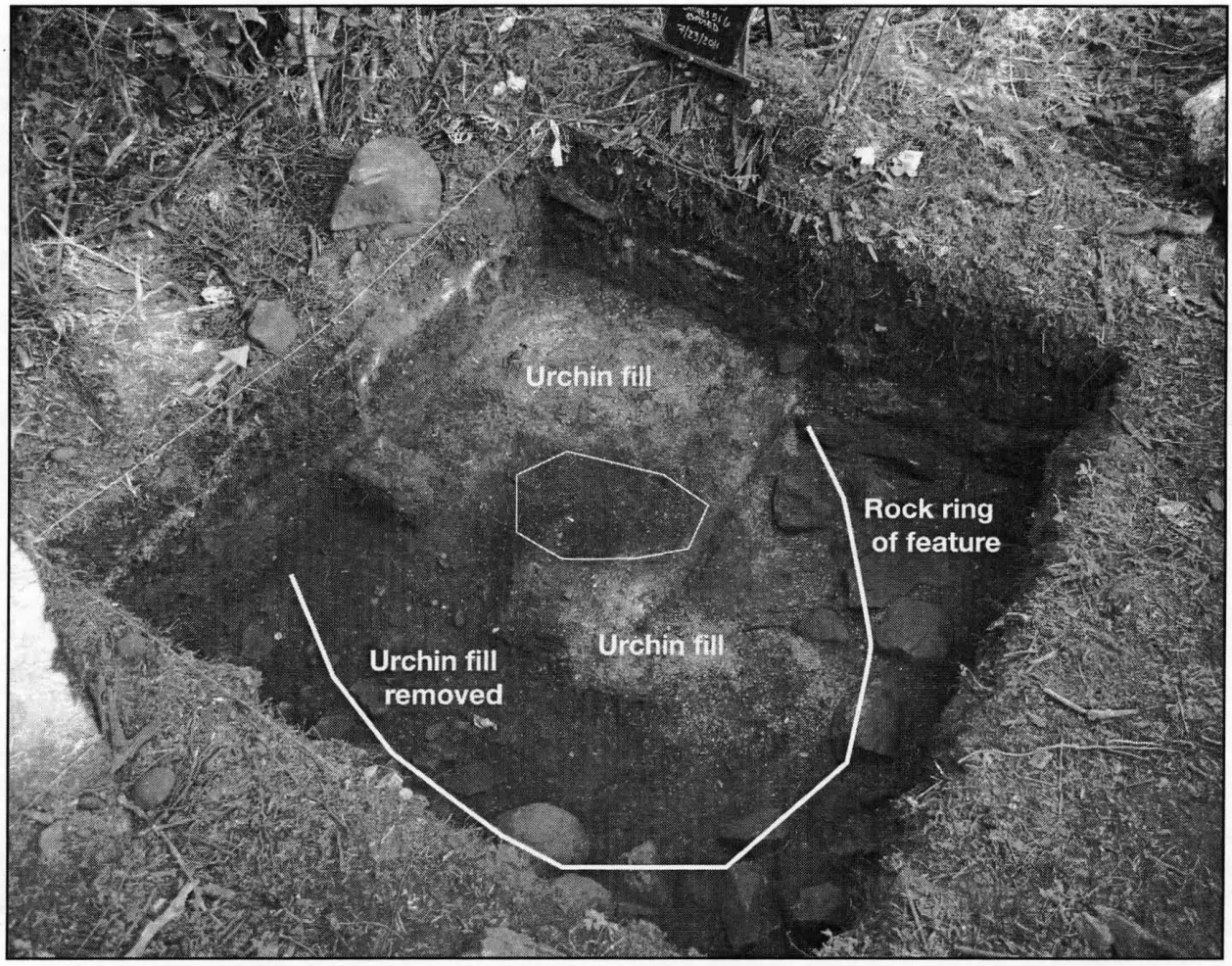
THE MIDDEN

Publication of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia ISSN 0047-7222 Vol. 44, No. 1 — 2012



Site C & Dam Archaeology

What these Awls Mean

Archaeology of the Gulf Islands: Dionisio Point and the 2011 UVic Field School

THE MIDDEN

Volume 44, No. 1 2012

In this issue:

Cover:
Rock-lined feature from excavations at Dionisio Point; details on page 8.

THE MIDDEN Subscriptions

Subscriptions to **THE MIDDEN** are included with ASBC memberships. For non-members, subscriptions for 2012 are available at $23 per year for Canadian addresses—$30 for addresses in the United States and $45 overseas.

Single copies of most previous issues are available for $5.00 each, plus postage.

Subscription forms and membership application forms are available on our website (www.asbc.bc.ca).

Please note we are only able to accept Canadian funds.

The ASBC Pages

Archaeology News: the Site C Dam

It is well-known that the vast majority of archaeology in North America takes the form of cultural resource management (CRM), a.k.a. "salvage" archaeology. Whether as a pre-emptive survey or mitigation during construction, CRM is integral to development and, in this province, the majority of CRM is undertaken in relation to projects concerning resource extraction—logging, oil and gas, and hydro-electrical or "run of the river" projects.

On the Peace River, one of the largest of such projects is currently underway in B.C.—the Site C "Clean Energy Project" Dam. Despite the flurry of media attention that this controversial project has received citing environmental concerns, and the fact that large numbers of archaeologists have been employed conducting surveys in advance of its construction, there has been very little in the newspapers—let alone academic or public discussion—concerning the process or anticipated heritage impacts. Instead, information on archaeology in the Site C area is posted online in a "controlled-release" strategy by the project's proponent, BC Hydro.

Just to give a sense of the scale of Site C, the dam itself is slated to be over a kilometre long with a reservoir stretching 83km behind it, creating a 9300 hectare pool. This means that an area larger than the Fraser Lowlands, from Vancouver, B.C. to Bellingham, WA and inland to Abbotsford, would be inundated.

Yet, of this truly vast area, only 200 hectares—2%—have apparently been identified as having archaeological site potential. Back in 1990, Arcas (1991:14) reported that 328 recorded "prehistoric and historic" archaeological sites were in or close to the project area. As of September 2011, archaeologists working for BC Hydro have revisited just 34 previously recorded sites and discovered 49 unrecorded sites, the product of 28,000 shovel tests and over 120,000 person days on the project (BC Hydro 2011:2-3).

Beyond these basic figures provided by the Crown Corporation, it is unlikely that many details about these sites—for example, the *kinds* of sites discovered, their relative *significance* culturally and historically, or even the kind or extent of mitigating action or *conservation* taken in each case—will ever be made public. This, because it has apparently become routine for CRM archaeologists to sign non-disclosure agreements preventing them from speaking or writing about the sites that are encountered and often destroyed as a result of development.

In light of this, it was a surprise to find the article below, which details one historically significant site in the area that may be impacted. While focusing on just one site, this article raises a critical question concerning how all archaeological and heritage sites are valued: Is it the artifacts and scientific data produced through archaeology that is significant? Or is it the site itself, the history of a place and its rootedness, that is of importance? If it is the former—the "data"—that makes history meaningful, as David Conway, BC Hydro's Community Relations Manager, suggests below, then the fate of archaeological sites in British Columbia has already been decided and it is only a matter of renting warehouses to house the thousands of artifacts, volumes of reports and disks of digital materials that are produced with every project. If, however, it is the latter—the "place itself"—that matters, then no amount of archaeology can ever make up for the heritage that is destroyed every day in this province.

Marina La Salle, Editor

References

Arcas Consulting Archaeologists Ltd. 1991. BC Hydro Peace Site C Project Heritage Resources Assessment - Status Report. Report prepared for BC Hydro Environmental Resources, Vancouver, B.C. Electronic document, http://www.bchydro.com/etc/medialib/internet/documents/info/pdf/site_c_-_peace_river6.Par.0001.File.1Peace_Site_C_Project_Heritage_Resources_Assessment_Status.pdf

BC Hydro Site C Clean Energy Project Heritage Study Update Fall 2011. Electronic document, http://www.bchydro.com/energy_in_bc/projects/site_c/where_we_are_today/environmental_socio_economic_work.html#heritage

BC Hydro Project Description Site C Clean Energy Project. 2011. Electronic document, http://www.bchydro.com/etc/medialib/internet/documents/planning_regulatory/site_c/2011q2/site_c_project_description.Par.0001.File.Site_C_Project_Description_Report_%20May_2011.pdf

Site of first European settlement in BC threatened by Site C proposal: PRRD director wants area designated a National Park, BC Hydro argues "there's nothing there to see"

Reprinted from CJDC-TV, by Andre da Costa, 9 December 2011, Fort St. John

On the far banks of the Peace River, across from Fort St. John was another Fort. The precursor to Fort St John, known as Rocky Mountain Fort.

There was an archaeological survey of the area in the late 1980s, investigating the site, which is believed to be built by fur trader John Finlay in 1794. Arthur Hadland, Area C Director with the Peace River Regional District says that site is so important to the history of BC that it should be given National Park status.

"What I would like to do is have recognition of the heritage that this region has," said Hadland. "Right now, it's totally ignored as you can see. Two of those forts have never been designated even on a map."

Hadland has written a letter to the Federal government asking that the site be granted park status, arguing that newer sites such as Fort St. James, built in 1805 has been designated as a National park. What makes this request urgent in his mind is that the Rocky Mountain Fort site, and the Rocky Mountain Portage Fort (also referred to as Rocky Mountain Portage House) near Hudson's Hope, will be underwater if the Site C dam project proceeds.

Hadland says "These two particular forts, Rocky Mountain Fort and Rocky Mountain Portage Fort lie within the

proposed resevoir of Site C." He says BC Hydro's plan will put the achaeological and historical riches of the region under water. When Hadland approached BC Hydro staff about the issue, he says Hydro said they will "mitigate" the situation.

David Conway from BC Hydro says the Rocky Mountain Fort site, near where the Moberly River meets the Peace, was discovered by an archaeological survey done by BC Hydro in the 1970s. Conway argues that everything of value has been learned from the site, and preserving the location does not accomplish anything. He says the location "is not accessible by anyone," and the value is in what has been gathered and taken away.

Evidence shows that humans have been living in the Peace River Valley for thousands of years. Arthur Hadland regularly finds artifacts on his farm. Most of them are typical of the Clovis culture, who were believed to have dominated this area as far back as 10,000 BC. Rocky Mountain Fort is recognized as the oldest European settlement in the province.

