



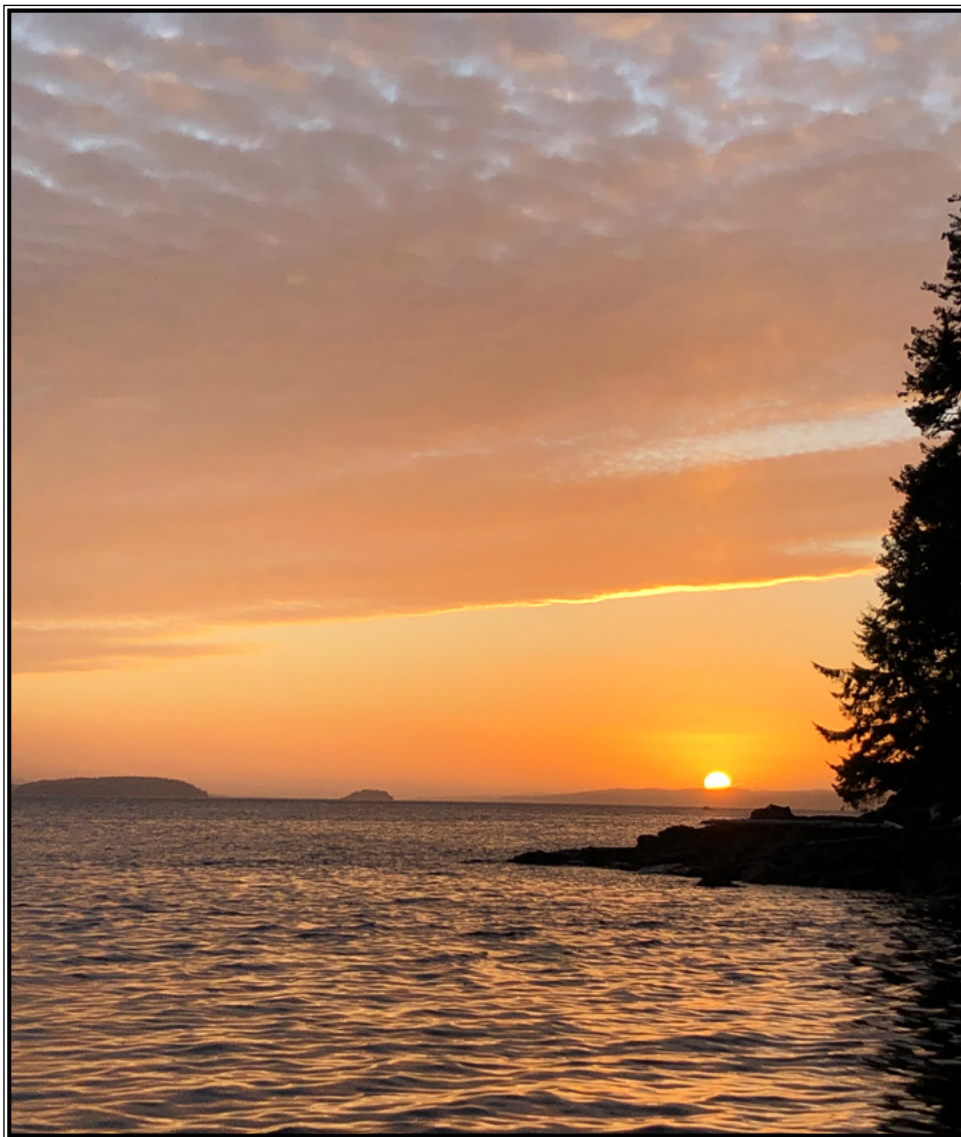
MIDDEN

Publication of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia

ISSN 0047-7222

Vol. 51, No. 1 - Winter 2021

FORMERLY KNOWN AS THE MIDDEN





THE MIDDEN

Published 3 times a year by the
Archaeological Society of British Columbia
in association with the
BC Association of Professional Archaeologists.

Editorial Committee

Editorial Board: Megan Caldwell
Sean P. Connaughton
Joanne Hammond
Heather Kendall
Odai Mansour
Cameron Robertson
Daniel Sims
Christopher Springer
Tia Williams-Seifert
Kristina VanderMeer

Midden Manager: Jacob Earnshaw

Formatting: Doug Johnson

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

SUBMISSIONS: The ASBC welcomes article contributions for *The Midden* on an ongoing basis. Periodically there will be themed issues with specific topics, but the ASBC always encourages the submission of articles related to a diverse array of topics that pertain to BC Archaeology for more wide-ranging issues. Please email submissions to asbc.midden@gmail.com

SUBSCRIPTIONS: Going forward the ASBC has decided to make *The Midden* digital and open access. The latest issue of *The Midden* will be emailed directly to ASBC members upon release, and will be open access to the public at:

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

PARTNERSHIP: The ASBC publishes *The Midden* journal in partnership with the BC Association of Professional Archaeologists. Both organizations share funding of the open access journal, which is managed by *The Midden* Board of Directors.



COPYRIGHT: Contents of *The Midden* are copyrighted by the ASBC, unless otherwise noted. It is unlawful to reproduce all or any part, by any means whatsoever, without the Society's permission, which is usually gladly given.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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

President

Raini Johnson
asbc.president@gmail.com
asbc.victoria@gmail.com

Vice President

To be filled

Membership Secretary

Nicole Westre
asbc.membership@gmail.com

Financial Secretary

Angela Dyck

Recording Secretary

To be filled

Midden Representatives

Jacob Earnshaw
asbc.midden@gmail.com

Kamloops Director

Phoebe Murphy
kamloops.asbc@gmail.com

Members At Large

Seonaid Duffield, Meaghan Efford, Ian Sellers,
Tom Bown, Chris Hebda, Dylan Hillis

ASBC Annual Membership Fees:

Individual: \$25 Family: \$35 Seniors/Students: \$18
Corporate/Institutional Membership: \$100

Lifetime membership \$400

pay with email transfer

asbc.membership@gmail.com

or Paypal on our website

<http://asbc.bc.ca>

ASBC membership fees directly help to make the
publication of *The Midden* possible.

Visit our facebook page for updates on events

<https://www.facebook.com/ASBCVictoria/>

ASBC ONLINE LECTURE SERIES

Due to COVID-19, the ASBC lecture series will now be held online. Please follow our Facebook page for details on upcoming lectures, or inquire with us about our email list. You can view previously recorded lectures at:
<https://vimeo.com/archbc>



THE MIDDEN

Volume 51, No. 1
Winter 2021

In this issue

ASBC Pages

Archaeological Society of BC Initiatives 2021

by *The ASBC Board of Directors* 2

Editor's Notes

The New Midden

by *The Midden Editorial Board* 4

Changing the Name of The Midden

by *The Midden Editorial Board* 5

Mission Statement

by *The Midden Editorial Board* 6

Terms of Reference

by *The Midden Editorial Board* 6

The Midden Editorial Board: Biographies

Megan Caldwell 11

Sean P. Connaughton 12

Joanne Hammond 13

Heather Kendall 14

Odai Mansour 15

Cameron Robertson 16

Daniel Sims 17

Christopher Springer 18

Tia Williams-Seifert 19

Kristina VanderMeer 20

THE MIDDEN Subscriptions

A digital copy of each issue of **THE MIDDEN** is emailed directly to ASBC members upon release.

