keddie

When I came to the Museum in 1972, as a curator in Archaeology, I was intrigued at seeing the cast (DeRt-9:C233) of this artifact. Over the years I looked for similar artifacts to the Saturna Island head. I visited and searched the site location several times. In the literature I found a few resemblances in upper facial features such as those in El Molle culture of Chile (Charlin 1969:fig.1), but the larger mouth and top knot did not fit.

A ceramic figure from the final Jomon period, dated to 1000 to 300 B.C. from the Ohnakayama site at Nanae on Hokkaido Island resembles the Saturna head in the eyes and nose, but like the El Molle figures has a mouth that is too small. Small ceramic figurines served as house deities or charms to protect women from disease and the dangers of childbirth and were used for thousands of years in northeast Asia (see Kikuchi 1999:50, fig. 4.6; Zak 1969:12; slide 23).

I have ruled out any connection to Yayoi culture (400 BC – 250 AD). On at least five occasions I had the opportunity

to ask individuals or groups of Japanese visiting scholars their opinion on the Saturna Island head. All stated that they did not think it was Japanese—especially the nose. Two individuals did suggest that it was generally similar to some of the smaller figures in the northern regions of Japan.

Tesuque Rain God?

One image I found resembling the Saturna head was a figure from Tesuque, New Mexico. Knowing that Dr. Roy Carlson of Simon Fraser University had lots of experience in the Southwest, I took photographs of the head, and without any prompting, asked for his opinion on the origin of the figure. He said: *"Well, it looks like a Tesuque Rain God from the American Southwest to me."* This prompted me to focus on Tesuque Rain Gods. The more I researched, the more this seemed to be the answer. The ceramic figures that most closely resembled the head were those made around the 1890s for the tourist industry. Some had top knots, but not identical to the Saturna Island artifact. Many of these figures were made for sale at Tesuque, especially beginning in the late 1890s when they were sold by the Gunther Candy Company of Chicago. They were put as prizes in special boxes of Candy (Cole 1955; Edelman and Ortiz 1979).

In the RBCM collection we have, what I would consider, a 20th century Tesuque figurine that was part of a Gulf Islands collection once owned by Herb Spalding. A note in the collection indicated that Spalding had acquired the figure from Larry Moore of Shaw Island in Washington State. It is not known where Moore acquired it. The mostly complete Shaw Island figure is very similar to other Tesuque Rain Gods. A comparison with the Saturna Island specimen shows some differences such as the sharper profile of the nose and the nostril holes being slats closer to the middle compared to those more spread out in the wider nose of the Tesuque figures.

Dating of the artifact

I phoned David Scott in the 1980s, when he was living in Vancouver. He still had the original ceramic head at that time. I discussed the possibility of dating the object. I tried to find someone to do thermoluminescence dating of the artifact but it

was too expensive at the time. In order to confirm or rule out the connection with Tesuque Rain Gods, there needs to be an analysis undertaken on the original ceramic head using XRF (X-ray fluorescence). This would also require an analysis of a number of Tesuque Rain God figures in American Museums for comparative purposes. My inquiries revealed that XRF studies had not been undertaken on historic Tesuque figures.

David Scott has moved from his previous address; I am now trying to relocate him and see if I can undertake the necessary analysis on the figurine. But, just in case this story drags on, and someone else needs to follow-up, I thought I should publish my results on the still mysterious pottery mask of Saturna Island.

Grant Keddie is the Curator of Archaeology at the Royal British Columbia Museum in Victoria.

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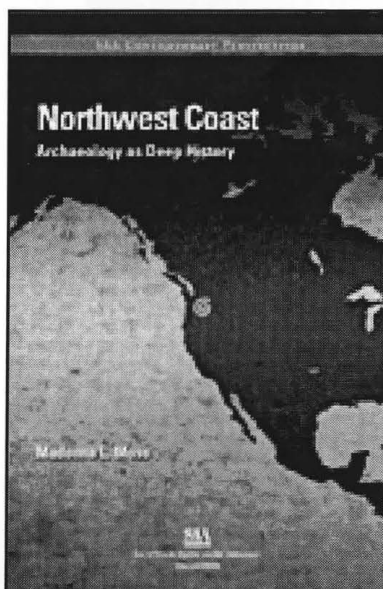
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Correction: Issue 43.2

In Rudy Reimer and Robyn Ewing's article about the ASBC's work on collections held at the Sunshine Coast Museum and Archives, the photo credits on page 7 should have been noted as "taken by the author and Sarah Kavanagh."

— New Publication — Northwest Coast: Archaeology as Deep History



by Madonna Moss

Available through the
Society for American
Archaeology Press:
<http://www.saa.org/>

Look for our review of Madonna's new book in an upcoming issue of *The Midden*...