The Peace River valley was explored in the late 18th century as Europeans made their way toward the Pacific. Heather Longworth, Curator of the North Peace Museum in Fort St John explains, the Fort was established soon after. "Well, I guess 1793 is the first date, with Alexander Mackenzie coming on his way to the Pacific coast by land and water." She says "it was his idea to that there should be a fort somewhere in the Taylor flats—Fort St. John area."

The Rocky Mountain Fort site is difficult to access. It has been quietly sitting on the western bank of the Peace River. The site has been quiet and relatively undisturbed since the mid-1980s.

Hadland wants protection for both the Rocky Mountain Fort, and Rocky Mountain Portage Fort—near Hudson's Hope. Hadland points out that Fort St. James, which was built in 1805, has National Park status.

Rocky Mountain Fort itself operated for 11 years, between 1794 and 1805. The Fort was replaced by Fort D'Epinette, further downstream in 1806. That fort was renamed Fort St. John after the Hudson's Bay company took over the Northwest Company. That Fort was abandoned in 1823, and traders did not return until a new Fort St. John was built in 1860, in what is now Old Fort.

Hadland says he will follow up with the Federal Ministers of Heritage and the Environment in the New Year, in hopes of giving history in the Peace region the recognition and protection he feels it deserves.

Further Reading

Rocky Mountain Fort:

Burley, D. and S. Hamilton. 1990. Rocky Mountain Fort: Archaeological Research and the Late Eighteenth-century North West Company Expansion into British Columbia. *BC Studies* (88):3-20.

Burley, D.V., J.S. Hamilton and K.R. Fladmark. 1996. Prophecy of the Swan: The Upper Peace River Fur Trade of 1794–1823. UBC Press:Vancouver, B.C.

The Site C Dam Project:

BC Hydro. 2011. Site C Reports. Electronic document, http://www.bchydro.com/energy_in_bc/projects/site_c/document_centre.html

I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. 2009. Peace River Site C Hydro Project—Archaeological Site Reconciliation, Peace River Fort St. John to Hudson's Hope, B.C.

Arcas Consulting Archaeologists Ltd. 2009. Peace River Site C Hydro Project—Heritage Resources Data Gap Analysis.

1991. BC Hydro Peace Site C Project Heritage Resources Assessment - Status Report.

Site C Commentary:

Bernick, K. 1983. Site "C": A Dam Site Too Big Too Soon. *The Midden* 15(3):7-13.

Church, M., N. Dusyk, M. Evenden, K. Forest, M. Griffin Cohen, A. Netherton and A. Peacock. 2009. FORUM: Site C: Considering the Prospect of Another Dam on the Peace River. *BC Studies* (161):93-114.

Society Opposes Hydro's Plan to Dam Peace River. *The Midden* 14(1):15.

BC Heritage + BC Hydro = a marriage of convenience?

"Energy. We need it to move, to see, to stay warm, to cook, and just to have fun. Without it, we couldn't work, build or grow. We need energy to live."
(http://www.heritagebc.ca/heritage-week-2012)

Heritage Week 2012, which took place across the province during February 20-26th, was themed "Energy in B.C.: A Powerful Past, A Sustainable Future." It should hardly be any wonder, then, to find that Heritage Week was sponsored this year by BC Hydro. As communities all over British Columbia organized events to celebrate their local heritage, it seemed that BC Hydro wanted to remind citizens of what should really matter most to them: BC Hydro.

Actually, "The Heritage of Power Generation" was the theme encouraged by the Canada Heritage Foundation, a national charity mandated "to preserve and demonstrate and encourage the preservation and demonstration of the nationally significant historic, architectural, natural and scenic heritage of Canada with a view to stimulating and promoting the interest of the people of Canada in that heritage" (http://www.heritagecanada.org/en/about-us/what-we-do). Since, they claim, "Canada is the world's second-largest producer of hydroelectricity, and our per-capita power consumption is among the highest in the world" (http://www.heritagecanada.org/en/visit-discover/heritage-day), power is obviously a foundational part of Canadian national identity.

(Meanwhile, in Ontario and New Brunswick, Heritage Week focused on the bicentennial of the War of 1812—a period of history that ensured Canada would not become the northern-most American state.)

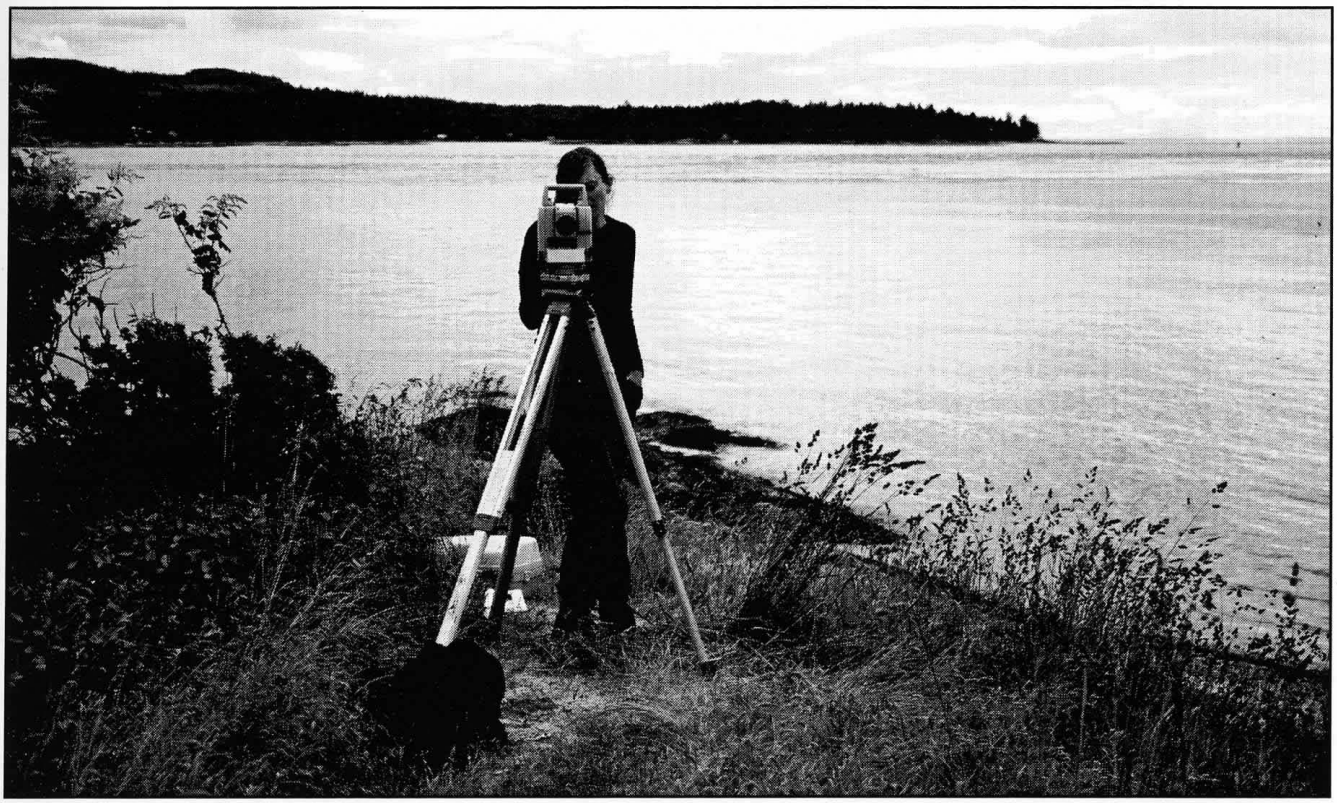
In light of the Site C Dam and Rocky Mountain Fort situation—and, indeed, the ever-increasing number of CRM projects undertaken in advance of hydro-electric development in British Columbia—is there perhaps more than a hint of irony in this unlikely marriage of heritage and hydro?

Find out more about recent events here: http://www.heritagebc.ca/heritage-week-2012

Marina La Salle, Editor

University of Victoria 2011 Field School in the Gulf Islands

Emily Benson



The University of Victoria (UVic) held its second archaeology field school in the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve (GINPR) this past summer (May 30 to July 8, 2011). The project was directed by Duncan McLaren, and took place with the support and assistance of Parks Canada and the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (HTG), and in discussion with Tsecyum First Nation. This year we had eleven students participate, one teaching assistant (Jenny Cohen), two research assistants (Emily Benson and Phoebe Ramsay), and two interns, Simon Smith, Jr. (Tsartlip First Nation) and Lisa Wilson (HTG). Fieldwork built upon the research conducted during the 2010 field season, and again had a cultural resource management focus.

Location

The field school primarily took place on Portland Island, located just south of Saltspring Island within the traditional territories of several First Nations, including HTG First Nations (Cowichan, Lake Cowichan, Layackson, Halalt, Penelakut, Stz'uminus) and WSANEC First Nations (Malahat, Pauquachin,Tsartlip, Tsawout, Tsecyum). The name for the island in SENĆOŦEN is *SXEĆOŦEN*, meaning "you can see where your mouth is" (Elliott 1990). The entire island and several of its adjacent islets are managed by Parks Canada, within the GINPR.

There are numerous First Nations' heritage sites on Portland Island, including two former settlements, Shell Beach (1657T, DeRu 26) and Arbutus Point (1659T, DeRu 28). Several smaller shell midden sites have been documented, as well as sacred sites, cedar and Douglas fir culturally-modified trees (CMTs), intertidal lithics, small cultural depressions, and a clam garden. Several of the larger sites were recorded by Cassidy et al. (1974) as part of a provincial archaeological survey of the Gulf Islands in the 1970s. Parks Canada has surveyed and recorded many additional sites in the last five years under the GINPR Archaeological Resource Management Program (Parks Canada 2010). The 2010 and 2011 field schools have helped to address site management concerns and research questions initially identified as part of this process.

Archaeological Research and Training

Student training in both 2010 and 2011 involved studying archaeological and ethnographic literature relating to the Gulf of Georgia region, and training in excavation methods, artifact and faunal identification, and field recording methods. A major focus of the field school has been on investigating intertidal zones for intact archaeological deposits. These areas hold great potential for increasing archaeological knowledge of the Gulf Islands. Much of the archaeological research that has taken place in the region in the past has focused on shore-line shell middens dating to within the last few thousand years. Less visible, intertidal deposits dating to before this period have generally not been studied.

Figure 1 (above). Emily Benson recording site 1665T with a total station. (Photo by Jeff Miller)

However, Fedje et al.'s (2009) sea-level curve for the Gulf Islands suggests that sea levels were lower prior to this time, with the result that many earlier sites are likely to be located in the intertidal zone. This research has great potential to expand our knowledge of the history of the area. It also may contribute to more effective cultural resource management in the Gulf Islands, as it suggests that the testing below beach deposits and in intertidal zones should become a routine part of cultural resource management (CRM) surveys and site analysis in the region.

