THE MIDDEN

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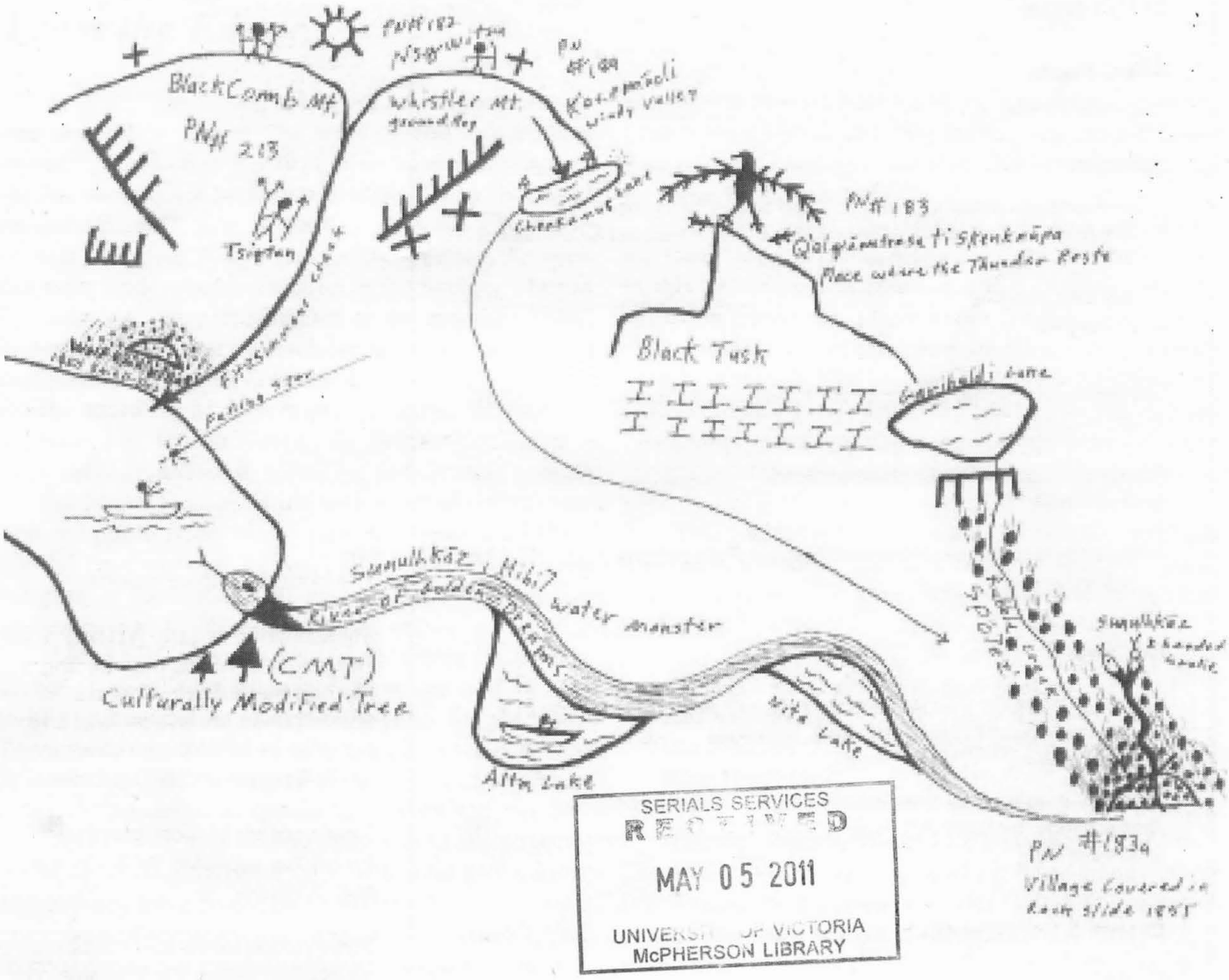

July 20, 2009
Tehnny Jones

LIL'WAT LANDSCAPES

UOFT'S SECHELT ARCHAEOLOGICAL PROJECT

UNAUTHORIZED HERITAGE SITE ALTERATIONS DATABASE

THE MIDDEN

Volume 43, No. 1 2011

In this issue

Cover:
Drawing of the Black Tusk landscape, by Johnny Jones.

The Midden Subscriptions

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The ASBC Pages

From the Editor...

It is my honour and pleasure to welcome everyone to another year of *The Midden*, and to introduce myself as its Editor for 2011. I've been a member of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia since I returned from Ontario in 2004 to complete a Bachelor of Arts at Simon Fraser University. Feeling the need for more student representation in the Society, I began by assisting with refreshments at the monthly ASBC lectures, distributing membership forms to students and professors at local universities, and stuffing envelopes for the quarterly *Midden* mail-out. While undertaking a Masters at the University of British Columbia, I eventually graduated to soliciting and creating content for *The Midden* and assisting with all stages of its creation and publication. Now in the third year of a PhD at UBC, I have our past Editor, Bill Angelbeck, to thank for guiding me through the process and helping me to understand what *The Midden* is all about.

The ASBC has two central mandates: to protect archaeological and historical heritage and further public understanding of archaeology in this province. Towards this goal, *The Midden* has historically served as a medium for relating new findings and results of research, advertising upcoming events and reviewing recent ones, and calling attention to the ongoing threat of heritage destruction in B.C. Our past editors and authors have frequently advocated for increased protection of archaeological sites and reviewed the effectiveness of our existing Heritage Conservation Act, a conversation that continues to be prevalent within these pages. Increasingly, the cultural and spiritual connection of First Nations to their historical sites has been foregrounded, stressing archaeology as a practice that impacts *heritage*, and that this heritage has real meaning for people today.

In these ways, *The Midden* has both articulated the local story of archaeology over the last forty years in this province, and connected B.C. to a wider conversation taking place throughout the discipline on archaeological ethics, theory and practice. I believe these contributions are what makes *The Midden* a publication of significance to its readership and the archaeological community more broadly, and I will strive as Editor to maintain these core values in our issues for the coming year.

This process is far from a solitary venture, and I am pleased to introduce the 2011 *Midden* Editorial Board, who have already been and will continue to be integral to this publication:

Chris Ames
Bill Angelbeck
Ian Cameron
Rich Hutchings
Eric McLay
Doug Ross
Adrian Sanders

Our tremendous thanks to all who have supported *The Midden* so far, and especially a huge thank-you to Bill Angelbeck for being a stellar Editor for so many years. The torch is carried forward...

Marina J. La Salle

A Database of Unauthorized Heritage Site Alterations

John R. Welch, Eric McLay, Michael Klassen, Fred Foster, and Robert Muir

In 1960, British Columbia was the first province to enact legislation to protect archaeological heritage sites in Canada. As of 2011, the provincial *Heritage Conservation Act*, R.S.B.C. 1996, Chapter 187 ("*HCA*") is among the most pro-active and strongest heritage laws in North America. The *HCA* provides automatic legal protection against any non-permitted alteration of any recorded or unrecorded archaeological heritage sites or heritage objects on Crown and private lands, and outlines significant penalties for any offence, including up to $50,000 in fines plus two years incarceration for individuals, and up to $1,000,000 in fines for corporations and two years incarceration for responsible CEOs.

Despite such force of law, *HCA* contraventions are common and enforcement is practically nonexistent. Archaeologists, First Nations communities, and provincial and law enforcement officials become aware of new and repeated violations almost daily. Yet few persons or corporations have ever been charged under the *HCA*. Some blame deficiencies in the *HCA* itself; others the policies employed in *HCA* administration and enforcement (see Klassen 2008). The lack of awareness or lack of interest on the part of politicians, law enforcement, and the public at large probably contribute to the problem. In any case, *HCA*'s bold promise "to encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in British Columbia" remains unfulfilled and our public trust continues to be diminished. These losses are particularly harmful to First Nations and other descendant communities, who rely on heritage sites as wellsprings of community orientation and vitality.

Why does archaeological heritage continue to be altered and destroyed without proper treatment by descendant communities and archaeologists?

This simple question is complicated to answer due to lack of basic information. *HCA* contraventions are only occasionally reported in the news. Local media may initially report conflicts over heritage sites, especially where RCMP are involved, yet rarely follow up with the full story. No non-governmental organization has taken up the challenge to advocate for heritage conservation in defence of public interests. The Archaeology Branch, Ministry of Natural Resource Operations, responsible for *HCA* administration does not systematically track or investigate alleged *HCA* contraventions (see http://www.tti.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/policies/enforcement_heritage_conservation_act.htm). As a result, most information concerning heritage site destruction in British Columbia is anecdotal, often unspoken private knowledge.

We know that the un- and under-documented alteration and destruction of our finite and priceless archaeological heritage continues at a brisk pace, but not much more. We have no real idea how many sites are accidentally or intentionally destroyed by unregulated land and resource development on a yearly basis, nor how many sites fall through the cracks of the province's archaeological overview assessment (AOA) and archaeological impact assessment (AIA) processes. We can only guess how widespread or well-organized illegal artefact collecting is in British Columbia. We do not know how many *HCA* contraventions have taken place since initial legislation was passed 50 years ago, where and when these violations may have occurred, or under what circumstances. Even learning how many recent violations have been reported, investigated, or resolved is difficult due to scattered and inconsistent documentation, privacy concerns, and other challenges.

It seems that nobody is accepting responsibility for tracking and communicating contraventions of our heritage conservation law in British Columbia. What can be done?

Our initial approach is based on the notion that solving the chronic problems of heritage site destruction in British Columbia is difficult when there is no baseline data for all interested parties to share, analyze, and discuss. Our proposal to address this deficiency, described by Quentin Mackie (2010) in his Northwest Coast Archaeology blog as "striking in its simplicity," is to cooperatively develop a database of unauthorized heritage site alterations since 1996. As archaeologists and concerned citizens, we propose making a list of alleged *HCA* contraventions for public review. Because knowledge of many *HCA* contraventions is kept alive in 'oral histories' of local archaeologists, First Nations and

Report heritage site alterations not authorized by the Heritage Conservation Act

We invite members of First Nations, the professional and avocational archaeological communities, and the public at large to submit cases for inclusion in the Database of Unauthorized Heritage Site Alterations. Please visit the BCAPA website for a simple form http://www.bcapa.ca/contact-us/anonymous-report/ for identifying and submitting cases. This can be anonymous. If there is any doubt about whether a case merits inclusion in the database, or if the information on a case is incomplete, send it in and we'll do the legwork to round out the case(s). You can also submit comments, questions, and cases to John Welch at: **welch@sfu.ca**

others, we are offering various ways to participate and contribute. Our working premise is that the sharing of knowledge, followed by a careful and systematic data review and analysis, may guide us to the source of ongoing heritage conflicts. This will help us better understand how we can collaboratively realize the intent of the *HCA* in safeguarding heritage sites for posterity and appropriate use.

