particular locale, however, has yet to be identified.

Additionally, recent work by Browne (2008) raises important questions about the role of clam gardens in the modern political sphere. Specifically, Browne points out that "the provincial and federal governments take the position that First Nations do not have any aboriginal rights or title relating to submerged lands in British Columbia," recent evidence of "extensive traditional construction, use and management of fish weirs and clam gardens by many coastal First Nation calls these government positions into question." More recently, intertidal surveys by Simon Fraser University and the University of Victoria field schools, both working in southwestern British Columbia, have identified clam garden features (see The Midden 40(3)). An excellent, high quality National Geographic film about clam gardens is also available (Woods and Woods 2005).

Williams' book should be of interest to anyone concerned with past human-environment interaction on the Northwest Coast. Weaving together marine biology, coastal geology, cultural anthropology, maritime archaeology and traditional ecological knowledge, Clam Gardens highlights the benefit of a holistic approach to archaeology. It also underscores some common misconceptions about the extent, significance and meaning of the marine archaeological record. In a colourful style, this book addresses an important subject. As Williams concludes, "the clam gardens were and are a coastal treasure. Unique living artifacts, they are still useable sources of food and exchange items for the local populations. This primary mariculture technology of the Northwest Pacific should be protected for the descendants of those who created it."

References Cited


Keeping It Living: Traditions of Plant Use and Cultivation on the Northwest Coast of North America

Edited by Douglas Deur and Nancy J. Turner


The significance of plants to the aboriginal cultures of the Northwest Coast of North America often takes a back seat to the iconic salmon. Keeping It Living, edited by Douglas Deur of the University of Washington and Nancy Turner of the University of Victoria, brings these essential resources to the forefront. The authors featured in this volume come from a variety of fields, ranging from archaeology and anthropology to ecology and Native American traditional scholarship, and each brings their unique expertise to this collection. They document and discuss a wide array of plant uses, management and cultivation practices, and document many factors that have lead to the scarcity of attention for plants in the anthropological and archaeological communities. As the editors note, the idea that Northwest Coast cultures are examples of complex, sedentary societies that developed without the advent of agriculture is entrenched in introductory textbooks and popular media. Deur and Turner have brought together a diverse group of authors that show it's not that simple. These authors show that sophisticated management of plant resources was, and continues to be, a significant element of Northwest Coast cultures.

The volume is divided into three sections: Concepts, Case Studies, and Conclusions. Concepts is comprised of five chapters, covering many of the premises and terminology that have obscured the relevance and ubiquity of plant management practices on the Northwest Coast. Bruce Smith begins with an informative
discussion of how hunter-gatherers and agriculturalists have been presented as endpoints of a spectrum with little middle ground. This dichotomy has resulted in an inadequate terminology for those cultures that don't fit neatly into one category or the other. Kenneth Ames brings an evolutionary biological view to this volume with his chapter on intensification of food production. He teases apart the different ways food production can be intensified, from exploiting a new food resource or harvesting tools to organizing labor in new ways.

Nancy Turner teams with different coauthors on two chapters. In the first, with Sandra Peacock, they outline the wealth of plants used throughout the Northwest Coast, the management and cultivation techniques, and intensification strategies used. Based on this compilation of data from throughout the Northwest Coast, Turner and Peacock conclude that intervention in the life cycles of many of the plant resources often rose to levels commonly considered horticultural. In the second, with Robin Smith and James Jones, she explores ownership of plant resources. Ownership of valued plant patches or plots is found in varying degrees and forms throughout the Northwest Coast, and is frequently combined with ideologies that value conservation and mindful, respectful use of plant resources. Ownership, use rights, and conservation ideology taken together have resulted in systems that have successfully managed plant resources for generations.

Part II of the volume consists of six case studies ranging from wapato intensification on the Lower Columbia to tobacco gardening in Southeast Alaska. It begins with a chapter by Wayne Suttles, who over his decades of research on the Coast Salish has documented a wide variety of activities that he regards as clear evidence of "gardening." The question has always been whether these behavior patterns predate contact; Suttles concludes the ubiquity of gardening techniques points to a precontact origin, but does not discount continued innovation during the postcontact period.

Melissa Darby shifts the focus to the Lower Columbia River region with her discussion of strategies used in the intensification of wapato harvest. Wapato was abundant in the region, and increased yields from its cultivation and management gave rise to its use as a trade good. Lepofsky et al. present their work on historic and prehistoric prescribed burning in the Fraser Valley. Identifying this type of burning in the archaeological record has proven difficult, so they advocate an interdisciplinary approach to identification. James McDonald explores the biases in the ethnohistoric record that lead to the widely held view that Northwest Coast economies were exclusively focused on marine and riverine resources. Indigenous gardening practices were belittled and underplayed in the early ethnographic literature, leading to many modern day misconceptions about the significance of plants and their cultivation.

Madonna Moss finds that, as many of the other authors in this volume have shown, the significance of plants to the Tlingit of Southeast Alaska has been under appreciated and likely under-recorded. However, unlike most of the other case studies presented here, she finds little evidence of horticultural practices, with the exception of tobacco. Douglas Deur’s chapter turns to the cultivation of estuarine plants. He draws from some of the oldest written accounts of the Northwest Coast cultures, leaning heavily on Boas’ work with the Kwakwaka’wakw, but also incorporating sources from other parts of the region.

In Part III, Deur and Turner pull together the main themes found throughout the volume, emphasizing inaccuracies in early accounts of aboriginal plant management, the difficulty of finding signs of plant management in precontact archaeological contexts, and the value of an interdisciplinary approach in further research.

Keeping It Living is aimed at the academic audience, and so is somewhat technical at times. However, the chapters are largely engaging and well-written, making the volume accessible to the interested amateur and general public.

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Ts’ishaa: Archaeology and Ethnography of a Nuu-chah-nulth Origin Site in Barkley Sound

by Alan D. McMillan and Denis E. St. Claire

Publication No. 31, Archaeology Press, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, Burnaby, BC. x+223 pp., 87 illus., 51 tables and 5 appendices, ISBN: 0-86491-271-4. $35. 2005.

Ts'ishaa: Archaeology and Ethnography of a Nuu-chah-nulth Origin Site in Barkley Sound is the timely monograph for excavations of a central Northwest Coast village site on a tiny island in Barkley Sound, western Vancouver Island, in Tseshyaht territory. With over twenty years of collaborative archaeological and ethnographic work in the area, McMillan and St. Claire recount oral traditions about political upheaval in Barkley Sound due to large-scale population collapse as a result of the spread