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

Cover: Sunset from the Mamalilikulla Guardian's base camp on Compton Island (photograph by Sean P. Connaughton).

Interested in promoting your archaeological-related business, conference or university program in The Midden? The ASBC is now offering advertising space in our tri-annual journal, The Midden, starting at around \$250 for about a quarter page. 100% of the proceeds will go to support the journal, which is our biggest cost as a non-profit organization.

Please contact us at asbc.midden@gmail.com if interested.



THE ASBC PAGES



Archaeological Society of BC Initiatives 2021

ASBC/ BCAPA Grade School Archaeological Education Funding

The ASBC and BC Association of Professional Archaeologists (BCAPA) have partnered to fund archaeologists and Indigenous cultural experts to guest speak at provincial grade schools throughout B.C. (or remote lectures during COVID-19).

The ASBC has also secured a City of Victoria Strategic Grant to fund additional archaeologists speaking at grade schools within the Greater Victoria Region.

CRM companies willing to provide archaeologist volunteers and/or funding to this will be recognized in *The Midden* journal and elsewhere as partners in this initiative, and will receive charitable tax receipts for their contributions.

Archaeologists/Indigenous cultural experts may apply with a school in mind, or request to be connected with a school in their region. The ASBC is regularly contacted by schools and teachers requesting archaeologist speakers, so we strongly encourage archaeologists to volunteer their contact information for future class visits. Contact us for details at: asbc.president@gmail.com

Details for application:

- Archaeologist must submit a resume and/or reference to show that they have at least one of the following:
 - Seven (7) years experience in CRM or academic position;
 - BCAPA membership;
 - completing or recently completed graduate or post-graduate studies at a B.C. university and recommendation from supervisor; or
 - are an approved speaker in the local school district.
- Indigenous expert should have archaeological and/or cultural experience and recommendation from First Nation administration office, educational institution, or CRM company.
- Applicant may submit an abstract of proposed talk/lesson/workshop. Note: presentations may also be general and geared towards informal Q and A presentations. Topics must relate to B.C. archaeology.
- Following acceptance of proposal, applicant must show correspondence with applicable school.
- Limit of four (4) school visits funded per individual. The decision to fund an individual beyond this number of classes will depend on annual allocation of funds and number of applicants available regionally.
- Between \$100-\$200 awarded to archaeologist for talk/lesson/workshop per school (depending on school funding contribution available). Larger grants may be given to those schools in greater need of financial assistance. Additional transportation costs, educational materials, etc. may be funded through “Scientists in Schools” Program (<https://www.scienceworld.ca/sis/>, contact us for details).



ASBC Carbon-14 Award

The ASBC will accept applications from First Nation communities and post secondary students in B.C. looking to date archaeological or important cultural materials. Six (6) dates will be offered annually, with a limit of one (1) per applicant. A short application and results write-up will be requested for publication in *The Midden*.

This award is offered thanks to the help of three (3) North American AMS laboratories that have generously offered free C-14 dates for Indigenous communities and students through the ASBC.

- E. Lalonde AMS Laboratory, University of Ottawa
- DirectAMS, Bothwell, Washington
- Keck-Carbon Cycle AMS facility, University of California, Irvine

The ASBC will pay for one of the six (6) dates and will cover all sample delivery costs.

The ASBC Board of Directors will choose six (6) recipients of the award each year. Please submit initial application to: asbc.president@gmail.com

Details for application:

- One (1) date sample per applicant.
- Application must either be from a B.C. First Nation or an enrolled B.C. post secondary student (with letter of support from academic supervisor/professor). Applications may be accepted from other institutions if there is a strong demonstration of support from associated First Nation and a lack of external funding.
- Material associated with otherwise well-funded development or CRM projects will not be accepted.
- If chosen, written application and results of dating will be submitted to the ASBC (asbc.midden@gmail.com) for publication in *The Midden* journal.
 - Application (400-word limit) must clearly explain the origins of the object or material and reasons for interest in its dating.
 - Results, when known to the applicant, will be outlined and submitted to *The Midden* journal within two (2) weeks of receiving dating results (500-word limit).
 - In particular circumstances, the ASBC will reserve its funding to cover one (1) C-14 sample date considered to be sensitive material not suitable for publication. The details of this date sample will not be made public.



THE MIDDEN

Editor's Notes

The New Midden

Welcome to the new Midden. This first issue of the revitalized Midden is meant to introduce you to both the Midden's Editorial Board, and the direction the Board intends to take. Within this issue you will find the newly drafted Terms of Reference and Mission Statement that together guide the purpose and intent of the new Midden. You will also find introductions written by each Board member that outline their connection to archaeology and how they intend to contribute to archaeological discourse through their work on the Board.

We are not entirely doing away with the Midden you know and love - we are shifting and adapting, and ensuring it continues to be a venue that is responsive to current trends and issues. Archaeology has a long and sordid history of taking without giving back, and of interpreting the past through a Western lens. For archaeology in BC to remain relevant, to serve the Indigenous Peoples whose lived histories it studies, archaeologists need to change both the ways in which they work and the ways in which they share information about the past. The revitalized Midden will still be a place to share interesting archaeological stories and to stay current with trends and perspectives in BC archaeology; however, we are also creating a space where everyone can come together to engage in transparent dialogue and debate centered on the practice and regulation of archaeology in BC.

We lay out what this looks like in our new Terms of Reference (see pages 6–9 of this issue):

The Board follows UNDRIP Article 11 as its guiding principle in the development of The Midden as a collaborative endeavor. The intent of the collaborative approach is to ensure that the Board works transparently amongst its membership, and with authors, artists, communities, and other contributors to establish The Midden as a venue for open dialogue and debate. The Board is committed to The Midden as a forum that is respectful of Indigenous perspectives and traditions, that acknowledges the historic injustices of its discipline, and that strives to improve the contributions of archaeology to our collective understanding of the deep history of the traditional territories that encompass what is now known as British Columbia.