Toward this end, we are collaborating and reaching out to collectively create a database of documented heritage site alterations not authorized by a permit. The structure of the database, which continues to be fine-tuned in response to colleagues' and contributors' suggestions, presently consists of the following "fields":

1. Project name and location (including land ownership and jurisdiction, if available)

2. Description of nature and scale of site disturbance, where known (i.e., type of land-altering activity, size and depth of disturbance)

3. Description of affected sites and materials (ie. Borden numbers, site types, presence of human remains, artifacts)

4. Date of unauthorized alteration(s)

5. Parties involved (those associated with any alleged alterations, affected First Nations, archaeologists, municipal governments or other)

6. Level of involvement by RCMP or other law enforcement, where relevant (i.e., RCMP alerted, site visit, development halted, objects confiscated, investigation opened, report forwarded to Crown Counsel)

7. Level of involvement of Crown Counsel, where relevant (i.e., charges laid, court proceedings, court settlement).

8. Level of involvement by Archaeology Branch or other ministry (i.e., Permit issued for site inspection, permit issued/denied for further site alteration, permit report filed, site inventory forms updated)

9. Resolution of Incident, where known (or, how alleged contravention were addressed; i.e., no further action taken, site avoidance, mitigation, compensation, purchase of land, public donation etc.)

10. Documentation References (i.e., sources of information on the case, such as permit reports, letter correspondence, newspaper articles, emails, photographs etc.)

11. Photos, maps, field notes, or other supporting materials that may be shared.

Four criteria are required to include an incident in the working database: (1) a heritage site is reported to have been physically-altered (i.e., material remains protected by the *HCA*, including pre-1846 A.D. sites, burial sites, whether designated, recorded or unrecorded in the provincial heritage registry); (2) the alteration occurred after the current *HCA* came into effect in July, 1994; (3) alteration occurred without the issuance of a provincial heritage permit or other authorization; and (4) written documentation of the alleged contravention is available for review (i.e., permit reports, email or letter correspondence with Archaeology Branch, newspapers, articles, or websites). This is not a database of hearsay and anecdotes. We need to insist upon factual input. We invite assistance in our search for criteria to further assist in discriminating between true *HCA* contraventions and other types of heritage site conflicts.

Importantly, we wish to state that the intention of the database is *not* to publicly shame or embarrass any person, company or organization – personal names and other private information will be kept confidential and not publicly shared. Further, the intention of the database is *not* to collect evidence to prepare charges under the *HCA*. In fact, pursuant to the provincial *General Offence Act*, the statute of limitations for Crown Counsel to lay charges under the *HCA* is only two years. Most cases we expect to compile in this initiative will be ineligible for prosecution. The ultimate goal of the initiative is to examine where contraventions occur, how the *HCA* can be more effectively enforced, and to propose ways to reduce or even prevent ongoing destruction and loss of B.C.'s archaeological heritage.

With good will, cooperation and diligence, we believe that it is possible to find solutions to cooperatively help improve the effectiveness of the *HCA* enforcement in a reasonable time frame, not radiocarbon years. For the long-term goal, however, we believe there is benefit in continuing to rally archaeologists, First Nations, government and the broader heritage community in British Columbia around the one goal we must all agree upon—preserving the archaeological heritage for the future.

References

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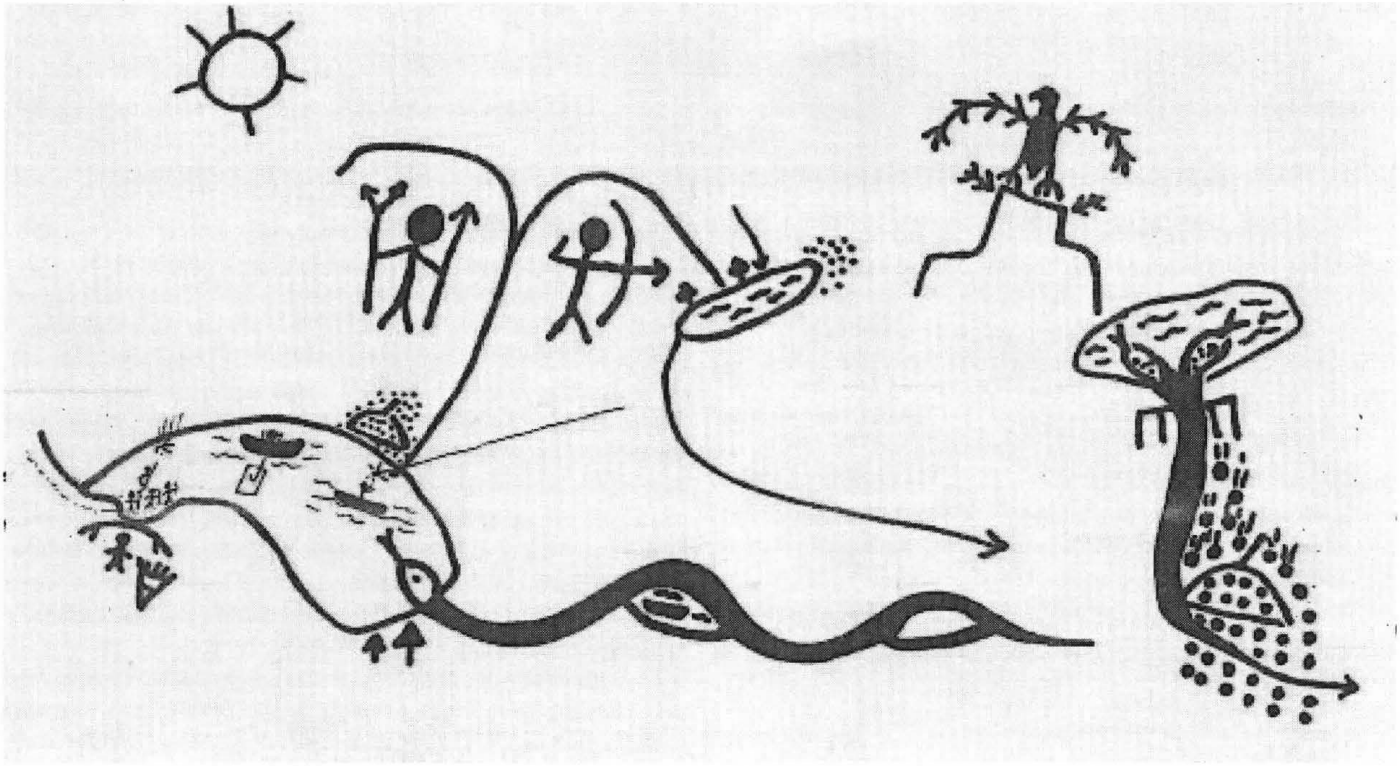
John R. Welch is a Canada Research Chair and Associate Professor in Simon Fraser University's Department of Archaeology and School of Resource and Environmental Management.

Eric McLay is a Ph.D. student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Victoria.

Michael Klassen has worked as a heritage consultant in British Columbia since 1996 and is a Ph.D. candidate in Simon Fraser University's Department of Archaeology.

Fred Foster received his BA (Honours) in Archaeology from Simon Fraser University and is starting graduate studies at the University College of London in Fall 2011.

Robert Muir is a Senior Lecturer in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University.



Johnny Jones

Q'ELQÁMTENSA TI SKENKNÁPA — BLACK TUSK AREA

We are pleased to present these drawings of Lil'wat landscapes by Johnny Jones. Each represents a certain portion of their traditional territory, and Johnny Jones has done this in a manner that connects it with the artistic rock-art styles of their ancestors: these are pictographic representations of their landscape.

In the drawings are images from the rock art of their territory as well as pictographic markings of other ancestral archaeological sites, such as villages, camps, hunting areas, and gathering sites. He includes spiritual areas and transformer sites to show how the stories inform the shapes of the landscapes and their meaning.

Some of these drawings eventually will be displayed on kiosks along the route from Whistler to Lillooet, revealing some of the Lil'wat history inscribed in the landscape to passersby.

We are unable to print these in colour, so do imagine these as the original drawings were, in ochre red.

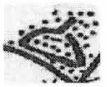
Bill Angelbeck, Contributing Editor

The name, *Q'elqámtensa Ti Skenknápa*, refers to Black Tusk, the mountaintop on which the thunderbird rests.

Sunulhkàz is the name of the serpent-like water monster that flowed between Alta Lake and Green Lake.

