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“SITE ALTERATION” OR HERITAGE DESTRUCTION?

HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE FRASER CANYON: KWANTLEN FIELD SCHOOL

NANAIMO'S CHINATOWN

THE MIDDEN

Volume 43, No. 4 2011

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Cover:

Disc-shaped stone artifact recovered from Comox; details on page 8.



The ASBC Pages

EDITORIAL: *The B.C. Archaeology Forum*

Over the last several years, *The Midden* has usually featured a review of the B.C. Archaeology Forum. This year, however, I'd like to do something a little different.

I have been attending the Forum since 2005 and, every year, the lineup of presentations has varied. In part, who presents at any one forum depends on the timing, location and organizing body for the event, as well as who can get funding and time off to travel. However, there are a few overall trends that I have noticed in my short time as a Forum attendee, which I feel may not bode well for the future of the Forum.

1. CRM vs. Academia

At the first Forum I attended, reports from cultural resource management (CRM) firms were most numerous, with only nominal and brief updates from the various universities. Since then, academic research has become more prominent on the roster and presentations on the various field schools are particularly common. This year's forum, generously hosted by Squamish Nation, featured several graduate students presenting on their own research, reports that accounted for about half of the day's presentations.

This is not in itself a problem. However, given that the vast majority of archaeology undertaken in British Columbia is CRM archaeology, it does seem strange that reports from the CRM companies account for fewer and fewer of the Forum's presentations. For example, this year, representatives from only two CRM firms presented. Some have suggested that it is the timing of the event in November, when roads become treacherous and field work is still in full force, that is to blame; however, the recent Forum was very well attended by the consulting community, although few of the more senior consultants were present.

Also conspicuous by their absence are representatives from the Archaeology Branch. Rumour has it that this is due to both a lack of funding as well as a reluctance to defend against an onslaught of discontents. Nonetheless, the absence of the sole governing body of archaeology in British Columbia at the annual B.C. Archaeology Forum is disconcerting.

Whatever the reasons for these trends, the result is that the Forum seems now to be less about what is happening in archaeology in British Columbia and more about what a few companies and students are doing in these particular regions.

2. What is the mandate of the Forum?

I posed this question to several long-time B.C. archaeologists, and their responses were similar: the Forum has no "mandate" per se but, rather, is an organic, anarchic event that becomes what people want or need it to be as it happens each year.

However, I also had several conversations with people in between this year's Forum presentations—over coffee, at lunch,

dinner, and later at the pub—about the purpose of the Forum. Some suggested that its purpose is to share knowledge about current archaeology; others felt it was one of the few opportunities to (re)connect with the archaeological community. But there was one suggestion in particular that I heard several people utter, which I had also understood to be "the purpose" of the Forum, and that was, to bring together archaeologists, and particularly CRM consultants, with First Nations in order to build respectful relationships based on open and honest communication about archaeology happening in the province.

If there is no official mandate, where did this idea come from? Perhaps it is a result of many of us being educated and trained in archaeology during a time of increasing accountability by its practitioners to descendant communities. Perhaps it is a notion only a few of us had that has simply spread through conversations. But if the Forum becomes what people want or need it to be, then it is significant that some people have adopted "communication with First Nations" as its central role.

3. Indigenous Attendance and Participation

Happily, I can attest to the fact that the attendance and participation of First Nations at the Forum has remained steady over the last six years. Unhappily, I must also report that there are, at best, a few Aboriginal people in the audience and only a handful of presentations given by Aboriginal people over the years, collectively. This, despite that the Forum is typically hosted or co-hosted by a First Nation and is often held in a community hall on the local Reserve.

As in archaeology more generally, the lack of First Nations' participation has been identified as "a problem" and many are seeking ways to provide more opportunities for Aboriginal people to become involved at various stages of the archaeological process, in CRM and academia alike. Yet I rarely hear people asking what is, for me, the more fundamental question—why aren't First Nations people all that keen on archaeology?

Given the colonial history of archaeology, the answer may be obvious, but it is more distressing that not much has changed in this regard despite a lot of talk about "collaboration" and "working together." But, perhaps even more critically, this question raises another concerning the structure of the forum as a "forum"—a public meeting place for open discussion.

4. An Open and Honest Discussion?

I have often heard it said that the real conversations in archaeology happen at the pub, and I can certainly testify personally that there is, indeed, some truth in this statement. When it comes to the Forum, however, I am increasingly dismayed by the stark contrast between what is discussed—or, more aptly, *not* discussed—in

the presentations and following Q&A (when or *if* it happens), and what is said "off the record" between friends and colleagues during the breaks and, inevitably, later at the pub.

By way of example: presentations on behalf of consulting firms typically review the number of permits held, showcase a few key projects, highlight significant (i.e., "pretty" or rare) artifacts, and often include a photo or two of a particularly muddy expedition or otherwise embarrassing field moment for the crew. Student and academic presentations follow a relatively formalized sequence relating research goals, methods, and results to date—likewise including the flashier or more 'exotic' finds—and end with the promise of research plans for the following year.

Such presentations do fulfill a "what's happening in B.C. archaeology" mandate; however, what is *presented* and what *actually happened* may be quite different, and the more critical issues are rarely approached. These include questions about how many sites are actually being destroyed, in part or entirety; the impact of non-disclosure agreements on archaeological practice; the paradox of using the *Heritage Conservation Act* to destroy sites (see Eric Mclay's article on pgs. 3-7); conflicts of interest resulting from an allegiance by archaeologists to firms that are hired by developers; inadequate communication with, or publishing for, a public lay audience; the use of archaeological reports in court and how gear research towards this; challenges facing consultants including unexpected travel, long periods away from family, lack of medical coverage and other labour rights issues; ongoing tensions between archaeologists and descendant communities; the causal link between environmentally destructive development and archaeological opportunities; long-term cultural impacts of heritage loss on its survivors; and, among many other issues, perhaps most importantly—the still-pervasive lack of control by First Nations over their own heritage and its use or abuse through archaeology.

At this year's Forum, the latter issue was raised by a First Nations man in the audience who asked one of the presenting consultants how decisions are made about what information is included in presentations such as hers, whether the First Nations are consulted about what is and is not culturally appropriate knowledge to share in a public forum, and what recourses are available for First Nations faced with archaeology as the unwelcome herald of pending development/destruction. These are critical issues and this was the perfect place to discuss them, amongst a group with decades of experience doing archaeology, working in CRM, contending with the *HCA*, and dealing with the many parties whose interests are often at odds. Instead, a fairly short but sympathetic response was offered, with the suggestion that he later contact the BCAPA with his questions.

To be fair, there was a full schedule and time was short; such a conversation could easily take up the whole day. But, returning to the question of why so few Aboriginal people attend the Forum: if this is the reception and response offered when the pressing issues for First Nations and archaeologists alike are raised for discussion, I can't help wondering, why on Earth would they *want* to attend?

The Two-Faces of Archaeology

At the end of the day, I agree with the suggestion several people made, that conversations during coffee breaks are worthwhile

and can lead to ongoing and productive dialogue. At least, I hope this is true. But, I also feel that, with such opportunities for meaningful discussion passed over, the Forum presents merely a polished "public" face of archaeology, ranging from a superficial show-and-tell to presentations that verge on corporate advertising. Meanwhile, the more problematic and less "pretty" issues are reserved for private conversations behind closed doors.

Is this a bad thing? Actually, yes, I think it is. At this year's Forum, the audience was largely comprised of students and young consultants. When the difficult issues are reserved for off-the-record conversations, the message these young archaeologists receive is that the Forum is not a place for meaningful dialogue. The result is a two-faced archaeology, lacking in transparency and accountability either to each other or to those whose heritage we deal with. Such values trickle down through all facets of archaeological practice until what is produced is ultimately a culture of silence. Whatever your view of the Forum's mandate, surely it isn't this?

Wait, I have an idea...

If the Forum is intended to facilitate open discussion, then this needs to be communicated publicly—both by the organizers who need to schedule time for it and, even more critically, by the attendees who must come prepared to talk about even the tough issues. Such dialogue is only possible if everyone is prepared to contribute, openly and honestly, to the conversation.

At the end of the Forum, I sat at the Howe Sound Brewery, listening to a group of students and young consultants who were frustrated by the lack of critical discussion that had taken place on that day, and concerned that the *real* conversations were only happening in quiet corners rather than on the public podium. Sipping my pint, I heard one of them proclaim:

"What we need to do is organize an event where we bring together the people who have long years of experience in B.C. archaeology, the consultants and the academics and students working here—"

"—and the government officials, too, don't forget them," another interjected.

"Right, and the First Nations whose heritage is being destroyed, after all," said another. "We need to bring all these people together and *really talk about what is actually going on* in archaeology, what is happening to these sites and places."

"We need an *open and honest* conversation," another remarked, staring deep into his half-empty pint glass.

"You mean, like a forum?" I suggested.

They just looked at me, and sighed.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my friends and colleagues for our conversations about these issues both at the Forum and over the years, and I am especially grateful to those who contributed their thoughts concerning the "mandate" of the Forum for this piece.

Marina La Salle, Editor

"SITE ALTERATION": The Demolition of British Columbia's Archaeological Heritage

Eric Mclay

No one should be surprised to read during these poor economic times that archaeology and heritage conservation are occasionally portrayed in the news as a luxury that few homeowners or developers can reasonably afford. Rather, I suggest that a focus on the media (see *The Midden* 43[2-3]) misses the message about a more serious, problematic trend underlying such private property disputes—namely, the chronic failing of the provincial policy framework that aims to protect the public interest in archaeological heritage sites on private lands over the past thirty years in British Columbia.

The Proponent Pays

"Why should I have to pay?", is a normal question to hear from homeowners shocked to learn of the expense of digging up the history in their backyards. At first glance, the ongoing Willows Beach court case and media controversy at Parksville (*Midden* 42[1-2]) between private land owners and the Archaeology Branch over who should pay the financial costs of site destruction—or "alteration" as it is bureaucratically called—appear to be just routine regulatory disputes that have simply come into public view. Such disagreements occur infrequently and are usually resolved patiently and quietly through informed discussion between clients, their consultants, and Archaeology Branch staff without resort to the media or the courts.

