



THE MIDDEN

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and the spread of archaeological knowledge.

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THE MIDDEN

Volume 42, No. 1-2 2010

In this issue

ASBC Pages

President's Letter, Editorial, & a Letter to the Editor.....2

Archaeology News7

The weird alchemy of archaeology: A Report from NWAC7
by Knute Berger

Marine and Maritime Archaeologies;
Putting the Coast back in Coastal (Report from CAAs).....8
by Richard Hutchings and Megan Caldwell

2010 Field Schools – Who's Where, Doing What?.....10
by Marina La Salle

Features

An Archer's Wrist Guard12
by Grant Keddie

Contact Period Earth Ovens in the San Juan Islands14
by Stephanie Jolivet and Amanda Taylor

One Tribe's Story of Discovery, Conflict and Heartache.....19
by Frances Charles

Reviews

Landscapes as Standpoints: Important Lessons from Coastal
Washington State: A Review of Mapes' *Breaking Ground* and Stapp
and Longnecker's *Archaeological Disasters*24
by Richard Hutchings

B.C. Archaeology Crossword - No. 1.....28
by Knut Fladmark

Permits31

Events & Conferences..... Back Cover

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The ASBC Pages

EDITORIAL

The Signs of a Push Back Against Heritage Conservation

After decades of strengthening protection of archaeological heritage, there are signs that some of the public and governmental officials are becoming more wary of the cost of conservation and mitigation involved. Recent news events and political actions indicate the signs of a push back against heritage protection. More needs to be done to educate the public about the relevance of cultural resource work to combat those who aim to weaken heritage conservation laws.

On April 20, the CBC published an account of a landowner having to pay \$35,000 out of their own pocket for archaeological expenses. They wanted to build a house on their property near the mouth of the Englishman River on Vancouver Island. The story concerned how landowners were dutifully following the *Heritage Conservation Act* (HCA) and paying for an impact assessment: they had a previously recorded site on their property, with mounds and depressions. The landowners hired an archaeological firm and were expecting a \$4,000 bill for the survey. During archaeological monitoring, it turned out that four individuals were buried, and a pit contained a dog burial; there were also cooking features and numerous artifacts, including a bone pin decorated with zoomorphic designs. While the results were intriguing and the process adhered to the HCA, the landowner was shocked to receive a bill for \$35,000. They went to the press, highlighting \$80 an hour rates along with lodging and meal costs for the crew.

Now, there were some errors in the story (such as a maximum \$2,000 fine, not \$50,000 for individuals violating the HCA) and important perspectives not proffered (such as those of the archaeologists involved or otherwise). Partly for these reasons, the events seemed more egregious than they were. Generally, the public is somewhat used to news reports about controversies over archaeological excavations, as with Kennewick Man or the excavations at Tse-Whit-Zen. With the latter, great costs were incurred in Washington state for the excavation of a Klallam village in a proposed graving dock location (in this issue, see Frances Charles' piece written during the time, and Rich Hutchings' review of two books covering the excavation). However, those costs applied to the public. The new twist of this CBC story was about how it could even happen to a small landowner: 'This could happen to you.' No surprise, fervent replies followed, and other news accounts appeared in local papers in B.C., Washington, both in print and online.

The comments, a sampling of which follows (see pages 5 and 6), are startling and raise many issues ripe for debate, such as: the increasing costs of archaeology; who should pay for archaeological work; and how communication between clients

and contracting archaeologists should work (a comment on this is provided in a letter by Ian Cameron and Geordie Howe, which follows on page 4). Many comments glossed over the fact that these "bones" were from graves (more comments focused on the dog burial), while many instead characterized the site as a "garbage dump." There were views expressed about archaeologists taking advantage of heritage law, simply bilking landowners—one even suspected that the bones were planted there by the archaeologists. Here, I'll focus on such comments that denounce or minimize the conservation of archaeological sites.

Unfortunately, this is an increasing trend. In 2006, a bill was proposed in Utah explicitly to minimize archaeological oversight by the whole Antiquities Section—the Archaeology Branch equivalent—from out of control of the State Archaeologist (whose position would be terminated) and under the jurisdiction of the Public Lands Policy Coordination Office, a department more generally concerned with facilitating development in the state. In fact, proponents of the bill specifically charged that developments were increasingly "slowed by state archaeological reviews," as reported in the Associated Press. In the same account, John Harja reported, "There weren't nearly as many companies [decades ago] doing archaeological or historical work as today. And some of that is starting to strain the structure." As reported in Salt Lake City's *Deseret Morning News* (February 7, 2006), Rep. Bradley T. Johnson stated the bill would "provide balance" concerning protecting archaeological resources, stating

I do believe really strongly that we need to protect the archaeological resources of the state, but there are some out there, be it chippings or whatever it is, that we probably don't need every one of these minor sites.... The archaeological people out there are kind of prone to protect every site, at all cost, And so this agency (public lands office) . . . has the ability to make more of a balanced judgment.

While Johnson maintained that the state archaeologist's office will still have a "big role to play," he said. "They'll keep the information," however, the Antiquities Section will just "not continue to have [control of] the permitting process" (cited in Bauman 2006); this law initially passed the Utah House of Representatives with a vote of 61 to 13, but ultimately did not become law.

In Canada, Harper's government is proposing a bill that "allows the minister to greatly diminish the scope of environmental impact assessments on a personal whim"; these generally include archaeological studies and often traditional use studies, among others (*Ottawa Liberal Examiner*, July 12, 2010); BP Horizon's deep undersea oil drill project was given the greenlight without any

environmental studies done—and hundreds of archaeological sites were affected by the spill, contaminating sites with oil.

Now, these comments posted about the events at the Englishman River site reveal urges to scale back heritage conservation law in the province. Several pushed that preservation should be ignored: “Dig [read ‘destroy’] the site and just pay the fine.” Many others made it plain that they would hide the evidence for any artifacts or bones that appear in any excavation, while some indicated that they had already done so or were aware of cases where developers or landowners did.

Those are the voices concerned about the costs. The more troubling concerns, however, claimed that these excavations are not contributing to overriding value for the public. As one commentator put it, “This will NOT be used for science or the advancement of us as a species, as Canadians or even as historians.” Another wrote that “If they just found a few arrowheads and part of a skull, then what was so important about this land?” Yet another commenter posted that “What does a couple arrow heads, someone’s pet, and a skull of unknown origin add to native heritage? Nothing.” These are worrisome comments, as they basically call into the question the relevance of archaeological heritage protection. As one pointed out, such excavations are just “intellectual hobbies” that shouldn’t be paid for by landowners.

There is a need to educate the public about archaeology. Often, it is emphasized that we need to better explain heritage conservation laws, so that people understand why we need to conduct surveys and mitigative excavations. And, public archaeology is also common, but typically practiced with academic projects. However, we also need to educate the public about the archaeology that results from the increasing number of impact assessments that commonly are conducted throughout the province. If we don’t make the effort, I can see why people would comment that such archaeology is “meaningless” or just a “hobby” that shouldn’t be paid for by those not doing it. As Knute Berger, a Seattle-based journalist, recently stressed, there is a “missing element” to most cultural resources work:

...research findings and new discoveries only rarely get out to the public. Fascinating stuff is buried in the paperwork, reports, assessments, and EIS’s [Environmental Impact Statements]. Digging through the documents is like performing a whole new archaeological dig. Historians, researchers, archaeologists, and tribal elders have come up with great material, but it gets re-buried in paper or pdf’s (Berger 2010).

Berger (2010) further argued that there should be “a more consumer-friendly, more aggressive effort to make findings interesting and public. Stories must be told,” and I couldn’t agree more. There are ways to make this happen, and I’ll just raise a few.

First, as it is now, only major finds make the news. But, there are interesting finds present in all regions and these are of interest to local communities—it doesn’t always have to be a site that is the ‘earliest’ or ‘finest of its kind.’ There has to be a focus on more than these famous findings, so that people have a sense of the history of the sites in their immediate area, rather than something important but rare and distant.

To address this, there should be a public component for projects that produce more than “negative” results. If sites were found and recorded, press releases should be sent to local news

outlets, or even regional papers as befitting the results. Sure, the releases may often be ignored, but at least the attempt is made for public awareness. And, really, I think it may be surprising how often reporters will run with such stories, especially those from smaller, community newspapers. Local heritage and history have long been a popular topic. Plus, those papers report news on development projects in the area and archaeology can serve as a fresh angle for discussing the project.

Secondly, for those projects that produce objects worthy of display—projectile points or decorative bone pins—there should be temporary displays of these materials in the local communities, near where they were found.

Now, thirdly, archaeological analysis is not a quick process, and we can’t always present full results to the public as the projects are happening. But, archaeologists should be publishing more of their results once the analysis is complete. The problem is obvious: such publications are expected to be done by archaeologists “on the side,” or on their own time—as if such endeavors were only a minor concern. However, support should be provided for publishing results. Literally tens of thousands of dollars can be spent producing a “grey-literature,” plastic-comb-bound report that’s physically distributed in a handful of copies. In many cases, with all the work that went into those reports, it is simply a matter of reworking the existing report information into an article format—maybe even a week of office time editing report sections could produce a draft article for submission. Of course, that costs additional monies. But, the publication would reach manifold more people and create a sense of worthiness for the efforts and the funds expended on the project, which is something that a developer could play to their advantage, as a positive outcome of the project.

One of the images that archaeologists need to avoid is one that was raised by Martin (*Seattle Times*, May 1, 2008) about the excavations at Tse-Whit-Zen, which has received a lot of attention, but little about the research generated from it. He wrote that “One of the Pacific Northwest’s most astonishing archaeological finds in a generation has languished for more than a year, lingering on metal shelves in a Seattle warehouse, unseen by the public and unexamined by scientists.” Martin described how the government initially supported public education of the excavations but avoided it once the project became a major controversy. Millions of public dollars were expended on the excavations, yet analysis and public education about the site was not forthcoming:

[F]rustrated local historians evoke the final scene in *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, when, after all the adventure and fuss, the Ark of the Covenant is crated and carted into obscurity inside a cavernous government archive (Martin 2008).

The same could be said for the public of the mass of data in the grey literature. It’s not hard to make a case that archaeological heritage needs to be protected. But, as the comments on the Englishman River story indicate, we have been failing to make that argument. If archaeology is mainly seen in media fiascos that cost a lot of public or landowner money with not much to show for it, the push back against heritage conservation will only continue.

Bill Angelbeck

BCAPA Comment on the CBC Report on Englishman River Site

Ian Cameron and Geordie Howe

This letter concerns the CBC report, "Homeowner Charged \$35,000 by Archaeologists," by Kathy Tomlinson, April 20th, 2010

In the recent CBC story (April 20, 2010) about the landowner incurring "substantial costs" dealing with archaeological issues on their property in order to develop their land, numerous statements were made that places the archaeological consulting community in a rather bad light. If the story is to be believed, it is unfortunate that the landowner appears not to have been given sufficient information to understand the nature of the archaeological work or the costs involved in developing their property. It is even more unfortunate that the CBC story paints archaeology as the problem rather than the process involved. In order to substantiate the complaints against the archaeological company, few if any supporting details were provided. In response to this story we wish to add another point of view

Archaeological sites are often the only link we have to the past and are an invaluable part of cultural heritage. Once an archaeology site is destroyed by a development, the site's information is lost forever unless it has been scientifically investigated. The *Heritage Conservation Act* automatically protects archaeological sites dating before 1846 A.D. in British Columbia. Land owners and development proponents with issues that pertain to archaeology are usually provided instruction (when necessary) from regulatory agencies, including the Archaeology Branch. Often the Archaeology Branch suggests they search the firms listed on the BC Association of Professional Archaeologists website, where they should request competitive bids from archaeological consultants to undertake the necessary regulatory studies. The choice of the consultant rests with the development proponent. Archaeological consulting firms are located throughout the province with at least six consultants based on Vancouver

Island.

As with any contracted work, whether it is garden work, getting a new roof or choosing an archaeological consultant, the landowner/developer should have a contract with terms, conditions, costs, and other expenditures clearly stated. For example if a non-resident archaeologist is hired, it is standard practice to charge per diem, travel, and accommodation. The charge out rate quoted in the CBC news story is within the range for a qualified professional archaeologist. It should be noted that this is not the actual hourly rate which the archaeologist earns, rather it is the charge-out rate the archaeological consulting company invoices the proponent in order to cover overhead costs, insurance, equipment, etc. and is also known as the "multiplier."

A key to any successful archaeological project is communication. A lot of the background communication between the landowner and consultant has been left out of the CBC story so it is difficult to comment upon the apparent surprise with the final bill. It is evident from the story that the archaeologists had communicated with the client about work on the site at several occasions. Communication between the landowner/developer and the archaeological firm is extremely important especially when dealing with clients with little experience dealing with archaeological sites. Consulting archaeologists working under contract will stay within their cost estimate. If issues arise, costs can often significantly increase, which may require revisions to project development designs, scopes of work, and cost estimates (This appears to have been the case in this situation). For the successful outcome of a project, negotiations between a well-informed client and an archaeologist are provided in a revised contract.