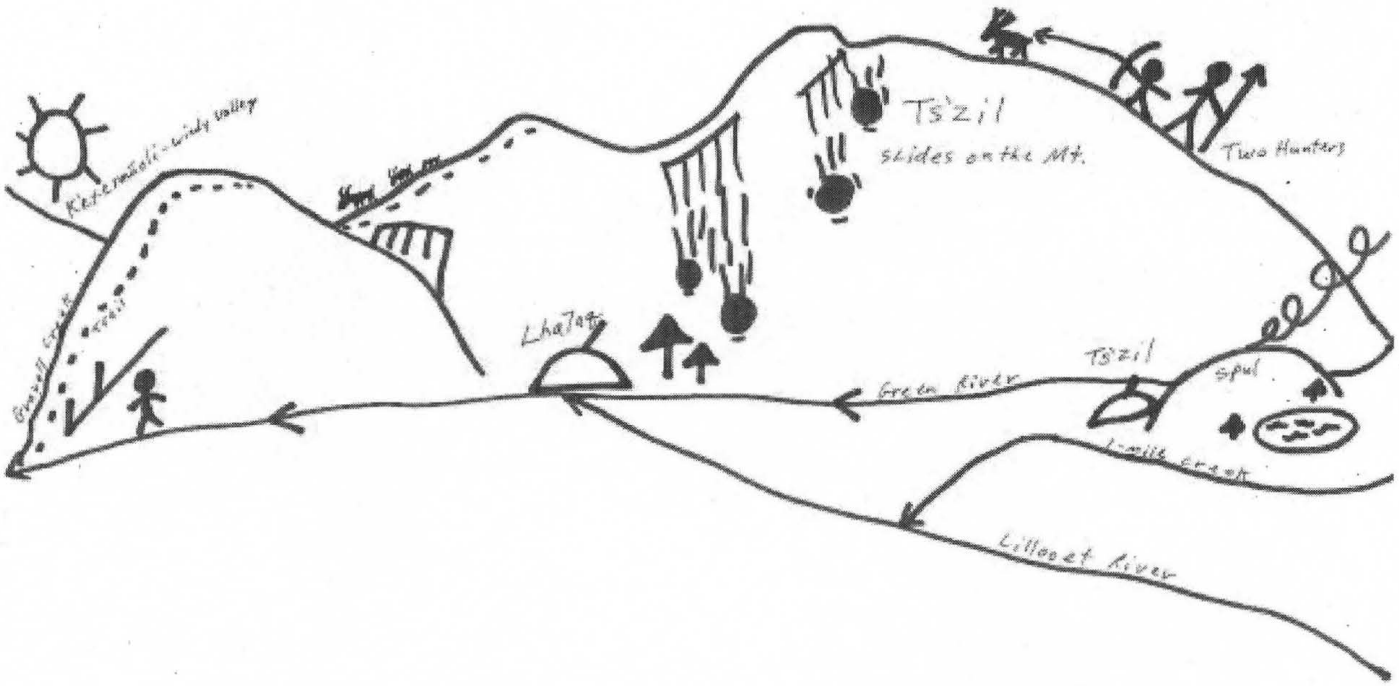
A shaman, *scwená7em*, in a canoe on Green Lake, once saw a falling star. He picked it up and kept it in his medicine bag, thereafter giving him greater power and luck.

A woman once led a war party across the ice of Green Lake in winter. She said, "I am hungry," and stopped to sit down and wash her hands in the snow. Then, she pointed to geese flying overhead—one dropped straight to the ice, dead.



A Wolf Clan village was located at the base of Tsiqten, or Fitzsimmons Creek, which flows between *Tsiqten* (Blackcomb Mountain) and *Kacwitma* (Whistler Mountain). The people there suffered a smallpox epidemic in 1850.

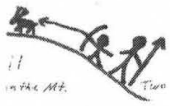
The village of *Spó7ez* was located at Rubble Creek. People were in the village when a rock slide buried the area in 1855.



TS'ZIL — MOUNT CURRIE / PEMBERTON AREA

The Lil'wat name for Mount Currie is *Ts'zil*, which means "slides on the mountain," due to its steep faces. From the Pemberton Valley, the shape of the mountain is similar to the profile of the last traditionally trained medicine man, John Sky. It is said that when he died, his spirit went to *Ts'zil*.

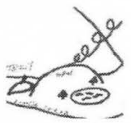
To know the weather, the old people used to watch this mountain: if the clouds dip below *Ts'zil*'s face, rain or snow would come soon thereafter.



Two Hunters on the crest of *Ts'zil* were changed to stone, forming the shape that the mountain's serrated edge exhibits since.

Beyond the crest of *Ts'zil* was a prime area for goat hunting. Lil'wat hunters used a trail that began at Gravell Creek and walked the ridgeline to the crest and beyond. The peak took two days to summit.

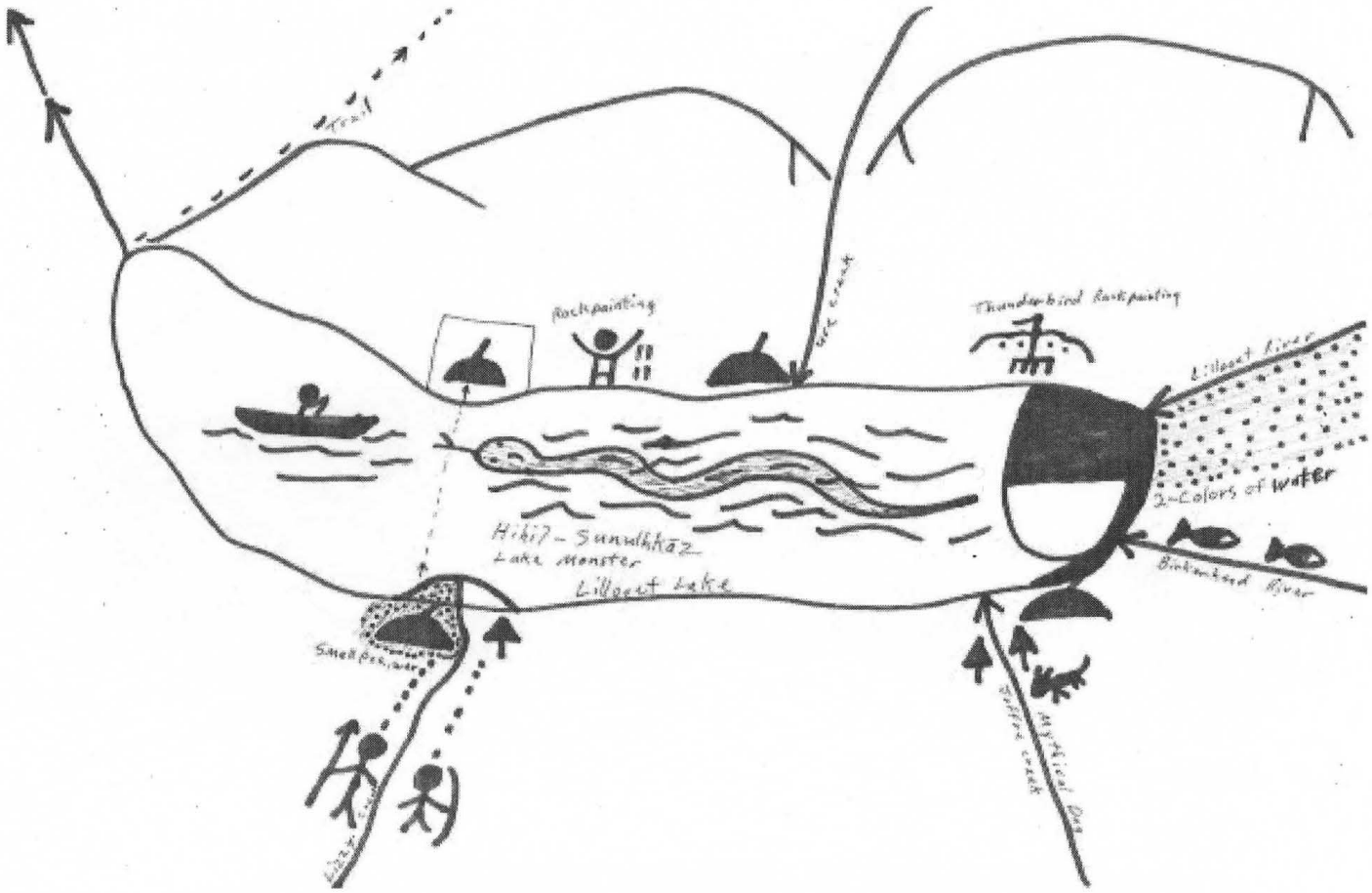
This is the pictograph image of a pithouse. There was a pithouse village called *Lha7aq*, located in the Pemberton Valley, at the base of Mount Currie.



Signal Hill (*Spel'kumtn*) is named for being a prominent hill overlooking the place where rivers meet, the Pemberton area. Lil'wat people stationed sentries at lookouts, who would build fires to warn those in the village below of invaders, where pithouse depressions are still present. Also, winds would create plumes off the top of the hill, seemingly a natural reminder of its cultural use.

Below Signal Hill, is One Mile Lake, located on Pemberton Creek. It is the setting for a story told by Charlie Mack about "The Boy Who Had Wild Cherry Bark as His Power." In the story, the boy avenges the death of his brothers who had been tricked by a family of half fish/half human individuals into fishing at the pool, falling in and drowning. He trains for years, gains the power of wild cherry bark, and eventually fills their pithouse, drowning the wicked family.

Culturally modified tree sites are shown near the lake, and by the village of *Lha7aq*.



LILLOOET LAKE

Lillooet Lake is partially formed by the Lillooet and Birkenhead Rivers. They both flow into the north of the lake, bringing two colours of water.

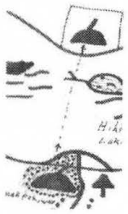
Hihi7-Sunulhkáz, a water monster, resided in Lillooet Lake.