BOOK REVIEW: "Finding Our Way to the Future through the Past" *Resilience, Reciprocity and Ecological Economics: Northwest Coast Sustainability*

Ronald Trosper. Routledge, London. 188pp. ISBN: 978-0-415-78252-4 (paperback), 978-0-415-41981-9 (hardcover). \$41.58 p/b, \$130.00 h/c. 2009.

The myth of the "Noble Savage" is a problem for anthropologists and ecologists. Though the myth was debunked as a myth itself almost 100 years ago, it's a concept that remains a barrier to conversations about what humans have done right in the past when it comes to the environment and conservation.

The book *Resilience, Reciprocity and Ecological Economics: Northwest Coast Sustainability* by Ronald Trosper is part of an academic effort to get past that barrier and use the natural and social sciences to investigate how humans in the past lived successfully within an ecosystem without destroying it.

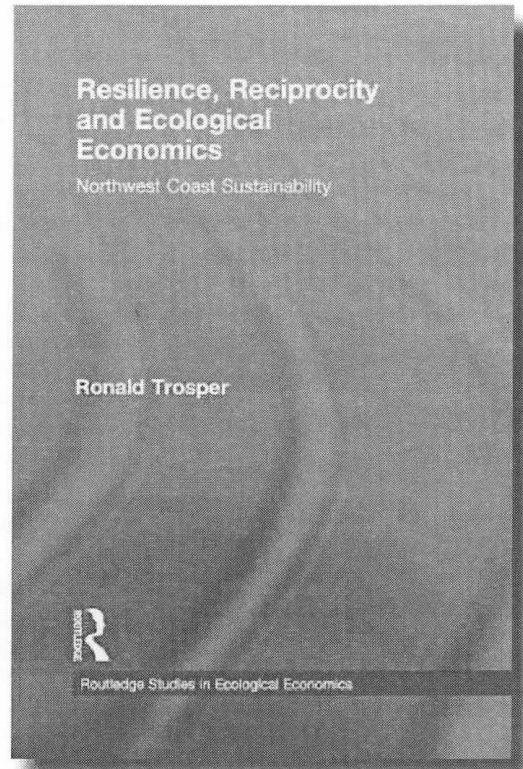
Much of the literature in anthropology and paleoecology has focused on the innate destructiveness of *Homo sapiens*—anywhere we land, overexploitation follows, and in turn that's followed by extinction of other species. The idea of humans as innately destructive—from Pleistocene humans eradicating Neandertals to our current predicament where species are going extinct at anywhere from 100 to 1,000 times the normal speed—is so pervasive we have a hard time accepting that overexploitation might be more nurture versus nature.

To make matters worse, efforts to tease out what indigenous societies did right when it came to environmental conservation are often met with a dismissive, "that's just the myth of the Noble Savage" response. The speaker is exposed as uneducated, or even racist, since the myth is a stereotype based on a religious concept where individuals who withdraw from society—corrupt "European civilization" in this case—are virtuous.

Trosper methodically dismantles the myth of the Noble Savage as a legitimate cry of protest by investigating the economics of human exchange within the Northwest Coast cultures, which ranged from northern California to southern Alaska. By dissecting how they collectively exploited common resources, he offers a potential model that can be used today to integrate economics with ecology. Trosper roots his thinking firmly within the parameters of human behaviour. He makes a strong case—by exploring the economy of indigenous Northwest coast cultures—that humans are not born to be destructive nor will every culture evolve to be destructive.

This slim book is a gem. Trosper spent time with the Nisga'a on the northern British Columbia coast, and he's careful throughout the book to point out that First Nations and the umbrella cultural groups they fall under are all different. Yet he succinctly lists resilient features of their economies—features likely adopted from each other at some point in time—that persisted for at least 2,000 years, if not longer. In socioeconomic terms, for a society to last virtually unchanged for that long is a good example of resilience.

Trosper explains the resilience of the system through archaeological and anthropological evidence, economic theory and



the traditional knowledge from the people who grow up within the system. A couple of key features across cultures on the coast are the concepts of generosity and reciprocity. Trosper uses case studies to show how resilient the indigenous Northwest Coast economic system is; it continues to function, fractured though it has been through Canadian government policies instituted over a century ago geared toward its demise.

Most impressive, however, is the chapter "An Alternative History of Industrialization of the Northwest Coast." Trosper takes a stab at imagining a different meeting of disparate cultures if the settlers recognized the governing and territorial system of the indigenous people. His focus in this counter-factual history is how the end result would have been different for settlers, not just the indigenous people. At a time when fisheries around the globe are in serious decline and in some cases gone, it's a valuable lesson in how a dominant culture—when it steps back to try and understand a different world view—may adopt development strategies more adaptive to the community as a whole. For the indigenous ecological, social and economic system in the Northwest Coast, the settlers would have had to adopt a system of cooperation and sharing a finite resource.