The basic principle behind the "proponent pays" policy is that where a person or corporation wishes to remove the public interest in archaeological heritage sites on private lands, they must reasonably bear the financial costs—not government. Where site avoidance is not possible and no other alternative to land development is negotiable, such removal is permitted by the Archaeology Branch through either systematic data recovery (i.e., scientific excavation), monitoring of land development, or other conservation measure (Figure 1). In essence, the "proponent pays" policy, as I perceive it, relies on the prohibitively high cost of scientific excavation as a *deterrent* to development; the assumption being it is less expensive and less time-consuming to preserve sites than pay the expense to carefully excavate, remove and analyze them by scientific expertise.

Yet, property owners and developers often counter that if heritage conservation is a public interest the expense of mitigation should be paid for by government—not individuals or business. While forty years ago British Columbia once did fund regional archaeological surveys in the public interest and, to a limited extent, research investigations and mitigations (often unplanned salvage excavations), government cut-backs during the early 1980s reduced the stewardship role of provincial heritage conservation to a basic regulatory function, which also spawned the private

archaeological consulting industry (see Aplan 1993). While the current role of the provincial government may be constructively critiqued, few would likely agree that government should help pay to build peoples' dream homes on top of ancient First Nation villages and burial grounds. This is not to say that the provincial government shouldn't have a more proactive role in stewardship, conservation, enforcement, land use planning, and public education concerning the protection of archaeological values on private lands.

Site Alteration

While the *Heritage Conservation Act, R.S.B.C 1996, Chapter 187 (HCA)* provides strong legislative protection for archaeological sites in British Columbia, such protection is not absolute. For any regulatory system to work, there must always be flexibility. There are good reasons why such flexibility exists in current provincial heritage law to address other important societal values and priorities, such as scientific research, environmental protection, human safety, and modern land development. Until the mid-1990s, systematic data recovery excavation projects for development were directed by archaeologists under "site investigation" permits. Over the last fifteen years, notably few investigation permits are issued to archaeologists for development-related purposes.

With the 1996 *HCA* consolidated amendments, a new mechanism, s.12 site alteration permits, granted British Columbia the ability to directly regulate developers and hold them accountable for potential violations. Unlike s.14 inspection and investigation permits, s.12 alteration permits are held by property owners or developers—not archaeologists. The establishment of s.12 site alteration permits allows British Columbia to suspend the legal protection of archaeological sites to permit development under certain written provisions.

The Orwellian term, "alteration," denotes the terminal phase of the provincial heritage permit process. In principle, s.12 alteration permits are issued after preliminary overviews and impact assessment studies have been completed, the location of archaeological sites have been well-defined, the content and significance of heritage sites have been carefully evaluated, and professional recommendations made to minimize any heritage site destruction, where possible.

In 2010, as listed on the ASBC website (see <http://www.asbc.bc.ca/publications>), 140 alteration permits were issued by the Archaeology Branch. This number accounts for a third of all issued permits (n=452). Most alteration permits are issued to manage a broad range of small-scale heritage conservation impacts; for example, the cutting down of culturally-modified trees for forestry, minor alterations to upgrade municipal infra-



Figure 1. Mechanical soil screener used to sift thousands of ancient human remains and artifacts from the construction backfill at Poets Cove, DeRt-004, South Pender Island—an alteration permit project gone horribly wrong. Photo by Eric McLay, Feb.23, 2005.

structure, or the routine maintenance of park facilities such as signage, trails or staircases. Other alteration permits are more problematically issued to manage serious, large-scale impacts, such as the wholesale destruction of sites for residential housing, commercial development, provincial highways, municipal sewers and other major development projects. Notably, 25% (n=35) of all site alteration permits issued in 2010 relate to the development of private residential housing (Figure 2).

Nevertheless, no matter the scale of proposed impact, the issuance of a site alteration permit is always a significant decision for the Archaeology Branch. It is at this stage when heritage sites and heritage objects are intentionally and irrevocably destroyed, and First Nations' Aboriginal Title and Rights to heritage may become seriously infringed. It is also at this stage when projects can go horribly wrong and development costs for property owners can run amuck; thereafter, politicians, lawyers and media become involved, and personal emotions and professional reputations explode in full public view.

The Affordability of Heritage Site Destruction

Over the last decade, skyrocketing real estate values across British Columbia have diminished the effectiveness of financial deterrents to developing archaeological sites. With an average single-family house in downtown Vancouver reaching over a million dollars, the cost of developing archaeological sites by

residential homeowners is less economically prohibitive, particularly on waterfront real estate. Rather, archaeology is more often perceived as just one more routine cost of doing business in the high-end real estate market in British Columbia. Homeowners paying upwards of \$25,000 to \$100,000 or more for the clearance of archaeological sites from their private lands appears commonplace.

Combined with the escalating real estate market, a host of for-profit private archaeological consulting companies have arisen to compete for jobs, often for the lowest bid, which can further drive down homeowners' and developers' costs for site alteration. Yet, archaeological consulting today remains big business in British Columbia. Several multinational environmental consulting corporations have taken over many smaller local archaeological companies in recent years, which attests to the fact there is money to be made doing archaeology. Site alterations, in particular, are profitable from a corporate perspective. Excavation, monitoring, analysis and report writing are time-consuming and labour intensive work. "Unexpected" discoveries, especially burials, can throw out estimates and run up the bills without limit. Such lucrative jobs also hold little to no risk. As alteration permits are held by the developer, there is no accountability for archaeological consultants to attempt any research, apply any scientific rigor to their methods, or uphold the quality of archaeological work. While it is recognized by the Archaeology Branch that there is a need for more government oversight to uphold the public interest in such

alteration projects, such as field inspections or joint permits, there is no provincial travel budget and no capacity to enforce quality control on the ground.

The Archaeology Branch and their website's *Provincial Archaeological Report Library*, however, must be commended for providing a new online tool for the archaeological community, First Nations and local government to access electronic copies of permit reports for review (http://www.for.gov.bc.ca/archaeology/archaeology_professionals/index.htm).

In reading through Archaeological Impact Assessment permit reports and their subsequent site alterations, it is now easy for researchers, community members and planners outside of the Archaeology Branch to review how consultants make interpretations and recommendations based on available evidence and, subsequently, what was found (or not found) after-the-fact. While there is a high degree of excellence and innovation in the British Columbia archaeological consulting industry, many professional archaeologists, both in the academic and business worlds, may be shocked and infuriated to learn of the shoddy methods, the carelessness of design and thoughtlessness of interpretation, and the generally slapdash quality of archaeological fieldwork and reporting practices used by a number of apparently successful consulting companies, particularly for site alteration projects.

For example, read a recent 2010 report that describes the template methods used for the alteration of a large, recorded coastal shell midden site of a proposed residential house construction on Vancouver Island: "Machine excavation of soils was conducted within the foundation footprint in 10 cm increments. All cultural soils were raked and/or selectively screened using 1/4" mesh." While most professional archaeologists work hard to responsibly protect and conserve heritage sites, some consultants are cashing out by gazing at backhoes and raking up the backfill for profit. To justify such short-cuts to development, sites written off for permitted alteration are routinely interpreted in expedient AIA studies as previously "disturbed"—a taken-for-granted gloss that immediately devalues sites of any scientific significance, but requires no detailed description, nor further critical examination or precautionary measures.

Sadly, such permitted site destruction is simply land development in the "guise of archaeology"—premeditated salvage with no pretense for any scientific method, knowledge production, or respect for sustainable heritage site conservation principles. In this sense, the exploitation of the s.12 heritage site alteration permit process by private property and corporate business interests is more akin to the Archaeology Branch facilitating "demolition permits" than regulating any modern heritage conservation practice.

1. Establishment of Provincial Guidelines for Site Alteration

Given that site alterations constitute approximately 30% of heritage permits issued by the provincial government, and given the serious nature of permitted heritage site destruction (and its often public consequences), I argue it is unacceptable that the Archaeology Branch continues to lack substantive policy guidelines for the

regulation of site alteration permits.

The recent June 2010 guidelines for site alteration permits by the Archaeology Branch do little more than simply repeat the conditions set out to fill in application forms. For comparison, British Columbia created detailed and comprehensive guidelines for impact assessments and inventory studies, which continue to be well-referenced today (Archaeology Branch 1989, 2000).

While admittedly site alteration permits are designed to manage a broader range of impacts using a variety of methods on a case-by-case basis, surely the Archaeology Branch could develop some stated "principles" if not flexible "rules" to govern their provincial decision-making around issuing site alteration permits to regulate development?

For instance, when is an investigation or systematic data recovery more appropriate than simply "monitoring" site destruction by backhoe? What criteria or standards are useful to guide

While most professional archaeologists work hard to responsibly protect and conserve heritage sites, some consultants are cashing out by gazing at backhoes and raking up the backfill for profit.

such decision-making? Should some sites be "off-limits" to permitted development? How can First Nations' heritage interests be respectfully considered in such policy guidelines? Where a site is negotiated to be altered for development, how much of a site should be appropriately mitigated by scientific excavation? How can research problems be better integrated into the research design of investigations and alterations to contribute to knowledge and public education? What minimum guidelines for systematic data recovery are needed to hold development and

archaeological consultants accountable to the public interest? Currently, the existing, largely unwritten, operational policies of the Archaeology Branch that regulate alteration permits have very little transparency or accountability in practice.

2. Alternative Tools to Preserve Heritage Sites

Where the decision is made by private land owners to proceed with development, the provincial government presently has few alternative tools available to help conserve sites outside of proceeding to issue an alteration permit. For this reason, some have suggested pessimistically that the provincial law should be more aptly called, *The Heritage Destruction (or Development) Act* (see Bryce 2008).

Until 2003, the BC Heritage Trust held a mandate and funding to support the purchase and management of lands as provincial heritage sites. Today, no such provincial funding or organization exists to help preserve significant heritage sites in the public interest, except through ad hoc political decision-making. For instance, after intense media and political lobbying of the Premier's office, British Columbia most recently stepped in to purchase a small parcel of private waterfront land at Departure Bay (DhRx-016), Nanaimo, after over 80 ancient human remains were unexpectedly "discovered" during excavations under an alteration permit for a condominium development (Barron 2009). The reported purchase price by the Crown was over three million dollars. Few sites in conflict with private land development are so fortunate.