The Board's plan going forward is to open things up with an issue looking at the "State of Archaeology in BC Today" (June/July). To get as many perspectives as possible on this topic, we decided to eschew the conventional group of single- or co-authored essays in favour of a Proust Questionnaire style of presentation. The Board is currently creating 21 questions that we will put to as many stakeholders in BC archaeology as we can (First Nations, archaeologists, academics, regulators, etc.). The results will be the primary content of the Spring/Summer issue. Consider this an invitation and send us an email if you are willing to participate: asbc.midden@gmail.com

Subsequent issues will also be organized around specific themes to delve more deeply into issues associated with the practice and regulation of archaeology in the province. For example, the third issue (October/November) will be on repatriation and stewardship. Other themes we are planning will run from the challenging and ire inspiring (e.g., the *Heritage Conservation Act*, prejudices inherent in the practice and regulation of archaeology, the often capricious and

Kafkaesque nature of the regulatory process in BC archaeology), to the more prosaic (e.g., new technologies, data management, field reports), to the boundary-expanding (e.g., Indigenous archaeologies, re-imagining archaeologies, and creating space for novel interpretations). By organizing thematically, our intent is to create conversation both within an issue and an ongoing basis with those engaging in the issue's content. Themes will not be presented in a one-and-done manner; instead we hope to receive responses to thematic content so that we may all continue the discussion through subsequent issues.

For all publications of the journal following the second issue, the manner of expression by submitting authors will be open. By which we mean, conventional essays, interviews, poetry, spoken word pieces, comic strips, etc. Furthermore, because the journal is now entirely online, video and audio submissions are both encouraged and acceptable. The theme of an upcoming issue will be posted in the prior issue and on the journal's web page accessed through the Archaeological Society of British Columbia's website (<http://www.asbc.bc.ca/the-midden/>). Submissions, both thematic and not, are always welcome; submission guidelines are available on the website.

The revitalized Midden invites conversation - let us know what you think about this change, what you would like to see featured in the journal, and of course if you would like to contribute. We look forward to hearing from you.

Changing the Name of The Midden

The Midden began as a six-page newsletter in 1968. Since then, it has grown into an important regional journal for British Columbia's archaeological community. The name of the journal is certainly familiar among many archaeologists and has served as a literary landmark that has strongly associated The Midden with the Pacific Northwest. The term "midden" is Scandinavian in origin, roughly translating as "kitchen scraps," and is commonly used to describe archaeological "detritus" or "refuse piles." Its long-standing use among coastal archaeologists has further localized and formalized the term as a referent for archaeological sites with a shell component—shell middens. Despite its long tradition and formalization as a descriptor for a common site type on the coast, the term midden is viewed as simplistic at best and derogatory at worst by some coastal Indigenous communities. These site types are considerably more than the detritus of intertidal exploitation and bivalve processing—they were nexus points for practices running the gamut of the mundane to the spiritual/ceremonial; they illustrate adaptation and construction through time and are, in many ways, the embodiment of monumentality. The richness and importance of these sites is simply not captured in the term "midden." Of equal importance, middens are not representative of the diversity and geographical distribution of cultural heritage in the province. Given this, and with respect to the long-lasting impact of The Midden, in order to better reflect the deep and diverse cultural history that has inspired the journal, the new Editorial Board has decided that a name change is warranted. We are looking to promote the more inclusive and diverse perspectives that shape our relationships to the past; especially, the rise of Indigenous leadership in cultural resource management.

To this end, the Editorial Board invites you to engage in this process. We look forward to hearing your thoughts on a name change, as well as your ideas for a new name. The Board will review feedback and submissions and use those to inform their final decision.

Please send your thoughts and potential names to: asbc.midden@gmail.com

Mission Statement

The Midden is a journal released by the Archaeological Society of British Columbia (ASBC) in partnership with the British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologists (BCAPA). The journal's goal is to provide a forum for Indigenous peoples, archaeologists, and the wider community to share and discuss their varied experiences, interpretations, and expressions of archaeological practice. Through the recognition and inclusion of different knowledge systems, the journal aims to contribute to dismantling inequities in both cultural resource management and academic archaeology by working toward an archaeological practice that is meaningful and relevant to Indigenous communities and archaeologists alike. To this end, The Midden is an opportunity for dialogue conducted in the spirit of collaboration, compassion, and reconciliation. The Midden Editorial Board invites a wide variety of submissions from people of all backgrounds with an interest or stake in the practice of archaeology in British Columbia.

TERMS OF REFERENCE The Midden Editorial Board Archaeological Society of British Columbia 09/02/2021

Mandate

The Midden Editorial Board (the "Board") is committed to the creation and maintenance of an inclusive archaeological forum in the form of a publication that provides a place for transparent dialogue and debate centered on archaeology in British Columbia (BC): The Midden. The Board conceives of The Midden as a multi-media publication to support the inclusion of all voices in discourse designed to transform archaeological practice in BC.

The Board and subsequently, The Midden, recognizes the [*United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*](#) (UNDRIP) Article 11:

11.1 Indigenous peoples have the right to practise and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs. This includes the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artefacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature.

11.2 States shall provide redress through effective mechanisms, which may include restitution, developed in conjunction with indigenous peoples, with respect to their cultural, intellectual, religious and spiritual property taken without their free, prior and informed consent or in violation of their laws, traditions and customs.

As well, the Board supports the November 2019 adoption of Bill 41, the [*Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act*](#) (DRIPA), by the BC government. Bill 41 "...supports the rights of Indigenous peoples to practice and revitalize their cultural traditions and customs, including the right to maintain, protect, and develop the past, present, and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies, and visual and performing arts and literature."

Scope

The Board follows UNDRIP Article 11 as its guiding principle in the development of The Midden as a collaborative endeavor. The intent of the collaborative approach is to ensure that the Board works transparently amongst its membership, and with authors, artists, communities, and other contributors to ensure that The Midden is a venue for open dialogue and debate. The Board is committed to The Midden as a forum that is respectful of Indigenous perspectives and traditions, that acknowledges the historic injustices of its discipline, and that strives to improve the contributions of archaeology to our collective understanding of the deep history of the traditional territories that encompass what is now known as British Columbia.

Editorial Board Membership

The Board comprises a membership of at least 10 and no more than 20 members at any time. Members must have relevant experience in the fields of archaeology, history, Indigenous studies, and/or lived experience.

Members shall commit to serve for two-year, renewable terms. When a Member's term is coming to an end, they may elect to stand for renewal or to leave the Board. Renewal will be approved at the next Meeting of the Board, unless concerns about a Member's ability to fulfill the Responsibilities of the Board (outlined below) are raised by other Members at said meeting. Members, including the Member standing for renewal, will discuss the concerns, and Members, excluding the Member standing for renewal, shall vote on the renewal, and the results of the vote shall be binding.

So long as Board Membership is below 20 Members, new Members may join the Board at any Meeting. Potential new Members may be nominated or may self-nominate themselves for Membership. Potential new Members shall submit a short biography/Curriculum Vitae and may attend the Meeting to speak to their qualifications. Board Members shall then vote on the nomination, and the results of the vote shall be binding.

Resignation

Should a Member choose to leave the Board before their term is done, they must submit a letter of resignation to the Chair and to the Archaeological Society of British Columbia (ASBC) Midden Manager.