One of the major criticisms of the story (and comments on the CBC webpage) was the issue with the landowner having to pay for archaeology. It should be pointed out that until the early 1980s

the BC government did have an archaeological program in which assessments were undertaken by government workers. The political will of the time decided that archaeology was important and that it would move to the user pay model. This approach led to the archaeological consulting community we have today. Regardless on one's point of view we would like to stress that if a landowner and/or developer has a significant problem with the work conducted by a professional member of the BC Association of Professional Archaeologists, then a grievance can (and should) be filed with the Association. One of the ways that consulting archaeologists can be professional is by maintaining a satisfied client base. We may all complain about the costs involved in whatever we do, but in the end it is the quality of the product that allows us to continue in our field. It should be, and usually is, possible to treat archaeological remains with respect at the same time as meeting all regulatory requirements.

Ian Cameron, RPCA, is President of BC Association of Professional Archaeologists (BCAPA).

Geordie Howe, RPCA, is a Past President of the BCAPA.

A SAMPLING OF COMMENTS POSTED TO THE CBC STORY

AND RELATED NEWSPAPER WEBPAGES ABOUT THE EVENTS AT ENGLISHMAN RIVER SITE ON VANCOUVER ISLAND

CBC NEWS | Homeowner charged \$35,000 by archeologists: Vancouver Island resident unaware her land held aboriginal bones, artifacts.

By Kathy Tomlinson, CBC News, Tuesday, April 20th, 2010

Story comments (318)

betherington (10:34 AM): What ever happened to "a man's home is his castle"? It's my property. I pay taxes on it. If I chose to build on it then I will build on it. If I find a cache of bones and relics then I will call the government to send an archeologist to examine the find. If it is a grave yard they can move it at their expense and have a ceremony with a reinterment at another location—at their cost. Now sod off and let me build my home on my property as is my right to do in Canada.

ScottinOttawa (11:20 PM):A law abiding, tax paying, fellow Canadian land owner is being bilked \$35,000 directly so that some unseen entity ... can add some more bones to his collection—FACT. This will NOT be used for science or the advancement of us as a species, as Canadians or even as historians. Do tell me, how many skeletons does this guy need in his closet before he's satisfied?...and if you care so much, start digging in your yard and I can bet, sooner or later, you will find a 'relic' of the past.

Bad Karma (10:53 PM): Working for an engineering company a couple of years back I found that there is a similar law in Alberta while working for a developer. While the costs were not so astronomical, the decision that an archeological exploration had to be done seemed to be a random decision by the government. Seems to be bogus to me.

Chad Getten (9:21 PM): So if a first nations person claims this is a heritage land, how does the government verify this? It would be nice if the article states that. If they just found a few arrowheads and part

of a skull, then what was so important about this land? What is the definition of heritage land? Can I go to the land where my dad grew up and claim it heritage because my great grandma and some old knives are buried there?

good-ol-boy (8:53 PM): Moral of the story is: if you find anything on your property hide it and don't tell a soul.

GaryCalgary (5:18 PM): Archeologists shouldn't be called unless something is found and then only to determine the significance. After all if you keep digging the odds get better and better that you'll find something! ... The way it is now it is a license for archeologists to print money. How do we know they didn't plant the part of a human skull there so they could "find it" again and use it to justify more digging?

Randy D (5:05 PM): We are gonna wish government in this country merely stopped at communism. These power hungry corrupt complete idiots are going to destroy our society. What an ugly time in Canuckistan history.

freesky2 (5:02 PM): What a gigantic scam the Natives and diggers have going here. Wow, and old dog. Yippie, let's all do a back flip. That certainly is worth going bankrupt over. This is government BS.

Keylimepie (4:57 PM): How is it heritage if they didn't even know it was there? It's not like it's an obvious site. How do I know the old owner didn't bury their dead dog in the garden? How do I know it's an extinct dog? If no person ever visits that site as a heritage site, how can it be deemed important after the fact? How is digging them up preserving the heritage? So many questions!

artiste (4:49 PM): This is absolutely ridiculous! All this situation is creating is that anyone who finds aboriginal artifacts on their property is going to keep very,

very silent. The government needs to rethink this system as it is not working. It only is harming innocent land owners, and creating a situation where native artifacts are considered a detriment instead of a treasured part of our heritage.

already (4:42 PM): If the government wants to run around declaring land a heritage site let them pay the costs involved. Shame on the government for passing their responsibility on to private citizens. Why are they digging around looking for human remains, only to put them in a box, and maybe bury them somewhere else years later. Let the dead rest where they are. These people have been dead for hundreds of years. Where's the honour and respect in digging them up, and putting their remains in a box. The whole thing sounds like some kind of make work project for archeologists. Try doing the same thing in a registered cemetery and you'd be charged with grave robbing, or grave desecration.

The ROOSTER (4:31 PM): I am a Historian and even I am totally disgusted at the way this family is being treated. Have to pay for their meals even? You have to be kidding me! Crap like this makes Canada look like a third world country. And as much as I hate government overspending this is an area where the government should step up. It is bad enough you dug up the land they are living on. Do not make them pay for it.

bonedustwoman (4:02 PM): Heritage sites in BC are protected because human history is important to everyone. If a subject property was going to impact a fish bearing stream, the homeowner pays for assessments and remediation, if a homeowner is going to impact the foreshore, they have to have the required professionals to provide assessments and remediate. Should the

government pay for this too? Absolutely not. Do we value our environment? Yes. The system is called USER PAY.... A word of advise to those of you who may need to hire an archaeologist. Don't break the law, and bring a nightmare upon yourself. Evaluate your consultant. Talk to their previous clients to verify they weren't hosed by a low-ball estimate. Ask to read some of their reports, to see how their work will contribute to the archaeological record in BC. Get other estimates. Not all consultants were created equally

Wow..throw away tax payer's money..... (3:54 PM): You think the archeological consultants care??? They are not held responsible to anybody.....feeding at the trough. They would make good politicians.

Lowebräu (3:49 PM): It's this kind of ridiculousness that got me out of Archaeology in the first place. This family owned the land for a long time, no one knew what was there, not even the Aboriginals. I don't see what we can learn from the relics at this site, I'm sure I'm going to hear from west coast Archaeologists for that comment. But seriously....there is so much data from similar sites in the records that it doesn't make a difference. Is this about the Archaeologists or the Aboriginals? It seems like a cash grab for the Archaeological firm and a press grab for the Aboriginals. Life goes on, do we need to dig up EVERYTHING from our past? The only way to preserve culture is what we do everyday to remember it, what gives archaeologists the right to dig this stuff up in the first place? Leave sleeping ghost dogs lie.

Araneas (3:44 PM): LotusRich wrote: "I can't believe the disrespect towards the First Nations ancestors by some of these posters. I wonder if their tune would change if some developer wanted to dig up the cemetery where their ancestors are buried." They do dig up my ancestors—it's detailed in a BBC show called Time Team. And frankly it's no big deal to me especially when they were buried 1000+ years ago. The worst thing about draconian charges and fines is that it will lead to the destruction of archeology of all sorts. Re-bury and build—that's how they do it in Egypt.

DavidFrumforPM (3:44 PM): I thought people with archaeology degrees all worked at Starbucks. Nice to see there are a few more options out there—screwing over homeowners.

Veteran (3:37 PM): The archeologists are more interested in protecting their tenure, grant allocations and the resulting income than anything else. These types of digs should be performed by archeology students under the supervision of their instructors, negating the need to bill the property owner entirely. These same instructors, who are already being paid by the property owners through taxation, see this as an easy cash cow and have no intention of supporting any equitable resolution to this.

Northstrongfree (3:30 PM): It's time to re-write the Heritage Conservation Act. Point. Blank.

Houseman (3:24 PM): Pretty expensive dog bones...

sigh_ottawa wrote (3:22 PM): Hmmm, lets see, \$35,000 to pay the bill OR build now and accept the fine late of only \$2,000... yup, makes sense. Lets face it, no one would go to jail for this and the fine is only up to \$2,000... So much for doing the right thing. Good luck, hope this gets resolved somehow in your favour !

CaptainKangeroo (3:19 PM): How do they know the archaeologists didn't just place the bones there knowing they could charge an astronomical amount??? Very suspicious!!

Bad Karma (3:15 PM): What a crock. Once you have found one bone, you've found them all.

Heritage dig leads to surprise bill for Vancouver Island family
By Walter Cordery, Vancouver Sun, April 20th, 2010.
Story Comments (47)

anonymous (11:48 AM): I think it is unacceptable that this elderly, "rule following" couple was basically preyed upon by an apparent money grab. Does this archeologist actually think that these people would have allowed him to continue his "study"

if they knew it would be at that cost? Give me a bloomin' break!!

anonymous (4:00 AM): If you find something on your property and it looks valuable, sell it on the e-bay. Otherwise, throw it out. Never, ever tell anybody.

anonymous (3:20 AM): Yes, if the government wants artifacts, let the government pay for the artifacts. Not everything thinks these intellectual hobbies should be payed for. Actually, let the people that do the dig pay for the expenses themselves.

Old bones cost family \$35,000: Construction discovery was reported to government which made owners pay to excavate
Walter Cordery, The Nanaimo Daily News, April 21, 2010

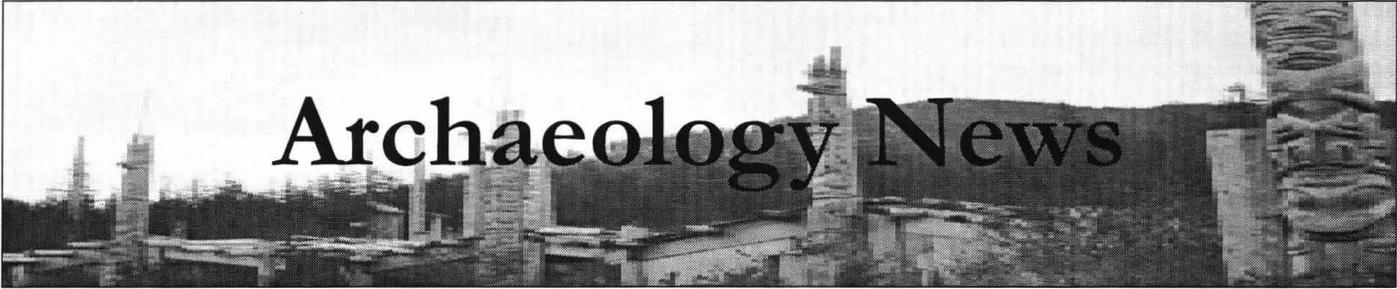
island girl (9:36 AM): So what if there has been human habitation in the province for thousands of years? Don't you think most parts of the world are in the same situation? Native bones are no more sacred than any other nationalities'. To think so would be racist. We're all the same. If they value the bones so much, they should pay for the excavation and compensate the landowner.

Jpb (10:30 AM): way to go archeologist, forgot to charge for the napkins... used to clean your nose.....you are unreal

general custard (6:07 PM): If I ever find any old bones while digging in my garden, I plan to give them a new resting placenanaimo river from the top of cedar bridge

Our world isa cracked out vacuum (7:33 PM): \$17,000 for a barking dog, \$35,000 for a bone! People here are WAY to up-tight! Political correctness sucks-HUGE!

Cluck (8:52 PM): I found chicken bones in my backyard last summer. Can anybody point me in the right direction for a quality archaeologist? I feel that determining if they are from a free range frying chicken, or from KFC is really vital to the bones... I Mean, what if those chicken bones were really important to the province, or to some chicken farmer? They may even be Prehistoric!



Archaeology News

The weird alchemy of archaeology

The Northwest Anthropology conference yields some interesting stories about what our waste can teach us

Knute Berger

The alchemists said that you could turn shit into gold, and thus archaeology was born.

Our knowledge of the past is continually being advanced by the people who probe into what we threw away or time forgot.

That's one of my take-aways from the first day of the 63rd Annual Northwest Anthropology Conference held at Central Washington University in Ellensburg last week. Each day, conference threads cover topics ranging from talking chimpanzees (a CWU specialty) to the anthropology of the Goth subculture, from the stone knapping skills of prehistoric Northwest hunters to the dining habits of the Union soldiers who manned Oregon's Fort Yamhill.

With multiple threads of 20-minute scholarly presentations, you'd need six clones to take it all in, and more stomachs than a cow to digest it. The first day alone I listened to at least 18 presentations.

I'm sitting here afterwards with the easier task of digesting a fine dinner of fresh seafood from, of all things, Ellensburg's excellent Valley Cafe. But as I ponder, I realize that eating fresh scallops and salmon in Kittitas Valley beef country isn't as odd as it seems. Archaeological evidence tells us that since ancient times seashells were part of the native trade currency throughout the region, and, as I also learned today, fish and shellfish were part of the regular diet of Chinese laborers in Jacksonville, Oregon, during the 19th century. At least, so their antique garbage tells us. Bottom line: Good seafood has been finding its way around Cascadia for a long time, and long before the interstate

highway system.