Over the last few years, research conducted by Parks Canada and the UVic field schools have identified intact archaeological remains and features under beach deposits in intertidal zones. During the 2010 field school intact house floors were identified under thick sandy beach deposits on Sidney Island using a combination of ground-penetrating radar and excavation. These features are located in proximity to surface pit house depressions. This year, much of our fieldwork took place at Arbutus Point, where students excavated 1 x 1 m units beneath beach deposits in the intertidal zone. Cultural materials from these excavations were analyzed through an archaeology lab course at UVic this fall. Several radiocarbon samples were analysed, showing that cultural deposits in the intertidal zone date to between 5,000 and 900 radiocarbon years before present. Obsidian found at Arbutus Point was recently analyzed with x-ray fluorescence and was found to come from Oregon. Becky Wigen has also been helping with faunal analysis.

Cultural Resource Management

In addition to traditional excavation skills, students learned skills valuable for CRM, such as surveying, site identification and recording, mapping sites using a total station, and identifying management recommendations for archaeological sites. Several sites were mapped in detail during the 2011 field season. Students were trained on the total station and mapped sites in small groups and with a research assistant over the summer. Royal Cove (1658T), a shell midden site with intertidal features and artifacts, was mapped in detail to assist in management recommendations for Parks Canada. A site at the north end of the island, just west of Royal Cove (1665T), was also mapped in detail to assess midden erosion, and to record the locations of features and CMTs. In addition, students mapped a shell midden site at Active Pass (Mayne Island), and more information was collected to build on the map data from Arbutus Point.

Figure 2. Phoebe Ramsay and Jenny Cohen screening at Arbutus Point. (Photo by Jeff Miller)

Respect for Heritage Sites

The importance of respecting local protocols for conducting research around heritage sites was emphasized throughout the field school. Participants were instructed in appropriate conduct around heritage sites by elders, August Sylvester, and Dave Bill, prior to going into the field. Readings for the field school included the HTG study, *A'lhut tu tet Sul'hweentst [Respecting the Ancestors]: Understanding Hul'qumi'num Heritage Laws and Concerns for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage* (McLay et al. 2008) and readings on WSANEC history. Tseycum First Nation members and Parks Canada staff also visited Arbutus Point and met with the field school while excavations were in progress.

Field school students also informally engaged in public education about respecting cultural heritage sites with park visitors. The high visibility of both our excavation site and camp at Princess Bay, and information posted at both sites, encouraged conversation with campers, hikers, boaters, kayakers, and summer camps about the project and the importance of protecting heritage sites.

Emily Benson was a student on the 2010 UVic field school, and a Research Assistant during the 2011 season. She is currently undertaking an MA at Simon Fraser University.

References Cited:

Cassidy, Stephen C., M. Cranny, and Phil Murton. 1974. Report of the Gulf Island Archaeological Survey. Permit Report 1974-1. Victoria: Report on file at the Archaeology and Registry Services Branch.

Student Lab Course Projects (Fall 2011)	
Amelia Rogers	*Analysis of lithics From Arbutus Point*
Jennifer Head	*Analysis of shell fish from column sample 1659T5E*
Seonaid Duffield	*Analysis of plant macrofossils from 1659T7, and fish remains from Arbutus Point*
John Pratt	*Analysis of mammal fauna from Arbutus Point*
Maia Ludwig-Ives	*Analysis of bird fauna from Arbutus Point*

Table 1. Student projects based on field school research, undertaken during Fall 2011.

Figure 3. Dinner-time at campsite, Princess Bay. (Photo by Stella Wenstob)

Student Field School Research Projects (Summer 2011)	
Seonaid Duffield	*Report on Edible Plants from Arbutus Point and Shell Beach;Unit Report for 1659T5C*
Justin Fritz	*Report on Ethnographic Land Use and Unit Report for 1659T7.*
Kristine Gretzinger	*Report on Sea Level Change in the Gulf of Georgia; Unit Report for 1659T5D*
Jennifer Head	*Report on Lithic Types from the Gulf Islands; Unit Report for 1659T6A*
Desiree Ingram	*Report on Subtidal and Intertidal Excavations in the Gulf of Georgia; Unit Report for 1659T5E*
Jeff Miller	*Report on Archaeological Land Use Patterns in the Southern Gulf Islands; Report on Site Mapping at Royal Cove (1665T)*
Amelia Rogers	*Summary of Radiocarbon Dates from Gulf Island Archaeological Sites; Unit Report for 1659T5A (Arbutus Pt.)*
James Rogers	*Report on Shellfish Use and Importance; Report on Mapping Project at Royal Cove (1658T)*
Brittany Walker	*Vegetation History of the Southern Gulf Islands; Report of ESP and Auger Testing at Arbutus Point and Shell Beach*
Stella Wenstob	*Report on Beach Berm formation; Unit Report for 1659T5B*
Adam Wharram	*Background Research on Locarno Beach; Unit Report for 1659T8A (Arbutus Pt.)*

Table 2. Student projects based on field school research, undertaken during Summer 2011.

Elliott Dave, Sr. 1990. *Saltwater People*. Saanich: School District 63.

Fedje, Daryl, Ian D. Sumpter and John R. Southon. 2009. Sea-levels and Archaeology in the Gulf Islands National Park Reserve. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 33(2):234-253.

McLay, Eric, Kelly Bannister, Lea Joe, Brian Thom, George P. Nicholas. 2008. 'A'lhut tu tet Sul'hweentst [Respecting the Ancestors]: Understanding Hul'qumi'num Heritage Laws and Concerns for the Protection of Archaeological Heritage. In *First Nations Cultural Heritage and Law: Case Studies, Voices, and Perspectives*, edited by C. Bell and V. Napoleon, pp.150-202. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Parks Canada (Fedje, Daryl and Ian Sumpter). 2010. 2009-2010 Archaeological Resource Management Programme: Gulf Islands National Park Reserve of Canada. Report on file, Cultural Resource Services, Western and Northern Service Centre, Parks Canada Agency, Victoria.

Thinking through Local and Regional Histories:
Recent Research at Dionisio Point and in the Outer Gulf Islands

Colin Grier

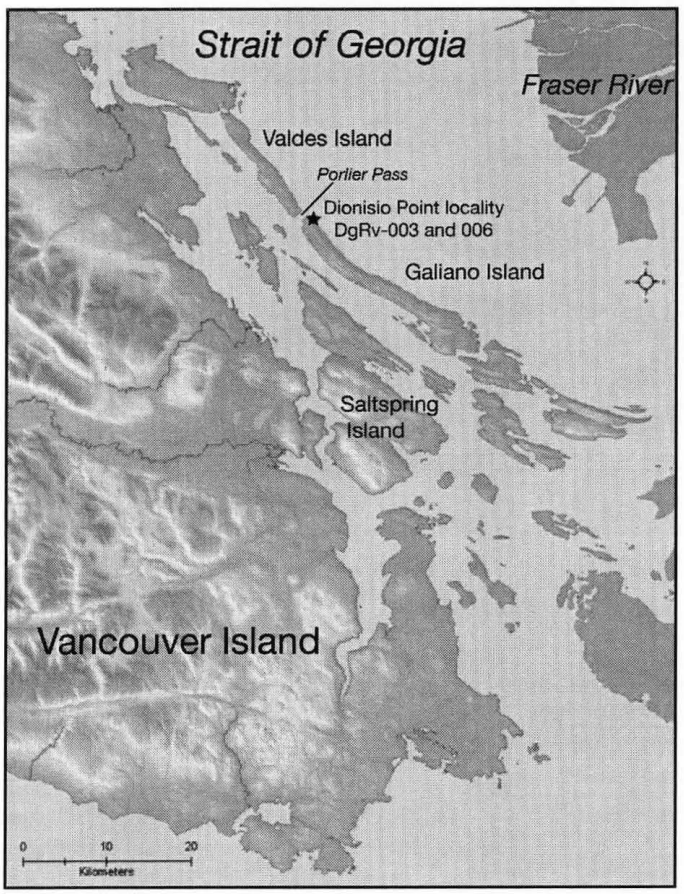


Figure 1. Map of the southwestern coast of British Columbia showing the location of the Dionisio Point locality and other key locations referenced in the text.

I first visited the Dionisio Point site (Borden number DgRv-003) in the summer of 1996. At the time I was working on my first field project on the Northwest Coast. This project was a wide area excavation of several plankhouse depressions at the Shingle Point site (DgRv-002) on southwestern Valdes Island, a project directed by R.G. Matson of the University of British Columbia. A boat trip to Dionisio Point, some 5 km to the south on nearby Galiano Island, was arranged by R.G. as part of his efforts to help us connect with the amazing archaeological landscape of the outer southern Gulf Islands (Figure 1).

Dionisio Point was an impressive site, with five obvious and large plankhouse depressions which dated to around 1500 years ago (Figure 2). At that time, only a handful of village sites of roughly this age with clear surface expression of plankhouse architecture were known for the entirety of the area now referred to as the Salish Sea. In the mid 1990s, household archaeology was a burgeoning topic of inquiry in Northwest Coast archaeology, and here was a site that could clearly provide the quality of data required to examine the organizational complexity of large, multifamily plankhouses in the precontact Coast Salish region.

The site was relatively clear chronologically as well. Donald Mitchell excavated at DgRv-003 in the 1960s and retrieved charcoal samples that dated the site to the middle of the Marpole phase. The Marpole phase is a period of time between roughly 2500 and 1000 years ago during which many of the social institutions of Coast Salish societies known ethnographically likely developed (as many archaeologist have argued). To me, the site appeared ideal for providing answers to some important questions concerning what Marpole households were like, and for connecting household organization to processes of resource intensification and increasing social inequalities.

I commenced large scale excavations in 1998 in one of the 20 x 10 m ancient plankhouses at DgRv-003 as part of my doctoral dissertation work based at Arizona State University. These excavations revealed interesting data concerning the relationships among families within the large household, but also illuminated the high degree of specialization of individual families in various subsistence tasks and the amount of inequality such specialization promoted (results discussed in part in previous issues of *The Midden* [e.g., Grier 1999, 2002] and elsewhere [Grier 2003; 2006a])[1].

Despite these interesting results, one issue remained surprisingly difficult to address. Radiocarbon dating of House 2, additional houses, and external middens around the houses all indicated the village was occupied for a short period of time, perhaps as short as a couple of generations and likely no more than roughly two centuries (Grier 2006a). This relatively short term occupation contrasts with the long term record of many other large sites in the region, such as Montague Harbour (McLay et al. 2010; Mitchell 1971), Pender Canal (Carlson and Hobler 1993) and Shingle Point (Grier et al. 2009).