To practically support heritage site preservation and help

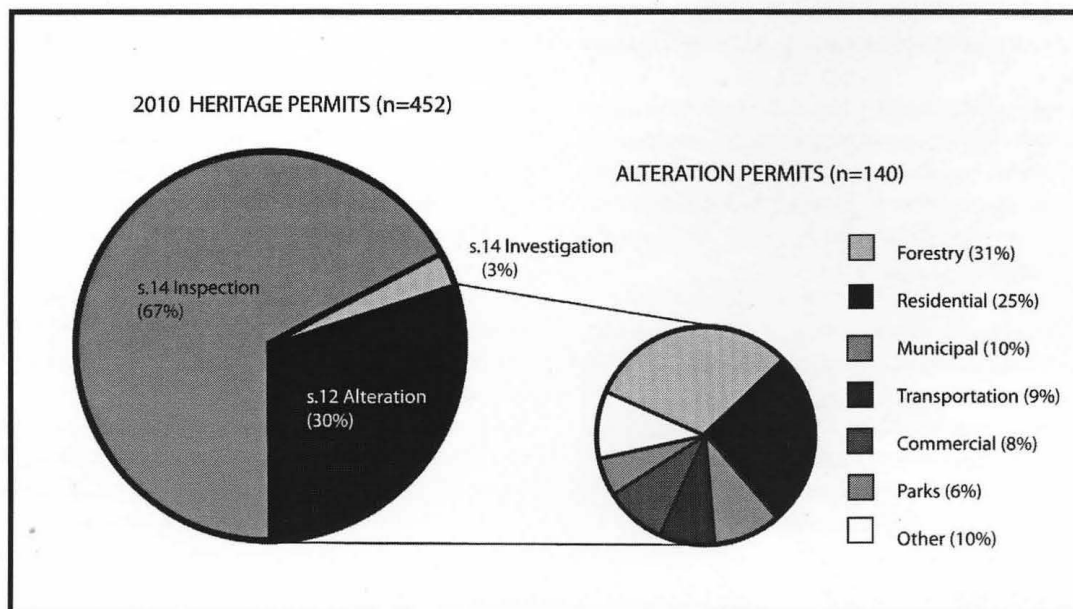


Figure 2: Chart of Heritage Permits and Alteration Permits issued by Archaeology Branch in 2010.

relieve development pressure, wouldn't it be prudent to support the establishment of a provincial fund to protect significant heritage sites on private land, either as public parkland or treaty settlement lands? A fund that could support public education, archaeological research and heritage site conservation programs across the province? What other incentives could be developed by the provincial government with local government to help preserve heritage sites on private land for greater perpetuity, such as land use planning, tax incentives or conservation covenants? Without other conservation tools to uphold provincial heritage conservation efforts other than permits, destruction is inevitable.

3. Strategic Heritage Planning in British Columbia

A key principle of heritage conservation is that the preservation of heritage values is most effective when considered at the earliest stage of land or resource development planning processes. For this reason, most local governments develop "strategic heritage plans" for their municipalities to identify a list of designated heritage sites, assess their preservation, and prioritize their conservation in community development planning. However, First Nation archaeological and historical sites are not typically integrated by local government strategic heritage plans, and neither has British Columbia ever developed any strategic heritage planning initiatives to help conserve archaeological sites at a provincial level. Rather, the Archaeology Branch's administration of the *Heritage Conservation Act* permitting process operates on a case-by-case basis in reaction to received applications to regulate heritage sites by proposed land and resource development. Through such routine and unplanned practice, British Columbia allows every recorded heritage site to be left vulnerable to permitted destruction at an incremental scale without provincial oversight of cumulative development impacts. That is, without establishing local or pro-

Without other conservation tools to uphold provincial heritage conservation efforts other than permits, destruction is inevitable.

vincial strategic plans and priorities for heritage site conservation, it is possible that every recorded archaeological site in British Columbia may be utterly erased under permitted development over time leaving nothing for future generations. No site, or last remnant of a site, is "off-limits."

In the last few years, the Archaeology Branch has reportedly developed "heritage site management plans" to manage specific, problematic sites in recurrent conflict with private land development, notably the Marpole Site (DhRs-001) in Vancouver. While such proactive and strategic initiatives are constructively encouraged, I would advocate all sites need heritage site management plans, not just the ones making the news.

Towards long-term sustainable heritage conservation in British Columbia, the development of strategic heritage plans to help preserve archaeological heritage sites from development pressures is essential at both the provincial and local government level. While heritage planning has its own problems, the absence of plans or priorities to regulate heritage conservation is certainly not in the public interest.

Saving the Public Interest in Provincial Heritage Conservation

While the chronic loss of archaeological sites by unregulated development is a commonly shared concern, the permitted destruction of archaeological sites has received less public attention or scrutiny from the archaeological community in British Columbia.

Homeowners who challenge the financial expense of provincially-required archaeological work raise important, legitimate questions that deserve explanation: "What exactly is being paid for? And why is this publicly important?" Rather than dismiss such complaints, these incidents highlight a disturbing trend of permitted site destruction and a lack of government and professional accountability in current practice to address either private property rights or the public interest in archaeology and heritage

conservation in British Columbia.

Skyrocketing real estate values coupled with a lack of provincial guidelines to regulate site alteration permits lead toward the strategic failure of provincial heritage conservation policy. The fact is that very few property owners or developers publicly question the "proponent pays" policy. Heritage site alteration is more affordable and convenient than ever. Financial expense alone no longer works to deter homeowners from site development; rather, some in the archaeological consulting industry exploit the wholesale destruction of sites as a professional career.

Given the current lack of alternate provincial conservation tools or funding, the Archaeology Branch's permit process is a *one-way street*. There is no detour available for sites in conflict with development. After thirty years, the question is, where is this provincial policy going? At the end of the day, what will this provincial permit process leave us? Will provincial heritage conservation efforts lead to greater public respect, knowledge and preservation of the places and memory of First Nations peoples who built ancient British Columbia? Or will we witness this archaeological legacy become irrevocably, if incrementally, erased by development? At present, no archaeological site is safe from the wrecking ball in British Columbia.

From my perspective, if we as a society choose to deliberately erase the past for development (despite First Nations Title, Rights and interests), I argue that at a minimum the archaeological research should be based on professional evaluation, designed to learn about the past, implemented with scientific rigor, and respectful care in the attempt to contribute to public knowledge, academic research and First Nations community interests, not solely to benefit private property interests, bureaucratic-ease, and corporate profit.

Greater investment is needed to renew provincial heritage conservation and uphold its preservation mandate on private lands in the public interest. Other tools, deterrents, incentives and rationales are required to help save archaeological heritage sites for future generations. In the short-term, adequate provincial government funding is necessary for the Archaeology Branch staff to do its job. The allowance of a travel budget for enforcement and the

development of substantive guidelines for site alteration permits would be a good start. For the longer term, greater attention is needed to inform and provide practical incentives for property owners and developers to preserve heritage sites on private land. Public education and heritage awareness programs do have an

important role to create greater public appreciation and incentives for preserving archaeological heritage sites and foster conservation values, not just negative financial deterrents. Rebuilding a new provincial funding organization, such as the BC Heritage Trust, to encourage site protection, scientific research and

community conservation in cooperation between archaeologists, property owners, developers, local governments, First Nations and the public would be a significant contribution for preserving the future of British Columbia's archaeological heritage.

For, as far as I can read, the purpose of the *Heritage Conservation Act* is to encourage and facilitate the protection and conservation of heritage property in British Columbia—not demolish it.

Eric McLay is presently a PhD student in the Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria. He is Past President of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia (2006-2008) and works as an independent archaeologist. Eric lives on Gabriola Island, B.C.

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DISC-SHAPED STONES

Grant Keddie

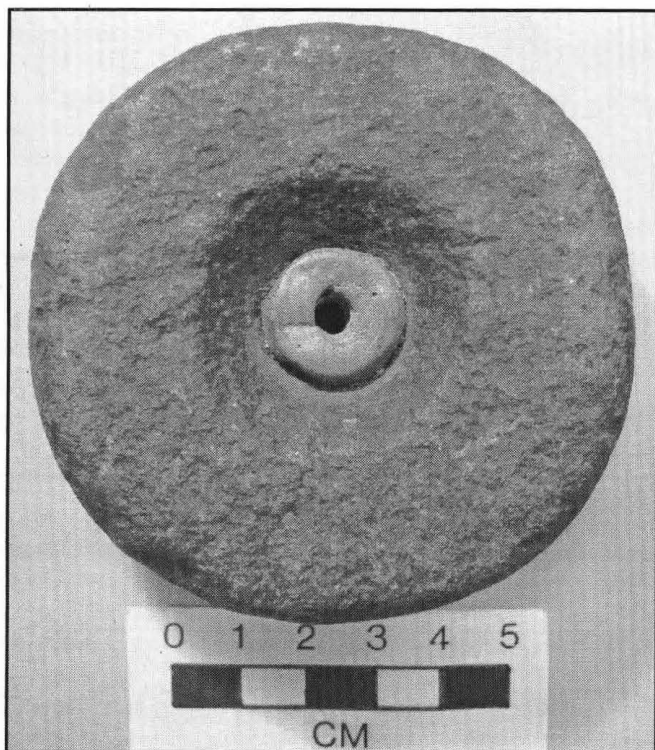


Figure 1. Disc-shaped stone artifact recovered from DkSf-Y:40 in Comox.

There are a large variety of stone objects in museums often referred to as circular or gaming stones. Two examples in the Royal B.C. Museum collection are unique and worthy of a detailed description.

Artifact DkSf-Y:40

This artifact (Figure 1) was found in 1897 in a "shell-mound" in Comox by Walter B. Anderson, the son of Alexander C. Anderson of the Hudson's Bay Company.