There is much to be learned from disposable societies, which all are, in time. And also from the waste of Mother Nature. I began the morning with a lecture about the nature and source of the various gravels beneath the Columbia River, which together seem to tell a rather incredible story of that body of water, sometimes traveling hundreds of feet higher as alluvial soils build up, sometimes cutting canyons hundreds of feet deep, other times being scoured by massive catastrophic events like the Missoula floods, which pummeled the river bed with "gravel" the size of VW Beetles. If Woody Guthrie had had access to this data, his classic song might have been "Shake, rattle and roll on, Columbia." In any event, the history of a river is apparently written on its bottom.

James Chatters, an archaeologist who played a prominent role in the Kennewick Man controversy, told the story of an archaeological site near Bothell that turned out to be a complete bust. Various "artifacts" discovered there turned out to be nothing more than rocks, except for one ancient arrowhead later dug up. Chatters told how he tried to get something useful out of such an inconsequential find, especially since it was costing taxpayers some \$40,000. By checking records of where other lone arrowheads of a similar type had been found, he was able to paint a picture about the landscape and hunting habits of the natives who lived in the area thousands of years ago. This was his attempt to make gold from government waste.

Speaking of waste, Washington State Parks & Recreation archaeologist Daniel Meatte talked about the efforts to precisely

locate Lewis & Clark's westernmost camp on their expedition to the Pacific, which is somewhere close to Highway 101 on the road to Ilwaco. Sorting out the archaeological evidence for what is called Station Camp is tricky, one reason being that the Corps of Discovery's camp might have been occupied by Chinook Indians after Lewis & Clark vacated the premises, meaning expedition artifacts and trade goods might be mixed with and even underneath native ones.

And, they were only in camp for about 10 days. How much evidence can you leave in such a short time? Plenty, apparently. Meatte told me that one of Lewis & Clark's other campsites was identified by excavating hollows that turned out to be the Corps' latrines. To nail that the 200-year-old poop belonged to the expedition's heroes, an archaeologist tested the ground for mercury, which members were taking as treatment for venereal disease. Sure enough, the old latrines were loaded with it.

And speaking of 19th century bowel movements, at yet another presentation, this by archaeologist Linda Jerofke, we

Department of Corrections

In the last issue, we printed that "the Museum of Anthropology (MOA) at the University of British Columbia reopened with a celebration, marking the completion of a \$55.5 Renewal Project." It should have read, a a "\$55.5 million" for the renewal.

were treated to the relics recovered from a garbage dump in Baker City, Ore., a onetime boomtown and den of corruption (crooked sheriffs, lots of gold). In this particular site, the data uncovered was mostly in the form of perfectly preserved glass bottles from the years 1860 to 1930 (people were apparently very attached to this dump). From this we learn that the well-to-do citizens of Baker city liked beer (according to Pabst, "the most nutritious food known to science"), patent medicines, and alcohol-laced "cough syrup." At least one fellow bought hair dye that was later shown to make one's hair fall out, which perhaps this sadder-but-wiser customer learned the hard way. The bottle recovered from the dump was corked and still had dye in it.

When not dyeing their hair, the Baker citizens were prosperous enough to buy Pluto water and have it shipped from Indiana. The purpose of this bottled water, and indeed of many of the elixirs consumed, wasn't conspicuous consumption but rather an attempt to cure constipation, the endemic frontier malady that could have lost the meat-and-potatoes West.

For alchemists, or archaeologists, to turn shit into gold, they must first dig up shit, or at least the bottles of laxative that induce it.

Knute "Skip" Berger is author of *Pugetopolis: A Mossback Takes on Growth Addicts, Weather Wimps and the Myth of Seattle Nice* (Sasquatch Books, 2009). He writes the "Mossback" column for *Crosscut.com*, a Pacific Northwest online daily (where this column originally ran; reprinted with permission). He also pens a monthly back page column for *Seattle Magazine*, where he is Editor-at-Large. He is a regular news commentator on Seattle's public radio station, KUOW-FM. Between 1990 and 2006 Berger did three stints as editor of *Seattle Weekly*. In 2008, he won the Washington State Historic Preservation Officer's Annual Media Award for his coverage of historic preservation issues. He lives in Seattle.

Marine and Maritime Archaeologies;

Putting the Coast back in Coastal

Richard M. Hutchings and Megan Caldwell

Researchers are increasingly turning to new marine and maritime archaeologies to enhance their understanding of human-environment interaction. Evidence for this on the Pacific Northwest Coast is the inclusion of such approaches at this year's regional archaeological conferences. For some, the end of April marked the 43rd Annual Meeting of the Canadian Archaeological Association. The 2010 meeting, held in Calgary, included the session *Marine and Maritime Archaeologies: Putting the Coast back in Coastal*, co-organized by Caldwell and Hutchings. The session was organized around the idea that the practices of marine and maritime archaeology remain fractured and marginalized. As a consequence, these sub-disciplines exist at the boundaries of the mainstream, even in regions where coastal cultures are the primary research focus. Thus, for many areas the coastal archaeological record is represented almost exclusively by terrestrial or dry sites, to the exclusion of intertidal, subtidal, and other aquatic landscapes.

For the session, we invited papers that were working towards bridging the disconnects that exist between 'terrestrial', 'coastal', 'maritime', and 'marine' archaeologies, especially through new research and the use of multidisciplinary and novel approaches. The turnout exceeded expectations, with 21 authors contributing 12 papers, with most representing the Northwest Coast. In addition, George Nicholas and Rudy Reimer, both of Simon Fraser University, acted as formal discussants, providing valuable insight into the matters at hand. Included here are the session paper titles and contributors. Specific details about the conference and the marine and maritime session, including session and paper abstracts, are available online at <http://www.ucalgary.ca/CAA2010/>. This year's Northwest Anthropology Conference also included a session on *Maritime and Near-Shore Archaeology of the Pacific Northwest*.

Session Paper Titles and Contributors

1. Reimagining Pacific Northwest Coast Archaeology, by Rich Hutchings
2. Archaeological Remains of Precontact Watercraft on the Northwest Coast, by Kathryn Bernick
3. Reef-net Site Recording with Side Scan Sonar, by Charles Moore and Andrew Mason
4. Exploration *con leche* (or Goats on Boats), by Nova Pierson
5. Settler Interaction with Island Environments and Patterns of Marine Resource use in South Pacific Archaeology, by Nadia Densmore
6. L'anse Aux Meadows (EjAv-01): An Archaeological and Ethnohistoric Investigation of Hunter-Gatherer Bird Use in Newfoundland and Labrador, by Todd Kristensen
7. Resource Control and the Emergence of Political Structures in Small-scale Societies: Contrasting Developments on the Korean Peninsula and the Northwest Coast of North America, by Colin Grier and Jangsuk Kim
8. The Relationship of Rockfish and Salmon in Nuu-chah-nulth Subsistence, 1200 B.P. – Present, by Greg Monks
9. Putting Shell Middens in their Place, by David Bilton
10. Working the Tides: Linking Intertidal Features and Terrestrial Sites on BC's Southern Coast, by Megan Caldwell, Dana Lepofsky, Georgia Combes, John R. Harper, John R. Welch and Michelle Washington
11. Terrestrial, Aquatic and Intertidal Archaeological Resources in Gwaii Haanas: Towards a More Complete Picture of Late Holocene Human Resource and Landscape Use, by Trevor J. Orchard, Nicole Smith, Iain McKechnie and Daryl Fedje
12. Thoughtful Scavenging: Archaeological and Anthropological Notions of Scavenging on the Northwest Coast of North America, by Robert Losey
13. Discussants, George Nicholas and Rudy Reimer

Rich Hutchings is a PhD student in interdisciplinary studies at The University of British Columbia. His research focuses on marine and maritime archaeologies and coastal land use. Megan Caldwell, a PhD candidate in anthropology at the University of Alberta, is currently studying the ties between Northwest Coast intertidal fish traps, clam gardens, and shell middens.

#SAA2010

Tweets from the Society of American Archaeology (SAA) Conference in St. Louis, Missouri, April 2010

GLEthnohistory: I'm awake. Coffee is brewed. Time to hit the road to the Society for American Archaeology meeting #saa75. See you in St. Louis!

lynnegoldstein: On the Michigan Flyer, with many other archaeologists, headed to DTW, then STL & #saa75! Not used to traveling w this many folks I know.

archaeocat RT @NEAarchaeology: Hope someone will be tweeting live from #SAA2010 in St. Louis USA for the balance of the week! hint hint #archaeology

archaeologist: #saa75 is shorter than #saa2010 so I vote for #saa75 also no one else is using SAA hashtag; I only get two twts for either # @GLEthnohistory

lynnegoldstein: Session on Cahokia & Moorehead Phase. Part of all-day event to honor James A Brown. The screens & projectors not lg enough for rms. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Schilling - palisade built after capping of Monks Md ca 1200 AD. Substantive change from monumental architecture to a monument. #saa75

GLEthnohistory: tweet secret: the Mayfair hotel just s. of the conference hotel has a coffee shop that's open until 6pm. No line, lots of tables. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Screen setup is annoying. I am in 5th row & I can't really read any writing on slides. My eyes are pretty good. Ruins presentations. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Sabo, et al argue Braden style represents relationship to redhorn, etc, later Craig style represents shift away from myth & lineages. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Schilling - Monks Md not about power, but about recreating mythic worlds. Center of civil society til AD 1200 end of Moorehead Moment #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Sacred landscape of Spiro site - cosmogram in Great Mortuary. Displays creation, future world, link divine ancestors to living. #saa75

kanikehonu: Only second day of conference

and already best day ever. Love the reunions. Waiting for the shindig, brewery, Cahokia... #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Freidel, Reilly - compare Olmec at La Venta to Spiro. Amazing structural similarities in terms of cosmic layout of views of world. #saa75

brockter RT @ArchaeoAD: in an outreach session: 'we have to get outside our comfort zones. I guess I have to learn how to tweet.' Yes you do! #saa75

dq8s: Early night, calling it quits at 1 am #saa75

kanikehonu: You might not want to go Broadway Oyster Bar. Missed out on the early morning talks today due to sickness :(#saa75

lynnegoldstein: OK, got my regis stuff, saw bunches of people, set up mtgs & lunches, now am working on discussion for Saturday. Actually hot here! #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Off to be discussant in session - 50 yrs of research in lower Illinois Valley. Only have 3 of 7 papers. Still not sure what I'll say. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Cool paper on replicating copper-working techniques used by Mississippian people. Neat techniques & approach - learned quite a lot. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Paper I just tweeted about - replicating copper working (@ Cahokia) - was by undergrad from Northwestern U. Impressive. #saa75

kanikehonu: First full night's sleep since St. Louis, but still groggy. Sessions, meetings, more sessions, Arch, sessions, shinDIG. What a day! #saa75

NEAarchaeology: Sad because you're not at the #saa75 conference, the largest such event in North America (Canada, US, Mexico)? Check out live tweets #saa75

lynnegoldstein: ALice Kehoe suggests that Cahokia is tied to Mexico. Her evidence = proposed slave trade, deer hide trade, & filed teeth. Dubious. #saa75

roamingacademic: @ArchaeoAD: congrats on a successful SAA paper!! Now enjoy St. Louis!!! (oh, and keep tweeting so I know what is going on!) #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Steponaitis - early fine engraved pottery @ Moundville not fr Caddo; actually made @ Moundville. Historical accident ties to Caddo. #saa75

kanikehonu: <http://twitpic.com/1gh7gn> - Archy dance circle #saa75

lynnegoldstein: OK -break. Work on paper & discussion, go to a mtg. Later go to Women in Archaeology reception & dinner w some women in archaeology #saa75

kanikehonu: <http://twitpic.com/1ggauh> - Archys getting down to YMCA #saa75

GLEthnohistory: Wow. People making out behind a column near the hotel bar. Classy. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: In 2nd session on Center for Amer Archaeology celebration. My comments this morning were ok. Saw Stuart Struever for 1st time in yrs! #saa75

chekeichan: actually networked and talked to strangers and handed out business cards and all that good conferency stuff. Also, tapas. #SAA75

lynnegoldstein: Just finished presenting my Aztalan paper in Brown session. Shocked to see well over 100 people there @ 8 am - was expecting 20. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Paper on Quapaw, Kaw, Osage, Ponca relationship to Cahokia. C Wilson arguing fluidity of movement of Indians. Cahokia there b4 tribes #saa75

lynnegoldstein: Struever: archaeology future needs: Regional scale, long-term, supporting people in area, institutional support for research agenda. #saa75

lynnegoldstein: On the plane with many other archaeologists -- headed to DTW. St Louis mtgs were good. Lots of internatl members stuck due 2 volcano. #saa75

dq8s: @SAA75 good times!