Why did this village exist perhaps for only a few centuries? And what kind of village was this? Why and how was it ultimately abandoned? As village excavations continued, it became clear that the location itself had been used after the village was abandoned, though only intermittently and as a seasonal resource acquisition location. No indications that a large village existed specifically in the location of DgRv-003 were found in Penelakut Coast Salish oral histories, consistent with our understanding that abandonment of the village occurred well over a millennia ago.

The specific history of the DgRv-003 village undoubtedly is connected to larger currents of history in the region. The village was situated in the last protected bay before entering the Strait of Georgia, and so suggests some connection to that ocean superhighway through the Salish Sea, and also to the Lower Fraser River area situated 20 km east across the Strait. Thinking more locally, the village was situated in Porlier Pass, one of three main passes that allow movement between the inner southern Gulf Islands and the Strait. Perhaps the village was positioned here to control

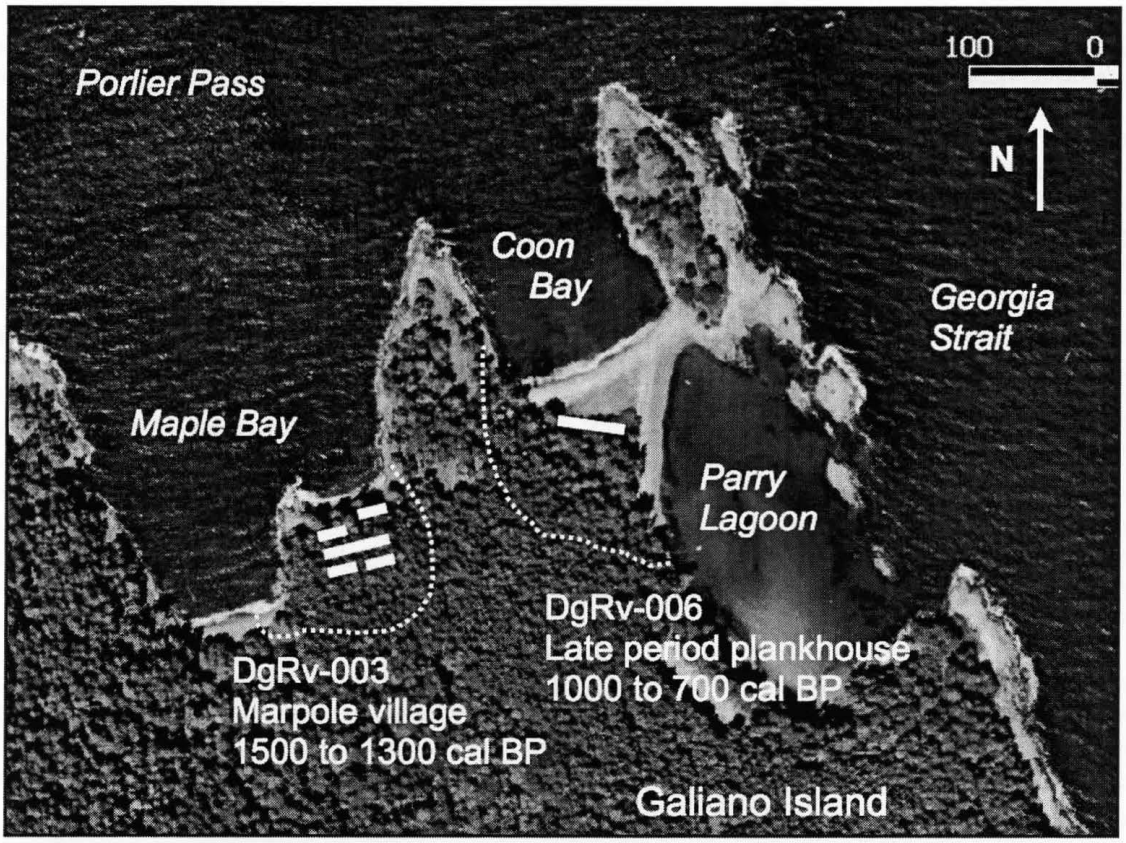


Figure 2. The Dionisio Point locality showing locations of ancient plankhouses (filled rectangles) at the DgRv-003 and DgRv-006 sites. Note that site boundaries (dotted lines) are approximate. (Basemap image courtesy of the Galiano Conservancy)

movement through the pass, either heading in or going out. Beyond access and transport, Suttles (1987) reports that Porlier Pass was used by the Penelakut in recent times as a sea lion hunting area, and so the DgRv-003 village may also have been situated to take advantage of the abundant marine resources, including sea mammals, available in the energetic waters of Porlier Pass. Yet, these possibilities shed little light on the original problem—why the short duration of occupation?

A Larger Window on Dionisio Point Precontact History

As with most aspects of archaeological research, the more you look the less clear your answers seem but the more interesting your questions become. In 2003 and 2007, inventories of archaeological resources in the Dionisio Point locality were completed, focusing on site DgRv-006 roughly 150 m east of the main Marpole-age village (Figure 2). This testing revealed complex midden deposits in the area of Coon Bay (Grier and McLay 2007). This spot had been on my radar for awhile, as there appeared to be an additional plankhouse depression on a flat area behind the beach at Coon Bay. Initial testing revealed it to be the remains of a 40 x 10 metre Late period plankhouse. This house has now been radiocarbon dated to 1000 to 650 years ago, suggesting substantial occupation was re-established at Dionisio Point some three or four centuries after the Marpole village was abandoned.

These new data, which came a decade after initial intensive excavations commenced at DgRv-003, put a much more complex spin on what had been previously thought of as a neat and tidy, though somewhat enigmatic, short-term occupation. Other testing revealed use of the area outside the immediate plankhouse area over the last two millennia as well. Radiocarbon dates obtained from the substantial stretch of shell midden along Parry Lagoon indicate consistent (if not continuous) deposition of materials over the last two millennia. With the recognition that the Dionisio Point locality was inhabited over a much greater period of time than initially recognized, the questions have shifted to considering the ways in which its history of occupation mirrors that of other prominent sites in the region that were inhabited over as much as 5000 years (Grier et al. 2009).

We were also now presented with the opportunity to compare plankhouse occupations dating to the Marpole and Late periods in a single location. To facilitate this comparison, our objective was to obtain more data from the Late period plankhouse itself, and this work commenced in the summer of 2010. Since Coast Salish plankhouses typically have some sort of central hearth feature, and this kind of feature had been encountered in two of the five houses at the DgRv-003 village, my crew and I somewhat judgmentally picked a spot in the approximate center of the plankhouse depression and excavated a 1 x 1 m unit. To our surprise, we found in this exact location a large feature lined with basketball-sized rocks and filled almost entirely with sea urchin remains. Further excavation in 2011 revealed the remainder of the feature, which turned out to be a 2 m diameter roasting pit in which an unfathomable amount of sea urchin were cooked in what may have been a singular, large consumption event (Figure 3).

While sea urchin are often eaten raw, Penelakut elder

August Sylvester informed us that they are often roasted to the point where the spines and skill falls off. While straightforward to prepare, sea urchin are not necessarily an easy resource to collect, however, as they are found low in the intertidal zone and in sub-tidal environs. There certainly would have been windows of opportunity to acquire them in bulk during seasonal extreme low tides in mid winter and mid summer, supporting the notion that they were collected and processed as part of a short term event. All considered, the archaeological situation we encountered brings to mind some grand feast in which a large quantity of a targeted resource was collected, prepared in the center of the plankhouse, and which was then consumed by the household itself or perhaps invitees from afar. Feasting has been on the minds of archaeologists for some time, as described in a recent overview of feasting research by Hayden and Villeneuve (2011). Feasting has been argued as a critical mechanism through which individual status can be constructed, group solidarity reinforced, and extralocal alliances established and reaffirmed. As such, it is a important social practice in small-scale societies, and provides an entry point into the study of resource production, ritual and social power in the past.

The feature is somewhat remarkable in other respects as well. As we continued to excavate, we came across the atlas and axis vertebrae of a sea mammal, suggesting this was also on the menu for the inferred feast. Curiously, we encountered other parts of sea mammals (at this point identified entirely as *Eumetopias jubatus*, steller sea lion) in different areas of the house. Putting on a speculative hat, one might envision this pattern as resulting from the sharing out of a roasted animal to other householders or invited guests. Adjacent to and associated with the sea mammal remains was a long nephrite chisel. This is an unusual spot to find a valued and still functional item of material culture, as Quentin Mackie aptly pointed out when he visited our excavations. While these are typically thought of as primarily woodworking rather than butchery tools, was this perhaps some kind of ritual deposit in which the tool was symbolically deposited with the remains of the meal?

As the excavation of the feature progressed, we kept our speculation in check, however, particularly without the benefit of having completed finer-grained analysis of the recovered materials back in the lab at WSU. Were we truly being presented with evidence of some singular and unusual feasting event, potentially even an ancient potlatch, that unfolded 650 years ago? In 2008, I presented a paper at the World Archaeological Congress in Dublin, Ireland in which I lamented the lack of attention archaeologists have given to addressing the potlatch and other communal food consumption events archaeologically. While all feasts are not potlatches, all potlatches likely involved some kind of feasting. As far as archaeological indicators go, the material remains of unusual consumption events may ultimately turn out to be the