This round, flat-sided, diorite-like stone (77 mm by 28 mm) has grinding around its edge consistent with the kind of wear patterns produced on a rotated grit-stone wheel (Figure 2). The artifact weighs 305 grams, and is like other similar shaped stones with a bipolar-pecked central hole. However, it

Artifact DkSf-Y:40

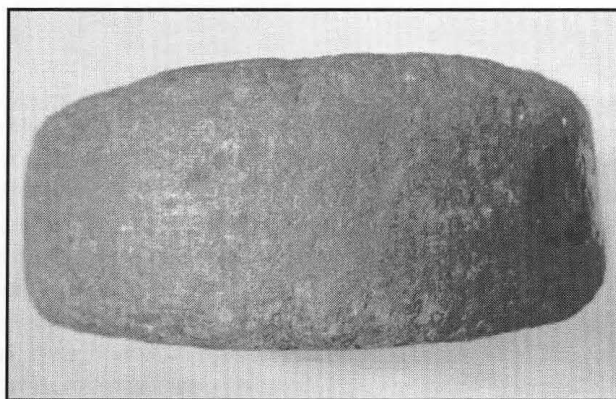


Figure 2. Grinding wear along edge of artifact.



Figure 3. Detail of a quartzite bead in the artifact.

is unique in having a large quartzite bead (17 mm diameter by 4.5 mm wide) tightly wedged into this central hole (Figure 3).

The edge grinding does not appear to be part of the manufacturing process—being made subsequently. As there is no grinding on the inside of the 4.8-mm diameter bead hole, the artifact would need to have been fixed on an axle that was turned like a crank shaft if it was used as a grinding stone.



Figure 4. Disc-shaped stone artifact recovered from DeRv-Y:8 near Duncan on Vancouver Island.

Artifact DeRv-Y:8

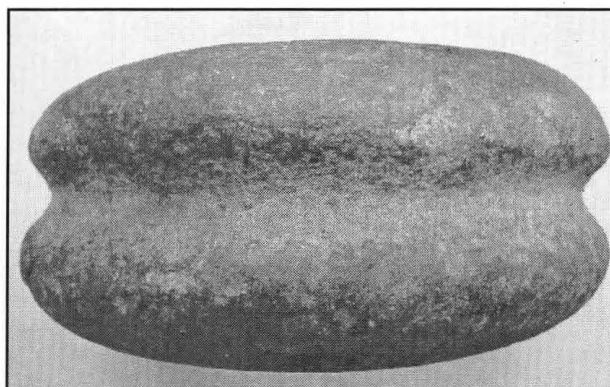


Figure 5. A groove pecked along the circumference of the artifact.

Artifact DeRv-Y:8

This artifact (Figure 4) was donated in 1890, by William Lomas, the Indian Agent at Quamichan, near Duncan, on Vancouver Island. It is described in the catalogue as:

A large specimen with a grooved edge like a pulley-block. Found hanging on a tree at Quamichan lake, and probably used in former times to haul up bird nets.

This 182-mm diameter granite-like stone is heavy, weighing 3.65 kgs. It does look like a copy of a wooden or metal pulley-block. The inner part of the 17-mm diameter hole shows use polishing as if it was turned around on an axle or had something pulled through it. The pecked surface at the bottom of the 8-mm deep groove encircling the stone

shows less patina and smoothing than the rest of the artifact (Figure 5). This may suggest that it was protected by something like a rope during its use?

The larger circular outer rim varies from 54 mm to 67 mm in depth, but extending out 6 mm more in depth is a raised inner rim of a 91-mm wide circle around the hole.

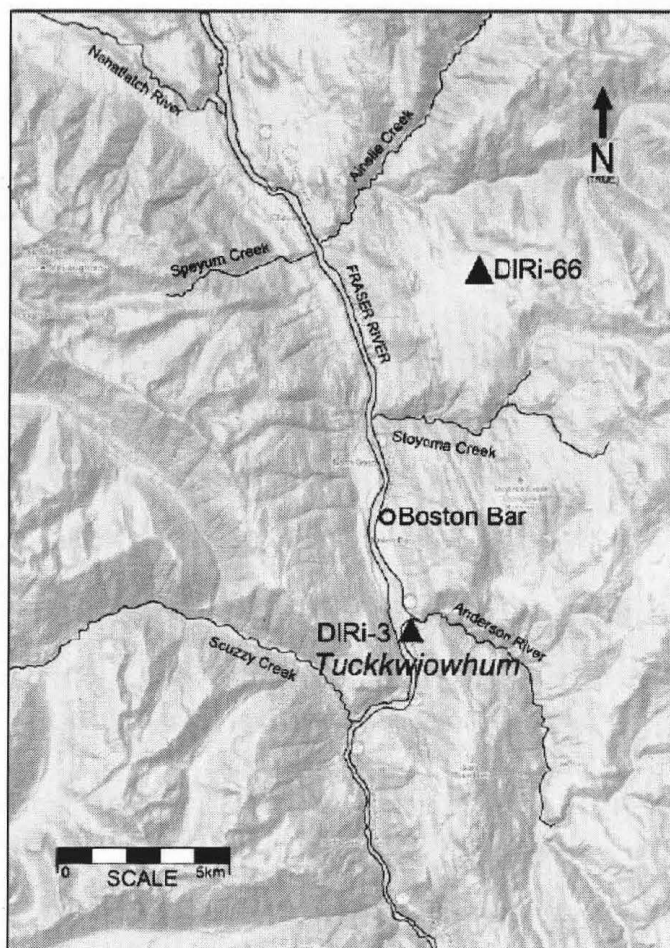
Since this artifact may still have been in use in the 19th century, we can speculate that it may actually be a stone copy of a European-style pulley, but we cannot rule out that it is part of an earlier pre-contact technology.

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When the world washed away: colonial history in the Fraser Canyon

Kwantlen Polytechnic University Applied Archaeology Field School 2011

Brian Pegg, Amy Besla, Grant Coffey, Andie Froese, Andrew Haugo



(DIRi-3), and continuation of survey and tree ring dating at the Ainslie Creek culturally modified tree (CMT) site DIRi-66 (Figure 1), under HCA Permit 2011-0084. Two post-contact circular pithouse dwellings at *Tuckkwiowhum* were excavated, which led to the recovery and analysis of an extensive collection of artifacts from the middle to late 1800s. At the Ainslie Creek site, 198 CMTs, primarily western redcedar barkstrips, were recorded in 2011. Of these, 151 were successfully dated using increment core techniques. There are now 299 individual dates from CMTs at this site, the largest sample of CMT dates from the Fraser Canyon. *Tuckkwiowhum* artifacts were returned to Boston Bar on Oct 21, 2011.

Ainslie Creek (DIRi-66)

Ainslie Creek drains a watershed on the west slope of the Cascades overlooking the Fraser Canyon. This watershed contains numerous CMT sites, of which DIRi-66 is the largest. CMTs within DIRi-66 consist primarily of tapered and rectangular western redcedar barkstrips. The site is located only eleven kilometres north of *Tuckkwiowhum* on the same side of the Fraser River, and was likely an important source of cedar bark for the inhabitants of that town. Other smaller settlements in the area that may have accessed the site include *Kopchitchin*, *Kimu's*, *Sinya'Kl*, *Spa'im*, *Tzaumak*, and *Npikti'm* (Teit 1900). Tree ring dates from CMTs can be used as a proxy to indirectly examine demographic and economic history of nearby communities (Pegg 2000; Pegg et al. 2009).

Tuckkwiowhum (DIRi-3)

Tuckkwiowhum is located at the confluence of Anderson Creek at the Fraser River, at the junction of three major trails that existed far back into the past. One

Introduction

During the summer of 2009, Kwantlen Polytechnic University (KPU) began a field school based in the Fraser Canyon, near Boston Bar, with a research focus on early colonial history within Nlaka'pamux territory. This period of history is critical because events of the 1850s and 60s in the Fraser Canyon shifted power in the southwestern Interior of B.C. away from Indigenous peoples to colonial authorities. Major processes and events active during this time include the Gold Rush and War of 1858, establishment of reserves and denial of Aboriginal land rights, and intrusion of the cash economy into Indigenous communities (Harris 1997; Lutz 1992). Despite the severe negative consequences of these factors, Nlaka'pamux people

continued to be productive, kept many of their cultural institutions, and fought against outsider authority.

This research has been particularly relevant to the Boston Bar First Nation, which is a member of the Nlaka'pamux Nation Tribal Council. Boston Bar has controlled a significant portion of the research agenda for this field school, and directed KPU to excavate at the villages of *Kopchitchin* and *Kalulaa'Ex* in 2009. Artifacts from these villages were excavated, analyzed, and returned to Boston Bar for curation in their proposed museum and cultural centre at the *Tuckkwiowhum* Heritage Village.

This research agenda continued in summer 2011 with excavations at the Nlaka'pamux townsite of *Tuckkwiowhum*

Figure 1 (above). Location of the study areas, 2011 field season.