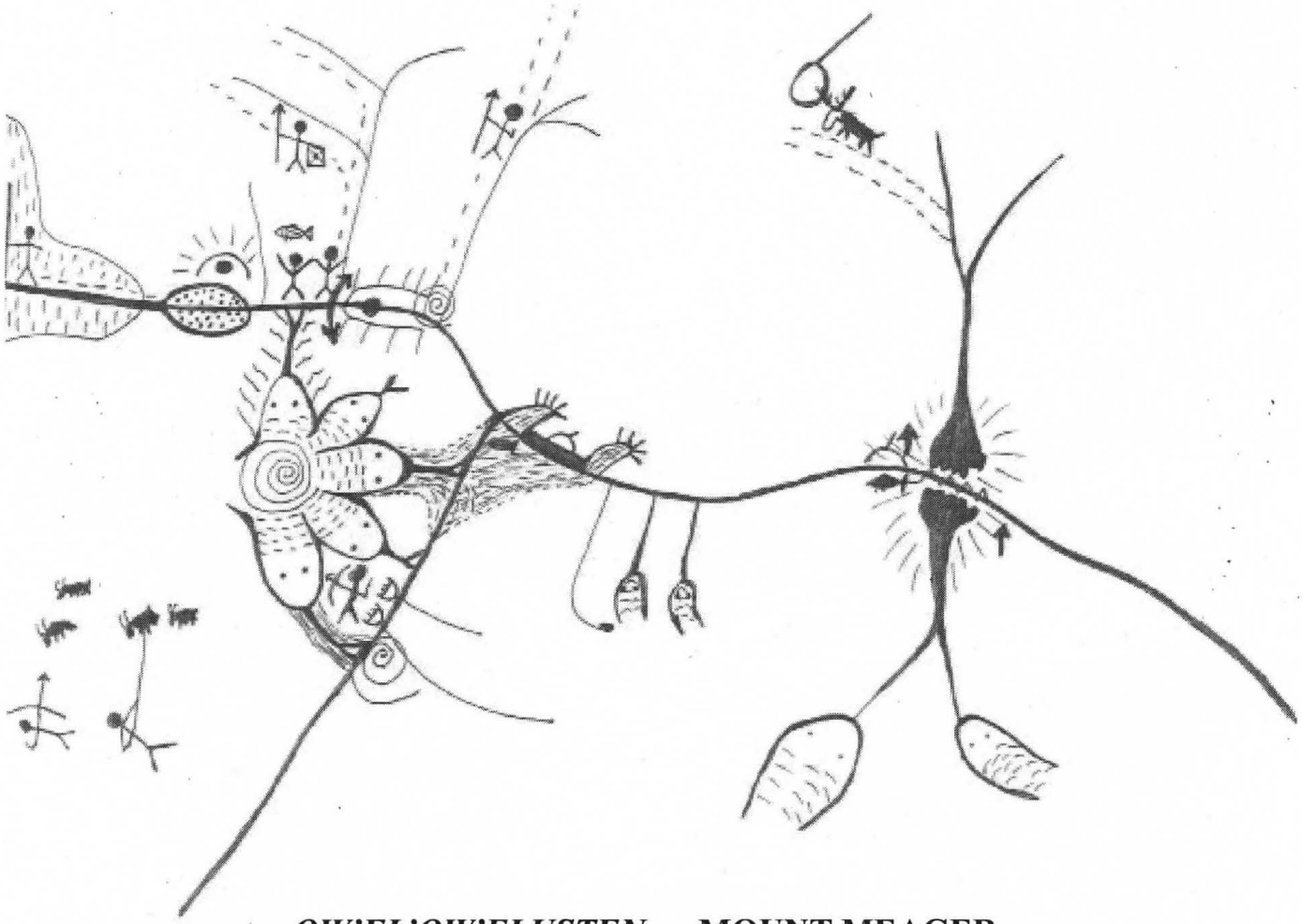
Culturally modified tree sites are located near the mouth of Joffre Creek. The creek is also noted for a mythical dog.

Pictographs are located along the western shores of the lake. One depicted here is one of the thunderbird painting.

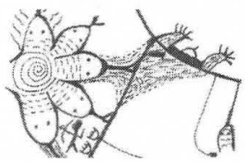
There was a village at Lizzy Creek. Nlaka'pamux Warriors would sometimes traverse through the Stein Valley and come down Lizzy Creek to attack the village.

The village was abandoned when smallpox struck the village. The pithouses containing the diseased dead were burned and the survivors crossed to Long Point to build a village—this time with a palisade for protection.





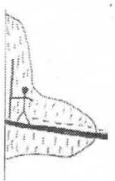
QW'EL'QW'ELUSTEN — MOUNT MEAGER



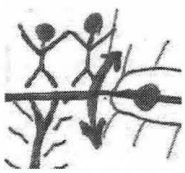
Qw'el'qw'elusten, Mount Meager, dominates the landscape of the Upper Lillooet River Valley. It is a volcano that erupted nearly 2500 years ago, blowing ashes eastward towards the Bridge River.

This past summer, *Qw'el'qw'elusten* caused the second largest landslide in recorded Canadian history, collapsing on its Capricorn Creek face and reshaping the landscape along Meager Creek and the Upper Lillooet River for 10 kilometres, both of which were temporarily dammed.

Two sets of hot springs are present near the mountain, along Meager Creek and Boulder Creek. These are spiritual places. Lil'wat hunters used to bathe in the springs before pursuing hunts further in the valley. The springs cleansed the hunters as well as removed their smell, helping to better ensure hunting success.



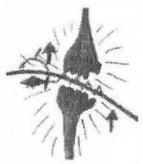
Hunters would also travel to the headwaters of the Lillooet River and cross the glaciers to reach the coast.



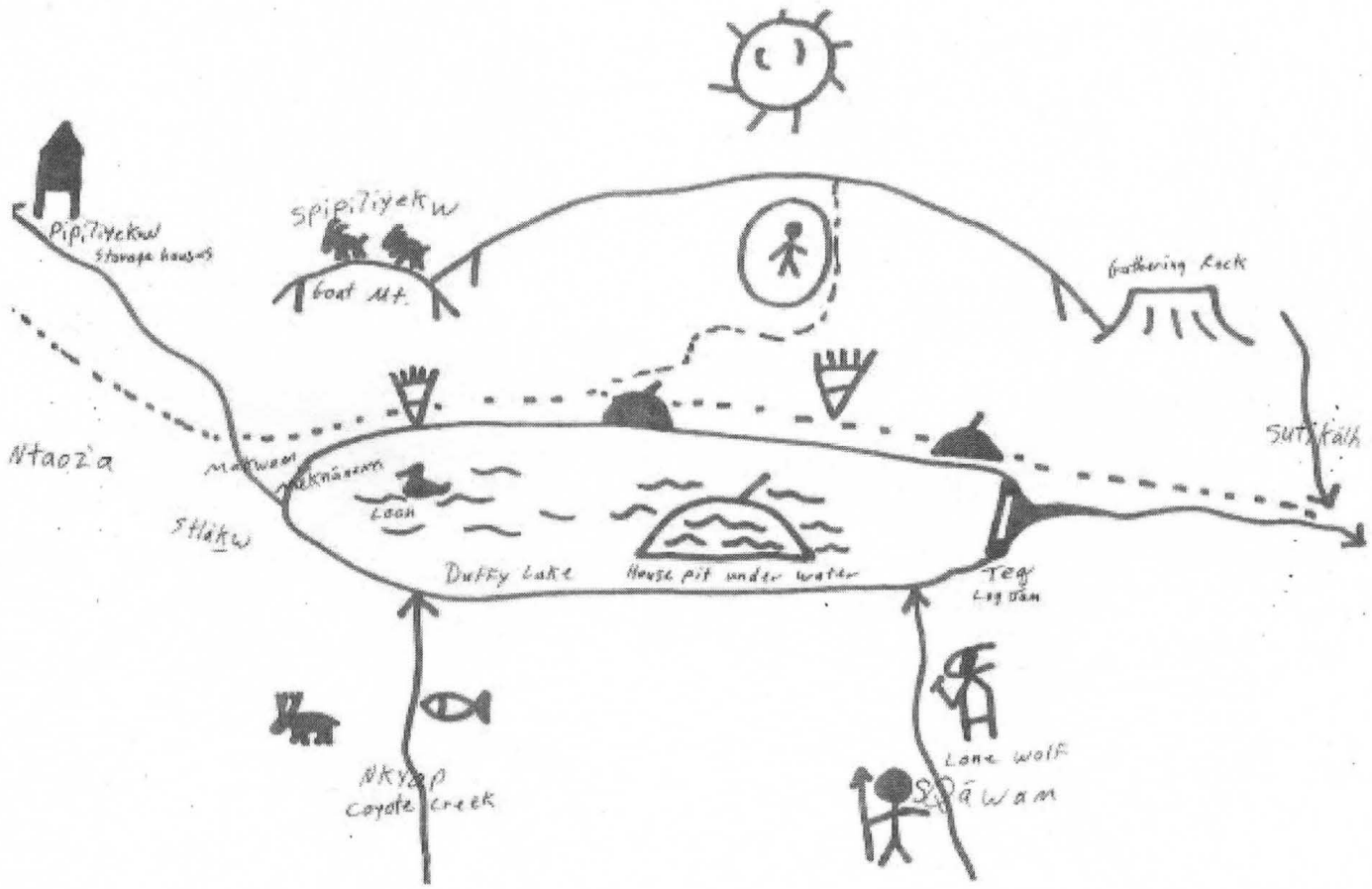
Beneath *Qw'el'qw'elusten*, the Lillooet River plummets at *Sq'em'p*, or Keyhole Falls. Its English name refers to the shape of the falls, a "keyhole" that is a tall, narrow canyon above and broad like a canoe hull where it falls. Indeed, long ago, as Charlie Mack described, the Copper Canoe cut this gash in the canyon wall during the time of Transformers and flowed down the Lillooet River through the middle of Lil'wat Territory, shaping the valley as it went.

Lil'wat hunters would test themselves at the canyon above the falls, jumping back and forth across the narrow crevasse above the roaring power of the river that was coarsing and spiralling through the walls below. To fail the jump would mean death.

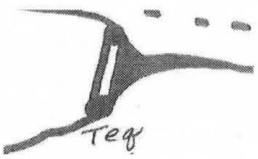
Further downstream, North and South Creeks flow into each other at their confluences on the Lillooet River. At times, the force of both flows meets head-on, creating a surging wall of water.



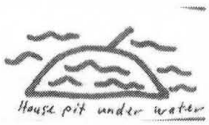
Stories tell how these trails were not just used by Lil'wat hunters. Chilcotin warriors are shown here coming down Boulder Creek and heading downriver.



TEQ — DUFFEY LAKE

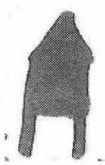


Teq is the Lil'wat name for Duffey Lake, which refers to the logjam on its northeastern end.



A pithouse village resides under the waters of *Teq*, or Duffey Lake. In Charlie Mack's telling of "The Gambler at Duffey Lake," a broke man who had lost everything—his family enslaved—in a bone bead game, headed to Duffey Lake to gain some spirit power. He wanted to become a doctor. He found people camped in the lake. They took him in to their underwater village, so he could train for four years. Then, he was able to return to gain his family and property back.

Pipi7iyekw, or the Duffey Lake area, was a hunting and trapping area as well as an ancient trade route. The area is known for its food caches, called *p'aq'ulh,* some of which were wooden enclosures built on stilts to raise it high above the ground.