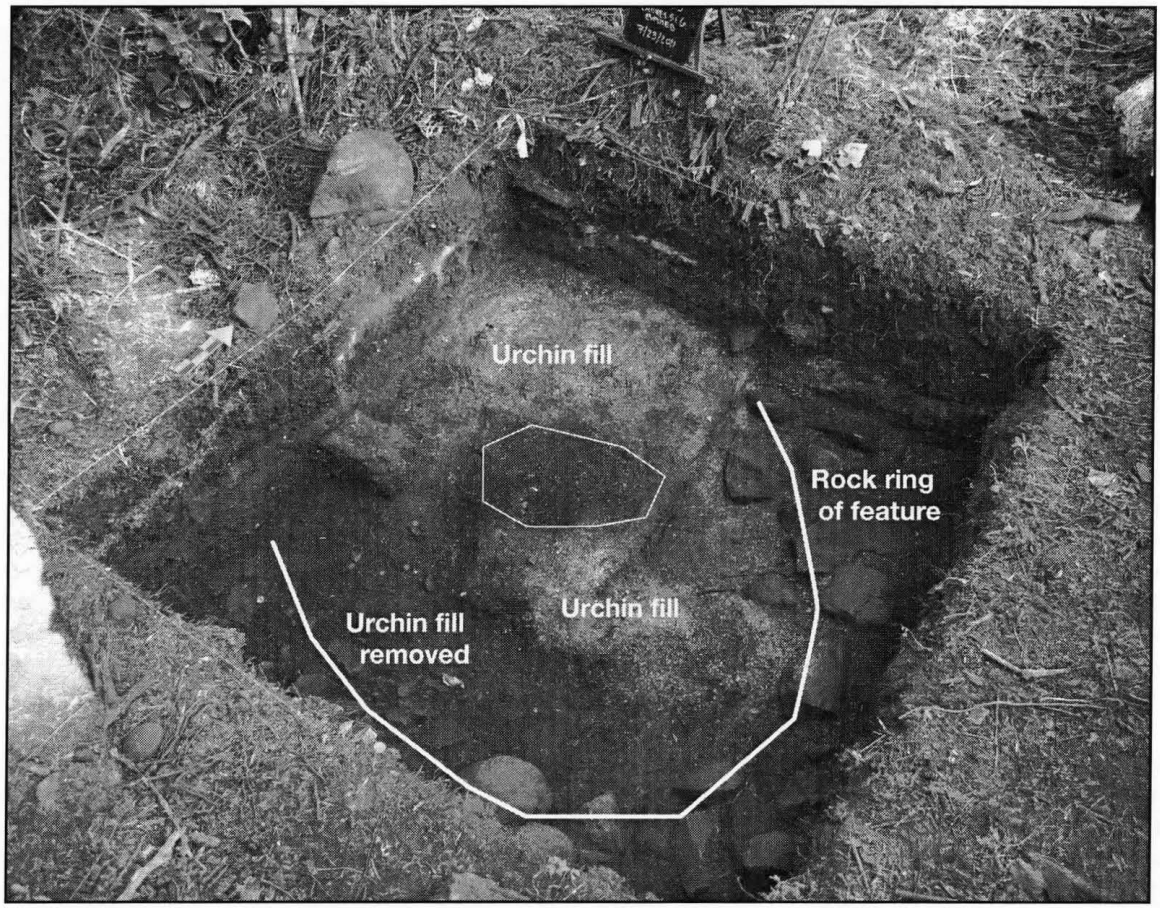


Figure 3. Rock-lined feature in the center of DgRv-006 House 1 during excavation. The darker area circled in the center of the feature denotes the location where sea mammal vertebrae and the nephrite chisel were recovered. (Photo by author)

best indicator of such practices in the past. It is interesting to note that plankhouses are a typical setting for potlatches, which, as I conveyed in 2008, can have the unfortunate archaeological outcome of mixing the record of unusual and atypical events with everyday domestic processes (Grier 2006a, 2008).

Some eight months after the field season of 2011, the fine-grained analysis is well underway. The feature contents are estimated (very roughly) to include at least 20,000 sea urchin, both of the green and purple variety. While some traces of other resources are evident in the matrix samples of feature fill we took (some of which have now been sifted through nested screens from 4 mm through 425 microns), the material is nearly 100% sea urchin test fragments and spines. The most pressing question for which we have no answer at the moment is whether the entirety of the feature reflects a single event, multiple events over potentially a single season, or a much longer accumulation of material. The surrounding stratigraphic context and discrete lenses of purple and green urchin point to short term use of the feature (or perhaps the last use of the feature), though additional data need to be collected and analyzed for certainty on this.

Beyond these data from DgRv-006, the record of household ritual remains very meager indeed on the precontact Northwest Coast, and in particular for southern coastal British Columbia. At DgRv-003, our excavations in House 2 in 1998 recovered two stone bowls in what appears to be primary context in two distinct areas of the house. These bowls suggest a connection to regional symbolic and ritual traditions during the Marpole phase, perhaps hinting at the significance of Dionisio Point in wider Coast Salish social networks. Elsewhere, Coupland et al. (2003) have argued that a predominance of mammal bone and an inferred feasting hearth identify House O at the McNichol Creek site near Prince Rupert as a "Chief's House." Other than these and a few other limited examples, evidence for household-level ritual in precontact plankhouses remains sparse, despite its clear importance (Coupland et al. 2009; Grier 2006b; Suttles 1991).

Coming to Terms with Complex Histories: Some Conclusions

With the recognition that the archaeological record of the Dionisio Point locality contains much more than just a short term Marpole village, my sights have turned to the broader southern Gulf Islands region. Funded by a three-year grant from the National Science Foundation, this research is now considering long-term ecological and social change at as many as six major village sites within a 20 km area of Dionisio Point. Part of the rationale for this shift outward in focus is the desire to construct a long-term, multi-site view of the region's history. But, at the same time, the new and curious data from DgRv-006 have returned my sights to the household context.

Thinking through how precontact history unfolded at multiple scales is key, however. As Stephen Shennan (1993) remarked some years ago, the archaeological record is a product of both specific, singular events and longer-term processes. This recognition forces us to think through how a singular event such as a large feast that may have happened some 650 years ago relates to much longer and broader trends of social change. In conceptualizing individual actors and the way they shape and are shaped by longer-term structures of history, it is perhaps best to recognize, as argued by Pauketat (2001), that history is "perpetually becoming." In many respects archaeological interpretations are also "perpetually becoming", and I look forward to seeing where our explanations for Coast Salish history, at the Dionisio Point site and elsewhere, will end up in the years to come.

Notes

1. Most of the publications by the author mentioned in the text are available for download as PDFs at http://www.libarts.wsu.edu/anthro/faculty/grier.html

Acknowledgments

Research at Dionisio Point has been funded over the years primarily through grants from the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. The privilege of working in the area has been afforded to me by the generous support of the Penelakut Tribe. BC Parks, and in particular Joe Benning, Area Supervisor, has facilitated much of this research. I also thank all the crew members over the years who have toiled in the dirt to bring the research to where we stand now.

Colin Grier is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Anthropology at Washington State University. A Canadian and long-term resident of Vancouver, he left to pursue a BA in anthropology at McGill University (1993) and an MA (1996) and PhD (2001) in anthropology at Arizona State University. After returning to Vancouver to take up a SSHRC post-doctoral fellowship at UBC, he joined the faculty at WSU in 2007. Having worked in the Arctic, Ireland, Germany and Korea, he now is settled on the Northwest Coast as his permanent study area, but continues to collaborate regularly with colleagues in Spain, Korea and elsewhere.

References Cited

Carlson, Roy L. and Philip M. Hobler. 1993. The Pender Canal Excavations and the Development of Coast Salish Culture. *BC Studies* 99:25-52.

Coupland, Gary, Roger H. Colton and Rebecca Case. 2003. Preliminary Analysis of Socioeconomic Organization at the McNichol Creek Site, British Columbia. In *Emerging from the Mist: Studies in Northwest Coast Culture History*, edited by R.G. Matson, G. Coupland and Q. Mackie, pp. 152-170. University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver.

Coupland, Gary, Terence Clark and Amanda Palmer. 2009. Hierarchy, Communalism, and the Spatial order of Northwest Coast Plank Houses: A comparative study. *American Antiquity* 74:77–106.

Grier, Colin. 2008. On the Cultural Track of the Potlatch". Paper presented at the World Archaeology Congress (WAC-6), Dublin, Ireland.

2006a. Temporality in Northwest Coast Households. In *Household Archaeology on the Northwest Coast*, edited by E. A. Sobel, D. A. Trieu Gahr, and K. Ames, pp. 97-119. International Monographs in Prehistory, Ann Arbor.

2006b. The Political Context of Prehistoric Coast Salish Residences on the Northwest Coast. In *Palaces and Power in the Americas: From Peru to the Northwest Coast*, edited by J. J. Christie and P. J. Sarro, pp. 141-165. University of Texas Press, Austin.

continued on page 16...

BONE AWLS:

Bridging or Widening the Gaps between Archaeology & Ethnology

Grant Keddie

We can all applaud the fact that some archaeologists are asking more theoretical questions, having moved beyond basic artifact description. However, it is clear that research undertaken to espouse new ideas often depends on poorly classified assemblages.

Our knowledge of the timing and distribution of even some of the most common artifacts remains uncertain. The precise use of many of the artifacts that are found is often unknown, and sometimes, mistakenly, a correlation is assumed between archaeological and ethnographic artifacts.

In order to judge the accuracy of ethnographic information, archaeologists need to be aware of the process of how ethnographic information builds upon and interacts with the ethnographic and historic records. Museum catalogue records are part of this process.

Few archaeologists have had the opportunity to work with ethnological collections, making it difficult to recognize a need for and thus develop a critique of the world of ethnographic artifacts. Instead, statements are often made assuming an obvious relationship between archaeological assemblages of a certain age and what is perceived as the ethnographic correlates without quantifying what exactly is equivalent.

To help bridge a discussion on the nature of the relationship between archaeological and ethnographic artifacts, I examine a range of ethnographic artifacts—mostly those of bone and antler—that have archaeological correlates. Sometimes, the correlation is clear and, at other times, it is a bit fuzzy. In this article, I will focus on metapodial bone awls.

Ethnographic Evidence

In comparing the ethnographic record to the archaeological, it is important to understand the nature of the specific ethnographic collections. When, where and from whom was the artifact collected? Who is the source of the information and what was their background? Is the item actually a traditional ethnographic artifact that was used, or was it an item made for sale or made as a model

Figure 1 (above). Awls collected in the 1960's. Left to right: RBCM12092c; 12092a; 12092b; 12106b; 12106a; 12106c; 17503; 17504; 13090; 12831; 12830.

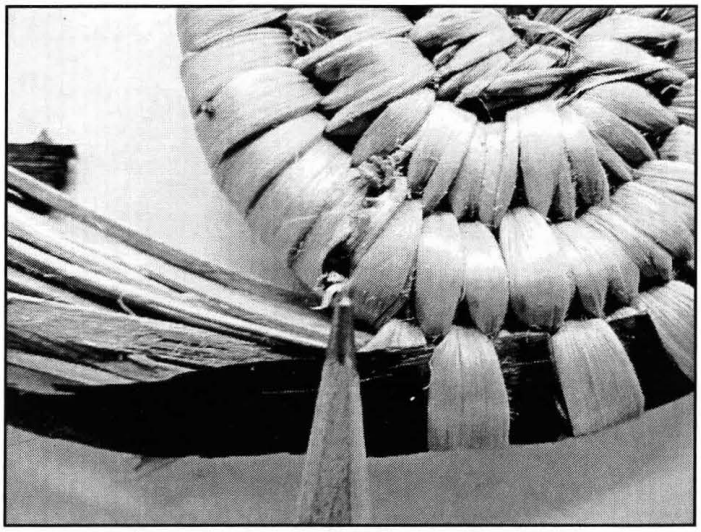


Figure 2. Unfinished basketry base made from cedar root and cherry bark showing the hole made by a bone awl (tip of pencil indicates placement for next stitch). (RBCM 18748).

for a collector or anthropologist? It is not uncommon to find that bone items in ethnographic collections actually came from shellmiddens and were assigned an assumed function.