Current Board Membership

<u>Member</u>	<u>Affiliation</u>	<u>Term</u>
Megan Caldwell	Independent Researcher	2020-2021
Sean P. Connaughton	Inlailawatash Limited Partnership	2020-2021
Joanne Hammond	Skeetchestn Natural Resources / SFU	2020-2021
Heather Kendall	Katzie Development Limited Partnership	2020-2021
Odai Mansour	Norcan Consulting Ltd.	2020-2021
Cameron Robertson	Golder Associates Ltd.	2020-2021
Daniel Sims	University of Northern British Columbia	2020-2021
Christopher Springer	Independent Archaeological Consultant	2020-2021
Tia Williams-Seifert	Tsawwassen First Nation	2020-2021
Kristina VanderMeer	K. VanderMeer Archaeology	2020-2021

Indigenous communities will be invited to provide comments, feedback, and recommendation on contributions reflecting their histories that do not otherwise contain their perspective or input before submission. Contributing authors are therefore encouraged to submit pieces that are done in partnership or with the informed consent of Indigenous communities.

Guiding Principles

In their interactions with both external and internal stakeholders in The Midden, the Board will:

- participate in transparent dialogue;
- adhere to the [ASBC constitution](#);
- be receptive to a variety of media for inclusion in the Midden; and
- be open to the ideas of others and appreciate different points of view.

Responsibilities

The Editorial Board of The Midden has the following responsibilities:

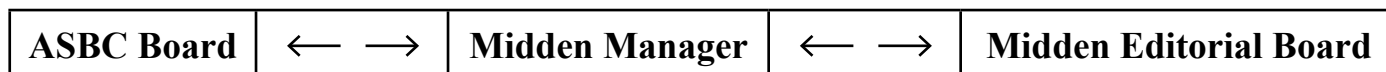
- Hold monthly meetings of the Board;
- Provide advice to the ASBC on matters relating to the editorial direction of The Midden;
- Identify themes for issues of The Midden and identify one to two (Co-)Editors for each issue on a rotating basis;
- (Co-)Editors as identified for a thematic issue will undertake to solicit and perform initial reviews on contributions to that issue;
- Board Members will act as reviewers for contributions to The Midden, with the expectation that Board Members shall use their contacts to identify additional subject-matter experts as necessary to review academic materials submitted for publication;
- Board Members will comment on and monitor the quality of non-academic submissions, with the expectation that Board Members shall use their contacts to identify additional subject-matter experts to comment on the quality of creative submissions if a contribution's value is disputed by The Board; and
- Deliver three times a year the contents for The Midden to the ASBC for formatting and publication.

The Midden Manager has the following responsibilities:

- Is hired by the ASBC;
- Is not a member of either the ASBC Executive or the Midden Editorial Board;
- Acts as liaison between the Editorial Board and the ASBC Executive;
- Acts as liaison between the Editorial Board and the BCAPA Executive;
- Attends Midden Editorial Board meetings and provides guidance and communicates ASBC updates;
- Attends ASBC Executive meetings to communicate updates on The Midden Editorial Board and the journal, The Midden;
- Connects the Editorial Board with the formatter after articles are fully finalized to arrange the journal layout; and
- Organizes the open access distribution and archiving of journal issues of The Midden with the ASBC

Relationship with the Archaeological Society of British Columbia

The Board works as an independent arm of the ASBC. Although the ASBC supports the publication of The Midden, including the role of the Midden Manager, the ASBC does not oversee the work of The Midden's editorial board. Neither the members of The Board or individuals seeking to publish in The Midden need to be members of the ASBC.



Editorial Board Positions

The following positions will be filled by Members on a rotating basis, with roles rotating relative to each issue of *The Midden*.

1. Chair

The Chair will be filled by the (Co-)Editors of the upcoming issue of *The Midden*. The Chair is responsible for setting monthly meeting dates, circulating Meeting Agendas, and chairing Meetings.

The Chair position will rotate as follows:

Winter Issue: December – March

Spring/Summer Issue: April – July

Fall Issue: August – November

2. Secretary

The Secretary will be filled by the (Co-)Editors of the next upcoming issue of *The Midden*. The Secretary is responsible for taking minutes during the monthly Meeting and circulating minutes following the Meeting. Minutes shall be saved on the Editorial Board's Shared Google Drive, which all Members shall have access to.

The Secretary position will rotate as follows:

Winter Issue: August – November

Spring/Summer Issue: December – March

Fall Issue: April - July

Meetings

Meetings will be held monthly at a minimum, or as determined by the Board, by video or telephone conferencing. Meeting dates will be set by the Chair, with consensus from Members. Meeting Agendas will be circulated no less than 2-business days before the meeting; any Member may add an item to the Agenda by writing to the Chair or requesting it be added at the beginning of a Meeting. Quorum for Meetings will be attendance by at least 50% of current Board Members.

Voting

The Board shall strive to reach consensus in all decisions. When consensus cannot be reached, and in the case of renewing or adding Members to the Board, the Board shall proceed to a vote. Quorum must be in effect for a vote to take place. All Members in attendance at a meeting have the right to vote, except the Chair or a Member whose renewal is the subject of the vote. Votes are passed with a simple majority (50%+1); ties are broken by the Chair.

Remote Voting

If necessary, the Chair may call a remote vote in which Members may submit their vote remotely. Remote voting must be completed within 72 hours of the circulation of documents/call for vote. Quorum will be considered to be met if the vote is circulated electronically.



THE MIDDEN

The Midden Editorial Board

Biographies

Megan Caldwell

I like to think of myself as a “retired” archaeologist. I finished my PhD in 2015, and while I have been involved in some research projects, I have not been actively doing archaeology since that time. What I have been doing, however, has allowed me to engage deeply and thoughtfully with concepts of reconciliation and decolonization in areas beyond archaeology and anthropology. And when I reflect back on the work I engaged in as an archaeologist, it is sometimes so easy to identify where the discipline as a whole has done, and is doing, wrong. Largely, archaeology is no longer about understanding the past. Oh sure, there is research being done and there are cool “finds” all the time. But most often, archaeology is about erasing the past to build for “the future”, through cultural resource management.

As a national discourse, reconciliation can be considered public pedagogy (Hattam, Atkinson, and Bishop 2012), teaching and reteaching a population about the shared history of the places where we live. As a discipline that purports to tell deep histories, and that is explicitly tied up in the disruption of Indigenous lives and communities, how can archaeology also play a role in reconciliation and decolonization within what is now known as Canada? This is where, in part, I think the new Board and direction for *The Midden* come into play. As a publication of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia, *The Midden* reaches an audience beyond traditional academic journals. People who read *The Midden* are not necessarily archaeologists themselves, but they are interested in archaeology, the history of what is now known as British Columbia, and one assumes, as an extension, in Indigenous communities, past and present. As *The Midden* transforms into a space for diverse voices and experiences, for examining the history of this place through different but not new lenses, it can in fact become a piece of public pedagogy that provides some small service towards reconciliation.