Ultimately, the concept is not foreign to Western society. If the goal of a culture is robustness and resiliency, the best course of action is obvious. Similar economic systems exist in Western

subcultures where wealth is not measured in dollars—scientific labs, for example.

For the past year I followed a few scientific programs doing fieldwork, in biology and archaeology. I found the successful ones work through a system similar to the reciprocity of the potlatch. The Principal Investigator (the PI) is the “heh goos,” (in the Tla’amin language that’s “head man”) who has access to knowledge, equipment, funds, and other “elite” PIs in the field. A PI generously shares with students access to resources. In turn, the students cooperate with the PI and each other to add to that lab’s body of knowledge, which adds to the lab’s prestige. Successful labs have generous PIs, who recruit elite students, in turn establishing their own labs while keeping ties with their old labs (that’s the intermarriage part). This generosity and reciprocity leads to resilience. As long as the knowledge remains valuable, the lab and its prestigious status remain stable. (This is sometimes why

scientific theories that need to die might take a long time to do so—they come from a resilient lab. The theory only dies when the investigators die.)

The biggest difference in these two economies is that knowledge is not a finite resource. The biggest problem with knowledge is that it sometimes gets lost, especially if it’s not written down. Trosper has gone to the trouble to draw a road map of how a culture can include stewardship of the land within their economic and social systems.

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BOOK REVIEW:

Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists

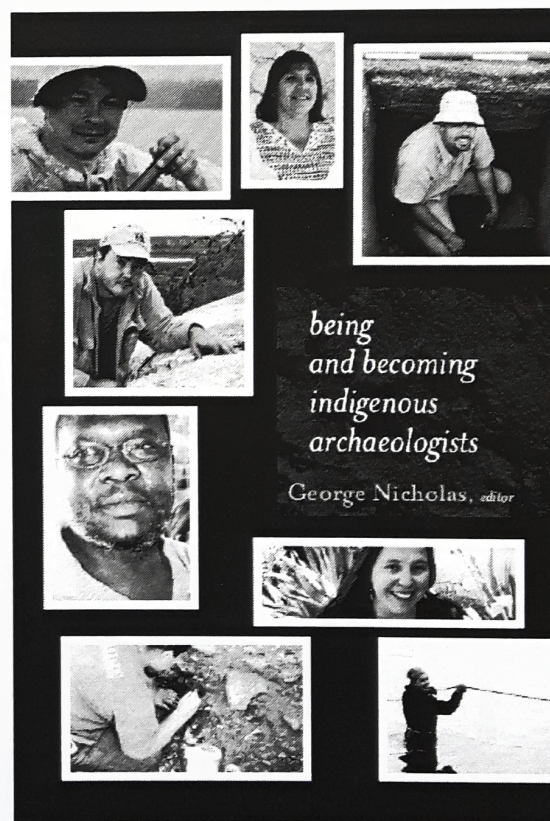
George Nicholas (editor). Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA. 352 pp., ISBN: 978-1-59874-498-9 (paperback), 978-1-59874-497-2 (hardcover). \$34.85 p/b, \$69.00 h/c. 2010.

“It is precisely in this uncharted interface between abstract principles and real-life events that things happen.”

(Augustine F.C. Holl, 131)

Indigenous archaeology, like feminist archaeology, is a consciously political framework that is closely aligned with global civil rights movements. These days, it is widely acknowledged as a key theoretical development in archaeology and is included in university curricula. In *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists* the contributors, along with editor George Nicholas, personalize this theoretical development by showing that Indigenous archaeology is also an experience and identity shared by a diverse group of individuals. This collection of short autobiographical stories recounts the archaeological careers of 36 self-identified Indigenous peoples from North America, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. These essays are introduced by Nicholas, who initially coined the term “Indigenous archaeology” in 1997 to refer to “archaeology with, for, and by Indigenous peoples” (Nicholas and Andrews 1997). This collection highlights the “by” portion of this definition by presenting the experiences of Indigenous practitioners of archaeology along with the surprisingly engaging descriptions of their paths to professional archaeology careers.

Contributors were contacted by Nicholas and asked to write their own stories in their own words. The result is a diverse collection of interesting perspectives from a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences. Nicholas did not edit for style or cohesion, and thus the stories range from casual to academic, with some humour and irony thrown in for good measure. The addition of photographic portraits of each writer allows each author’s character a place within this volume, adding an intimate quality to the book. Nicholas notes that the variety that defines the collection is also what defines Indigenous archaeology as a whole. Yet it is the



similarities between the encounters of the individual archaeologists that convince the reader that there is a shared “Indigenous” experience.