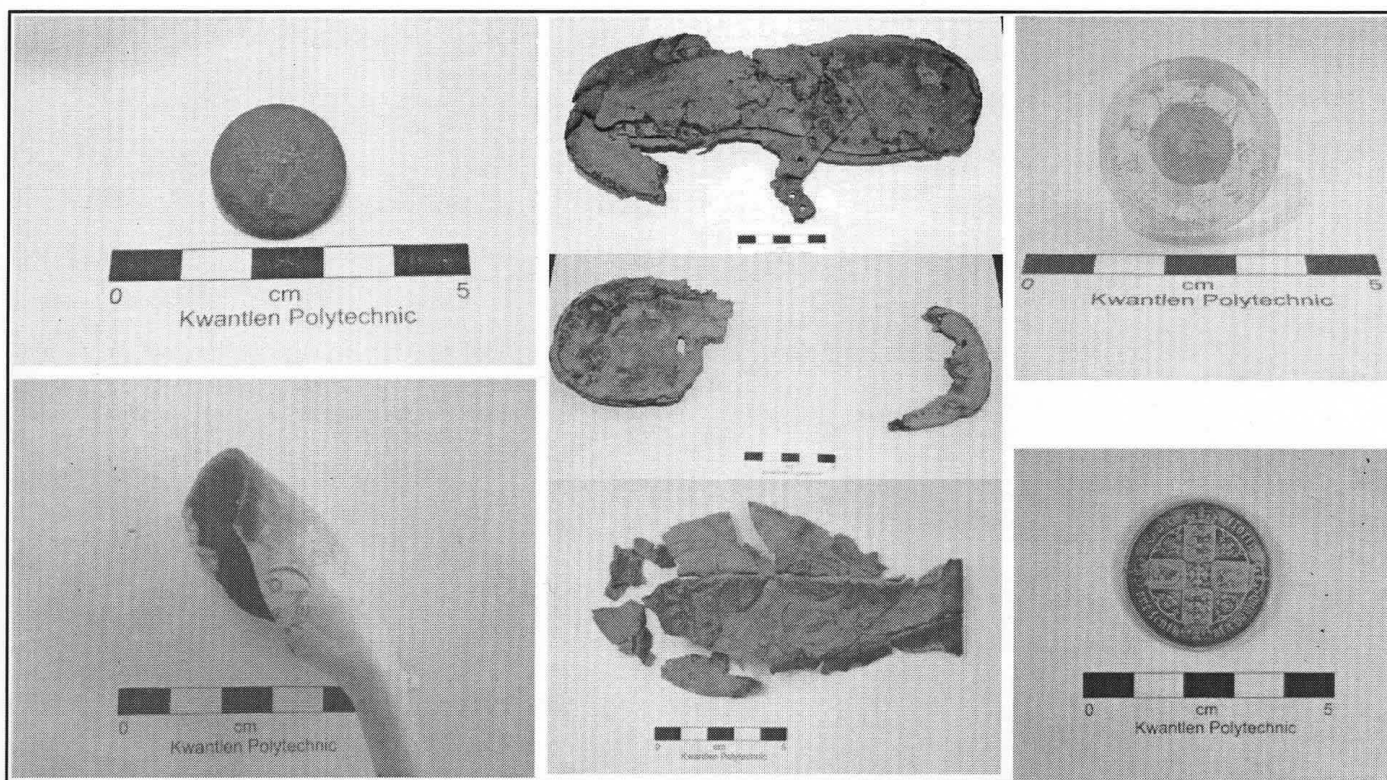


Figure 2. Artifacts from *Tuckkwiowhum*. Clockwise from top left: US Military button dating to the Fraser Canyon War of 1858; women's and men's shoes dating from the 1850s to 60s; glass stopper from Lea and Perrins Worcestershire bottle; British florin (1/10 pound) from 1853; gunpowder flask, mid-1800s; Ford Stepney (East London) clay pipe. Photos by Kimberley McMartin.

of these trails headed north to the next major townsite, *Klickumcheen* (Lytton), another travelled east over the Cascades to the Nicola Valley, and the third was a very difficult trail which travelled south to *Spo'zem* (Spuzzum). *Tuckkwiowhum* was the largest Nlaka'pamux town south of *Klickumcheen* in the 1800s, with a population of 840 people in 1830 (Harris 1997). The town may have been the site of a battle in the Fraser Canyon War that took place in August 1858 (Akrigg and Akrigg 1997:24; O'Donaghey pers. comm. May 2011).

In 1859, Judge Begbie travelled past the town, noting that a restaurant was present (Begbie 1859). The site was accessed by the Cariboo Wagon Road in 1863; the last and most difficult section of construction, supervised by J.W. Trutch, was between Chapman's and Boston Bar (Howay 1910). A church was present at the site by 1878, when it was visited by the Indian Reserve Commission in June of that year (Rocha 2001:45).

Professional archaeological site visits first took place during inventory for the CN Rail Twin Tracking project in the mid-1980s; archaeologists at this time recorded only a small surface and subsurface lithic scatter. In 2010, the Boston Bar First

Nation notified KPU that several housepits were also present, immediately adjacent to the CN Rail right-of-way, and requested that these structures be investigated.

Methods

CMT inventory at DIRi-66 was conducted between June 13 and 24, 2011 by teams of 4 or 5 students traversing a 100 x 100 m grid. Each identified CMT was recorded (Archaeology Branch 2001), GPS'd, and marked with a plastic number tag. Tree ring samples were collected from each live CMT using an increment borer, in accordance with methods outlined by Barrett and Arno (1988) and Jozsa (1988). Core

samples were placed in a cut and labelled drinking straw, then glued to cardboard trays at the end of the field day. Analysis and dating of core samples was accomplished using 10-200x digital and optical microscopes. Each core was sanded to enhance visibility. Overall, survey at DIRi-66 took 2 weeks.

Excavation and shovel testing at *Tuckkwiowhum* took place between June 14 and July 15, 2011. In total, nine 1 m² excavation units were completed within two circular housepits, identified as CDs (cultural depressions) 4 and 5. Excavated sediments were screened through 6-mm (1/4") mesh. Excavation proceeded by

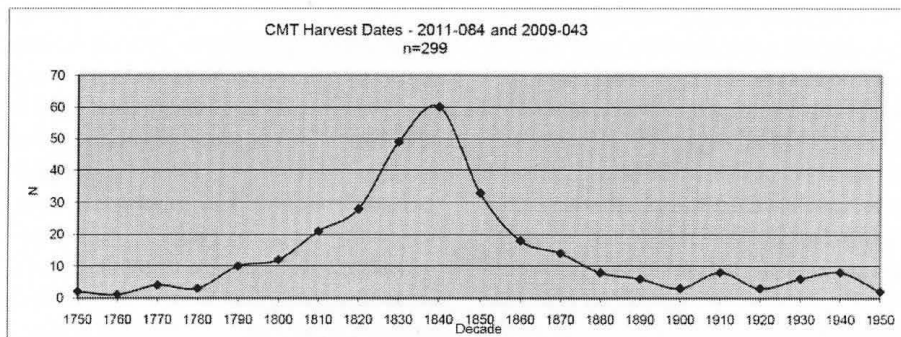


Figure 3. CMT dates for DIRi-66, 2011 and 2009 field seasons combined.



Figure 4. Photograph of 1895 potlatch in North Bend (*Kopchitchin*). Image D-01497 courtesy of Royal B.C. Museum, B.C. Archives.

natural layers and arbitrary levels, with the deepest excavations reaching 1.2 m below surface. A total of 54 shovel tests were completed at the site. Analysis and cataloguing of artifacts was conducted using methods from Horn (2008), Jones and Sullivan (1989), Van der Flier-Keller and McMillan (1987), Sutton and Arkush (2007), and the BLM/SHA Historic Glass Bottle page (<http://www.sha.org/bottle/index.htm>).

Results

At DIRi-66, the total number of CMTs recorded in the 2011 season was 198, of which 151 were successfully dated. The majority of the scars at this site are tapered bark strips, although rectangular bark strips, girdled trees, kindling removal and cambium removal scars are also present. Almost all CMTs are western redcedar. To date, including both the 2009 and 2011 field seasons, 483 CMTs have been recorded and 299 dates have been compiled, ranging from 1752 to 1972 (Figure 3). The median date is 1843, while the mean is 1848. Shovel tests ($n=11$) at DIRi-66 were negative.

The distribution of dates shows a peak of cedar harvest in the 1840s, with

a rapid decline in harvest rates starting in the decade of the 1850s. It is important to understand that the distribution in dates prior to the 1840s is probably more the result of the age profile of the cedar stand than actual rates of harvest (Eldridge 1997). The mean pith date for the trees at the site (the date closest to germination) is 1790; it is expected that cedars would not be stripped until they were at least 30 years old.

At *Tuckkwiowhum* (DIRi-3), cultural materials recovered from 45 shovel tests showed a low-density subsurface scatter of primarily pre-contact lithic materials extending to approximately 70 cm below the surface. Historic air photo analysis showed the site was heavily disturbed in the 1970s by the construction of the current campground. Excavations were completed in two large housepits, CDs 4 and 5, which are situated in an undisturbed area.

A total of nine 1 m² excavation units were completed. Within CD 4, 4.5 m³ was excavated, with an artifact density of 316 artifacts/m³; CD 5 excavations also totalled 4.5 m³, with an artifact density of 525 artifacts/m³. Both post- and pre-contact artifacts were common in both

housepits. The stratigraphy of both CDs is consistent with circular housepits. Features identified included burned and unburned structural wood, central hearths or pits, and postholes.

Among the many pre-contact lithic artifacts were several diagnostic projectile points, including two denticulated Lochnore bifaces dating from 5000 to 3500 BP (Rousseau 2008; Rousseau pers. comm. 2011). An obsidian projectile point tip, possibly dating to the Shuswap Horizon (3500 to 2400 BP), was also identified (Rousseau 2008). This artifact was sourced via SFU's XRF equipment to Mt. Garibaldi, near Squamish (Reimer pers. comm. 2011). All lithic diagnostics were identified in roof collapse layers, and likely represent earlier deposits reworked during the post-contact occupation.

A large post-contact artifact collection was also recovered. These artifacts included a clay pipe with Ford Stepney maker's mark; this was an East London supplier of pipes to the Hudson's Bay Company between 1805 and 1865 (Oswald, as cited by Wilson et al. 2007:107) (Figure 3). Distribution of post-contact artifacts was not equal between the two houses; much higher artifact densities, and



Figure 5. Photograph of 1895 potlatch in North Bend (*Kopchitchin*). Image D-01496 courtesy of Royal B.C. Museum, B.C. Archives.

total numbers of artifacts, were present in CD 5.

Other diagnostic post-contact artifacts include a mule shoe which post dates 1848 (the date that HBC mule brigades began accessing the Indigenous trail over Lake Mountain), a brass US Military general service button dating to the Fraser Canyon War of 1858, a brass powder flask dating to between 1800 and 1868, a women's shoe manufactured between 1850 and the late 1860s, and several delicate oil lanterns which are unlikely to have appeared at the site prior to the construction of the Cariboo Wagon Road in 1863 (Figure 2). Taken together with other post-contact diagnostic materials such as nails, tin cans, and container glass, it appears the houses at *Tuckkwiowhum* were last used between the 1860s or 1870s.

Discussion

Archaeologists in B.C. have underutilized the potential of historic period archaeology, especially with regards to critical events such as the Fraser Canyon War of 1858. The impacts of this war on Nlaka'pamux economic systems are clearly apparent in dates from CMTs at DIRi-66, which show a steep decline in ce-

dar harvest in the 1850s (Figure 3). When 30,000 miners, many of them US military personnel, entered Nlaka'pamux territory in early 1858, conflict was inevitable. Captain Snyder, head of one of the miner's militia companies in that conflict, records a battle on August 14 which may have taken place at *Tuckkwiowhum* (Marshall 2000). Many Nlaka'pamux communities were burned by miner's militias during 1858, possibly including the Boston Bar settlement of *Kopchitchin*, across the river from *Tuckkwiowhum* (Pegg and Ling 2011).