Metapodial Bone Awls

In the Royal British Columbia Museum ethnographic collection, there are 16 bone artifacts called "awls" from southern British Columbia that appear to have actually be used as awls. They are all deer lower leg metapodial bones. There are no ulna bone tools of a traditional ethnographic nature described as awls in the collection—only one (17681) that is from a shellmidden, and one (14537) that is a modern artistic example that represents an awl "used for punching holes in leather."

All of the metapodial awls were collected after 1906, and 75% of them were collected after 1965; there are no 19th century examples. Eight awls were collected in 1965, four in the 1967 to 1969 period, one in 1946 and three in the 1906 to 1913 time period.

Eight of the nine Interior examples were collected in 1965 by Robert Nichols, who was hired by the Museum to visit various Interior First Nations reserves to purchase artifacts for the Museum. Nichols had no formal training in ethnology.

One group of three awls was collected in 1965 from a male individual on the Lytton Reserve. These have cloth wrappings around the proximal ends, which would be for protection of the hands during long periods of use. Artifacts 12092a (L. 224mm, tip missing) and 12092c (L. 141mm) are half sections and 12092b (L.173mm) a quarter section of metapodials. The catalogue information from Nichols noted "For making baskets. Hind leg of deer" (Figure 1).

Another group of two awls was "purchased from the maker," a woman on the Lytton Reserve. The catalogue records awls 17503 (L. 190mm) and 17504 (L. 217mm) as "Sku-walth (Awl) from the hind leg of deer. For making holes in basket (top)" (Figure 1). The latter awls were purchased with basketry making materials that included a bundle of split cedar roots and dried cedar roots used "for coiled Basketry." It may be safely assumed in this case that the awls were used in making coiled baskets. Since the making of coiled baskets requires the punching of a hole through strips of the raw material with a sharp point, these awls fit the function.

Figure 2 shows the 2mm hole that needs to be pushed through the middle of the stiches on the inside coil, in order to pull through a splint from the next coil.

Three awls—12106a (L. 220mm), 12106b (L. 200mm) and 12106c (L. 124mm, tip missing)—were purchased from a person on the Fairmont Reserve in the Kootenays and catalogued as "For making baskets. Deer bone" (Figure 1).

The ninth Interior example of an awl, 6374 (L. 182), was purchased from a woman on the Creekside Reserve near Lillooet in 1946, and is referred to as a "Basket Makers needle," although technically it is not a needle (Figure 3).

Two other awls purchased by Museum personnel in 1967—12830 (L. 83mm) and 12831 (L. 251mm)—are catalogued as "Salish unspecified" (Figure 1). In addition to the statement that they are bone awls used in basket making, is the comment: "use not recorded when purchased." This indicates to me that they are being catalogued as basket-making awls on the basis of a similarity to other known basket-making awls.

The five awls from the region of Coast Salish Speakers include two with their extreme tips missing—13089 (on exhibit, not available for image or measurements) and 13090 (L. 226mm) —that were "purchased from and used by" a woman in Yale and

Figure 3. Awl RBCM6374.

Figure 4. Awl RBCM10876.

described as "basket bone awl" (Figure 1, 13090 only).

Awl number 10876 (L. 186mm) was from the collection of Charles and William Newcombe, but originally part of the collection of Emily Carr (Figure 4). Carr obtained it in North Vancouver from her First Nation acquaintance, Sophie Frank, most likely while she lived there between 1906 and 1913.

Two awls—2448 (L. 99mm, tip missing) from the "Lower Fraser River" area, collected about 1911-1913, and 9853 (L. 113, extreme tip missing)—both have sewn pieces of European-manufactured cloth around their proximal ends (Figure 5).

Artifact 9853 was collected in 1911 from the general area of Chilliwack. It is listed as "Awl—bone, basket makers." Artifact 2448 is listed as a "mat maker's" awl. Given the lack of specific provenience on the artifacts, I would suggest that the cataloger may have been guessing at their function.

It is not certain if the description "mat maker's awl" was intended to refer to cedar mats or tule reed mats. Cedar mats do not require the poking of a hole during their manufacture. In the making of tule reed mats, a long needle is pushed through the reeds; a smaller awl is not required. However, in the 20th century, some women used a steel awl to push the fibres together when making tule mats.

Discussion

Coiled baskets are believed to have been introduced to the southern coast in historic times (Barnet 1955:124; Drucker 1950:193, 266). Since non-coiled baskets do not require the punching of a hole, we might surmise that sharp pointed bone tools found in archaeological sites on the southern coast were not used for making basketry. One exception to the rule may be the creation of holes to attach leather straps to finished baskets.

Late 18th century historic accounts note the extensive wearing of animal skin clothing. This fact, in combination with the extensive occurrence of deer and elk remains in archaeological sites, may suggest that sharp, pointed, awl-like tools were most likely used for the preparation of animal skins and the making of clothing and other items involving the use of skins.

One must keep in mind that the bone awls presented here are a product of women making and selling baskets mostly for a modern market economy. When developing typologies of bone tools, we also need to keep in mind that all of these ethnological bones tools were made using files and other iron or steel tools. One effect this may have had on the shape of tools is more pronounced shouldering below the thin point due to the fact that an iron tool can grind off bone material far easier than traditional tools.

Conclusion

In looking at the potential function of archaeological artifacts, and doing so by drawing comparative correlations between the records of archaeology and ethnology, we need to be aware of the sometimes sketchy nature of the ethnographic record. In the case of bone awls, being able to make a distinction between the potential function of sharp pointed, as opposed to duller pointed, bone tools may be of use in our effort to determine past human behavior in specific regions or time periods.

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

References Cited

Barnett, Homer. 1955. *The Coast Salish Of British Columbia*. University of Oregon. The University Press, Eugene, Oregon.

Drucker, Philip. 1950. Cultural Element Distributions: XXVI. Northwest Coast. Anthropological Records 9:3. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles.

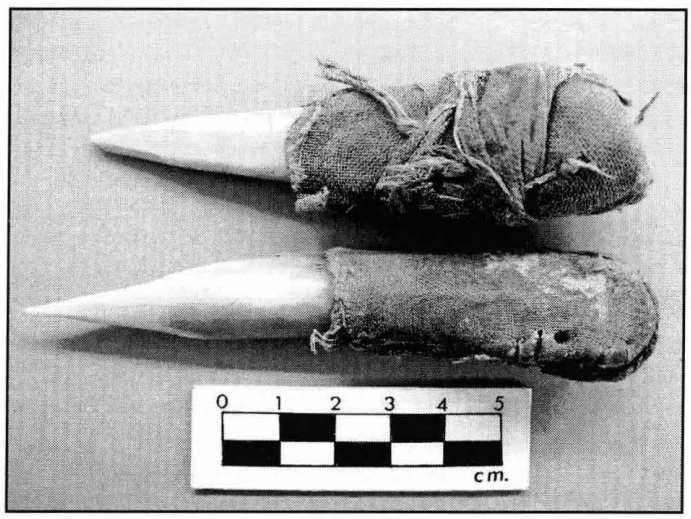
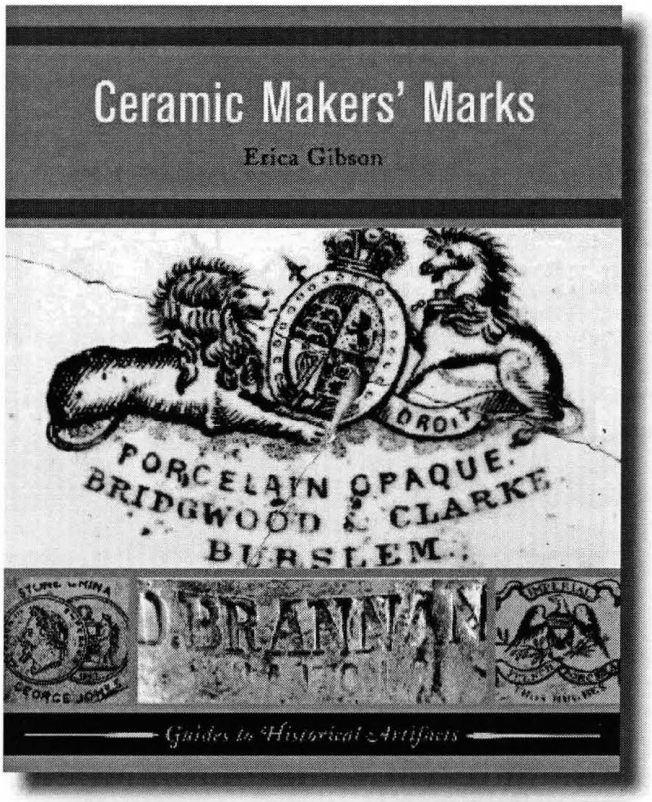


Figure 5. Awls. Top RBCM2448; Bottom RBCM9853.

BOOK REVIEW:
Ceramic Makers' Marks

Erica Gibson. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA. 147 pp., ISBN: 978-1-59874-188-9 (hardcover), 978-1-59874-189-6 (paperback). $89.00 (h/c), $24.95 (p/b). 2010.



The new millennium has seen a renaissance in the field of historical archaeology in terms of sophisticated social/biographical and contextual studies of particular classes of material culture, along with a new generation of identification manuals intended to update decades-old classics. Left Coast Press (LCP) is contributing to this trend with its new "Guides to Historical Artifacts" series edited by Carolyn White and Timothy Scarlett, whose scope encompasses both the 'social' and 'identification' aspects of artifact studies. Although primarily edited and authored by archaeologists, these volumes are intended to appeal to an interdisciplinary audience that includes both professionals and amateurs. To date, LCP has released three volumes, including guides to Chinese export porcelain and brewery material culture, along with the guide to ceramic makers' marks reviewed here.