The Midden is not by itself going to change how heritage resources are (mis)managed in this province, nor is it going to solve large problems in the wider discipline of archaeology. But, it can provide a space for public pedagogy as it relates to the past, present, and future of spaces and places across what is now known as British Columbia. By providing an open, and public, forum for Indigenous individuals and communities, practising professionals, and others interested in archaeology to engage in transparent dialogue and debate, it is my hope that *The Midden* will spark ideas and action that lead to changes in how archaeology is approached in British Columbia, how Indigenous communities are decision-makers in their own histories,



and how archaeologists engage the public in their work and results to increase knowledge and debunk myths related to Indigenous history.

References

- Hattam, Robert, Stephen Atkinson, and Peter Bishop. 2012. Rethinking reconciliation and pedagogy in unsettling times. In *Reconciliation and Pedagogy*, edited by Pal Ahluwalia, Stephen Atkinson, Peter Bishop, Pam Christie, Robert Hattam, and Julie Matthews. Pp. 1-9. Routledge: New York.

Megan Caldwell holds a PhD in Anthropology from the University of Alberta. Her research focused on Northwest Coast intertidal resource management, concentrating on zooarchaeological analysis of fish and shellfish remains. She continues to dabble in archaeological research, largely as an independent contractor. In her day job, Megan works in the post-secondary sector, where she engages with ideas of reconciliation and decolonization in higher education.

Sean P. Connaughton

Harry Crews, the American salty southern writer said that the “truth of the matter was stories was everything, and everything was stories. Everybody told stories. It was a way of saying who they were in the world. It was their understanding of themselves.” I think he got that right. Everyone, every culture tells stories. Stories relay a sense of self, identity, and community, and demonstrate how people see the world they inhabit. Stories reflect a person’s understanding of that world and can project their morality, a sense of right—and not so right—ways to behave. Stories teach us. They ask us to pause to consider something a little deeper.

My name is Dr. Sean P. Connaughton. I’m an anthropological archaeologist. I work for a First Nations-owned heritage firm in British Columbia. My personal goal in joining the Editorial Board of *The Midden* is to help find, cultivate, and shape the stories of archaeology today. Archaeology as it is practiced today within development capitalism is largely shaped by Euro-Canadian values tied to colonial beginnings. Recognizing the historical imbalance of power at the intersection of development, archaeology, heritage management, regulators, and Indigenous communities is a critical part of the stories we tell. No work that archaeologists do is apolitical. Living in and working with Indigenous communities have taught me much about what I do and how to navigate these inter-

sectionalities. These experiences have also shown me that even our fieldwork is not apolitical: it has consequences. There are other ways of knowing and doing archaeology, and we can not ignore the larger, international political narratives that tie into what CRM archaeologists are doing locally each day. It is the exploration of these issues, and the journey to creating stronger, more honest stories that I hope to bring to my role.

My goal is to seek out the voices who practice archaeology daily within this province. I want to help shape the stories that matter the most to those doing archaeology or are involved in protecting Indigenous heritage. We need an open and honest dialogue about the critically important issues archaeologists and Nations face today regarding descendant communities’ heritage.

Sean P. Connaughton, PhD is an anthropological archaeologist at Inlailawatash, a Tsleil-Waututh owned heritage firm, in North Vancouver. He is a Northwest Coast Permit Holder and a Field Director and has worked across British Columbia, the southeastern United States, and the South Pacific (Fiji, Tonga, Sāmoa, Papua New Guinea). He is also a faculty member in the Department of Anthropology at Kwantlen Polytechnic University and is a member of the Register of Professional Archaeologists (RPA 17354).



Figure 1. Dr. Sean P. Connaughton on survey (photograph by Ian Sellers).

Joanne Hammond

In 2014, I attended the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of Canada's final event in Vancouver. I ate birthday cupcakes with residential school survivors who had been denied that celebration as students, and listened to the closing words of Justice (now Senator) Murray Sinclair, chair of the commission. Looking to the future and to the ways that we could build on the work of the TRC, Sinclair told the assembled guests: "we must right the balance, and balance the rights that existed at the time when we first met."

At the time, I had been practicing as an archaeologist for more than 15 years. I had worked all over B.C.'s Interior and the Coast, visited Indigenous communities from Osoyoos to Haida Gwaii, and generally thought I was doing right by First Nations. I had built a practice working with Indigenous communities on heritage projects and policy that would support descendant communities reclaiming control over their cultural inheritance. But that night I heard that I could do more—we could do more.

Sinclair's words have never left me. Righting the balance between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Canadians not only makes sense, morally speaking, but is a prerequisite to an equitable future. What does that balance look like? To figure that out, Canadians need to recall what the balance looked like when, as Sinclair says, "we first met." And that means learning what was happening here for the millennia before that. Now that seemed like a way archaeology could help.



As archaeologists, we have an obligation to recognize our special access and capacity to learn about the past, and to put them to use for living people. Working hand-in-hand with Indigenous communities, we can create remarkable knowledge from the physical remains of past lives. But it cannot stop there—we can, and must, do our absolute best to share that knowledge with Canadians who have been misled by centuries of racist, self-serving, historical narratives that rationalize colonialism by denying the depth, intensity, sophistication, and diversity of Indigenous pasts.

In 2016, I began to put some of the knowledge I had acquired through archaeology to challenge some of those errant stories, beginning with the Stop of Interest signs that



dot B.C.'s highways. Beyond the plaques that presented tales of white righteousness, ingenuity, and bravery in an empty New World, I saw landscapes saturated in millennia-old heritage, and lands dispossessed by abhorrent discriminatory policy; and I wrote about that. Much of the public reaction to the project centered on anger toward the misleading history taught in school, and thirst for an alternative version, that is at once more painful and more equitable.

Archaeologists are uniquely positioned to not only challenge colonial histories that work against justice and reconciliation, like the public history in those signs, but to share our skills and status with Indigenous communities to support their engagement with heritage in ways that matter to them, to help create stories in which living Indigenous people can see themselves and their ancestors.

The new Midden is one place we can come together to work for that change, to begin to right the balance between Indigenous peoples and Canadians, and to reduce the divides between archaeologists and the public. We are hoping to see this become a space of growth for the

archaeology community—and to see the archaeology community grow to include every voice with an interest or a stake in the past. We are looking forward to hearing those diverse voices discuss, develop, and share socially responsible and intellectually defensible approaches to heritage research and interpretation, and the outstanding human stories they can produce.

Joanne Hammond lives and works in the unceded territories of the Secwepemc, Syilx and Nlaka'pamux Nations, where she is Director of Heritage for Skeetchestn Natural Resources. She is an instructor and program advisor with Simon Fraser University's professional graduate program in heritage management, and is active in outreach with schools, community groups, professional organizations and governments, to educate learners of all ages about Indigenous archaeological heritage and the history of Indigenous peoples and the Canadian state. Joanne's on the web at republicofarchaeology.ca and on Twitter @KamloopsArchaeo.