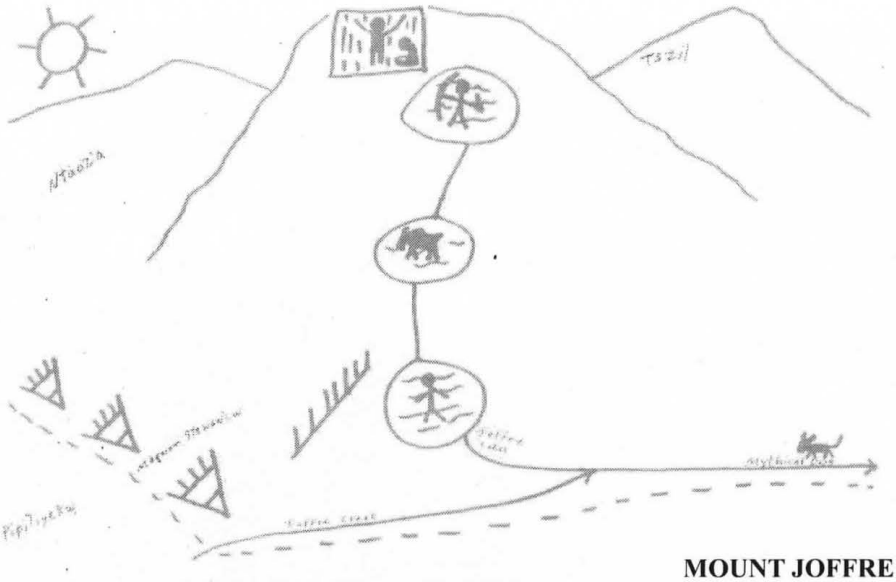


Q'áwam' means "wolf." This image refers to the Wolf Clan, whose ancestors lived near here.

A person walking during the full moon.

Meeting Rock: People from other tribes would come and have gatherings there. The name of the camp is *Sutikalh* meaning winter spirit. Today, we have a camp just past it and a person from Lil'wat keeps residence and watch there.

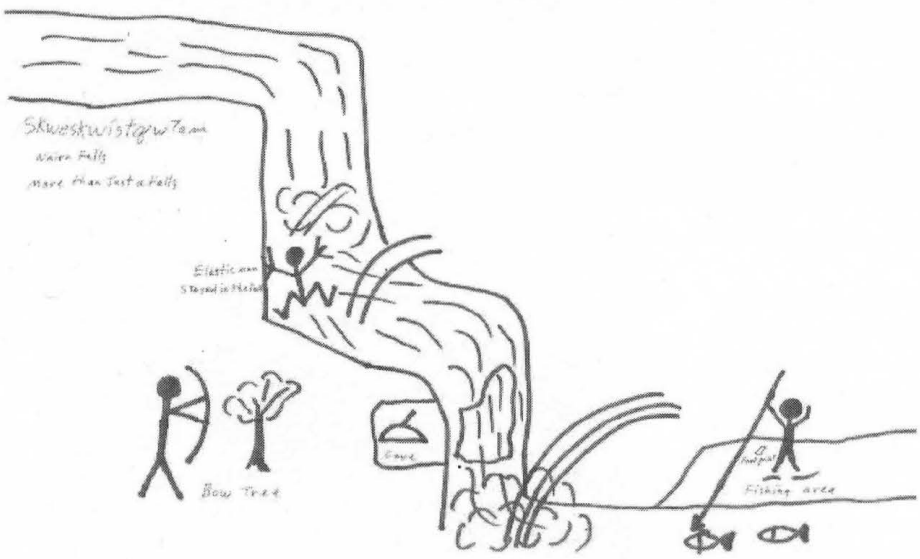
The Grizzly Bear Clan.



MOUNT JOFFRE

Shown near the top of Mount Joffre is the story of a family caught in the last big freeze or ice age, with the father standing and holding a hind leg of a deer and offeringing it to the sky and asking for forgiveness. Below him is his wife, holding the baby in her arms. They are still there.

Shown at its base is the Grizzly Clan trail to Duffey Lake.

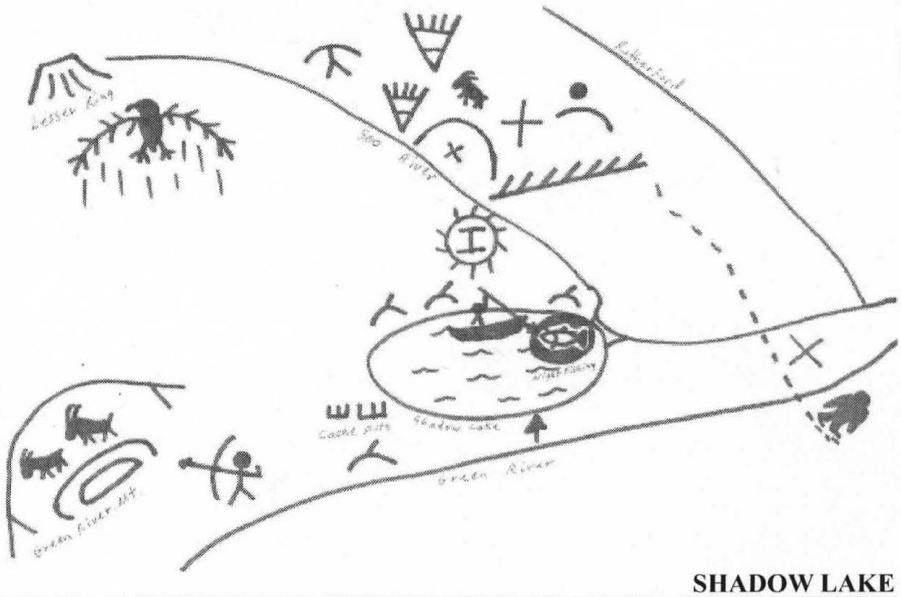


NAIRN FALLS

An ancient trail leads to Nairn Falls, a spiritual place for the Lil'wat people, known as *Skweskwistqw7am*, or "more than just a falls."

One story about the falls describes a man that could safely jump into the bowls and swells of the falls. He had a cave behind one of the falls.

A footprint, or *Sqw'axt*, of the one-legged Medicine Man is still in bedrock below the falls, at a Lil'wat fishing spot.



SHADOW LAKE

Shadow Lake is in the Soo Valley, an area where the thunderbird was seen to fly. Pithouses and cache pits are shown as located nearby, as well as a culturally modified tree. The village located there was called *Licwlecwet*. Lil'wat people would gather at Shadow Lake as a base area for hunting, gathering huckleberries, and collecting cedar bark. This was also a place for night fishing. Once pithouses were abandoned, the area was inhabited seasonally using hunting cabins.

In the lower right, traversing the Soo and Green Rivers there is a sasquatch crossing spot. The mountains west of Pemberton have been known as *Sasqemícw*, or sasquatch country.

Along the Soo River, on the north side, is a huge rock with pictographs. Shown here are grizzly tracks, goat signs, and the sun rising over the mountain.

Johnny Jones is a Cultural Technician with the Lil'wat Nation's Land and Resources Department.

University of Toronto's Sechelt Archaeological Project

David Bilton

This past summer, under the directorship of Dr. Gary Coupland, archaeological investigations were once again undertaken in the traditional territory of and in cooperation with the *shíshálh* Nation. This was the third summer for the Sechelt Archaeological Project, designed to investigate prehistoric socioeconomic organization amongst the Northern Coast Salish by focusing on the localized historical conteingencies of an inlet landscape.

While this SSHRC-funded project does not represent a traditional field school, we did have four undergraduates involved who were taking an "independent experiential study project," which is further described on the University of Toronto's Anthropology department website as "an instructor-supervised group project in an off-campus setting." I believe that this is vaguely worded so as to apply to any discipline where field studies may be useful enough to be used toward university credit. Nonetheless, this was most certainly a group project supervised by instructors of varying qualifications. In this case, the students worked as field archaeologists and kept a journal about their experiences. As such, the evaluation fully recognized the independent and experiential nature of the course.

In addition to Dr. Coupland and these four students, there were four courseless undergraduate students present on the dig, three of whom had worked on the project the previous year. Two of Dr. Coupland's graduate students were also present: Bryn Letham, who was conducting a survey of Narrows Inlet, and David Bilton, also the author of this summary. David was accompanied by his pregnant wife, also an experienced archaeologist, and was continuing his doctoral project by conducting test excavations at as many sites as possible throughout the territory.

At Porpoise Bay (DjRw-1), Dr. Coupland continued his previous season's excavations, investigating 2m^2 archaeological units consisting primarily of shell matrix layers. These were located either along the wave cut bank or in an identified cultural

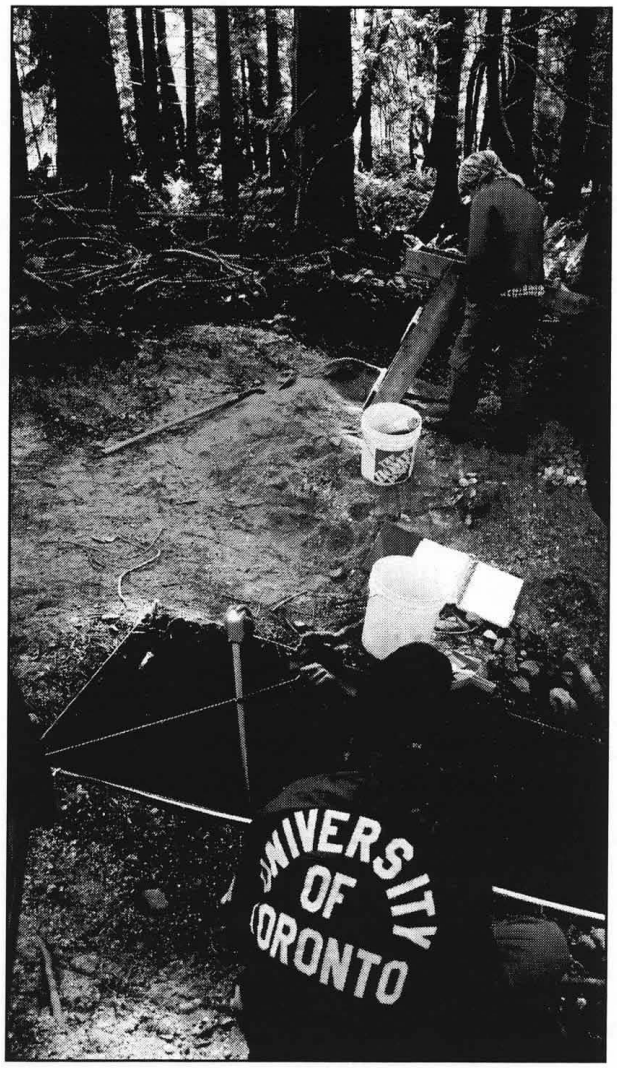


Figure 1 (above). Michelle Bilton takes notes, while Damian Mangar excavates and Lara McFadden-Baltudis screens at Trail Bay (DiRw-28).

Figure 2 (left). The author and Bryn Letham avoid inhaling the dust from Damian Mangar's vigorous screening at Trail Bay (DiRw-28).