The author of *Ceramic Makers' Marks*, Erica Gibson, is a specialist in 19th and early 20th century material culture and is Director of the Archaeological Laboratory at Sonoma State University's Anthropological Studies Center (ASC) in California. The summary on the back cover proclaims the book to be a comprehensive catalogue of marks of British, French, German and American origin recovered from archaeological sites in North America. This slim volume is organized in a straightforward manner. The bulk of its 147 pages consist of an alphabetical list of ceramic manufacturers and associated marks. This is accompanied by a brief four-page introduction, a list of references, and an index/finding guide to aid in identification of partial marks. The primary source for the marks included in this volume is 250+ collections from ASC excavations of mid-19th to early 20th century sites across California over the past three decades. Overall, Gibson's goal is to present a more comprehensive identification guide that supplements, refines and corrects existing publications.

So what's here? In total, the book includes 343 marks from 112 manufacturers, with 257 of them depicted in photographs (printed marks) or line drawings (impressed marks). The alphabetically organized entries include the manufacturer's name, the pottery name and location, dates of operation, previous and subsequent operations, wares produced and additional firm details. For each manufacturer individual marks are numbered and include a description and transcription of the mark in standardized nomenclature, along with dates of use and occasional supplementary notes. To facilitate tracking down outside sources, there are separate lists of bibliographic references for the manufacturer and for each mark. The finding aids at the back are organized by city, country/state, design element, mark type (e.g., printed, impressed), word and maker. Furthermore, the introduction includes general comments on dating British ceramic marks.

As important as what *is* here, of course, is what's *not* here. As Gibson notes in her introduction (in contrast to the summary on the back), this guide focuses almost exclusively on British ceramic tablewares, with only a handful of manufacturers from the U.S. and other countries. Emphasis is also on marks recovered from mid-19th to early 20th century archaeological sites in California. Consequently, not all possible marks from each maker are included, nor are marks outside this narrow date range. Despite its broad and encompassing title and ambitious summary description, then, this book has a fairly circumscribed scope and utility that potential users should bear in mind.

This guide functions exclusively as an identification and dating manual of ceramic marks, containing none of the "interconnections between objects and social identity" nor addressing "the role of individual objects or assemblages in social action" touted by the series' editors. It is modelled explicitly after Gates and Ormerod's (1982) guide to ceramic marks from the East Liverpool, Ohio pottery district and Praetzellis et al.'s (1983) similar guide to marks from Old Sacramento. In fact, Gibson's volume is best seen as an expanded and updated version of the Praetzellis book, which it closely resembles in format and content. This is particularly apt given that both volumes are based on work conducted or overseen by Mary and Adrian Praetzellis, who direct the ASC. In all three cases, these guides are distinguished by their photographic documentation of ceramic marks, which Gibson argues is preferable to line drawings and verbal descriptions characteristic of most manuals, particularly in identifying fragments.

In her introduction, Gibson notes that marked vessels from tightly dated contexts have in some cases resulted in more concise date ranges for certain marks, although she does not specify *which* marks, nor clearly indicate in the text the source (archival or archaeological) of the date range for each mark. Consequently, it is difficult to determine where significant updates have been made from Godden and other traditional sources, short of making side-by-side comparisons. Since chronology is a principal objective

of mark identification, a more explicit and detailed discussion of dating would have been a supreme asset. This alone, had it been present, would have made this book an essential purchase for historical archaeologists and set a new standard in the discipline. As it is, it serves as a very good update of an old standard.

Now, the best way to evaluate the utility of an identification manual is to put it through its paces using some actual artifacts. Consequently, I put this guide to work on some already identified English ceramic tablewares from my own doctoral research here in British Columbia, dating ca. 1885-1930, along with some sherds from SFU's reference collection. Of eight marks from seven manufacturers present in my assemblage, which I originally identified using Godden's *Encyclopedia of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks* and other sources, I found five in Gibson's guide (although there were entries for all seven manufacturers). Not bad. Using the SFU collection, I found seven of nine manufacturers in Gibson's book but in only two cases was I able to locate the identical mark. Granted, most of these reference specimens date after the turn of the twentieth century; however, this highlights one of the shortcomings of the volume, which the author herself acknowledges. There were also date discrepancies between sources and this is where it would have been helpful for Gibson to clearly document and explain her revised dates.

Despite its shortcomings, Gibson's manual is a worthy and welcome update and expansion of the Praetzellis original, and its small size in comparison to other guides makes it handy to carry in the field. In its use of photos of actual specimens rather than idealized drawings, and the author's effort to collate information from multiple sources, this volume is an intuitive and valuable single source for preliminary dating of British ceramic marks. It does not claim to be comprehensive (except in that misleading back-cover summary), which it isn't, and in this sense it reminds me of Godden's *Handbook of British Pottery and Porcelain Marks*, a pocket-sized abbreviation of the original *Encyclopedia*. In each case, their handiness is both an asset and a frustrating drawback. As such, neither can be used alone but rather as a supplement to other identification guides, and ultimately users will find it necessary to go back to the classic sources to fill in the gaps.

Nevertheless, I heartily recommend this book as a useful first stop for academic, professional and avocational archaeologists working on 19th and 20th century historic sites, particularly in Western North America. If you only have room in your pack for one ceramic dating guide it should be this one, and I look forward to road testing it next time I'm in the field.

Doug Ross earned his Ph.D. in Archaeology from Simon Fraser University in 2009. His research interests and expertise focus on historical archaeology, Chinese and Japanese immigrants in western North America, transnationalism and diaspora, institutional confinement, and industrial labour. He is currently an instructor at SFU and Douglas College and is completing a book based on his dissertation to be published by the University Press of Florida.

References Cited

Gates, William C., Jr., and Dana E. Ormerod. 1982. The East Liverpool, Ohio, Pottery District: Identification of Manufacturers and Marks. *Historical Archaeology* 16(1-2).

Praetzellis, Mary, Betty Rivers and Jeanette K. Schulz. 1983. *Ceramic Marks from Old Sacramento*. California Archaeological Reports No. 22. Cultural Resource Management Unit, Resource Protection Division, California Department of Parks and Recreation, Sacramento, CA.

BOOK REVIEW:
Archaeologists as Activists: Can Archaeologists Change the World?

Edited by M. Jay Stottman. University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, AL. 207pp, 13 illustrations, hardcover, index. ISBN: 978-0-8173-1712-6 (hardcover), 978-0-8173-5622-4 (paperback). $46.00 (h/c), $29.95 (p/b). 2010.

> "Any archaeologist can be an activist archaeologist; we just have to reconceptualize archaeology as activism."
> *(Stottman 2010:13)*

The product of a session at the 2004 Society for Historical Archaeology annual meeting called "Can Archaeology Save the World?," this book offers a collection of case-studies highlighting the trials and tribulations of being an "activist archaeologist." Introducing the volume, Stottman suggests that the movement towards an activist archaeology has been prompted by both an interest in the intersection between archaeology and heritage tourism, and concern over the rights and needs of descendant communities, in particular Indigenous peoples. Additionally, archaeologists are increasingly applying their craft to projects of "public benefit," such as the identification of human remains in mass graves, and it is now commonplace for those working in cultural resource management (CRM) to be at the negotiation table with multiple "stakeholders." Stottman suggests that

> through public archaeology, an archaeology can be conceived that can consciously be used to benefit contemporary communities and perhaps create positive change or help solve modern problems. It is public archaeology that forms the origins of an activist archaeology. (3)

Stottman then provides a brief synopsis of public archaeology, defined here as "a means to directly involve and educate the public in the discovery and experience of the past" (4). In particular, the role of archaeologists as "educators" in this ap-

proach is emphasized and critically examined, as is the need for self-reflexivity, which is seen as the pivotal aspect transforming public archaeology into activist archaeology.

The nine chapters in this volume offer reflections from various research projects that, either intentionally or somewhere along the way, became entangled with an activist archaeology. Public and historic archaeology feature prominently, emphasizing the connection between contemporary communities and the archaeological past to form a notion of "living heritage." This is significant. If the movement towards activism in archaeology is tied to recognizing the importance of heritage to *living* groups, then an activist approach to research concerning Aboriginal "prehistoric" or "pre-contact" heritage is certainly appropriate. Meanwhile, studies of "the deep past" of human history—Palaeolithic research, for example—may be a distance away yet.

The layout of the book itself identifies one of the key first hurdles to undertaking an activist archaeology: "reconceptualizing" the theory and practice of archaeology towards political goals. In "Part I: Reconceptualizing Archaeology for Activism," this shift in both perspective and focus is examined in detail.

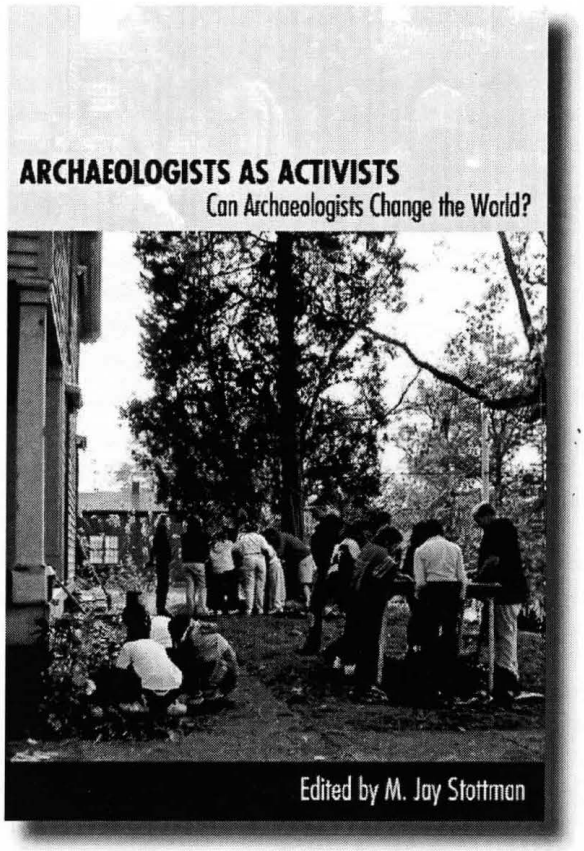
For example, Christensen identified the importance of archaeologists situating themselves as "stakeholders" while undertaking research at the homesite of a 19th century suffragette in New York—a project that itself represents an "archaeology of activism." For Christensen, archaeologists recognizing their own political positions as researchers and making "our work relevant to people working in the present to effect social change" represent the core of activism in archaeology (34). McDavid similarly focuses on challenging white privilege and racism, beginning with the recognizition of the archaeologist's own position within this larger social and historical dynamic. McDavid's research raises critical questions about the authority of archaeologists to represent the past to the public, and the challenges in pursuing reflexivity.