2010 Field Schools – Who's Where, Doing What?

Marina LaSalle

Several field schools will be taking place this summer in British Columbia, including:

SFU and Tla'Amin First Nation on the Sunshine Coast

In June and July 2010, Simon Fraser University and Tla'Amin First Nation will embark on the third year of a collaborative heritage program focused on both the Tla'Amin Reserve on the Sunshine Coast and the Malaspina Complex, in the heart of Tla'Amin First Nation Territory. The project will be conducted in the context of SFU's summer field school as well as elder and youth programs being conducted by the Tla'Amin. On the SFU side, the project will be directed by Dana Lepofsky and John R. Welch. As community consultations concerning every aspect of the project will continue to unfold, the effort is being guided by commitments to people, place, learning, and capacity building. In the past, this involved talking in elementary school classes, touring people of all ages around sites, hosting "Community Days" where people are invited to work with us in the field, and talking to the media. SFU looks forward to another season working in the Tla'Amin community; more information about the project can be found here: http://www.sfu.ca/archaeology/fieldschools/2010_malaspina.html

Musqueam-UBC Collaboration Continues

UBC's Department of Anthropology and the Musqueam Indian Band have jointly conducted an undergraduate archaeological field course since 2007, and will be continuing this program in 2010. The field school will provide students with archaeological experience and instruction while working in consultation with First Nation officials, elders, and community members, focusing on Musqueam history with research conducted on Musqueam territory. Running from May to June, the field school may entail an excavation project

that focuses on a wetsite and village dating to the past 1500 years. More information can be found here: <http://www.anth.ubc.ca/index.php?id=3332>

Capilano University Revisits North Vancouver

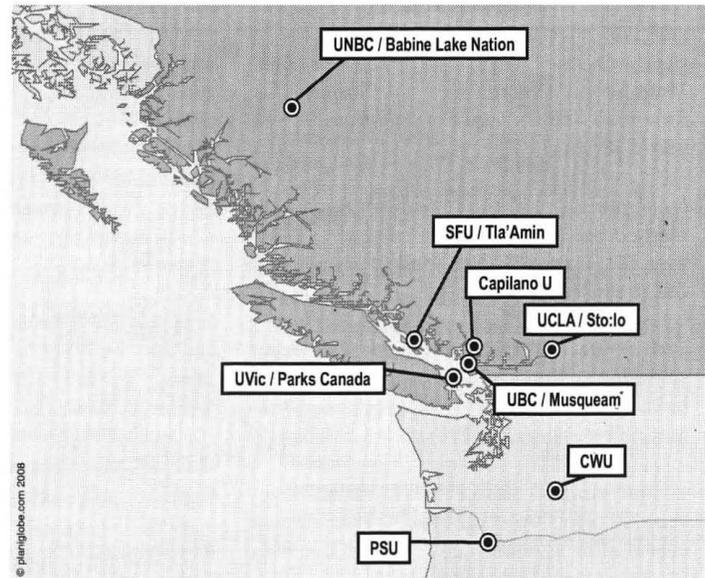
The 2010 archaeology field school runs from May 10th - June 25th in the Lower Seymour Conservation Reserve, only a few km from Capilano University. The majority of time in the field will be spent excavating one or more sites from the early 1900s. Time will also be spent looking for and recording other sites in the reserve. (Bob Muckle reported on the 2009 Field School in *The Midden* 41[3]). We look forward to hearing the results of yet another exciting summer from Capilano; <http://www.capilanou.ca/programs/archaeology/Archaeology-Field-School.html>

UVic in the Gulf Islands

The University of Victoria, in conjunction with Parks Canada and with the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, will run a field school in the southern Gulf Islands, where a variety of small projects related to Cultural Resource Management will be undertaken. The project will focus on culture history and topical issues of the region as well as the applied training of students through field work in Cultural Resource Management-style archaeology. Project website is here: http://anthropology.uvic.ca/undergraduate/field_schools_current.php

Lake Babine Nation and UNBC

The UNBC Anthropology Program



and the Lake Babine Nation are pleased to offer an archaeology field school during the summer of 2010. This is one of the most scenic regions in the province, with plentiful wildlife and history, also renowned for its world class fishing opportunities. Project information can be found here: http://www.unbc.ca/anthropology/field_schools_-_anth/afs/afs_2010/index.html

UCLA's Welqamex Household Archaeological Research Project

Located in beautiful southwestern British Columbia, the Welqamex Household Archaeological Research Project focuses on questions concerning the emergence of complex political institutions and inter-community relations within the last 500 years of aboriginal history. This is a culturally immersive field school experience in which students live, work, and interact with a descendent Stó:lō community. We work closely with our collaborators at the Stó:lō Research and Resource Management Centre, who place priority on expanding student knowledge-base and frame of reference through direct experience with Stó:lō history. Supervised by Anthony Graesch and Dave Schaepe, this field school will run from June through July; more information can be found on the

project website here, <http://www.archaeology.ucla.edu/programs/north-america/british-columbia-welqamex-archaeological-research-project>

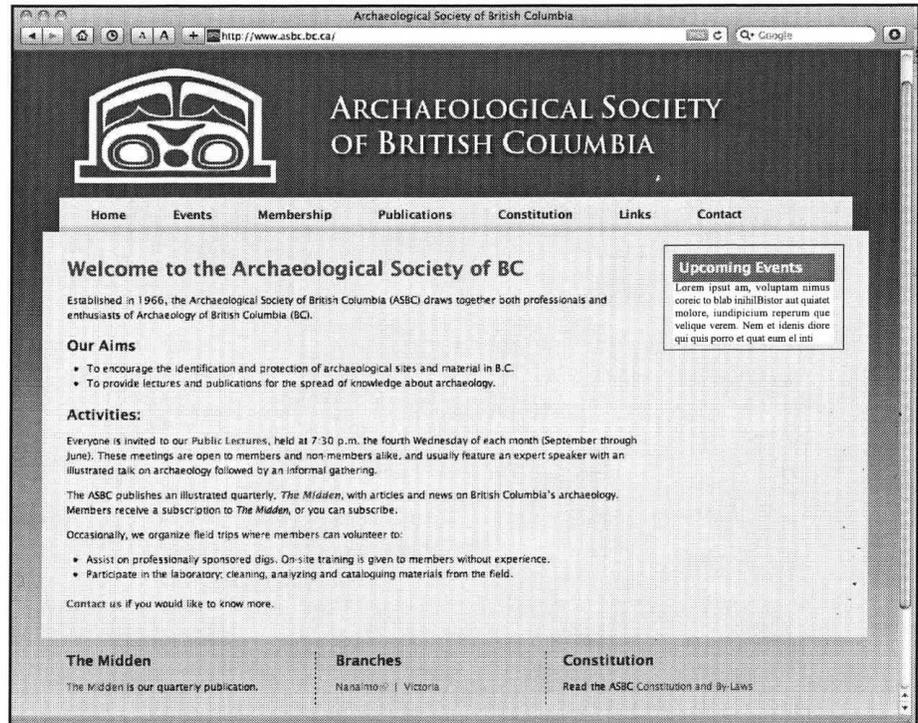
Turning to our neighbours to the south, a brief look at some of the American field schools taking place in the coastal and plateau regions:

Fort Vancouver Public Archaeology Project

Portland State University, Washington State University Vancouver, the National Park Service, Northwest Cultural Resources Institute, and the Fort Vancouver National Trust are hosting a field school in historical archaeology at Fort Vancouver's multicultural Village (also known as "Kanaka Village"), the largest settlement in the Pacific Northwest in the 1830s and 1840s, and home to people from all over the world and the Pacific Northwest. The field school will provide a means to recapture the history of this multicultural worker's village and to engage the modern Portland/Vancouver area in the unique history of their closest National Park site. For more information visit: <http://wadahp.wordpress.com/2010/02/22/2010-public-archaeology-field-school/>

CWU at Wenas Creek

The Wenas Creek Mammoth Project is a Central Washington University investigation of mammoth bones found on private land in the Wenas Creek Valley near Selah, Washington. The investigation is interdisciplinary, using methods from paleontology, archaeology, and geography, with the goal of recovering bones and associated artifacts, while placing the finds into appropriate context of physical geography. Information on the 2010 field school can be found here: <http://www.cwu.edu/~mammoth/mammoth2008/opportunities.html>



The ASBC Website

<http://www.asbc.bc.ca>

Check the ASBC Website to be informed of upcoming events
and news relating to BC Archaeology.

Lecture notices will be regularly updated on the site.

Results of the AGM:

ASBC Executive for 2010/2011

President: Rudy Reimer

Vice-President: Craig Rust

Treasurer: Jim Pound

Recording Secretary: Nova Pierson

Membership Secretary: (currently vacant)

Midden Representative: Marina La Salle

An Archer's Wrist Guard

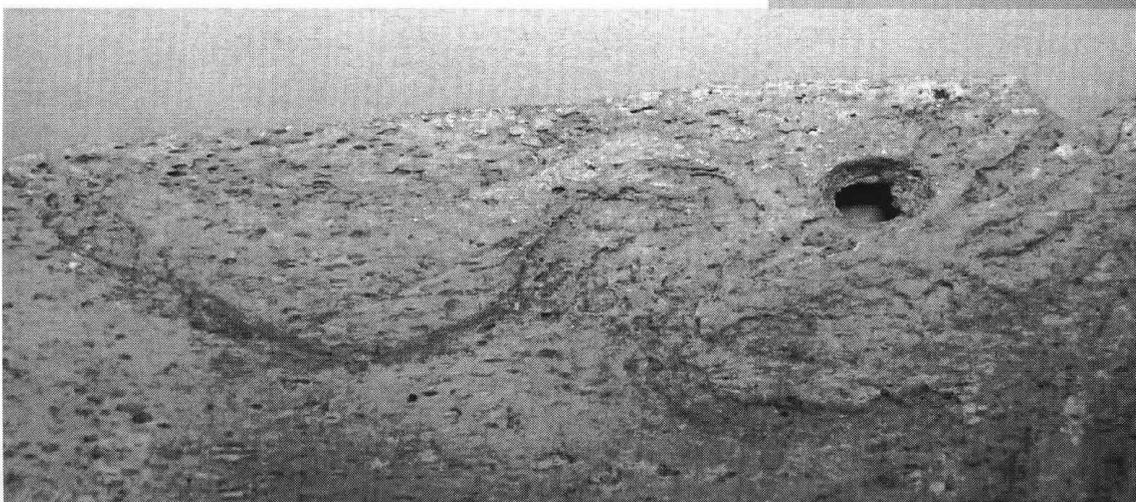
By Grant Keddie

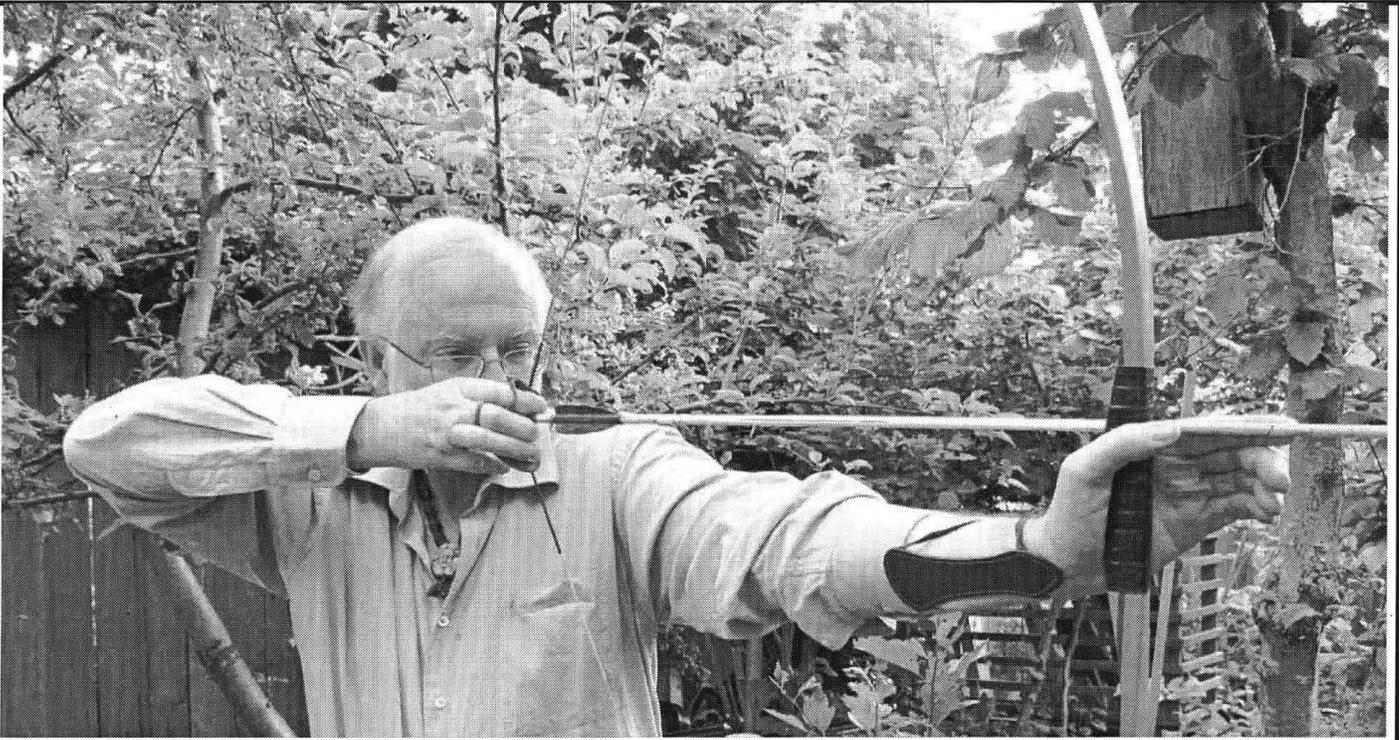
This unique artifact from the collection of the Royal B.C. Museum has never been identified.