Figure 3. The author profiles a deep and dense shell-matrix unit at Trail Bay (DiRw-28).

depression (i.e., a "housepit"). Porpoise Bay is an excellent place to work, it was unanimously agreed, both archaeologically and existentially. The site's location next to—and probably continuing into—a provincial park, and its washroom (i.e., not outhouse) facilities were also remarked upon.

Students working with the author spent a roughly equal amount of time excavating shell matrices at Trail Bay (DiRw-28), the Madeira Park Lagoon (DjSa-48), and engaging in extended camping expeditions to the Abandoned Bible Camp (DjRw-14) near the mouth of Salmon Inlet. Trail Bay had been the subject of excavations during the previous summers, while the latter two sites had received no prior archaeological attention. Although some of the excavated material from the last site did involve material from Bible Camp, the majority of the finds predated the introduction of Christianity to this region.

Students working at both sites experienced firsthand the intricacy of shell-matrix sites, as multiple cultural layers were identified in units ranging in depth from 1m to over 2m. Well over a hundred artifacts were identified from all the sites and all vertebrate faunal remains were retained from screens, with invertebrate faunal samples acquired in column samples taken from the walls of units excavated to sterile layers. Luckily for the crew, Dr. Gay Frederick was able to spend a few days working with us. She is the faunal analyst for our project and her post-supper tutorials and on-site presence greatly improved both the undergraduate and graduate students' ability to identify faunal remains and understand their use for reconstructing prehistoric economic activities. The students who had the opportunity to accompany Bryn Letham on his project also learned how to identify shell matrix sites as well as map and test them using bucket augers, soil probes, and other survey methods.

Our archaeological headquarters for the summer was a geodesic dome in Robert's Creek. This building was conducive to the communal spirit common to the four archaeological digs that I have experienced with Dr. Coupland. Besides discussions of archaeology in general, and specifically our own excavations, we cooked for each other and had many excellent dance parties. We also received several visitors from UBC, SFU, UVic and UCL, some of whom stayed to labour for us in exchange for food and a place to sleep. Unfortunately, there were considerably fewer sports competitions (i.e., football, bocce, badminton, and sprinkler badminton) than the previous summer. Nonetheless, I believe the summer was experientially excellent for all involved.

All photos by Jacob Kinze Earnshaw, used with permission.

David Bilton is a Doctoral candidate in archaeology at the University of Toronto, working with Dr. Gary Coupland. He studies prehistoric subsistence patterns amongst the Coast Salish, and excavates in shíshálh territory.

Figure 4. The author and his baby.

Bird Leg Rings on the Northwest Coast?

Grant Keddie

There are a variety of small artifacts found on the Northwest Coast that are often assumed to be forms of body adornment. Some of these likely had other functions. Three examples described here might normally be assumed to be pendants. I think we should consider the possibility that these may have been used as bird leg rings for holding live decoy birds or pets.

A common type of artifact in Polynesia is the *kaka poria* or bird leg ring made of stone or whale, bird and human bone. They were used to hold tame kaka birds (*Nestor meridionalis*) as a decoy for capturing wild birds in the forest (Phillips 1955:145). The leg of the tame bird was held in a larger hole and the attached string tether was generally tied through a smaller hole located in a protrusion from the larger ring or just inside the edge of the ring (Figure 1 below).

The vocalizations of the tethered birds attracted wild birds to local branches rigged with snares that would be pulled closed with a cord. They were used for different birds, but more commonly for decoy parrots.

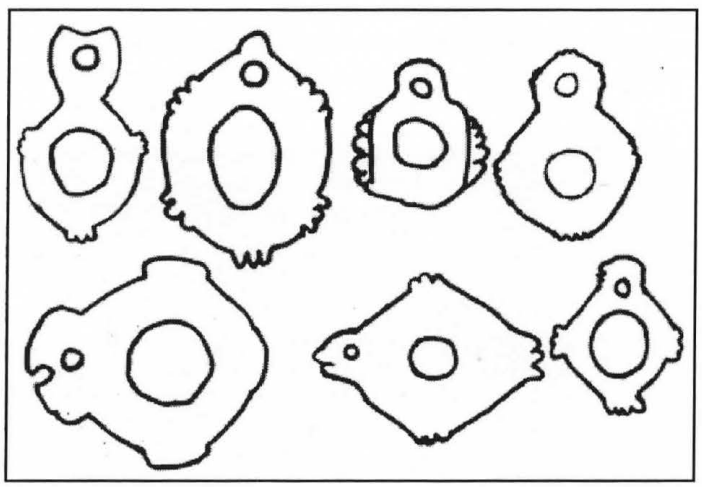


Figure 1. Examples of Maori bird leg rings from New Zealand; .redrawn after Phillips (1955, Figure. 27) and other examples from the New Zealand National Museum and the British Museum.

Figure 2 (above right). Possible bird rings from southern B.C.

A characteristic of these artifacts are sets of three lines or protruding parts that are interpreted as representing bird feet, or other extensions that represent bird tails or bird heads.

Columbia River

A pair of rings with a parrot-like head protruding from each was found at the Indian Well Site on the Columbia River in Oregon (Figure 3 page over).

One of these has a protrusion opposite the head with a broken line hole. The other is similar, but with part of this section broken off. There are slight protrusions on the top and bottom which may represent feet.

These are described as carved stone rings by Emory Strong (1959:131-132), who comments that: "Rings are quite rare. The most of those found came from the Condon and Indian Well sites, but a few have been found elsewhere, practically all of them in The Dalles area. Fig. 46 shows a pair of carved rings found together in the Indian Well site."

British Columbia

Two examples of possible bird leg rings from British Columbia are in the collection of the Royal B.C. Museum (Figure 2 above).

One, DeRt-7:3, was a surface find from a shell midden site at Aiken Point on Mayne Island. It is a flat, slightly oval, ground soapstone (28mm x 28.5mm; 4mm th.) with a central 5mm hole. An incised 12mm circle around this hole has produced a 3mm high ring around the hole on both sides.

On one edge of the artifact is a small extension (4mm x 8mm) shaped like the thick end of a triangle. This extension has a small 2mm hole in the middle. On the edge opposite the extension is a row of three decorative grooves, 2mm apart, cut across the edge. It weighs 5.1 grams.

Another example, EbRj-Y:1172, is from the general area of Lytton. It is a flat, slightly squarish, ground soapstone-like

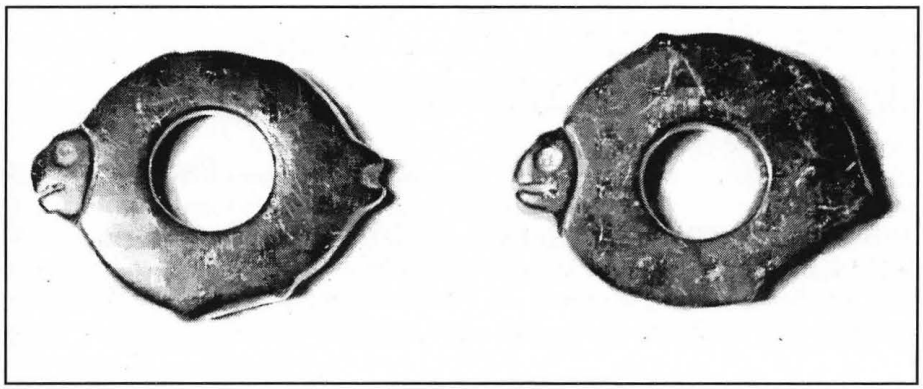


Figure 3. Possible bird rings from the Columbia River.

material (28mm; 3mm th.) with a central 5mm hole. On side 1 there are two incised circles around this hole (outer 15mm diam.) that have produced two 3mm raised rings. Side 2 has only a single raised ring (10mm diam.). A small 3mm hole is located close to the edge above the larger hole. On side 1 there are ten grooved lines that extend from the circle around the central hole toward the edge. A group of three lines on each side of the central hole with a group of two lines between these at the bottom and a single line on each side of the upper hole. Side 2 has 12 radiating lines with three groups of three and one of four lines. It weights 4 grams.

Discussion

We do not have direct ethnographic information about the use of these artifacts on the Northwest Coast. However, we do know that it was not uncommon for First Nations to keep birds as pets (Elmendorf and Kroeber, 1992:115, n 89-90). Ray notes that Interior Salish speakers kept grouse, magpies, prairie chickens, ducks and geese (Ray 1942:124). Many species of birds were caught in snares and some, like Eagles, were enticed by decoy food and caught with a snared pole as well as by hand (Drucker 1950:175). A Quinault consultant of Olson (1936:137), who was born on the Washington coast about 1835, noted the keeping of numerous pets, which included "all manner of birds."

Tethers may also have been used for other animals. The heads on the two rings from the Dalles area could be interpreted as turtle-like.

Conclusion

In the two artifact examples from southern B.C., the three notches in one and the groups of three lines in the other are reminiscent of the bird foot patterns on the Polynesian foot rings. Considering these, with the more intriguing pair of rings with animal heads from the Columbia River—could these be bird leg rings? This is presented here as speculation, but as the archaeological sample builds up; this may be a worthy subject to pursue.

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Looking for the Permits?

Over the past few years, we have fallen behind in publishing the permits by nearly a year. While striving to include feature content, space has been tight and the volume of permits annually issued has exceeded our capacity to keep up. We recognize that many of our readers rely on this service, and therefore, in an effort to both improve your access to current permits and provide more space for content within the limited pages we have available in *The Midden*, we are placing the permits online. Not only will this allow us to maintain an up-to-date service, we are also pleased to provide the complete permit listings for the last 50 years!

Our Permits Editor, Richard Brolly, has spent untold hours providing these permit listings over the past many years, and we are grateful to Richard for his time and effort in maintaining what has been an essential service for many of our readers. Thank you, Richard! Please visit our website - www.asbc.bc.ca - and click on 'Publications' to access the permits index.

The Midden Committee

Intersections, Bridges, Horizons:
Recent Publications 2009–10

Rich Hutchings

The Midden's 'Recent Publications' was last printed in 2009 (41[4]:15-18). There, Rastko Cvekić listed over seventy books and articles released between 2008 and 2009 relating to B.C. archaeology. Here, I present a selection of works to emerge since then, as well as a few older ones that did not make his list, mostly because they are not by strict definition 'British Columbian' or 'archaeological.' They are nonetheless relevant, with numerous B.C. and Pacific Northwest ties and implications.