Heather Kendall

My grandmother was an immigrant to Canada who survived the Nazi occupation of Holland. She made the journey to Canada following her marriage, after the liberation of the Netherlands. She would tell me stories about how out of place and unwelcome she felt amongst the other Europeans who had travelled to this country. She struggled to understand her place as a newcomer within a closed society. She spoke about her experience of the Nazi occupation and the parallels she saw in Canadian society, which clearly benefitted from the occupation of stolen land. I know she was angry about the injustice, committed by the same country that had saved hers. I did not understand it at the time, but she taught me not to look away from uncomfortable truths.

She is the reason I became an archaeologist and chose to stay and work in British Columbia.

Like many folks in B.C. Archaeology, I was trained at Simon Fraser University, in the Department of Archaeology. I started working locally while I was an undergrad and did not stop. I have been fortunate enough to work throughout the province, on many different project portfolios with many different people. What I remember the most are the stories our Indigenous colleagues would tell about



the lands we were walking, the history of their ancestors, their lived and living experience, and the intersection of all of these at the moment of the telling. Over many years it has become clear to me that stories resonate within the land and are cared for in the memories of the descendants.

Working with a Nation has repeatedly demonstrated this truth. The connection between culturally significant spaces and descendant communities is very powerful and should not need designation by colonial structures to be recognized externally as legitimate. Listening to the priorities of First Nations has demonstrated the constraints of the current legislation and its inability to connect “material remains” to the descendant communities. I believe it is our responsibility as archaeologists to advocate for the deconstruction of these colonial structures and support an Indigenous-led reconstruction of heritage management and law.

I joined The Midden Editorial Board to change the nature of the dialogue within archaeology by contributing to the creation of an open forum which supports all voices. It is odd that the first step involves writing an introspective piece about our experiences with and within archaeology, but I do so in the hope that the vulnerability of this Board will set the tone for genuine, transparent discourse. I owe much of my knowledge of archaeology to my Indigenous colleagues and friends, who have allowed me to follow and listen to their experiences - thank you, dank je, hay čxw qə.

Heather is the Senior Archaeologist for Katzie Development Limited Partnership, of the Katzie First Nation. She is a permit holder and a province wide field director. She completed her undergraduate and Master's degrees at Simon Fraser University, Department of Archaeology. She lives on Burke Mountain with her two dogs, Chert and Cash.

Odai Mansour

Pondering the origin of our species and our ways of life has, for as long as I can remember, filled me with a sense of awe and mystery. While completing an undergraduate degree, I merged my passion with the knowledge and skills that would enable me to examine the epic of human existence. I explored subjects in anthropology, archaeology, history and other ‘old’ or ‘archaic’ oriented disciplines. Simply put, I cared very little about our collective destination but was instead drawn towards our collective journey. Naturally, a bachelor’s degree in archaeology, which I received from Simon Fraser University in 2018, best reflected my desire to spend the future studying the past.



The importance of examining cultural history was instilled in me at an early age by my father. Through an effort to understand my family’s heritage, it quickly became apparent that this task was indeed obscured by elements of warfare, migration, and marginalization. As a Palestinian, I was born in a refugee camp in Damascus, Syria in 1993, the same camp my father was born into 32 years earlier. Although he struggled to grasp and maintain elements of Palestinian heritage and culture as a ‘stateless’ refugee, pieces were nevertheless inherited. I was raised in Canada, however, which posed new challenges regarding the transmission of cultural identity and heritage from generation to generation. The fragments of culture my father had received were further fragmented upon reaching me. I was not discouraged, rather I profoundly understood that before the past could be deciphered, it must be made accessible.

Archaeology in Canada, as within other nations that were built atop the colonial canon, must address the accessibility of the past, which is beyond the methodological exploration of its contents. This dimension of the discipline, especially while studying archaeology upon unceded land, felt both familiar and dark to me. There is thus no denying that archaeology in, for example, the province of British

Columbia is inextricably linked to the colonization, oppression, and marginalization of Indigenous Peoples. Decolonizing the practice, the buzzword of recent decades, serves to acknowledge and address these issues. As a former student and a recent member of the community of archaeologists in this province, I do not pretend to fully understand the nature of the discipline that I love, including its flaws, perks, and social implications. Instead, my desire to gain such an understanding has led me to seek out meaningful dialogues that effectively prioritize transparency and collaboration. This is an effort made explicit by The Midden, through which Cultural Resource Management (CRM) can be examined and discussed in an open and honest way. While offering my unique perspective, I hope to also encounter a diversity of experiences that are made available through this journal.

I have been a part of archaeological projects in British Columbia's southwest coast as well as the interior, with the hopes of one day obtaining field directorship throughout the province. As I transition from the study to the practice of archaeology, I look forward to participating in the redirection of the discipline that effectively empowers a diversity of voices and addresses current inequities. I also hope to develop a meaningful understanding of CRM as a social enterprise and an everchanging profession through avenues like The Midden and future academic endeavors. Finally, I am grateful for the opportunity provided by The Midden to facilitate a conversation aimed towards shaping the collective future of CRM.

Odai Mansour is an archaeologist with Norcan Consulting Ltd. Based in Prince George, B.C.

Cameron Robertson

My name is Cameron Robertson and I have been working as a consulting archaeologist for 15 years, primarily in Canada but also in Russia, Australia, and the South Pacific. Over the years I have noticed that it doesn't matter if I'm driving an F-150 down a forestry road to look at a cutblock, surveying the Outback for a proposed mine, or lost in a river in the South Pacific, the same themes keep coming up. Themes surrounding the relationship between archaeologists and indigenous communities, colonial tensions, proponent driven archaeology, and the challenges/rewards of moving from participation toward a goal of true collaboration. My hope is that we can start to really focus on some of these themes in The Midden as the publication changes and evolves.

The first issue of The Midden was produced in 1968 making this publication almost 52 years old which is an impressive feat as most publications do not last more than a few years. There is so much valuable information tucked away in past issues, and I would like to see this publication continue for another 52 years (at least). Is it time for a refresh and a reboot? Absolutely! And from what I have seen and heard during our first board meetings that is exactly what is going to happen.

My goal in joining the Editorial Board is building on the publication's

previous success and helping guide it towards becoming a new, better, version of itself. I am excited to see how we can create a space for more voices, particularly Indigenous voices. I am also excited to explore new ways of presenting archaeology to a variety of audiences including archaeologists (both practising and academic), Indigenous communities, and anyone interested in archaeology. I want to work with industry colleagues and Indigenous communities to bring the "grey" literature (including academic theses and CRM reports) out from the shadows and into the public light. Lastly, my goal is to challenge the status quo and discuss new ways to approach some of our existing challenges related to archaeology in our region.

Cameron Robertson is an archaeologist in Golder Associates' Cultural Heritage Group, based in Victoria.