For Gadsby and Barnes, activist archaeology was a natural progression from their desire "to create projects that meant something to us and the people who were directly and indirectly influenced by them" (48), which ultimately led them to focus on labour and class-consciousness in the mill town of Hampden, Maryland. Similarly, Chidester describes the process of formulating research about the labour movement in Maryland, offering a very personal narrative of his struggles along the way.

Finally, Jeppson provides a critical look at the current role of archaeology in American education, noting the difficulty of challenging the status quo in schools at a time when social studies is generally losing support in favour of courses with more quantifiable learning objectives and measurable assessments. This highlights the potential limitations of any activist archaeology attempting to operate within an oppressive political climate.

Stottman suggests that archaeologists should look to anthropology for guidance in activism and/or advocacy for political change, as applied anthropologists have been pursuing these goals for decades now (9). This forms the backdrop for "Part II: Becoming Archaeology Activists: Perspectives on Community Archaeology," wherein a focus on the tools of anthropology—participant observation, interviews and surveys—provides direction for those venturing outside of their archaeological training, moving away from "things" and toward "people."

Opening this section, a case-study is presented by Stahlgren



that exposes the complexity of writing any one "history." In Stahlgren's view, "[a] single version does not tell the entire story, creating silenced histories. These silenced pasts are the pasts of those without power"—in this case, African American slaves (95). Revealing these histories is thus one role that an activist archaeologist can play, as Stahlgren discovered in a small community museum in Louisville, Kentucky. McBride and McBride also consider slave history in the United States, focusing on emancipation in the Civil War at Camp Nelson, Kentucky. Here, the sheer complexity of the histories and a public interested in archaeology converge to tell a more complicated story where the past and present are intricately connected.

Looking at the Portland Wharf located on the Ohio River, also in Kentucky, Prybylski and Stottman provide a look at the collaborative process of creating a cultural heritage park. Public surveys, education and participation programs, interviews, and demographic studies of visitors were integral in designing an appropriate public archaeology program that both instills a sense of community and draws tourists. Community collaboration is also the focus of Miller and Henderson's research at the Crab Orchard Springs Hotel in Kentucky, undertaken with the students of a local elementary school. Their 11-week program covered some basics about recording information and the relevance of the past, and while "they didn't really *find* anything" (150), students came to view their community differently as a result of their participation in the project.

Well-known for her writings on public archaeology, Barbara Little concludes the volume by reflecting on the role of archaeology in the modern world and "the need for scholars to take seriously both citizenship and the privilege of their positions in order to contribute in a positive way to our society" (155). She

discusses outreach, the structure of research, and the potential to showcase previously silenced histories as core themes. Observing that an activist archaeology provides "opportunities for awareness of our common humanity, our common struggles...in the face of cynicism and despair," Little raises this critical point:

> We can think of our own self-defined activism as intentional action to bring about social or political change, but we must be vigilant and continually self-critical and questioning about the types of changes we advocate. If we aim our activism at progressive social change and social justice, we should understand that we may be aiming at a moving target. (158)

Overall, I found this volume a welcome addition to my growing collection of books on the politics and social practice of archaeology. However, the volume suffers from what I have found to be typical of edited volumes: a lack of synthesis and internal critique of the case-studies or themes as a whole. While the case-studies themselves present different aspects of what is being presented as "activist archaeology"—some more radical than others—Stottman's introduction is too brief to problematize the concept itself, its philosophical foundations, what it entails, or how to evaluate one's effectiveness in activism. Instead, Stottman articulates some of the core ideas—a blend of critical theory, Marxist and feminist critique, with a collaborative research structure—and then provides this succinct definition:

> To use archaeology to affect change in and advocate for contemporary communities, not as the archaeologist sees it but as the community itself sees it, defines activist archaeology. (8)

Centring the needs of "the community" is an appropriate strategy to address some of the ethical dilemmas and historical injustices of the archaeological project. It is a long over-due response to the valid accusations that archaeologists have faced since the first obelisk was removed from Egypt and the first shaman's grave robbed here on the Northwest Coast.

It is, however, a problem to suggest either a) that there is such a thing as one, cohesive "community perspective"—the case-studies herein demonstrate that there is not—or b) that this "community view" should be foregrounded at the expense of the archaeologist's own perspective. Ironically, in this scenario, the archaeologist becomes an apolitical mediator between the community and the public, playing a passive role that hides their own politics rather than actually being *an activist*, which entails standing up for what *they* believe in. The lack of critical analysis of either these issues or the motivations inspiring "activist archaeologists" beyond a desire to "make a difference in the world" (Stottman 1), prevents this volume from moving beyond a superficial and simplistic notion of activism. This, combined with little reflexivity offered concerning the lauded but challenging practice of "collaboration" (e.g., La Salle 2010), means that the strength of this volume lies primarily in the diversity and complexity of the case-studies, which together demonstrate that activism is extremely messy, highly personal, and can be very painful—important truths for any "activist archaeologist" to consider.

So, in answer to the question posed by this volume: Yes, archaeologists can change the world. We do it every day, with every grant application that we write, every introductory course we teach, every question about Indiana Jones we answer. The key to becoming an activist is committing oneself to challenging the status quo, not just in archaeology but in all aspects of our lives. Swimming against the current is tiring, and it is a relief to see in this volume that the community of self-defined activist archaeologists, in what is typically a very conservative discipline, continues to bloom.

Marina La Salle is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia. Her dissertation research focuses on the landscape, heritage and politics of Pacific Spirit Regional Park in Vancouver, B.C. She is also the Editor of *The Midden*.

References cited

La Salle, Marina. 2010. Community Collaboration and Other Good Intentions. *Archaeologies* 6(3):401-422.

...continued from page 9:

Grier, Colin and Eric McLay. 2007. Archaeological Inventory of DgRv-006, Dionisio Point Provincial Park, Galiano Island. [HCA Permit 2007-144]. Report filed with the BC Archaeology Branch, Victoria.

Grier Colin, Patrick Dolan, Kelly Derr and Eric B. McLay. 2009. Assessing Sea Level Changes in the Southern Gulf Islands of British Columbia Using Archaeological Data from Coastal Spit Locations. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 33:254-280.

Hayden, Brian and Suzanne Villeneuve. 2011. A Century of Feasting Studies. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 40:433-449.

McLay, Eric, Colin Grier and Bill Angelbeck. 2010. Archaeological Inventory Study of Montague Harbour Provincial Marine Park, Galiano Island, British Columbia [HCA Permit 2008-046]. Report filed with the BC Archaeology Branch, Victoria.

Mitchell, Donald H. 1971. Archaeology of the Gulf of Georgia Area, a Natural Region and its Culture Types. *Syesis* 4 (Supplement 1). The British Columbia Provincial Museum, Victoria.

Pauketat, Timothy R. 2001. Practice and History in Archaeology: An Emerging Paradigm. *Anthropological Theory* 1(1):73-98.

Shennan, Stephen. 1993 After Social Evolution: A New Archaeological Agenda? In *Archaeological Theory: Who Sets the Agenda?*, edited by N. Yoffee and A Sherratt, pp. 53-59. Cambridge University Press.

Suttles, Wayne. 1987. Notes on Coast Salish Sea Mammal Hunting. In *Coast Salish Essays*, edited by W. Suttles, pp. 233-247. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

1991. The Shed-Roof House. In *A Time of Gathering: Native Heritage in Washington State*, edited by R.K. Wright, pp. 212-222. University of Washington Press, Seattle.

THE MIDDEN

Published four times a year by the
Archaeological Society of British Columbia

SUBSCRIPTION: A subscription is included with ASBC membership. Non-members 2012 subscription rates: $23 per year in Canada, $30 USA and $45 overseas, payable in CANADIAN FUNDS ONLY to the ASBC. Remit to:

Midden Subscriptions, ASBC
P.O. Box 520, Bentall Station
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2N3

SUBMISSIONS: We welcome contributions on subjects germane to B.C. archaeology. Guidelines are available upon request, and from the website. Submissions should be directed to the editor by email or through the ASBC address. It is the author's responsibility to obtain permission from relevant parties, particularly First Nations communities, regarding the publication of photographs or archaeological information.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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

President
Craig Rust
asbc.president@gmail.com

Membership
Sarah K. Smith
asbc.membership@gmail.com

Annual membership includes a year's subscription to ***The Midden***.

2012 Membership Fees

Individual: $30 Family: $35 Seniors/Students: $23

Send cheque or money order in CANADIAN FUNDS ONLY payable to the ASBC to:

ASBC Memberships
P.O. Box 520, Bentall Station
Vancouver, B.C. V6C 2N3

ASBC on Internet
http://asbc.bc.ca

Branches

Nanaimo
Email contact: mail@asbcnanaimo.nisa.com.
Website: http://www.asbcnanaimo.nisa.com

Victoria
Email contact: asbcvictoria@gmail.com
Website: http://www.asbc.bc.ca/vicsite/

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA meetings in Vancouver featuring illustrated lectures are generally held on the fourth Wednesday of each month from September to June at 7:00 P.M. at the Museum of Vancouver, 1100 Chestnut Street, Vancouver, B.C. New members and visitors are welcome. Admission is free. Please visit our website for upcoming event information.

Conferences & Events

77th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology
Memphis, Tennessee
Dates: April 18-22, 2012
Info: http://saa.org/AbouttheSociety/AnnualMeeting/tabid/138/Default.aspx

34th annual gathering of the Alliance for Historic Landscape Preservation
Victoria, British Columbia
Dates: April 25-28, 2012
Info: http://www.ahlp.org/annualmeetings/meeting2012.php

Canadian Archaeological Association / Quebec Archaeological Association
Montreal, Quebec
Dates: May 16-20, 2012
Info: http://canadianarchaeology.com/caa/annual-meeting

Association of Critical Heritage Studies Inaugural Conference
Gothenburg, Sweden
Dates: June 5-8, 2012
Info: http://www.science.gu.se/

Archaeology and Economic Development Conference 2012
UCL, London, United Kingdom
Dates: September 21-22, 2012
Info: http://www.ucl.ac.uk/aed2012/

Conflict and Resolution in Archaeology: 45th Annual Chacmool Conference
Calgary, Alberta
Dates: November 8-11, 2012
Info: http://arky.ucalgary.ca/chacmool2012/

Borders and Crossings: 111th American Anthropological Association Meeting
San Francisco, California
Dates: November 14-18, 2012
Info: http://www.aaanet.org/meetings/index.cfm

THE MIDDEN
P.O. Box 520
Bentall Station
Vancouver, B.C. Canada V6C 2N3
V6C 2N3