A button from a military uniform was recovered from one of the *Tuckkwiowhum* housepits in 2011 (Figure 2), with a similar button present across the river at *Kopchitchin* in a burned mat lodge (Pegg et al. 2009; Pegg and Ling 2011). These buttons provide a direct link between the events of 1858 and the communities which were most affected by them, the Nlaka'pamux villages immediately up and downstream of the canyon at Hell's Gate (Marshall 2000).

Decline in cedar harvest continues from the 1850s to a low point in the first decade of the 1900s. Aside from the Canyon War, serious negative impacts on the Nlaka'pamux economy during this period

include a smallpox epidemic in 1862, the intrusion of the cash economy, establishment of the reserve system and the federal Indian Act, banning of cultural institutions such as the potlatch, and curtailment of Indigenous fishing, land, water, and timber rights (Boyd 1994; Harris 1997; LaForet and York 1998; Lutz 1992). Despite these impacts, cedar harvest at DIRi-66 continued at a reduced rate.

Many of the artifacts identified at *Tuckkwiowhum* have important implications for our understanding of Indigenous history of the late 1800s. A hand-forged mule shoe and a foot bone (tarsal) probably belonging to a mule were identified in the larger housepit at *Tuckkwiowhum*, evidence of Nlaka'pamux participation in the mule packtrain system. This system was used by Indigenous people to earn cash in the new market economy (LaForet and York 1998; Lutz 1992). Mules would have appeared at *Tuckkwiowhum* beginning in 1848 after the HBC re-engineered the existing trail over Lake Mountain for mule brigades (Hou 2009). Horses were present in the southern Interior by the early 1700s, much earlier than mules (Thomson 1994:98).

With the appearance of HBC mule

packtrains, expensive imported goods also became available at *Tuckkwiowhum*. These goods appeared later in larger volumes on the Cariboo Wagon Road, completed through the site in 1863 (Howay 1910). Imported goods included shoes, oil lanterns, imported foodstuffs, and clay pipes, all of which was paid for by cash (Figure 2). These items show that although Nlaka'pamux people were suffering the negative effects of colonialism, they were not without the means to purchase luxury goods, and the inhabitants of the houses at *Tuckkwiowhum*, at least, were doing quite well.

In 1895, a potlatch was held at *Kopchitchin*, just across the river from *Tuckkwiowhum* (Figures 4 and 5), and would have been attended by many of *Tuckkwiowhum*'s residents. Potlatches were social and ceremonial events where Nlaka'pamux people would give away large volumes of gifts which they paid for by wage labour, often over many years. The potlatch was banned throughout B.C. in 1884 because the Federal Government wanted Indigenous peoples to accumulate and save wealth rather than give it away (Lutz 1992). This ban was a direct attack on Nlaka'pamux economic and land tenure systems, and was resisted intensely throughout the province, as it was at *Kopchitchin* in 1895.

Kwantlen Polytechnic University will continue its colonial period research agenda in the Fraser Canyon in the 2013 field season.

Brian Pegg is a faculty member at KPU, and a part of the Department of Anthropology. He is in his 4th year of teaching, and was previously involved in CRM work since 1989.

Amy Besla is a 4th year BA in Anthropology student focusing on archaeology. She intends to pursue a career in B.C. archaeology after graduation, an interest that developed subsequent to being part of a field school in the Fraser Canyon this past summer.

Grant Coffey is a student at KPU, and is focusing his studies in anthropology. He is in his third year, and is also certified as a journeyman automotive technician.

Andrea Froese is an Anthropology major at KPU with an interest in archaeology. She attended her first field school over

the summer and thoroughly enjoyed the experience.

Andrew Haugo is a 4th year student at KPU, and is completing a BA in Anthropology. After graduation, Andrew plans to pursue a Masters degree and a career in archaeology.

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Preliminary Findings of the 2011 Archaeological Investigation of Nanaimo's Third Chinatown: Phase I

Colleen Parsley

This brief article presents initial findings of a small investigative field project conducted in Nanaimo's Chinatown in February 2011. The long standing and re-emerging threats to the site of Nanaimo's Chinatown will be discussed from the viewpoint of the Archaeological Society of B.C.-Nanaimo Branch and our continuing advocacy for protection of archaeological heritage. This is a particularly important role in the face of absent legislation protecting threatened historic sites like Nanaimo's Chinatown. Described below in detail, a plan led by the ASBC-NB was developed in collaboration with community partners to investigate and potentially conserve the significant historic site of Chinatown in Nanaimo. An abridged background of Nanaimo's Chinatowns based upon research and interviews conducted by Daphne Paterson will provide some context for discussion of the project aims, methodology and, most importantly, to share some of the valuable results obtained thus far. Please note research of the excavated material is ongoing and this is not a report of the final results.

ASBC-NB past president Julie Cowie reported in *The Midden* 37(2) in 2005 that two development plans threatened Nanaimo's third Chinatown. The owner of Hecate Lodge intended to (1) develop townhouses and (2) expand a senior's care facility. Both proposals are sited on the remaining undeveloped Chinatown land (Figure 1). In 2006 the townhouse development was approved and construction destroyed a part of the remaining Chinatown site. In late 2009 the City of Nanaimo informed the ASBC-NB that development plans were again moving forward for the second project, a senior's facility, and the development permit application had been received and was under municipal review. Time was again running out for what remained of Chinatown's archaeological record.

The ASBC is the only organization in this province with the mandate to protect and conserve all archaeological sites without prejudice. Given the lack of provincial or federal heritage protection for heritage

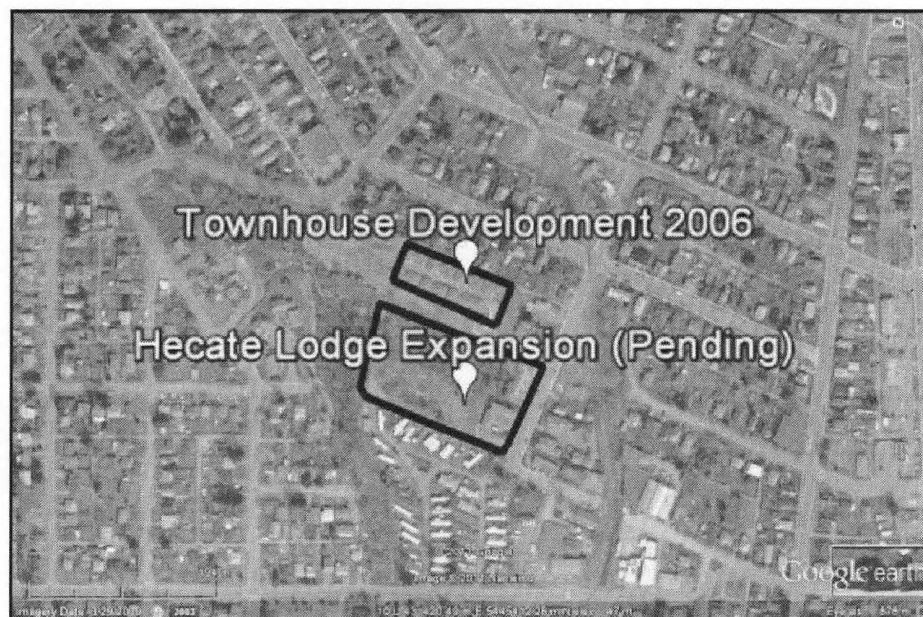


Figure 1. Locations of development where Chinatown site is located.

sites younger than 1846, no one is responsible for investigation or conservation of historic sites. The ASBC-NB values all heritage and does not support the injudicious application of the date 1846 (date of the Oregon Treaty) to protect some of British Columbia's cultural heritage and not others.

Ultimately, the ASBC-NB hopes one day to have a community park established on the site of Chinatown as a gesture of respect and acknowledgement of the contributions that the Chinese community made to help develop Nanaimo and surrounding areas. This idea was first presented in 2006 as a solution to the threat of development. A key function of the park would be to provide protection for any remaining historic deposits and, after vegetative clearing, the increased visibility would deter pot-hunters. Other benefits include rehabilitation of a portion of a vital stream, removal of invasive species, and addition of much needed green space and park land to a neighbourhood lacking such amenities. The proposal was not supported at the time; however, the ASBC-NB has continued to raise the idea and this was the impetus for the city to approach the ASBC-NB as a community stakeholder in late 2009 when the second development

permit was received.

The ASBC-NB recognized that archaeological data could assist in making a case for advancing the site as an important place in Nanaimo's cultural history, worthy of formal recognition and possibly protection. Given the renewed development threats, the ASBC-NB decided to take steps to investigate the site and advance the proposal for a Chinese Heritage Park.

The prospect of the ASBC-NB taking on a field project was daunting given our declining membership and lack of resources, so we approached the Anthropology department at Vancouver Island University to discuss potential opportunities for a joint historic archaeological investigation. Meetings were held with the city, Anthropology professors at VIU and the landowner, and an agreement was reached between all parties to conduct a small preliminary archaeological investigation. The ASBC-NB and Anthropology department developed a phased archaeological plan. VIU adjusted their course calendar to accommodate and offer ANTH 461: Historic Archaeology: Method and Theory taught by Dr. Imogene Lim, a well-recognized authority for her work in Canadian-Asian studies and in particular the study of Chi-



Figure 2. Location of Nanaimo's Chinatowns.