Daniel Sims

Dana'chea. My name is Daniel Sims and I am a member of the Tsay Keh Dene First Nation. I am also chair of First Nation studies at the University of Northern British Columbia. I am happy to be part of *The Midden* editorial board and look forward to working with the other members to help enrich this journal as a publication.

I am not an archaeologist, although I do have access to the Remote Access to Archaeological Data (RAAD) system. Strictly speaking I have only been on a dig site once and that included a trip to a local clinic to deal with a punctured foot. How did I end up on the editorial board of *The Midden*, you might ask? Interest and a tangential connection to the discipline. My discipline is Indigenous studies, with a particular focus on ethnohistory. I have examined the history of my own community as well as the related communities of Kwadacha and McLeod Lake. Given the scarcity of written records involving any of these communities, I often found myself relying on oral and archaeological records. I conducted the interviews. I relied on the work of others for the archaeological data. Hence, my access to RAAD.

As a child I always wanted to be an archaeologist. I know now that I actually wanted to be a paleontologist. You live, you learn. Within the discipline of archaeology this confusion is old hat and/or a point of frustration/anger. Outside of the discipline it still exists as an innocent mistake. The divide between insider and outsider information is well known in the field of Indigenous studies. My role on the editorial board is not only to provide an Indigenous perspective, but also a view from outside of archaeology.

We all know about the dark history of archaeology, especially with regard to Indigenous studies. Helicopter aca-

demics who swoop into a community and then leave with as much as they can carry. Museums full of human remains and “donated” artifacts that mysteriously lost the documentation surrounding the donation. It is easy to criticize, especially when there are all too many contemporary examples that challenge claims that things have changed. My hope as a member of the editorial board is to be a positive voice of change, especially in instances where the colonial relationship is seemingly innocuous.

My own community has dealt with this innocuous colonialism. Prior to the construction of the W.A.C.

Bennett Dam we were under studied and easily ignored. Even today, we are all too often part of the standard list of British Columbian Dene, more often than not only mentioned to show the author knows we exist, but generally in such vague terms that nothing more is really said that matters other than they do not know how different the Dakelh, Dane-zaa, Kaska, Tsek'ehne, Tsilhqot'in, and Wet'suwet'en are. When the Peace River Project – the W.A.C. Bennett Dam before it was officially named – was announced in 1957 there were a few individuals calling for an archaeological survey. At the end of the day, studies were limited and the journey out cost one archaeologist many of his notes and artifacts. Rather than contextualize this lack of evidence in terms of a lack of examination, the conclusion drawn by the provincial government and some later academics was that there must not have been a lot of archaeological evidence. In Indigenous studies, we would call this colonial erasure. The history of the Tsek'ehne effaced because our artifacts are not documented and/or collected. Innocuous and yet another elimination of the Indigenous experience in British Columbia. Adding injury to insult, the multitude of studies since the creation of the Williston Lake Reservoir have shown just how wrong these inferences were.

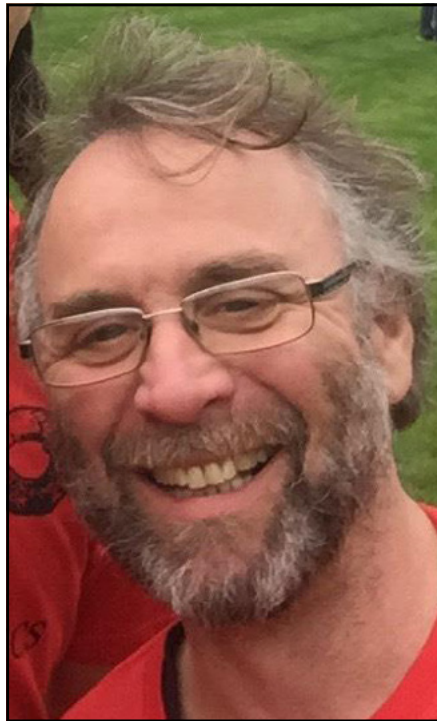
Things have changed now, though. Archaeologists are told to engage with communities, and land acknowledgments precede everything. Neither is a guarantee, however, that things are different, with land acknowledgments in particular often coming across as pro forma. It is my hope to use my position on the editorial board to help ensure that submissions involving Indigenous peoples do more than follow the bare minimum of community engagement. No other community should be told they did not live in their homeland because of a lack of studies.

Daniel Sims is a member of the Tsay Keh Dene First Nation. He is currently the chair of First Nations Studies at the University of Northern British Columbia where he holds the rank of associate professor. He comes from a long line of Indigenous

historians. His current research examines the Indigenous history of northern British Columbia with a particular focus on the environment, economic development, and the law.

Chris Springer

I am relatively new to archaeology in B.C. for someone my age (55). I began the process of becoming an archaeologist in 2005 after ending a somewhat haphazard career in music. The idea that archaeology was something that one could do came as a bit of a shock as I was under the impression that it was a discipline practised by academics and museum curators. Furthermore, the fact that there was an archaeological footprint in B.C. was also an eye-opener. Of course, I was aware of First Nations communities but my understanding did not extend beyond what I was taught in my elementary school social studies classes in the 1970s. The descriptions of the numerous coastal groups were presented as a monolithic whole with components of Haida and Wakashan speaking cultures used as the foundation. Cultural variation, deep history, the numerous communities that populated the Interior and Boreal regions of the province, and the dark legacies of colonialism were not discussed. High school in the early 1980s did not bring any additional illumination as emphasis was now on the exploits of Louis Riel, and not in a way that would lead one to believe that the Métis People and their First Nations allies had a rightful cause. Everything changed when I enrolled at Capilano College. There, I had the good fortune to take an Intro to Archaeology class with Bob Muckle and a First Nations of B.C. class with Tad McIlwraith. These courses went a long way toward correcting my ignorance of B.C. archaeology, the cultural diversity and histories of descendent First Nation communities, and the history of colonialism in the province. However, the politics that frame the connection between ancestral and descendent communities did not become truly apparent until I began my academic career at Simon Fraser University, and began working in cultural resource management (CRM).



As an undergraduate and graduate student, I had the honour to be part of two large-scale collaborative projects in the lower Fraser Valley and on the northern Sunshine Coast. Dana Lepofsky, my senior supervisor for my graduate research, co-led both of these projects. She introduced me to an archaeology that sought guidance from First Nation communities both as a way of understanding the past and as a way of involving descendant communities in the formulation and practice of archaeological research. Working with Dana was my first real experience doing archaeology in the province, so I thought that this was how archaeology was done. This rather naïve perspective was quickly replaced when I began working in CRM. I do not think it an exaggeration to state that as much as 95% of

the archaeology in the province is conducted in the context of CRM. This work is typically not collaborative and is very rarely done with any consideration for the interests of descendent communities. Indeed, the Heritage Conservation Act under which CRM is regulated and practiced, legally distinguishes between descendant communities and their ancestral places and belongings, and makes no legal provision to consult or include descendant communities in the investigation, assessment, and recovery of their ancestral heritage. Although it is the norm for descendant community members to participate as representatives for their respective Nations in CRM work, it is not legally required. It is more tokenism than true inclusion and collaboration.