A brief comment on the present list: it is far from complete, and it is most certainly biased. Regarding the first, there are hundreds of relevant books, book chapters, and papers in dozens of publications produced annually, thus my list here of some sixty references is definitively incomplete. Concerning the second point, this is a list created solely by me, thus it has a bent towards heritage, ethics, ecology, the historic, the recent past, the contemporary, and the coast. I have, however, attempted to cast the net as wide as possible. There is, I think, something here for everyone. Readers should also be aware that Quentin Mackie has compiled a comprehensive online list of publicly available anthropology and archaeology Ph.D. and MA theses; they can be viewed at http://qmackie.wordpress.com/.

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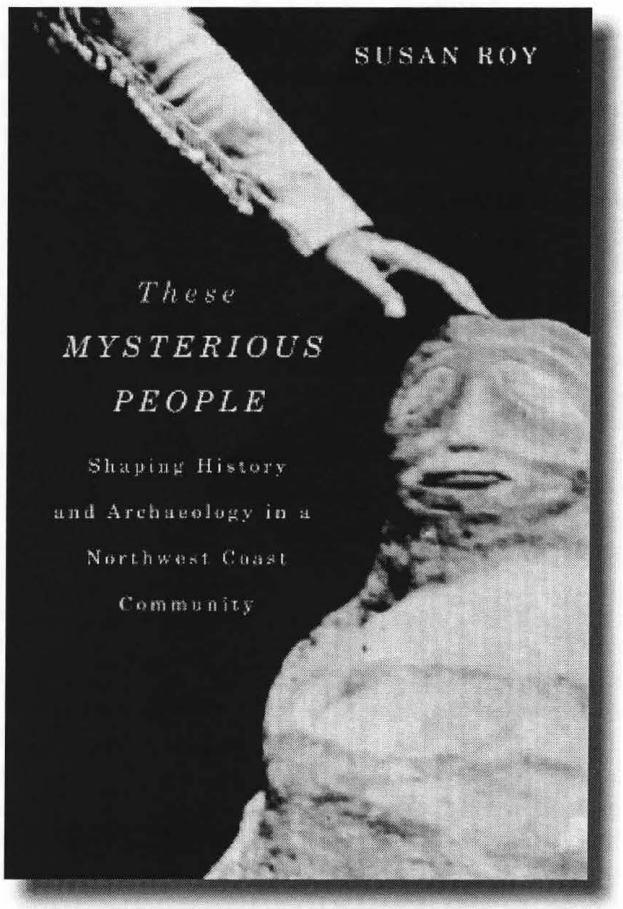
REVIEW: *These Mysterious People: Shaping History and Archaeology in a Northwest Coast Community*

Susan Roy. McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal, QC. xviii+222 pp., 39 illus., ISBN: 9780773537224 (paperback), 9780773537217 (hardcover). $29.95 p/b, $95.00 h/c. 2010.



Has archaeological practice among indigenous communities on the Northwest Coast of North America contributed to racist colonial objectives and processes to disassociate First Nations from their territories, resources, material culture, and even their own history? When cultural objects become "archaeological artifacts," often collected under the banner of scientific merit, what are the negative social, political, and economic consequences placed on the indigenous communities from which they were produced? Does science extinguish or reduce their cultural value? The search for these answers and related issues are explored within the pages of Susan Roy's highly entertaining, informative, and provocative book, *These Mysterious People: Shaping History and Archaeology in a Northwest Coast Community*.

This book began as a Ph.D. dissertation project at the University of British Columbia. The ironic title alludes to previous perceptions from both popular and scholarly discourses alike, which often centered on attempting to find out who these mysterious people were; however, this is not the goal of this text. The text pays attention to the processes by which identity is conceptualized and how power (social, political, and economic) may be drawn from these processes. Who assigns meaning to cultural objects and what are the particular historical/political circumstances within which these assertions of meaning are made? Susan Roy is currently a postdoctoral fellow in the Department of History at York University and has extensive experience working with Canadian First Nations groups with their struggles to assert title and rights to their traditional territories.

The chapters of Roy's new book, *These Mysterious People,* examine "how meaning and value are produced through exchange" (11) by emphasizing hindrances placed on the development of Musqueam title, rights, and history by Western-based narratives. The author seeks not to present a comprehensive understanding of

Northwest Coast peoples (or the Musqueam First Nation); rather Roy seeks to examine the particular sociocultural, historical, and political circumstances that have facilitated the transformation of material culture into scientific "artifacts." For example in chapter one, "Who Were These Mysterious People?" the purchase of the Fraser Arms Hotel (which significantly included *ćesna:m* [a.k.a. the Marpole Midden, a.k.a The Great Fraser Midden]) by the Musqueam First Nation in 1991 is presented by Roy as a recent victory for the Musqueam in a long series of sociopolitical struggles. Her discussions suggest a link between the discipline of archaeology and colonial exploitation of indigenous communities during the early 1900's: "Theories about identity and migration have influenced broad ideas about the legitimacy of Aboriginal territorial claims and European settlement in numerous colonial contexts" (23).

Roy's second chapter, "Burial Grounds as Sites of Archaeology," summarizes her theoretical framework, based on Cole's (1995) concept of "orbits of value." Painfully oversimplified, the contention is that when cultural objects and landscapes become objects of monetary value and/or academic interest, their previous indigenous value "transforms" into scientific value (and simultaneously loses its established indigenous value). The concept is unpacked in a recounting of the shady circumstances fashioned by Harlan I. Smith to obtain ethnological objects from local Northwest indigenous communities and people. Smith serves as a potent and effective example to illustrate how early archaeology had sometimes facilitated a situation by which Musqueam (and other First Nations on the Northwest Coast) were separated from their history and territory due to the advance of his "replacement theory," which claimed that the ethnographically known Coast Salish represented a more recent migratory wave of humans (via the Bering Strait) replacing an early race of "long-skulled Indians."

In Chapter three, "Musqueam House Posts and the Construction of the 'Ethnographic' Object," Roy returns to the trials and tribulations of H. I. Smith. This account includes interesting details concerning an arrangement to purchase large wooden figures and posts on behalf of Franz Boas (currently on display at Museum of Anthropology [MOA]). In this chapter, Roy (55) challenges the reader to "consider the ramifications," of the distinction made during the early years of American anthropology between an archaeological object (thus associated with the study of prehistory) and an ethnographic object (associated with the study of tradition). The author asserts this intellectual framework supported a narrative of aboriginal culture which served to further distance the Musqueam peoples from their past.

In Chapter four, "The National Colonial Culture and the Politics of Removal and Reburial," Roy strikes a sensitive chord in the currently tense sociopolitical climate surrounding the destruction of ancient burial sites. The chapter begins with an excerpt from a letter written by Harlan I. Smith in 1927 concerning the details for obtaining ownership of a cedar burial box (also currently on display at MOA). In addition to the motives behind relic collectors such as Smith, Roy espouses the absolutely shameless exploitation of loopholes in past legislation in order to acquire cultural objects (particularly precontact human remains).

In the following chapter, "The Great Fraser Midden and the Civic Colonial Culture," the author explores the sociocultural milieu surrounding the placement of a monument to commemorate the archaeological significance of the Great Fraser Midden. Recalling Charles Hill-Tout's comparison of the historical importance of the *ćesna:m* to King Tutankhamen's tomb, Roy (103) convincingly argues that "[m]edia discourses emphasized the midden's archaeological, geographical, and scientific significance as well as its tourist potential, [and] failed to recognize the site as an ancient Aboriginal village."

Chapter six, "From Colonial Culture to Reclamation Culture: The Musqueam, Charles C. Borden, and Salvage Archaeology in British Columbia," is significant as Roy describes the collaborative relationship between Borden and the Musqueam Nation that would refocus archaeological discourse throughout British Columbia and eventually the entire nation. In the concluding chapter, Roy summarizes her argument and reminds us that the issues discussed are not a relic of the past; similar transactions and transgressions, with similar sociocultural issues, occur in many parts of indigenous North America.

These Mysterious People presents the audience with a story that is as interesting, entertaining, captivating, and provocative as any good crime novel, yet reflects an academic dedicated to a meticulous review of archival material. I found the tone of the text enjoyably aggressive, and many readers will find stories about the Musqueam Nation's long-standing (sometimes dubious) relationship with "archaeology," as well as the life-histories/trajectories taken by now internationally recognized artifacts (many on display at MOA), thoroughly entertaining. The unconventional presentation of the discipline of archaeology was refreshing, but not unproblematic. While the stories recounted by Roy reveal disturbing behaviour by amateur and professional anthropologists alike, I do not agree with the overarching theme of the text, which is that the discipline of archaeology has generally inflicted negative consequences on local indigenous communities.

Roy claims that the archaeological practice "of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" on the Northwest Coast of Canada (with particular emphasis within Musqueam territories) has had an adverse affect on the development of First Nations history and "contributed to distancing aboriginal peoples from their territories" (29). However, a similar archive-based reconstruction of early "archaeology" in nearly any region of the world would undoubtedly uncover similar immoral methods of recovery and unethical theoretical frameworks. This issue is compounded by the fact the transition from "amateur" to "professional" archaeology does not have an agreed-upon date and there remains vast overlap between the emergence of the professional discipline of archaeology and the termination of unequivocally "amateur" relic hunters/collectors of indigenous material culture on the Northwest Coast. The transition occurred at various rates, with a range of precision and with varying degrees of success, across North America. The uncertainty surrounding the exact time and place the science of archaeology emerged into a full-fledged "discipline" is perhaps responsible for Roy's categorical confusion. Roy has categorized relic hunters (such as C. Hill-Tout and H. Liesk) as archaeologists, as working within the confines of the *discipline* of archaeology. Consequently, a significant chunk of the history of the development of archaeology is presented through the lens of, at best, rogue anthropologists, working on the fringes of what was considered the "professional" or "scientific" archaeology of the day and this confusion fosters an unneces-

sarily antagonistic conclusion concerning the development of the discipline of archaeology on the Northwest Coast. That being said, I would recommend *These Mysterious People* to anyone interested in Northwest Coast archaeology, anthropology, history, and/or sociopolitical struggle in this colonially dominated environment(s). The chapters and the stories within them, particularly those stories which emphasized the ways through which the Musqueam have used their cultural materials as powerful statements of their own presence and history, culminate into a profoundly significant, and sometimes deeply emotional, "story of dispossession" (29).