The 8cm by 21cm object is made from a thin one-centimetre piece of whalebone. Dr. Charles Newcombe found the artifact (DcRu-32:22) in 1914, during the construction of the Ogden Point breakwater at the entrance to Victoria's Outer harbour. An archaeological shell midden (DcRu32), which now lies buried under Dallas Road, was once the location of a small village site at the head of the now filled in Ogden Bay. The small assemblage of artifacts, which includes bone tools made using an iron file, and the lack of any oral tradition or other historic documentation of a village here, suggests the site was likely occupied around 200 to 500 years ago.

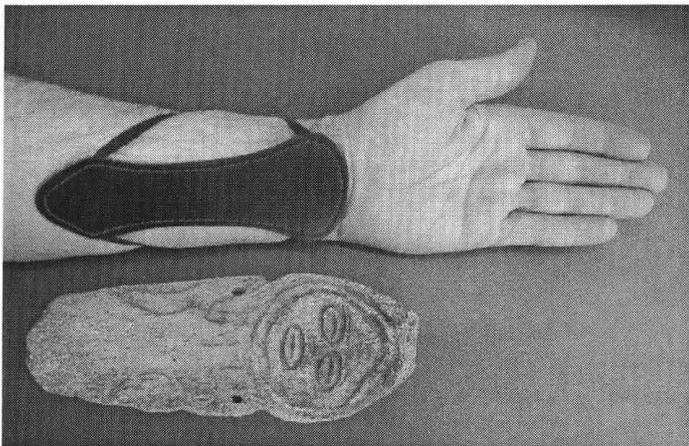
The carved design shows a human figure with hands held in front and two bird figures on each side.

The hands each have four thin, bird-like fingers. The raised area around the head may suggest the figure is wearing some kind of hood-like head piece – maybe one of the water proof bird skin capes referred to in oral tradition? The back of the artifact is not carved, but has slight recesses around the holes and across the area between them. The meaning of the design is unknown. Possibly it represents an ancestral figure that ensured the wearer good luck in bird hunting.





I propose that it was once tied onto the wrist of an archer – to guard his arm from being cut by a bowstring. I base this assumption on my personal experience as an archer and the similarity of this item to known wrist guards found in cultures in Siberia and Alaska.



Contact Period Earth Ovens in the San Juan Islands, Washington

Stephanie A.E. Jolivette and Amanda K. Taylor

During the summer of 2008 the San Juan Islands Archaeological Project (SJI-AP) investigated two archaeological sites, one containing circular depressions whose dimensions and content suggest their use as earth ovens by past native peoples (Figure 1). It is known from historical and ethnographic sources that camas and other vegetal resources were roasted and steamed in earth ovens by Coast Salish peoples at contact. This study provides the first archaeological dates for the use of such ovens in the San Juan Islands, Washington.

Historically root crops such as camas (*Camassia sp.*) were harvested in bulk by native families and then processed by placing them in earth ovens, often adjacent to the collecting location. Bernard Stern noted the importance of camas to Lummi groups, describing how the women of the tribe gathered large numbers of these roots at harvest in order to insure a year-round supply (1934:42). Wayne Suttles provides evidence that the Saanich and Samish had plots in the San Juan Islands that were owned by specific families (1951:60). More recent interviews of Lummi elder Herman Olsen has verified the importance of this crop to the native diet even after European foods were introduced to the region (Nugent 1999:56).

This wild root crop has been so important to native groups that it has been managed through such horticultural practices as replanting bulbs and burning off the prairies to encourage renewed growth in the following year (Deur 2002, Storm & Shebitz 2006). Recent work on prairie management on Yellow Island in the San Juan Islands, Washington has shown that camas plants increase in abundance when their landscape is managed with fire; however the time depth of such fire regimes is only partially understood (Dunwiddie 2005).

Ethnographic studies have detailed

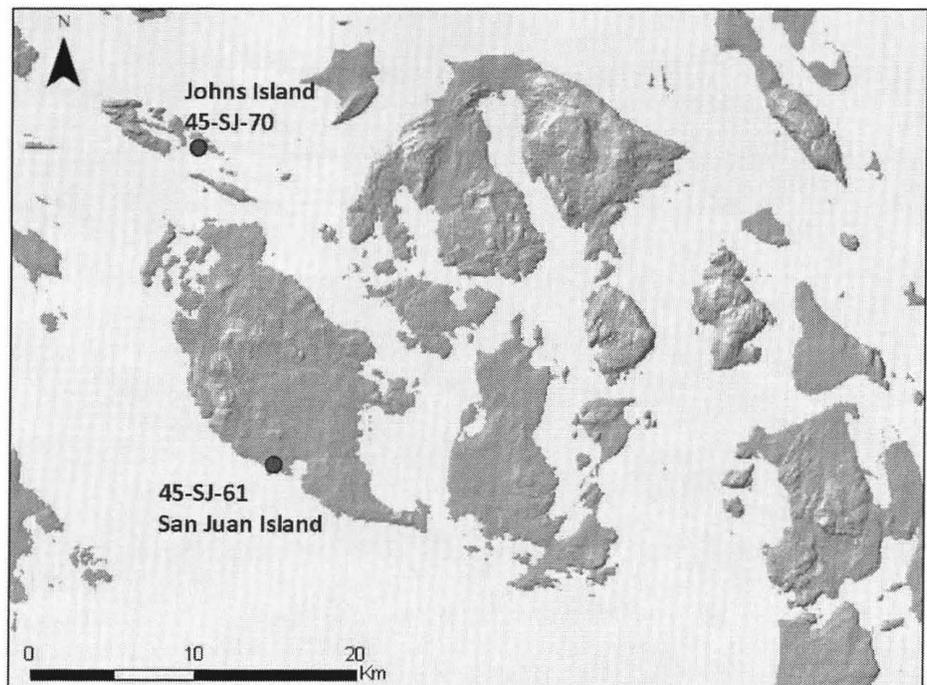


Figure 1. San Juan Islands, Washington map with archaeological sites sampled for study; Figure 2 (above). Graduate Students Amanda Taylor and Emily Peterson standing in circular depressions on San Juan Island.

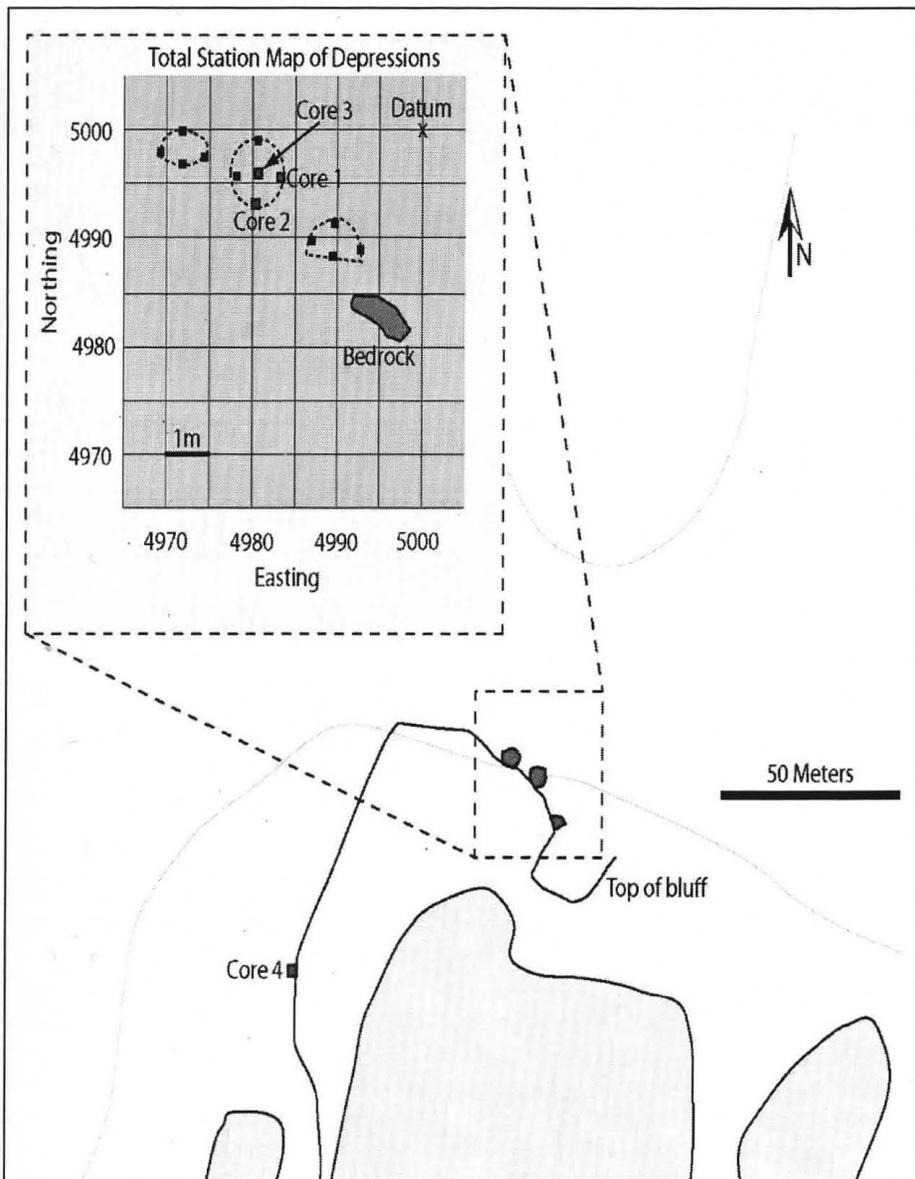


Figure 3. Site Map of 45-SJ-61, San Juan Island.

the historic and modern system of building and firing camas ovens (Downing & Furniss 1968, Stern 1934, Suttles 1951), and archaeological experimental studies have outlined the basic characteristic of camas ovens (Smith & Martin 2001, Wilson & DeLyria 1999). A Saanich informant described the roasting oven as a roughly circular hole dug two feet deep and four feet across which contained rocks heated by fire within the pit and then covered by wood and vegetation to impart flavor while steaming the camas bulbs (Suttles 1951:61). This description very closely fits the depressions investigated on Johns Island and San Juan Island by the SJIAP that are described below.

Sites Investigated

Although the presence of potential camas oven sites in the San Juan Islands has long been noted, with the circular depressions on Johns Island being reported as early as 1947, none of these features had been directly dated prior to our study. In 1986 the Johns Island site (45-SJ-70) was revisited and it was noted that the site "contains at least 4 areas with clusters of circular depressions (as many as 20 may be present)" (Wessen 1986b). In 2008 only two clusters of a total of 8 depressions remained, the rest lost to erosion or landscape modification. The circular depressions at site 45-SJ-61 on San Juan

Island were not previously reported and thus it is unknown if additional ovens once existed in the area (Figure 2). However, at least one of the ovens at this location has partially eroded off of the edge of the cliff and thus it is likely that others in the area may have been destroyed.

At site 45-SJ-61 on San Juan Island samples were taken from both the center (core 3) and the edge (core 2) of the earth oven from both a top and bottom depth (Figure 3). Ethnographically such ovens were reused annually and thus top and bottom dates allow a measurement of use over time (Suttles 1951). Samples from the center and edge of the oven were taken to control for oven cleaning practices, since between uses of the oven they may have been cleaned and the resulting refuse piled on the edge of the oven. A sample from the adjacent shell midden (core 4) was also taken to determine if the oven and midden were in use during the same time period. Only a single sample was taken for dating due to the highly eroded nature of the midden.

At 45-SJ-70 on Johns Island samples were taken from the center (core 1) and edge (core 2) of one circular depression. Charcoal samples from core 1 were submitted for radiocarbon dating (Figure 4). However, midden samples from two distinct areas of archaeological site were dated to determine whether the depressions might have been used at the time of either midden occupation. The project emphasized this comparative approach in order to determine whether native peoples visited the site solely to process camas or if earth oven use was contemporaneous with midden accumulation.

Bulk soil samples were collected using a manual auger and, in the case of midden samples, directly from the eroding bank. Charcoal samples were later screened from the soil samples taken from the depressions, and large, complete shells were taken from the midden bulk samples for radiocarbon dating. While augering the depressions it was noted that they primarily contained loose, sandy soil and large quantities of fire modified rock. At both sites the ovens were found to contain neither shell nor bone, which further supports the idea that the ovens were used primarily to roast and steam vegetal matter.

Auger samples were taken up to 60cm below surface at the site on San

Juan Island where the loose soil prevented sampling to the bottom of the feature. Augering at the site on Johns Island was halted when a large number of rocks were encountered at a similar depth. A larger excavation of one of these features could yield potentially older dates if deeper samples could be obtained. However, the overlap in age of both top and bottom dates within the ovens suggests that they accumulated very rapidly and thus samples collected below the 60cm mark might fall within a similar age range (see below).