I still have much to learn about the practice of archaeology in B.C. However, my experiences working in academia and the private sector lead me to believe that the discipline, especially CRM archaeology, would be better served with more direct and legally required participation by First Nation communities. It is, after all, their cultural heritage. I agreed to be a member of the new edito-

rial board for The Midden because I believe it can be a medium for inclusive discussion about the many issues that frame the regulation and practice of archaeology in the province. As such, I look forward to reading the many opinions on the subject of B.C. archaeology and hope the new incarnation of The Midden will become a powerful voice in the call for change.

Chris Springer is an independent sub-contractor in B.C.'s CRM sector and a sessional instructor at Douglas College and the University of British Columbia.

Tia Williams-Seifert

Historically, archaeology has been a colonial discipline, catering to a *xʷənítəm* perspective. Over the last 20 years, Indigenous people and organizations have asserted themselves within the archaeological world; the time is upon us to begin indigenizing this field that was once viewed as a pillar of conquest to practicing archaeologists and amateurs.

Growing up without knowing the importance of protecting, or knowing the original stewards of the land on which I roamed and played, I could not prepare myself for the volume of undiscovered passion I have for this profession that eventually formed the Indigenous woman that I am today. Possessing very little understanding of what the discipline was, I found myself in the dirt of my childhood, the same dirt of my ancestors, on a major field excavation in 2011. I was actively learning more Coast Salish history and culture every day; through the guidance of my elders, relatives, and mentors on site. They taught me the technical skills and methods of archaeology and excavation. But most importantly, it was the integration of traditional knowledge from my elders and relatives into our daily field work that resonated with me the most. This knowledge they shared is empowering not only to myself but to our youth and entire community. I believe that knowing our ancient history is imperative to our language and culture revitalization.

My training is not as academically extensive as others, but through the guidance of my elders, elders-in-training, and community members, I have been fortunate enough to obtain an invaluable education. I may not be a 'provincially recognized' archaeologist but as an Indigenous archaeologist hired to work for my community, the act of stewardship is not just a job, it is an inherent responsibility. Just as there is intergenerational trauma, there is intergenerational pride.

Being employed on the other side of archaeology (read: pencil pusher), I have now seen how Indigenous issues and archaeology are intertwined. Indigenous groups are



Figure 1. Tia Williams participating in wet-site field excavation. (Photo taken by Cheryl Perich)

still being consulted as a formality and different high-level governing bodies, institutions, and even developers continue to make unilateral decisions regarding our heritage. We are constantly reiterating our existence in this work to these bodies and why it needs to take place. I see The Midden as a platform to discuss where we see the need for change and in my role, I hope to bring Indigenous voices forward and to normalize Indigenous practitioners in archaeology.

Tia Williams is a member of the Tsawwassen First Nation where she works as the Archaeology Coordinator and is an elected member of the TFN Legislative Assembly. She also works in the Library & Archives at the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs, helping to preserve the rich UBCIC history through photographs and media.



Kristina VanderMeer

It has always interested me how a person can look at something ninety-nine times, but on the hundredth time, actually see the details. This is certainly true when practicing archaeology in a province as large and diverse as British Columbia. While I have worked as a consulting archaeologist for a number of years, a watershed moment happened a few years ago that shaped the trajectory of both my academic and professional career. On that day, I was assisting a firm I work with to conduct an Archaeological Impact Assessment on a property in Port Coquitlam. I had joined for an afternoon to assist with shovel testing but I had not been to the property before and knew little about the project beyond that it was formerly a single family residency and located in a suburban neighbourhood. My partner had grown up in the area and I had probably driven past that location a thousand times. When we started testing, it quickly became apparent to me that the soil that we were working in was far different than I had expected – most of the property was comprised of over a metre of rich, black, shell-less midden, riddled with hearth features, and literal tonnes of fire altered rock. I remember quite distinctly stopping and looking up at the constant traffic of the adjacent highway, at the houses up the street, and at the industrial park nearby. It struck me how vulnerable archaeological heritage is in our modern world, with our various levels of government, bureaucracy, housing shortages, infrastructure, and not least, our colonial history. This lot was one of many in this neighbourhood, and one of thousands that will be rebuilt, renovated, or subdivided in the next fifty years. How many lots will have

had an archaeological assessment beforehand? How many sites will be quietly destroyed?

Archaeology as a discipline is changing rapidly to keep up with the pace of development. There are relevant conversations that we as a greater community need to have around heritage and heritage protection. I think that a venue such as this can continue to provide a space for these conversations to happen in order to affect change. With the commitment of the province to the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act and the recent amendments to the Heritage Conservation Act, we see that positive change is in process, and that conversations around decolonization and Indigenous sovereignty must continue. Like many conversations, sometimes they will be uncomfortable; but if we have learned anything in 2020, the year of pandemic and lockdown, it is that we sometimes have to embrace discomfort in order to move forward.

I chose to get involved in the new *Midden* editorial board primarily because I love to discuss the nitty gritty elements of archaeology and because I love stories. I am interested in fostering a platform where it is possible to have both, but also that is less formal than a peer-reviewed journal and more engaging than a newsletter. When it comes to stories, none are more important and powerful than those whose heritage we study; I hope that this will be a place where Indigenous voices will be heard, appreciated, and amplified. I am excited that the Archaeological Society of British Columbia and the British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologists are supporting this endeavour. We, as archaeologists and as part of the archaeological community, have a commitment to promoting and preserving cultural heritage and a forum such as this will help us to do so.

Kristina VanderMeer (she/her) is a consulting archaeologist and principal of her firm K. VanderMeer Archaeology. She lives and works on the unceded territory of the Coast Salish in the Lower Mainland. Her current work is with Brown & Oakes Archaeology and primarily with k'wik'əłəm (Kwkwetlem) First Nation. She is also a MA Candidate in the Simon Fraser University Heritage Resource Management program with a focus on urban archaeology and how historic land development has affected our assessment of archaeological potential.



THE MIDDEN



Midden Call for Donations & Sponsors

Our journal, The Midden, is the Archaeological Society of BC's greatest expense and a valued asset in spreading archaeological research to members and the broader community in British Columbia and beyond. We are a volunteer run society and journal and have recently had to contract paid help to ensure the ASBC and The Midden run smoothly.

To continue this journal into the future without increasing membership fees we are accepting donations (charitable tax receipts offered) and official sponsors.

Remember to renew your ASBC annual membership and for making donations (tax deductible), please contact asbc.president@gmail.com

Thank you!

THE MIDDEN

C/O Archaeological Unit
Royal BC Museum
675 Belleville Street
Victoria, BC, V8W 9W2