Unfortunately, this shared experience of Indigenous archaeology is based as much on the challenge of confronting racism as it is on the complexity of balancing traditional beliefs with

archaeology. The authors describe instances of discrimination that present a challenge to the current practice of archaeology. Each story contains examples of how ignorance, stereotyping and/or outright racism affect Indigenous archaeologists on a personal level. These are good lessons for non-Indigenous archaeologists, who may not realize the impact of their own assumptions, nor that this experience of discrimination still exists in both the academy and the field. These stories show that there is still a great deal of misunderstanding between archaeologists and Indigenous communities, and emphasize the importance of continued dialogue and mutual education. While it is not an easy path, the authors manage to balance their worldviews and beliefs with their archaeological careers, demonstrating that they are not mutually exclusive as some have believed in the past; all of these authors successfully practice an interdisciplinary archaeology that incorporates traditional knowledge, ethnohistory and Indigenous law, to the benefit of their careers.

As a reader, I enjoyed the diversity of the stories and connected with the personal styles of the authors; on a basic level, it is interesting to hear the story of someone's life. As a non-Indigenous person engaged in Indigenous archaeology, I find it interesting to consider the similarities and differences between my career path and those of the authors. While Rika-Heke's description of her early interest in archaeology was similar to my own, her descriptions of her Maori heritage helped me understand the complicated challenges of balancing beliefs with career. These personal stories also include plenty of information about the historical and archaeological background of each author's area of expertise along with information about the traditional beliefs of the author's people. Through each author's recognition and recounting of their personal cultural context, I learned about Aboriginal/colonial history in New England (Gould), cultural hybridization in Hawai'i (Kawelu) and the history of archaeological research in Mexico (Garcia), to name a few examples.

What does editor George Nicholas seek to accomplish with this collection? Other than putting a personal face on Indigenous archaeology and facilitating a medium for Indigenous people to tell their own stories, he seeks to encourage young Indigenous peoples to pursue archaeology. He writes, "what these stories make abundantly clear is that archaeology is a viable career option for Indigenous persons" (12). Several of the contributions offer recommendations for would-be Indigenous archaeologists and the archaeological discipline as a whole. By collecting and presenting these stories, Nicholas is enacting what he describes (both in the introduction of this volume and in his 2008 contribution to the *Encyclopedia of Archaeology*) as the second goal of Indigenous archaeology: to "redress real and perceived inequalities in the practice of archaeology" (11, after Nicholas 2008: 1660). By presenting these experiences, he demonstrates that racism and discrimination still exist within the discipline. Yet, the individuals in this volume are proof of changing attitudes. By telling their stories, it becomes easier for others who come after them and continue to develop Indigenous archaeology as a practice. By asking each contributor what being and becoming archaeologists means to them, this collection activates Nicholas' academic theory by presenting examples of lived experience.

A key theme not mentioned by Nicholas in the introduction is the importance of mentorship. While many of the authors

note struggles with school and/or economics, almost all name one or two people—Indigenous and non-Indigenous—who provided encouragement to help them achieve their goals. These authors seem to relish the opportunity to thank the people who supported them while expressing hope to similarly inspire youth by presenting and sharing their stories. The experiences of the authors show that consistent and positive encouragement from a key mentor can help students overcome challenges that may otherwise stop them from following their passions and realizing their potential.

Some may find this volume too political but, as Atalay notes, Indigenous people have no choice other than to engage with the political nature of the discipline (49). These stories emphasize the nature of archaeology as a practice in the present with implications for living people. It presents some outstanding issues that still need to be addressed, such as lack of funding and institutional support, which would help to balance the disadvantages faced by Indigenous peoples wishing to pursue archaeological careers. Ideally, an Indigenous person who practices archaeology should not be a political statement that requires unpacking or justification. At this early stage of development of Indigenous archaeology, however, discrimination has not yet been fully eliminated from the discipline.

This book is a valuable teaching tool, either in its entirety as a textbook about Indigenous archaeology, or taken as individual stories to explore stories of settler/Aboriginal relations, decolonizing academia, or learning about how an individual came to study archaeology. Personally, this volume and the "Indigenous archaeology movement" bring to mind a time when the presence of women in science or archaeology was rarer than today, with women struggling against sexism and discouragement from their male superiors. Given that my entire graduate cohort at Simon Fraser University is female, I would say that the tables have certainly turned. Hopefully, the feminist wave in archaeology that made room for women to pursue this work will be paralleled by the current Indigenous rights struggle in archaeology and elsewhere. Perhaps, within a few years, *Being and Becoming Indigenous Archaeologists* will seem a quaint and old-fashioned collection of tales from the time before Indigenous people were treated as equals. As a movement toward that time, I encourage all archaeologists to open this book and read one of the stories within.

Sarah Carr-Locke is a PhD student in the Simon Fraser University Archaeology Department. She is interested in Indigenous rights over heritage in museums.

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