Analysis

Prior to radiocarbon dating, charcoal samples were identified to species by Paleoresearch, Inc. to identify shorter-lived taxa to avoid dating wood from the inner part of longer-lived taxa. Categories of shorter lived species that were selected for dating include alder (*Alnus sp.*), aspen/cottonwood (*Populus sp.*), maple (*Acer sp.*), and aspen/cottonwood/willow (*Salicaceae*).

Total analysis of the charcoal samples from each bulk sample indicated that local vegetation in the vicinity of both sites at the time of occupation was characterized by coniferous forests dominated by douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), pacific madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*), shore pine (*Pinus contorta*), western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*), and bigleaf maple (*Acer macrophyllum*). At 45-SJ-61 alder (*Alnus sp.*), douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*), aspen/cottonwood (*Populus sp.*), and maple (*Acer sp.*) were used for fuel in the roasting ovens. At 45-SJ-69 on Johns Island fir (*Abies sp.*) and other conifers, aspen/cottonwood/willow (*Salicaceae*), madrone (*Arbutus menziesii*), douglas fir (*Pseudotsuga menziesii*), and western red cedar (*Thuja plicata*) were utilized.

Shell dating work for the project was conducted by Beta Analytic and a marine reservoir correction was applied to the shell samples to make them comparable to the charcoal samples following values established by Deo et al. (2004) and refined by Daniels (2009). The regional correction value (ΔR) established by these studies at 0-600 BP and 1000-3000 BP is 400 years, while the ΔR for 600-1000 BP is 0 years. All date results are presented in calibrated years before present.

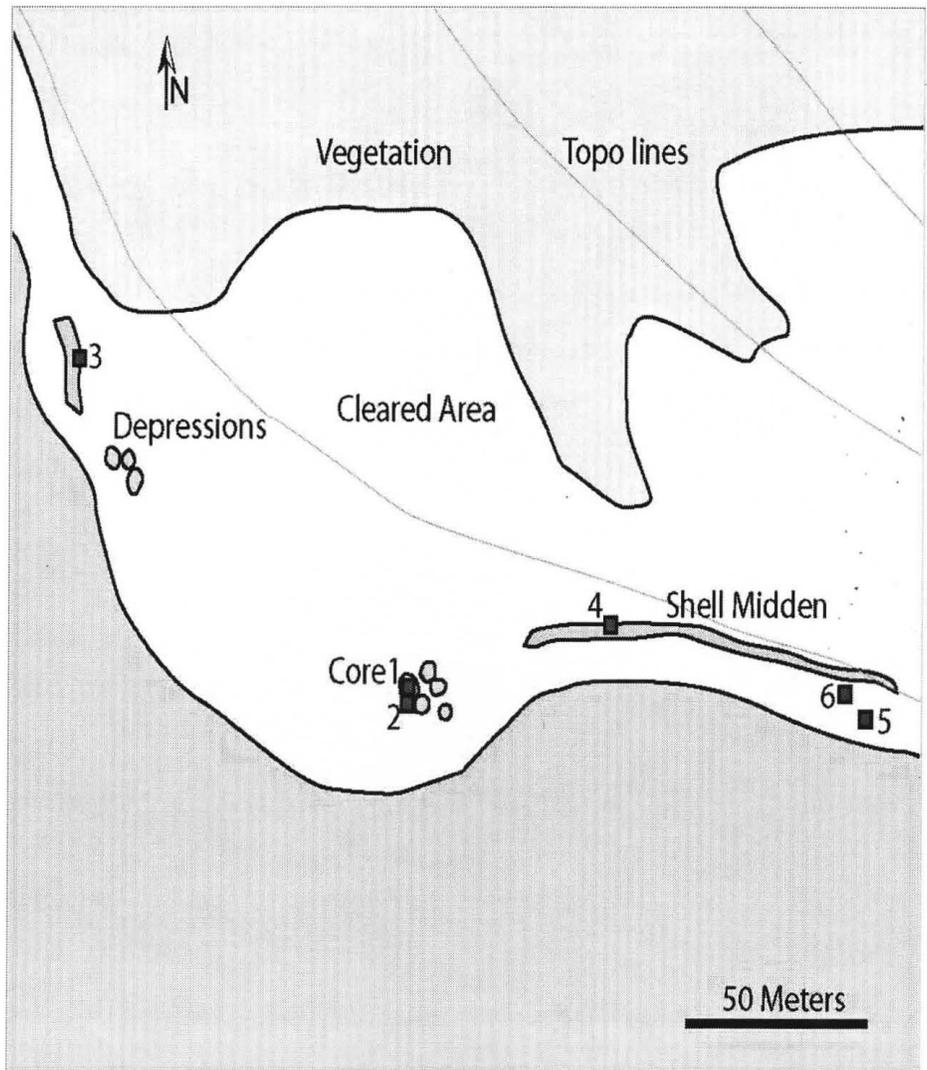


Figure 4. Site Map of 45-SJ-70, Johns Island.

Results

On Johns Island (45-SJ-70) the top and bottom dates for the center of the oven overlap to such an extent that they are contemporaneous from approximately 300 years to present (Table 1). On San Juan Island (45-SJ-61), the earth oven also dates to this time period. The calibrated dates overlap to such an extent that it is impossible to determine if post-depositional disturbance was a significant factor affecting the stratigraphy at the site.

The charcoal samples from the earth ovens both on San Juan Island and Johns Island date to within the last 300 years, making them contact period features. The shell dates from the shell middens located adjacent to the earth ovens, on the other hand, are in both cases older than the depressions and thus are not likely to be con-

temporaneous with these features (Figure 5). Why such a disparity exists between the dates for midden and oven deposition at both locations can only be speculated upon at this time. However, Wayne Suttles' insight that as "white settlers began encroaching upon the mainland prairies... the islands became the only source of bulbs" for tribal peoples may provide an explanation for the contact period use of ovens on these islands (1951:59).

Additional dates from middens elsewhere on Johns Island (45-SJ-71 and 45-SJ-72) fall within the date range established for 45-SJ-70 and thus are not contemporaneous with the use of the earth oven, even though it has been established by the SJIAP that midden occupations during the contact period exist (Taylor et al. In Prep). It is, however, possible that contemporaneous occupations in the area

Table 1. Charcoal and shell dates from San Juan Island (45-SJ-61) and Johns Island (45-SJ-70).

| Site | Feature Type | Core | Depth (cmbs) | Sample Type | Sample Identification | AMS 14C Date (RCYBP) | 2-sigma Calibrated Date BP | $\delta^{13}C$ (o/oo) |
|----------|--------------|------|--------------|--------------|-----------------------|----------------------|---|-----------------------|
| 45-SJ-61 | oven | 2 | 0-30 | Charcoal | <i>Alnus</i> | 140 ± 20 | 280-0 | -20.6 |
| 45-SJ-61 | oven | 2 | 50-60 | Charcoal | <i>Alnus</i> | 105 ± 20 | 270-220, 150-20 | -29.2 |
| 45-SJ-61 | oven | 3 | 0-20 | Charcoal | <i>Populus</i> | 205 ± 20 | 300-260, 140, 20-0 | -18.4 |
| 45-SJ-61 | oven | 3 | 30-40 | Charcoal | <i>Acer</i> | 155 ± 20 | 290-250, 230-130, 120-70, 40-0 | -19.7 |
| 45-SJ-61 | midden | 4 | 0-10 | Marine Shell | | 1140 ± 40 | 465-293 | -0.2 |
| 45-SJ-70 | oven | 1 | 0-20 | Charcoal | Salicaceae | 145 ± 20 | 290-60, 40-0 | -28.0 |
| 45-SJ-70 | oven | 1 | 45-rock | Charcoal | Salicaceae | 155 ± 20 | 290-250, 230-130, 120-70, 40-0 | -25.4 |
| 45-SJ-70 | midden | 3 | 50-60 | Marine Shell | | 1430 ± 40 | 660-530 | -0.6 |
| 45-SJ-70 | midden | 4 | 30-45 | Marine Shell | | 2160 ± 40 | 1851-1621 | -1.3 |

may exist that have not yet been sampled and dated.

Discussion

The antiquity of the earth oven tradition in the San Juan Islands is unknown. Although neither of the sites sampled revealed oven dates older than contact period, it is possible that evidence of depressions dating to prior to 300 years ago at these sites has been erased by post-depositional processes. Numerous other depressions reported in a similar manner to these earth ovens have been reported elsewhere in the San Juan Islands in site reports on file at the Department of Archaeology and Historic Preservation and should be investigated (Wessen 1986a).

Additionally, paleobotanical research on the bulk soil samples collected from the earth ovens as part of this project would provide new data on plants being utilized in the area. Both of the sites sampled in this study are on prime camas growing locations typified by being on grassy meadows on the edge of rocky slopes (Pojar and MacKinnon 1994:108) on the "bare southern faces" of the islands (Suttles 1951:59). However, the potential that the ovens were also used to roast and steam other vegetal foods such as tiger lily, chocolate lily, rice root, carrots, clovers,

and braken ferns, among others, could also provide important information about past Coast Salish diet.

Perhaps the most important impact of future research in the area may be the establishment of an archaeological record of the use of plant resources in the San Juan Islands which could be used to encourage the modern harvest of these resources. Modern legislation addressing treaty rights for federally recognized tribes has historically centered on the use of aquatic resources. The 1974 Boldt Decision upheld tribal rights to salmon harvest in Washington State, making tribes and the state equal partners in managing salmon resources and the subsequent Rafeedie Decision of 1994 gave similar treaty rights to tribes for shellfish harvest on both public and private tidelands. Additional legislation temporarily allowed the Makah Indian Tribe the right to hunt eastern North Pacific gray whales (*Eschrichtius robustus*) in 1999 (NOAA NMFS). These decisions have provided important first steps towards providing the access to resources originally offered to native groups in the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliot, a land settlement treaty between the U.S. government and tribes of the greater Puget Sound region, but they have failed to take into account the importance of inland resources to native groups (Kappler 1904).

Traditional camas harvesting areas in the San Juan Islands are now primarily under private non-native ownership and are no longer available for harvesting even though the 1855 Treaty of Point Elliot included provisions for general native hunting and gathering, including the harvest of root crops such as camas. Although no legislation directly pertaining to such land based harvests has yet been presented in the courts, both the Boldt and Rafeedie Decisions relied heavily upon archaeological evidence to make their claims. Through our study of features associated with camas in archaeological sites we hope to add to this body of knowledge in anticipation of future efforts towards legislative reform.

Acknowledgements

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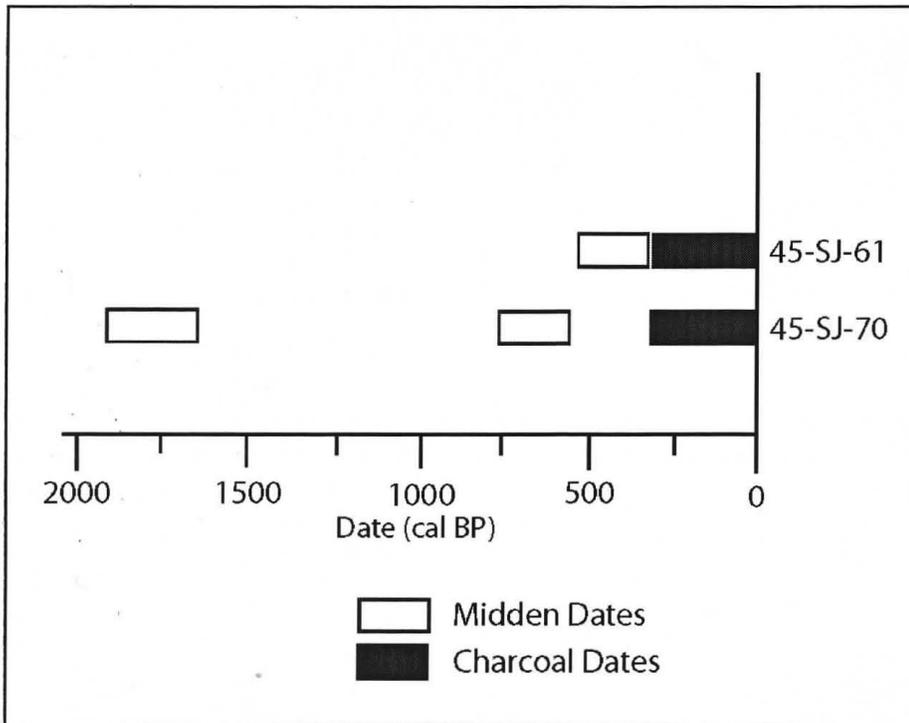


Figure 5. Midden and Oven Radiocarbon Dates.