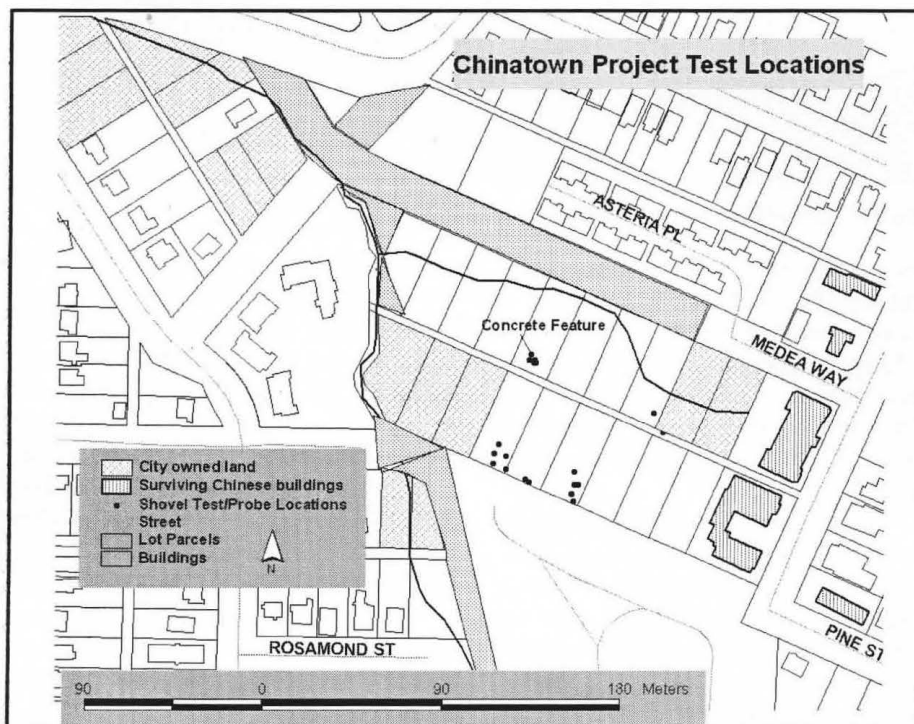


Figure 3. Test and surface collection locations, Chinatown#3 Project, 2011.

natowns. The City of Nanaimo supported the project and the landowner agreed to accommodate the project provided no interference with the construction schedule occurred. Colleen Parsley, president of ASBC-NB, provided coordination and management for the project in addition to fulfilling role of field director. Dr. Lim and Colleen Parsley co-supervised over 20 VIU students, many having their first archaeological field experience. Valerie Hannan, secretary of ASBC-NB, provided field support and Daphne Patterson, ASBC-NB director, provided research and

support.

For cultural context of the project, presented here is a brief overview of Nanaimo's Chinatowns (for locations see figure 2) based primarily on research and interviews conducted by Daphne Paterson (pgs. 9-12 unpublished manuscript available at Nanaimo Community Archives). Nanaimo's first Chinatown (1860's-1884) was located at Victoria and Winfield Crescents, presently downtown Nanaimo. Many Chinese attracted with the promise of jobs were hired mostly as mine labourers but were not permitted underground.

Various Chinese merchants started businesses including laundries, an opium seller, a gaming house, and slaughter house. Anti-Asian sentiment was growing and in 1884 the Vancouver Coal Company 'removed' this Chinatown to an isolated 8 acres outside the main community and business district. The Vancouver Coal Company rented the land to Chinese and designated this new area as the "Chinese Quarter." This became Nanaimo's second Chinatown (1884-1908) located around present day Bayview School on Needham and Princess Streets. In 1908, Bing Kee & Ching Chung (Yung) purchased 13 acres of Chinatown and 30 acres of farmland from Vancouver Coal Mining and Land Co. [Victoria Land Registry Office No.1622]. Bing Kee and Ching Chung (Yung), having bought out the Vancouver Coal Company, raised the rents. This caused widespread dissatisfaction within the Chinese community and Yick Chung, a merchant founded a land co-operative selling shares of ownership at \$5/share to 4000 shareholders across Canada and raised enough capital to purchase 11.25 acres of land just a few hundred metres north of the second Chinatown and as required, outside of city limits.

The land co-operative was registered as "Lum Yick Company" meaning "Together We Prosper." Some buildings from #2 Chinatown were taken down and moved across the tracks to Pine Street, the third and last Chinatown. For further details on Nanaimo's Chinatown see Imogene Lim's online *Nanaimo Chinatowns Project* (<http://chinatown.mala.bc.ca/>) and *Chinatowns: Towns within Cities in Canada* by Chuen-yan David Lai (1988).

From *Nanaimo Retrospective: The First Century* (1979),

Built on Chinese-owned land, and outside the City limits, it was self-governed and completely self-contained—literally a town within a town, with shops of every description. There were general and hardware stores, a herbalist, butchers, bakers, barbers, tailors, laundries, restaurants, and, of course, the ubiquitous gaming house. There was a 400 seat Opera House which regularly featured touring companies from Hong Kong and China. A Christian church and a Chinese temple provided for their spiritual needs (Mar, 93).



Figure 4. Students, supervised by Dr. Lim, probe subsurface deposits (photo by author).

In 1960 a large fire destroyed most of the community and it was never rebuilt or re-occupied with one exception. The Cathay Senior Citizen Housing Society formed to provide senior housing for the elder Chinatown residents displaced by the fire. The Cathay Seniors Home was built on a lot in Chinatown and later redeveloped as the first Hecate Lodge, a predecessor to the present day senior facility now seeking to expand again. The rest of the Chinese residents dispersed throughout Nanaimo and many moved away.

In the massive clean up after the fire, bulldozers cleared away debris and removed remains of damaged structures. Development of former Chinatown land has been limited to the already described Hecate Lodge at the intersection of Pine and Hecate streets on the east side of former Chinatown and the Mountain View Mobile Home Park, built over a portion of Chinatown's south Pine Street. Forming the north border adjacent to Chinatown was the city's dump in use from ca.1920 until at least the 1930s (Williams 1931) and this area has been extensively pot-hunted ever since. The same occurred all around Chinatown following the fire. Pot-hunting Chinatown became an accepted

family pastime in Nanaimo.

The structure of land ownership for the former Chinatown site is a mixture of public and private lands intersected by branches of the Cat Stream. A number of city owned parcels and some right-of-way land form the remainder of the publicly owned sections. The owners of Hecate Lodge own the remainder of the undeveloped lands formerly occupied by Chinatown. Despite post-fire impacts, Chinese buildings have survived (see figure 1) including the Chinese Free Mason Hall (880 Hecate Street), the Chinese Church (now Islamic Centre) at 905 Hecate Street, the York residence at 908-912 Hecate Street¹ (City of Nanaimo Heritage Register), a rooming house at 997 Hecate Street (pers. comm. C. Meutzner 2010), and, from comparison of the aerial photo based on building style and location, an industrial warehouse style building on Pine Street. These buildings are located on the periphery and in some cases outside the conventional boundary of Chinatown. As the entire Chinese population moved away after the fire, all but two (Cathay's Senior Home and the Chinese Free Mason Hall) were sold to non-Chinese after the fire.

The aim of Phase I was to conduct tests of subsurface deposits by probe and shovel to find whether intact deposits survived post-fire disturbances (pot-hunting, clean-up, etc.) and gauge the integrity of the site overall. Future prospective studies (Phases II and III) would be considered if results of Phase I supplied sufficient evidence warranting further research.

Background research was conducted by students taking ANTH 461 under the supervision of Dr. Lim and Nanaimo Community Archives staff. Maps, property records, assessment rolls, census data and other references were reviewed. ASBC-NB obtained air photos from UBC. Survey was conducted of the entire available area (not occupied by Hecate Lodge or the trailer park to the south) using transects spaced 5 metres apart. Surface coverage was 100%. All cultural material identified on the surface was marked with a blue pin flag. The 1947 aerial photograph aided the field work by allowing investigators to target specific areas and allow for judgemental tests (see figure 4). Shovel testing (n=7), probing (n=13), and combined shovel and probing (n=3) and abandoned (n=1) resulted in 24 subsurface tests (see figure 3). All the subsurface ma-



Figure 5. 1947 Air Photo showing a portion of Chinatown. Intersection of Pine and Hecate streets in upper left centre (Source: UBC Geography Department Air Photo Collection.)

terial excavated by probe and shovel was screened using a 1/8" mesh. Some surface collecting was conducted and a number of photographs were taken.

Discovery of new historic documentation helped in the research and field work planning. A series of aerial photographs from 1947 (Source: UBC Geography Department Air Photo Collection) illuminated new imagery of Chinatown never seen before by researchers, offering new avenues of investigation into community boundaries, Chinese land use, analysis of planning, etc. New evidence was also found by Nanaimo Community Archives staff through examination of assessment rolls and the Official Fire Report. The assessment rolls chart the population of Chinatown as dynamic and shifting as land ownership in Chinatown went through phases of growth and other periods of decline. Previously it was assumed the fire destroyed everything in Chinatown but it was documented (after our field work) that half of the fifty of the buildings in Chinatown were destroyed. Twelve remained on the site after the clean up (it is unclear but likely in addition to buildings cited above) [pers. comm. C. Meutzner 2010]. The limited scope of our study means the new records have generated many new research questions not yet answered and new evidence to be used in possible future field studies.

Cultural material collected from the

tests and the surface collected material has been taken to VIU where analysis is ongoing and final results of the project are pending.

Initial field results are promising. The amount of cultural material found in the probes was unexpected. Investigators held low expectations of finding cultural material due to severity of past impacts; however, an abundance of faunal remains were collected from probes and shovel tests. Species present include fish, clam, and whole barnacle in addition to land mammal and bird.

Other unexpected findings include portions of intact landscape of Chinatown. A surviving mature (>100 years) Bigleaf Maple tree was located according to the 1947 aerial photo, in between two buildings on the north side of Chinatown's Pine street¹. Other domestic trees present towards the northwest border are also suggestive of naturalized plantings from the Chinatown occupation. The location of Chinatown's Pine Street is visible by remnants of in situ asphalt along the west boundary of the study area, another indication of possibly intact subsurface deposits.

Identified cultural material located on the surface was marked using a pin flag to assist in providing field crew of a sense of the concentrations of 'positive space' (cultural material) and 'negative space' (voids of cultural material). This overview demonstrated concentrations of

surface cultural material clustered at the 'edges' of the level terrace situated above the tributary drainage of Cat Stream along the north boundary of Chinatown. It is assumed that the clearing action of the bulldozers pushed the material towards the slope indicating the crest and bank towards the stream was not machine impacted from post-fire clean-up efforts. At the top of the slope along the crest is a raised berm of debris with high frequency of old fragmented rough milled wood. Along the slope a scatter of cultural remains such as fragments of footwear, faunal remains, cookware, ceramics, and metal objects was collected from the surface. In addition to cultural material, multiple recent looter pits observed along the bank of the stream possibly indicate a shared awareness of the limited extent of the machine cleared areas. The other reason for looter pits located along the bank is for cover as the bank is thickly vegetated with trees and bush as opposed to the more openly visible higher elevation level terrace.