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Cole, Douglas

1995 *Captured Heritage: A Scramble for Northwest Coast Artifacts*, 2nd ed. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.

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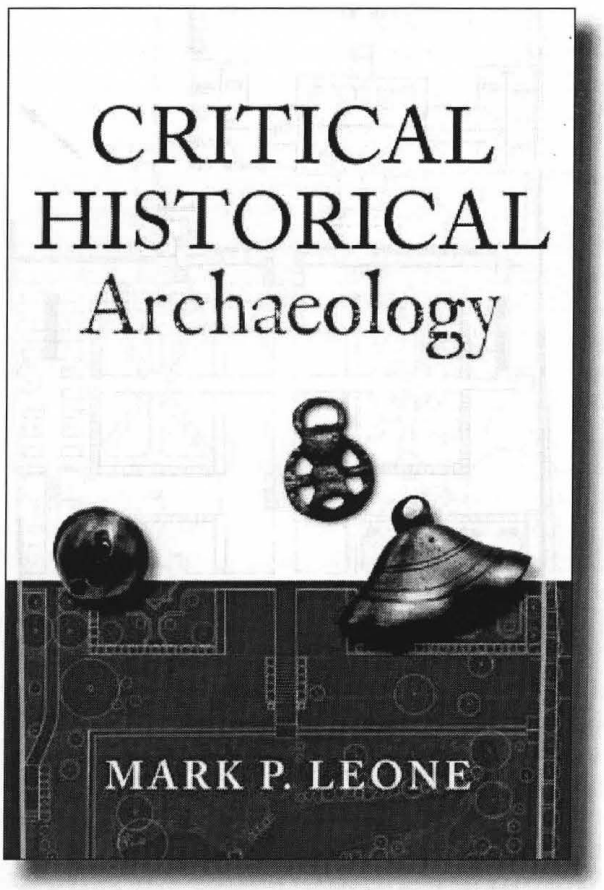
REVIEW: "Let's Try it Again, This Time with Feelings" – *Critical Historical Archaeology*

Mark P. Leone. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California. 250pp., illus., index, ISBN: 978-1-59874-396-8 (paperback), 978-1-59874-397-5 (hardcover). $29.95 p/b, $89.00 h/c. 2010.



Mark Leone is a leading figure in critical theory and historical archaeology. Over the course of his career, he has been involved in a series of influential archaeological projects. The latest offering by Mark Leone is somewhere between an autobiography and a sampler of his life's work. This is a collection of fourteen selected publications spanning almost forty years of his career. Each of these publications has been edited into much smaller pieces in order to focus on the key arguments. These snippets are then framed by fresh comments from Leone remarking on the emotions and feelings that drove him to each project and how these affected the conclusions he ultimately reached.

The book is divided into three larger parts. The first, "Why Excavate?" was aptly named as all but one of the five chapters include studies of outdoor history exhibits of archaeological sites. To analyze the written or spoken content of interpretive displays, Leone uses a combination of Levi-Strauss-influenced structuralist analysis and Freudian psychoanalysis to deconstruct the messages and examine the ideologies contained within them. Leone begins this section by outlining his reasons for delving into his past emotional motivations for working on certain projects. The three primary emotions guiding Leone's research are anger, annoyance, and awe at beauty. His work at Colonial Williamsburg, discussed in Chapter 1, was based on anger at exclusion from the interpretive process, as well as the government projection of historic knowledge as fact as opposed to something resulting from the interpretive process. His analysis of a period baker and assistant making gingerbread cookies at the Bakery of Raleigh's Tavern at Colonial Williamsburg in 1978 found that the scripted actions reflected and justified modern race relations in Virginia.

His work in Shakertown at Pleasant Hill, Kentucky, is the basis for Chapter 2 and was driven by his annoyance at the disjointed portrayal of the Shaker people and the removal of religion from depictions of their lives. The study of religion in historical archaeology is something he notes is often avoided, but religion is something Leone sees as potentially crucial to humanity. Religious art, objects, and ritual items are objects of beauty to Leone, and this awe at their beauty is what drove him to study various religions through time. The third chapter discusses Leone's work on Catholic and Protestant relations as depicted by a historical trial re-enactment at Historic Saint Mary's City in Maryland. In the fourth chapter, Leone discusses the criteria established by the U.S. National Register of Historic Places by which sites are deemed historically significant, and how this process can ultimately shift history to reflect and serve the interests of certain groups. Leone describes in the fifth chapter the importance of choosing one theoretical base in archaeology and following it; in his case it is Marxist theory. He also provides personal tales

detailing emotions and choices he made with regards to work in South Africa and Annapolis.

In Part 2, "Excavating Ideology," Leone focuses on ideology as influenced by the writings of Althusser. Leone feels that Althusser took Marx's use of the term ideology but defined it more usefully and powerfully than Marx did, in ways helpful for dealing with material culture and artifacts. Ideology is manifest in the actions of everyday life and functions through material things. Looking at why people make things, how they use them, and what it means with regards to ideology is a major step Leone took in creating a materialist historical archaeology. The physical manifestation of ideology is not limited to objects but is also represented in landscapes. In Chapter 6, Leone describes the purposeful, planned construction of the William Paca Garden in historic Annapolis as a reflection of ideology as opposed to just taste. He sees the structured nature of the garden, and the use of illusion to give it the appearance of size and depth, as a means of naturalizing the fragmentary nature of the social order in Georgian society.

In Chapter 7, Leone also examines ideology in historic Annapolis but does so through a historic inventory of technologies relating to the self, such as individualistic dishware sets, forks, scientific instruments, clocks, and musical instruments. Through a series of tables examining change in the numbers of items through time and linking it with socioeconomic class, he relates these small items of daily life not to the expression of wealth or identity, but rather as items that reinforce and naturalize the discipline required with industrialized work.

Leone evaluates in Chapters 8 and 9 the idea of religion as ideology using the Mormon religion. Chapter 8 includes a thorough examination of contemporary Mormon temples, particularly the temple in Washington, D.C., and the Mormon religion itself. Chapter 9 looks at the use of fences by Mormon groups in Arizona from the historic period through to the construction of contemporary houses. The fences serve a variety of functions, including the prevention of erosion, indicating the number of wives kept by the man inhabiting the house and visibly demarcating the land redeemed by those of the Mormon faith. The tenth chapter is a deconstruction of the DeWitt Wallace Gallery in Williamsburg. The entrance to the gallery features a reconstruction of a historical psychiatric hospital, with displays of elaborate eighteenth-century material culture in the floor below. He uses this gallery to spot contemporary culture biases by creating a series of juxtapositions between the two exhibits. The final chapter of the second part deals with the notion of 'subversive genealogy' and making history relevant to the present by examining two key structures in Annapolis: the State House dome and the natural history museum of Charles Peale as well as several of Peale's paintings.

The final part of the book, titled "Changing Things: Failure and Success," looks at the role of historical archaeology in understanding contemporary society. As hinted at in the title, Leone describes some of his successes and failures with regards to changing public consciousness at Annapolis and elsewhere. By 1990, Leone found that a lot of his guiding theories did not work, and he discusses how he used this information to generate new questions and ways of involving the public productively, because they were clearly not connecting with his messages. Chapter 12 examines one of his key interests, the use of material culture from the 18th century to generate discussions with the public about ideology and its present manifestations. He does this by describing at the process he undertook in creating a tour for excavations at the Annapolis project.

In Chapter 13, Leone looks at Althusser's notion of ideology and Lukac's notion of "illumination," or the practice by historical Marxist scholars of illuminating the roots of modern exploitative practices. He applies these ideas to the representation of history at Annapolis, using juxtaposition to examine the different ways people and groups are depicted and promoting the use of critical theory in historical archaeology. The final chapter explores African-American historical archaeology as an alternate voice in historical representations. This is done by exploring an exhibit created with artefacts and oral histories relating to African-American life in Annapolis, and presenting it as an alternative to existing displays that tend to focus on the lives of white European settlers.

Leone concludes this volume with a final chapter summarizing his thoughts about making archaeology relevant in the modern world. Leone is committed to an archaeology oriented to liberating the populace and generating social change. He feels that it is the role of leftist archaeologists to deal with questions of ideology to help productively deal with contemporary social issues such as poverty, racism, and exploitation. As a general theme in all of his work, he is interested in making the past relevant in the present, as well as examining how the past is depicted in the present and to what ends. Leone links the use of archaeology and history with the portrayal of the past to the public and how this often seemingly justifies or represents events in the modern world.

Overall, this book is a pleasant read. Leone's commitment to making archaeology relevant is refreshing. Some of Leone's arguments may seem a bit unorthodox but, at the very least, they present different ways of approaching research design in historical archaeology. His use of extensive personal anecdotes, were they from a less established scholar, would have seemed a bit self-indulgent. However, as a burgeoning archaeologist it was really interesting to see the effects of both choice and external circumstances on his work. I would recommend this book to readers with a decent grounding in critical theory; with it being such a short volume there is little by way of space for definitions. Leone is a major figure in critical archaeology, and this book represents a fair sampling of his work. I would personally have been interested in reading more about his work on African American sites, but his career has spanned such a long period of time that it is difficult to represent everything.

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Conferences & Events

Society for American Archaeology, 76th Anniversary Meeting
Sacramento, California
March 30 – April 3, 2011
Info: http://www.saa.org/

Northwest Anthropological Conference
University of Idaho, Moscow, Idaho
April 21 – 23, 2011
Info: http://www.class.uidaho.edu/nwanthconference/

People of the River Conference
Sto:lo Research and Resource Management Centre, Chilliwack, British Columbia
April 30 - May 1, 2011

BC Studies Conference
UBC-Okanagan Campus, Kelowna, British Columbia
May 5 – 7, 2011
Theme: Sustainability and Change: Studies in BC's Past, Present & Future Communities
Info: http://bcstudies2011.ok.ubc.ca

Canadian Archaeological Association, 44th Annual Meeting
Halifax, Nova Scotia
May 18 – 22, 2011
Info: http://novascotiaheritage.ca/caa2011/

2011 Cultural Resource Protection Summit IV
Kiana Lodge, Poulsbo, Washington
May 23 – 24, 2011
Theme: Doing More with Less: Strategic Action in an Era of Competing Resources
Info: http://www.theleadershipseries.info/summithome.html

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