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One Tribe's Story of Discovery, Conflict and Heartache

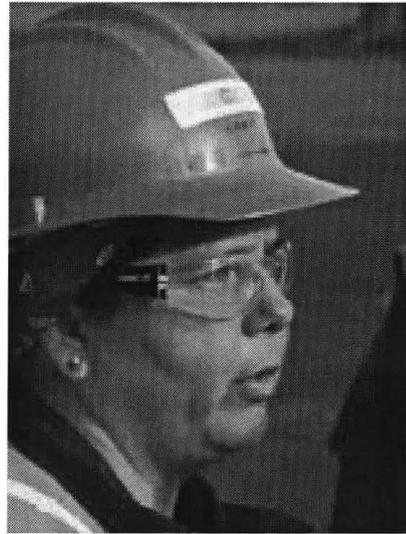
Frances G. Charles

My name is Frances Charles. I'm the Tribal Chairwoman for the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe. We are known as "The Strong People" in our community here. I'd like to take this opportunity to express, in my own words, what we are faced with, and what we are dealing with spiritually, mentally and physically for what is known as the Tze-whit-zen village site in the Port Angeles harbor area, which was known to us to be one of our bigger cemeteries and also a big, big village.

What has been really disturbing for our community is the excavation process and the burials that we have been finding for over a year now. It was not until late August of 2003 that we received a phone call from the Washington State Department of Transportation, which I will call "WashDOT."

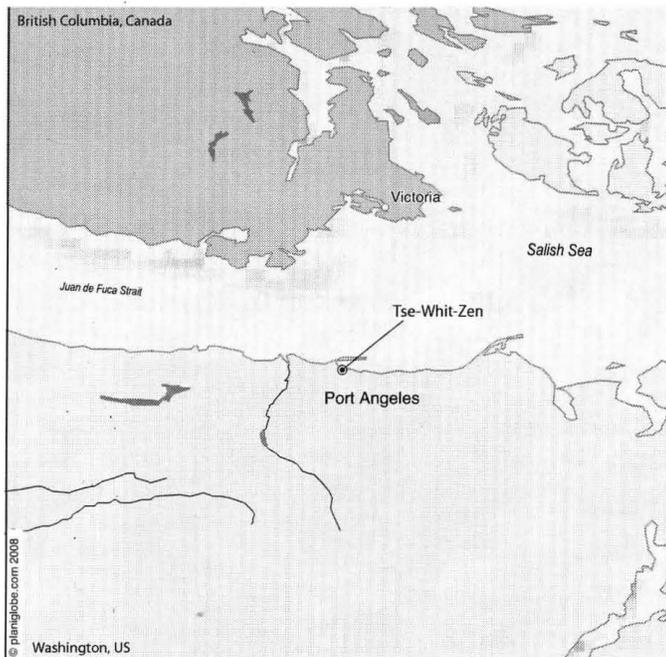
In their process of planning to replace part of the Hood Canal Bridge, there was no notification to the Lower Elwha Klallam peoples regarding to this project starting. What was very alarming in the earlier stages of the project was that not only were we not notified officially, but we also received messages from our neighboring tribe, the Makahs, that they had been consulted when WashDOT had earlier considered building the graving dock project in Makah territory but, because of the road conditions and the distant location, they chose not to have it done in Makah lands. We researched back through the years, studying old newspapers and asking questions about why the Klallam people were not notified. We found that WashDOT thought they thought they had notified the Klallams by talking with the Port Gamble Tribe. Again—Lower Elwha was not notified through this whole process, through the duration of the planning for the graving yard project, or when they broke ground here in Port Angeles. It was not until late August of 2003 that WashDOT team member called and said there was something a "little bit different" in the grounds that they were digging at, so they called the tribe to let us know.

What they had found was a shell midden. Shell midden deposits are what we would describe today as kind of a garbage bin, where we dispose of our food goods, so a midden contains the remnants of the food that we had ate at those times. It was a late Friday afternoon, so we came down the following Monday and observed what was being conducted on the 22.5 acres of this



Frances Charles, Tribal Chairwoman of the Lower Elwha Klallam (Photograph by John Loftus).

Frances Charles wrote this piece during the excavations of Tse-Whitzen. It was originally posted online at the Klallam website and is reprinted here, with permission of Frances Charles.



project land, which is known to us as Tze-whit-zen village site.

We started questioning Western Shore Heritage Services, the archeological firm contracted by the state, to find out what was happening and what type of testing was going on. We did not know the laws that applied to burial processes, and in the earlier stages no burials were discovered—not until September. As we continued to ask questions about the project, and why we were not notified in advance, we continued to be ignored.

Finally, we started exploring the land ourselves and observed that there was bone that was laying on top of the surface that was being weathered and bleached. We determined, after having them processed to make sure that they were not that of elk or deer that, yes, in fact they were human remains—not animal. It was always being indicated to the tribe that they were animal—something that was dragged in, or where somebody had discarded the carcasses of their deer. It was determined to be, in fact, one of our ancestors.

We asked WashDOT Secretary MacDonald to take a closer observation of what was taking place, and to do some test pits so that we were comfortable with what was being found on the grounds. In recognition of what had taken place, they finally agreed to do a test trench, and at that time there was nothing that was exposed, so the construction quickly continued in what we know as Area A, and Areas B, C, and D.

And now we also have Area E, which started exposing several remains at a later time. Up to this date, throughout the duration of the project, we now have over 200 fully intact individuals and over 700 “isolates”—bits and pieces of our ancestral remains, and over 5,000 artifacts and still counting.

We started the mitigation process of a MOA (Memorandum of Agreement) with agencies—the Federal Highway Administra-

tion, the Army Corps of Engineers, the State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) and the WashDOT agencies with collaboration of the tribe and, of course, the city of Port Angeles. The Port of Port Angeles was involved in some of those discussions, but sat on the sidelines because we were talking about their land as well as our land.

In the mitigation process, the tribe was under the assumption that we were dealing with 25 individuals of our ancestral remains as we continued with the negotiations. The project had stopped in September, but it took six months to go through the process of negotiations, and during that process we found more remains.

Western Shore Heritage Services was cooperating with the tribe and had hired some of the tribal members through the mitigation/negotiation process. That’s one of the things that we wanted to see happen. We wanted tribal people to be employed on the project, which would also serve as a learning tool for them so we will have the capability to deal with such things in the future, because we know that this will not be the only village site in the harbor of Port Angeles and the surrounding area.

As we continued through the mitigation process, we agreed on a figure of \$3.4 million the priority of land acquisition for the reburial process, and for the consultants that the tribe needed to hire. We had explained that we were really concerned about the details—that there was so much that was unknown on this land because of its history. The knowledge that our elders and what was explained to them in their childhood years was that this was a big cemetery, as well as one of the bigger village sites of our Klallam people.

We tried to express this time and time again with the agencies, but their goal was to get the project going, to get the bridge done. It was a safety factor, they told us, and it’s this safety issue is still being imposed on use today as we speak. Once we started with the negotiations to let the construction continue, as we worked through the of it with the construction, we brought on LAAS—Lynn Larson’s firm—which was our consultant at the very beginning. It was under the advice of the tribe that LAAS was contracted so that we would have a comfort zone. We wanted to work with her because she knew—we thought—what the concerns of the tribe were regarding the priority we placed on our ancestral remains.

Once the contract was signed with WashDOT and LAAS’s firm, Lynn Larson’s firm, things changed. We lost the authority and the power to have Lynn give us the clear direction and advice that we felt we needed regarding the cultural sensitivities of the land as well as the reburial and the excavation process of our ancestors. She was now being controlled by the other agency with whom we were involved in

sensitive negotiations dispute resolution processes relating to how things were being conducted construction-wise on the site.

Western Shore continued with their task on the far west side of the project lands, where every day we were continuing to expose more burials. We had, at that time, the 25 individuals that we started off with, and every day we continued adding to the numbers at that burial site. We had a total of 103 burials that had come out of the area that was now called Area E.

The knowledge that our elders and what was explained to them in their childhood years was that this was a big cemetery, as well as one of the bigger village sites of our Klallam people.

The agencies thought that area to be the boundary of a cemetery. The reality is that in Indian country in times past, there was no boundary of a cemetery. They see the boundaries of the cemeteries as they exist today in the non-Native style that you see as you drive down the freeways, or as you drive on country roads—a fenced-in lot that is the enclosure of a cemetery. In our ancestors' times, there were no boundaries. We know this because today we are witnessing it, and what we are observing is that the cemeteries and the burials are going all the way across the 22 acres.

To the east of Area E, we have over 60 fully intact individuals that have been excavated out of the ground along portion of the land. As we continue on to the east side, every day we are finding more burials. We are also finding isolates. We have found isolates—which means the bits

and pieces of our ancestors—throughout the whole 22 acres. In the small portions of the site that are being broken down into grids and blocks for more intensive research, we continue to find artifacts, and we continue to find the burials as well.

We have beautiful artifacts that have been excavated out of some of the burials, as well as on some of the lands that we have requested to explore in detail so that we can go in and recover our ancestral remains. I wish this upon no other nation. I wish that the construction would come to a halt in these undisturbed areas that we want to have explored in more detail, because once the overburden is pulled off and the dirt below it is exposed, we are finding our ancestral burials about two to three feet below that hard surface, which to the society surrounding us is known as “disturbed soils.”

All of the land is disturbed because since the early 1900's mills have been built down here time and time again, and they had disturbed soils, and had mixed it up. But after we went down six feet below the surface, that's where we hit our ancestors, and that's where we hit the village site.

We have six longhouse structures and a ceremonial house, including a spitting rock still in place at one end. We have flakes of cedar planks that still exist that are now exposed on the ground. We're trying to figure out a way to preserve them, because once we've excavated it out of the soils, it just crumbles and falls apart, so we need to come up with a formula to work with to be able to be able to preserve these cedar planks, which document the existence of our longhouses.

We have the features that are embedded in the sterile sands that identify longhouse planks, longhouse posts, and dividers of spaces where our ancestors used to cook and feast inside these longhouses. Divider walls that were inside these longhouses are

being mapped out today to give us a visual view on paper of what our longhouses looked like. The size of this village site itself remains unknown, since it continues on to the adjacent land to the east. We know that our longhouses are bigger than we have imagined—50 ft. to 100 ft. or even more than that, because we have not found the end of one yet.

We have found whale out here on which our ancestors had feasted. We have found all kinds of trade materials from ivory to Chinese coins, which our medicine men in those times took in trade for services that they may have provided to those that went by in the ships that came to the harbor areas here. We have recently—just today, which is November the 10th—discovered a cedar basket piece. We're not too sure of the location because it came out of a big dirt pile that was sorted using the water and mechanical screen-

We have six longhouse structures and a ceremonial house, including a spitting rock still in place at one end. We have flakes of cedar planks that still exist that are now exposed on the ground. We're trying to figure out a way to preserve them, because once we've excavated it out of the soils, it just crumbles and falls apart

ing process.

That which normally can take up to 5-10 years, we are being asked to do in months. That is the frustrating aspect that we're looking at, because we are asked to do this in a much, much shorter time frame than anyone else has been asked to do so that the construction of this bridge can continue.

It's hard to view our loved ones that we're faced with. We have discovered them on metal pipes and under or adjacent to them, in such a condition that it is clear that they had been used as backfill in the 1900's. This is very disturbing to our community, and very disturbing to the workers as well as the non-Natives.

We have seen and witnessed pilings that are used for holding up the mills. These poles that have been driven right through our ancestors' remains and have split them in half. When these poles were driven down into the soil, the remains were driven down as deep as these poles that held up the mills.

We have found mothers and children that were embraced together. We have found husbands and wives that were laying next to each other. We have families who have been found in their final resting places where they were basically stacked on top of each other—the probable cause may be due to smallpox.

We have children and infants who have been laid to rest in contaminated soil where they are

being excavated today. Sometimes it has taken up to two weeks to take them out of the ground because of the contaminated soils that we're faced with out here, and we are witnessing the process of our workers trying to take their time and we worry about their safety because of the contaminated soils that we're faced with.

We have witnessed two sets of sea otters that have been used for ceremonials. They were placed properly and placed together, with the harpoon was still lodged in the spines of both of these

It's hard to view our loved ones that we're faced with. We have discovered them on metal pipes and under or adjacent to them, in such a condition that it is clear that they had been used as backfill in the 1900's. This is very disturbing to our community, and very disturbing to the workers as well as the non-Natives.

otters, and we witnessed the beauty and the nature and the caring that was taken in the burial of these otters.

It's been really heart aching because our tribal members have children of their own. When they are excavating their children that are out here on the ground, they think of their own children and they think of their own families. And it has changed so many lives, because this is a drug and alcohol free environment that we promote, and it has changed them in so many ways. A lot of them have cleaned up, and a lot of them have sobered up, and a lot of them have gone to counseling to help themselves with the healing process of not using anymore.

We work with our people. We promote education and are flexible with those who are attending college. We work with them so that they can come in at later times or earlier times. One of the things that is really on positive side for this is that it's changed a lot of our youth. It's changed a lot of our adults, too, and our elders that have been out here on the ground. But yet it's still hard for them to witness and to visualize what they're seeing and the conditions of their loved ones.

We don't blame the society of today. We blame the society before the laws that were applied that protect burials. But the frustration that we're faced with is that even though there are laws now, they are not working, and they're not being followed—they're always being broken.

And promises are still being made, but these promises are being broken, such as the refusal to sell us the land that we started negotiating on for the reburial of our ancestors. One piece of advice I would offer to any of the tribes out there is to make sure that you have everything in place that you can think of—everything imaginable—to make sure that you have all promises documented, that you have agreements signed off by all agencies and all of your surrounding local governments before you sign on that dotted line.