One of the interesting results of the project was the identification of an unexpected intact feature (a looter pit was located just a few metres north). A small concrete foundation measuring 1.37 x 0.80 metres was located and systematically excavated. Remains of domestic pig mandible (n=3 fragments) were found in direct association inside the foundation. This location was compared to the 1923 Assessment (Nanaimo Community Archives) and was determined to be the immediate back yard/garden of 558 Pine Street, the last building of Chinatown in the northwest corner as shown on the 1947 air photo (see figures 3 and 4). Possible interpretations of the feature include a pig sty, or pig processing space. Through historic research and ethnological information, we know Chinatown residents raised food for their own consumption and for selling outside of the Chinese community. Pork was and continues to be an important staple in the Chinese diet and was certainly found on the menu of the restaurants in Chinatown. The recovery of pig remains reiterates its importance as food source and commodity in the local economy (Lim and Parsley, 2011).

With historic aerial photographs and testing, we could potentially learn more about land use and the community's changing demographics. Will new

information about diet, traditional belief systems, economy, and adaptation to an intolerant society emerge from the collected archaeological material?

Lab analysis is ongoing at VIU supervised by Dr. Lim. At time of submission of this article, the site of Chinatown has not yet been impacted by the proposed development, and is on hold but may proceed at any time.

Acknowledgements

The project wouldn't have been possible without Dr. Imogene Lim whose expertise of Chinese-Canadian cultural history provided the foundation required for this successful project. Other community partners include the Nanaimo Community Archives directed by Christine Meutznier who spent countless hours researching and assisting students; David Hill-Turner of the Nanaimo Museum offered support and secure storage; the City of Nanaimo staff were instrumental by facilitating this project through the development application process; and Moni Khan for allowing this project to take place in advance of the development and allowing our group and over twenty VIU students to learn about the past. Last but not least, thanks to the members of the ASBC who continue to

support the discipline of archaeology and our endeavours as a society to protect the past.

Notes

1. In the 1947 air photo this residence is under construction.
2. Two small portions of Pine Street are still in use as fragments fringing where Pine Street used to run east/west through Chinatown as the main street.

Colleen Parsley has a B.A. in Anthropology and has worked as a heritage consultant since 2001 in Alberta and B.C. Colleen is currently president of the ASBC-NB and has served on the Board since 2003.

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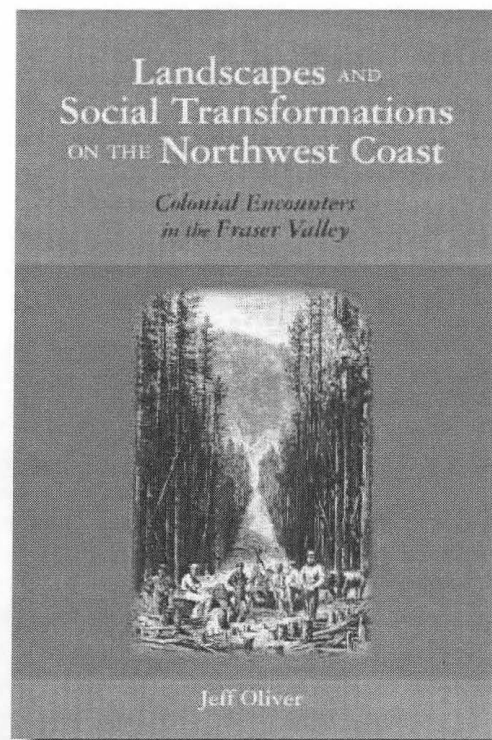
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BOOK REVIEW: "For a More Human Dialogue between Peoples and Places: Transcending Colonial Boundaries on the Northwest Coast"

Landscapes and Social Transformations on the Northwest Coast: Colonial Encounters in the Fraser Valley

Jeff Oliver. University of Arizona Press, Tucson, AZ. 264 pp., illus., maps, figs., notes, biblio., index, ISBN: 978-0-8165-2787-8 (hardcover). \$55.00 US. 2010.

As we enter the Fraser Valley with Oliver, we are presented with an apt, remarkably holistic and theoretically sound synthesis of geography, cartography, historical ecology, ethnohistory, anthropology and ethnography. Oliver's account cuts across these different disciplines as he transcends the salient divides of landscape as an abstract phenomenon and landscape as part and parcel of lived experience. The latter includes Indigenous perseverance and colonial dominance, the pre- and post-contact boundary, past and present times and vastly different cultural understandings of a region that is now commonly known as the Fraser Valley—emblematic for a dominant, widely accepted and often unchallenged colonial perspective of places and people. Here, the predominant history of the Fraser Valley fully reveals itself as one story, one cultural perspective, one out of many assembled in this deep history of a landscape which many newcomers and Stó:lo people continue to call home. In this accomplished work on social change and landscape transformations in the Stó:lo territory, Oliver



aspires to "get closer to the landscape" (p. 9) as he advocates a "more human dialogue between peoples and places" (p. 5) and shows the engagement between people and their environment and the "diverse ways in which people became entangled in transformations" with major consequences for the (re-)making of "histories, identities, and senses of place" (p. 23). Throughout the entire book, Oliver shows a deep respect for Stó:lo peoples and their continued presence in the Fraser Valley.

Oliver succeeds at providing us with an appreciation of the Fraser Valley as a highly contested, lived and always transforming landscape. Following a chapter illustrating a broad historical and geographical context of the Fraser Valley from pre-contact and ancient times to the turn of the twentieth century, by which time "the Fraser Valley had been utterly remade" (p. 23), Oliver artfully engages a meaningful discourse on (the construction of) Aboriginal landscapes. Challenging the prevalent wilderness paradigm, Oliver illustrates that far from being a place inhabited by a primitive and uncivilized Other, a *terra nullius*—empty land—awaiting colonization, the Fraser Valley was a sentient landscape, a rich territory and a land managed through extensive social kin networks and ancestral persistence so common for Coast Salish peoples. The author effectively employs *Sxwōxwiyám*, Myth Age stories, as essential element of Stó:lo cosmology and relational ontology, amongst other Stó:lo accounts, oral tradition and scientific studies on fire ecology and controlled burning. Together, they work to challenge representations of the Northwest Coast in the dominant colonial discourse and refer to distinct places, ways of knowing and shaping the land.

Oliver skillfully illustrates how stories are written on the land as he presents his understanding of the *Katzie Book of Genesis*, a text that is highly significant for Stó:lo people as the most comprehensive and detailed origin story ever recorded in the Halkomelem language by ethnographer Diamond Jenness in 1955 (p. 64). After describing and contextualising the story, Oliver concisely notes that it shall be seen as "a product of social transformations and historical recombinations that articulate local power struggles as well as broader-scale influences" (p. 73). Through the book's first half, Oliver makes a valuable contribution to the discipline as he manages to put forward ample evidence that landscape is not an abstract concept but rather a "medium through which social worlds were actively constructed" (p. 78). It is here that the book provides a real sense of lived, embodied and subjective experience in the engagement between people and the environment. This is well supported by eloquent voices of local informants.

In the second half of the book, Oliver's writing is increasingly important but complex as, at times, his language is unnecessarily technical. In examining geographical and cartographic knowledge production, Oliver urges us to adopt both Indigenous and colonial perspectives when considering historical writing, colonial documents, and processes of marginalization and deterritorialization. Such knowledge of the landscape through colonial maps, for instance, merges local and global views on the Fraser Valley with severe social consequences. Thus, when Oliver explores nineteenth century land surveying, a popular and well-examined topic in the history of British Columbia and Canada, he critically argues that such practises must be seen as a "colonization of opinion" (p. 111). Such land survey prac-

tices were entirely reflective of European agendas and surveyors' domination as they provided powerful "frame[s] for conceiving of and possessing the Fraser Valley" (p. 135). Cartography and colonial maps functioned as tools to produce and mediate a form of knowing—an imperial and totalizing gaze—which was to be shared with future settlers and helped to appropriate Indigenous space. Not surprisingly, Indigenous maps were radically different: they "tended to manipulate physical space according to embodied encounter" (p. 109). Oliver effectively shows that such knowledge production processes were not coherent and homogenous at all. Here, Fraser, Vancouver and explorers of the Hudson's Bay Company, who all sought to dominate the Fraser Valley through the maps they produced, are adequately exposed as very different in their methods, the relationships they engaged in locally and the representations they created globally of the landscape.

The concluding chapters unravel how subjective and lived experiences often impacted and impeded these abstract ways of representing the world. From this we learn that land was actually highly disputed between newcomers, who not only sought to transform the landscapes according to their notions of change and advancement, but also according to a connectedness with tradition and heritage, for instance, motivated by the English garden aesthetic. Coast Salish peoples persevered and skillfully resisted racist assumptions of their inferiority and countered the Indigenous "apartheid" (p. 189), the segregation imposed on them through the establishment of the Indian reserve system, by successfully engaging in farming and establishing functional agriculture networks. As the well-chosen example of the respected Sepass (K'HHalserten) family shows, this was achieved by adopting aspects of European culture while conforming to Stó:lo culture and history.

Oliver cogently demonstrates how these on-the-ground social processes and interactions disrupted colonial agendas of landscape transformations and dominant discourses of 'progress,' which so often successfully mask the social transformations that occurred in the Fraser Valley. Oliver continues the powerful legacy left behind by Franz Boas who advocated a cultural relativism that accepts "culture" as pluralized and dynamic *cultures*, rather than as a singular form. Thus, while Oliver displays great awareness for colonialism and its social consequences, he also manages to show that "Native values operated within a very different cultural logic" (p. 27). We are left with a more 'human' dialogue about Indigenous and colonial history, providing a new perspective on the Fraser Valley and the Coast Salish world.

Sarah Moritz is an MA Candidate in the Department of Anthropology, University of Victoria, currently working on her thesis under Professor Peter Stephenson. Her project is based on ethnographic research with Interior Salish St'at'imc peoples, collectively entitled "Ci Wa lh kalth ti tmicwa (The Land is Ours): St'at'imc First Nation Cultural Identity, Self-Determination and Strategic Collaborations in the Face of Large-Scale Hydro-Electric Development." Her interests and expertise include Aboriginal Title and Rights, social justice, oral history, Traditional Ecological Knowledge, cultural identity/Indigenous self-representation, marginalization and its effects, self-government, self-determination, land use planning and economic development.

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