I mention this due to the fact that the city of Port Angeles and some other local governments in the Port Angeles area had promised us that they would work with us for land acquisition for the reburial process for our over 200 cedar boxes that are hand-made by our tribal members. And now they are sitting in an undisclosed location. They are on racks, and they are patiently waiting for a land destination so that they know, once again, it is their final resting place. They are sitting there waiting as we are waiting.

We thought we had an agreement, but again it was broken because the agencies felt that this land next to us here was not a place to have an Indian cemetery, because it did not fit the scope of their "economics" for an industrial land base. What was implied to us earlier that we would negotiate and we would purchase the land for the burial process and for the curation of the artifacts, and for the development of a cultural center to continue to educate the surrounding county and the visitors who come into Port Angeles area.

We want to educate them about who we are and what we're

about. We are still believed to be living in teepees, the elementary school has said, and they want to come down to the reservation to see the teepees that our kids live in. That is the society that is still taking place up there, and we are the ones who need to change that attitude and the morale of what they are being taught at their home base.

The children that we have to raise are going to have to live with this and we, as council members, and we as a community have to live within ourselves to try to teach and to tell the stories of what happened on the Tse-Whit-Zen village site, and of the mistakes that we have made early on by listening to the non-Natives out there whose promises that were, once again, broken, while their words of wisdom to us were, "We will help you as long as you help us."

And we are asked to make the economics of the Clallam County/Port Angeles area our priority—to save a bridge that has deteriorated through the course of the years due to natural forces—not listening to what mother earth herself wants, but going back into the "reality" of the non-native society and trying to reconstruct this bridge. Maybe it doesn't belong there, but that is not for us to judge at this point in time.

But this version of reality is the one that we're faced with. And it's tearing our community apart in heart, the way we have to witness the visions of how our ancestors

are being treated, and the disrespect that is shown by the construction that continues at the site and the village itself.

I have no words that can express how I truly feel about the decisions that we've made as council, being forced to decide based not on what we knew, but what we assumed until we actually had the facts, because that was what was always demanded of us: "Give us the facts before we'll make a decision. We will not stop this process until you give us the facts that you know for sure."

And, in return, we asked the agencies to give us the facts that they know—that there are no burials here. And yet we're still in a dispute, while we should have been out there digging and looking for these ancestral remains—not sitting there waiting for a response to letters that continues on as a delay—a stalling tactic that the agencies use—and then they tell us that we're out of time to be able to go out there and explore.

They tell us that it's a safety factor that we are faced with—that there is a war going on out there, and that the submarines have to continue to pass through that Hood Canal Bridge, and that if the submarines can't get through there, then they cannot protect the United States from what is taking place out there, and that we will be to blame. These are things that are being said to our community, to our council, when we have our meetings with the agencies. We are being threatened and threatened, and we informed them of our last meeting that we are beyond being threatened any more.

Native Americans need to stand up in unity to help one another, because we wish this upon no other nations out there.

I wish that the construction would come to a halt in these undisturbed areas that we want to have explored in more detail, because once the overburden is pulled off and the dirt below it is exposed, we are finding our ancestral burials about two to three feet below that hard surface, which to the society surrounding us is known as "disturbed soils."

Again, we are gratified that we are able to come back and look at some of the artifacts that are coming up in this digging, because it is helping us in our healing process; but not for the healing of what we are seeing with our ancestral remain, which are continuing to be counted day by day, and of the village itself, which is being wiped out minute by minute, second by second, day by day, month by month.

There is no more village in existence, no trace of the cedar houses that were there three weeks ago. Every day as we sit here and witness and watch, our existence is being wiped out by the construction that is taking place, and it's frustrating for us, because we would like to see it stop, or at least slow down, so that we could go out there and recover our ancestors.

We don't want them to be embedded under concrete floors, or having thousands and thousands of pounds of water laying on top of them. It's a dispute that we continue to argue—the adverse effect that the construction will have on the burials. Take a look at the societies around us. This would not happen to a non-Native cemetery, but it's OK for it to happen to an Indian cemetery. Again, we're asked to give and give and, again, they're always taking. But we feel that we have given enough, and we gave a lot more than what was ever anticipated, but yet they're still asking us to give more. I feel that we cannot give any more, and that we all need to take a stand and tell them that they need to slow the project down so that we can recover our ancestors. We are now into the hundreds, and we are into the thousands of the artifacts out there, and yet we continue to count.

So, we ask for your support.... Write to the advisory council and let them know that there are laws that should apply. There is an agreement that was signed, but that agreement was signed based upon the remains of 25 individuals being found. It was not signed for what we are seeing today. There should be something that comes in and halts the timeframe of this agreement so that we can go in there and carry out the recovery process that's so clearly needed.

The \$3 million was not hush money. It is money to acquire more land for the reburial process of our ancestors. It is not hush money to keep us quiet, which is something that is always being indicated out there in the non-Native society, who say that our people have taken our money, so why are we complaining about it now?

Money is not what it's about, because their \$254 million project could not pay for the pain and the anger and the resentment that our people have gone through. It could not pay for having our elders go back and relive what they want to forget, and what they have buried deep in their hearts and their minds that they don't want to bring back up and think about again.

But now we have to go back and ask them to dig really deep down and talk about these pains and the anger that they were raised up to try to forget, and to witness about how they were raised and the times that they remember about their parents and their grandparents. And it's hard to go do that. It's something that is challenging for us, but we're willing to take that chance on talking with our elders again, and having them try to relive their anguish over what they wanted to forget about that happened so

many years ago.

So, once again, I ask for the support of all of the Tribal Councils. Please take the opportunity to come down to the land, because the land itself is very powerful. It is sacred, it is ceremonial, and it has a lot of strong powers. Once you walk the grounds down here, you'll have an understanding of what our people are going through and what the workers are going through.

We are grateful to those who take the care and the nurturing of our ancestors, and the respect that they have, and the time that they are taking to recover them and properly place them into the cedar boxes that they have now. We respect those that understand. Once they've walked here and had the opportunity to talk to us face-to-face, to truly understand in our heart where we're coming from, that we are deeply sorrowed for how we are being resented in many other ways out there in the surrounding communities that have no understanding of what our people, and our youth, are going through down here.

We are trying to protect our children and their children, so that nothing like this ever happens again to any of the other nations out there. If you have any questions, please feel free to call us, and come down and look at the grounds, and walk the grounds, because we don't want this to happen to any other nations out there.

...

We are gratified by those who want to share their songs with us, and share the songs that they feel belong

back on this site, as well as sharing the stories of what they recall and what they were told. We are gratified for that to happen, because it's a healing process for all of us, and we're grateful in many ways.

Our words cannot express the wisdom of those that come down here and help us in the spiritual parts of the morale of our people, for the sorrow that they're carrying—to uplift them, and help them in the day-to-day functions that they're working with down here. There is no piece of paper that can express the job description that they are working with down here, because these grounds are very sacred.

I have to give my hands up to all our workers down here, because it's something that they carry home every day, and it's a memory that they'll never ever forget in their lifetime until they, themselves, are buried into mother earth to go back beyond to where they were created, too.

So, again, I thank you for your time, and thank you all for listening to the concerns that we as Elwha people have—we who are known as "The Strong People."

And we continue on with our canoe journeys, and we want to gather and rejoice for what has taken place here so that, at the end, we are all happy and we can all be united. So, Hay-aht-sin, and I thank you for the time in giving me this opportunity to speak. And, once again, I really encourage you to visit the site and I say again, Thank you.

Frances G. Charles is the Tribal Chairwoman for the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe.

Landscapes as Standpoints: Important Lessons from Coastal Washington State: A Review of Mapes' *Breaking Ground* and Stapp and Longnecker's *Archaeological Disasters*

Breaking Ground: The Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe and the Unearthing of Tse-whit-zen Village

Lynda V. Mapes. With foreword by Frances Charles. 2009. University of Washington Press, Seattle, WA. 288 pp., 92 color illustrations, two maps, notes, and glossary.

Avoiding Archaeological Disasters: A Risk Management Approach

Darby C. Stapp and Julia G. Longenecker. With contributions by Roderick Sprague, Thomas F. King, Michael S. Burney, Mary Rossi, and Adrian Praetzelis, and illustrations by Anthony Smith. 2009. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA. 119 pp., 21 b/w figures., three tables, four appendices, glossary, bibliography, and index.

At the nexus of identity and politics lies the crucial terrain of ethics. Part of our problem rests with the illusion that the subjects of our research are dead and buried, literally.

—Lynn Meskell (2002:293)

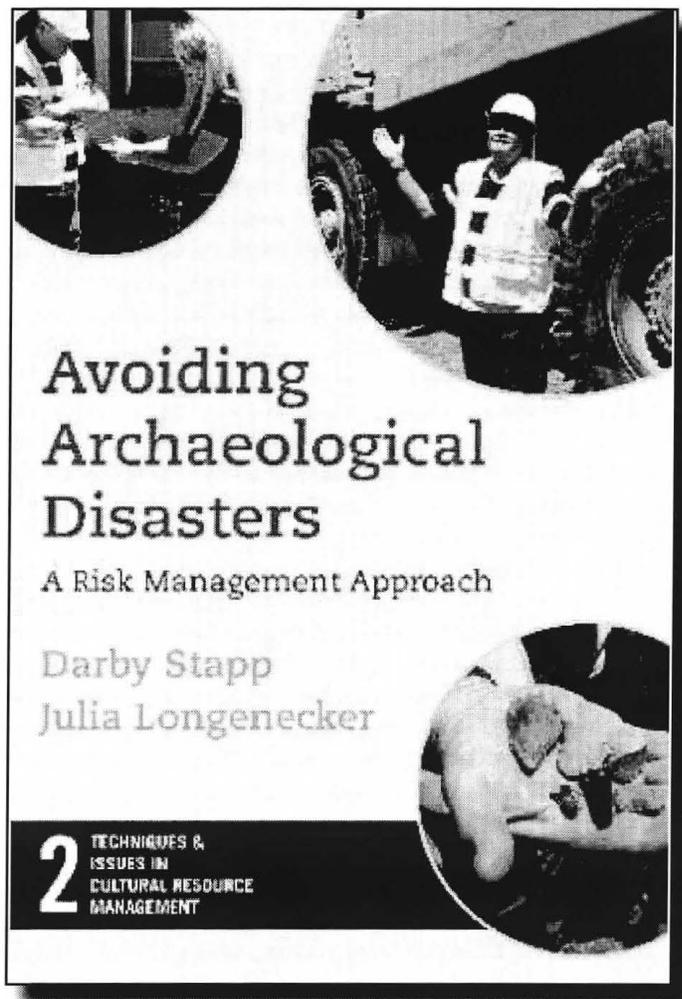
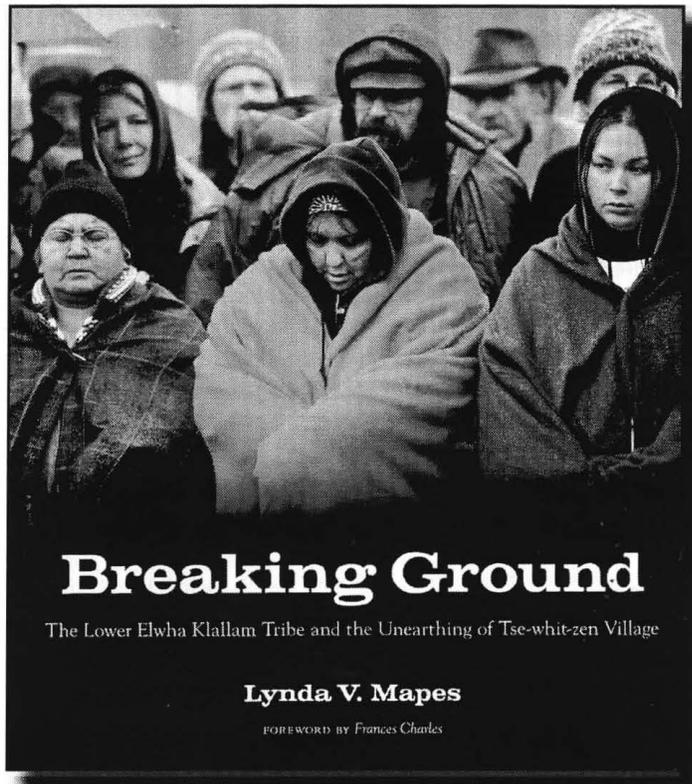
[Viewing the recent history of archaeological disasters] illustrates how costs can be more than financial. For the developer or agency involved, archaeological problems can lead to schedule delays, bad press, upset neighbors, and lawsuits. For the community and cultural groups who lose an important resource, these archaeological problems often lead to heartbreak, distress, and loss of quality of life in the community. For the archaeologists working for the developer or government agency, archaeological problems can lead to lawsuits, damaged careers, and embarrassment. Nobody benefits from these events.

—Darby Stapp and Julia Longenecker (2009:14)

No one said anything about Indians. Or history. Or burials. Or waterfront villages. No one. Not one person with the port or with the city.

—Lynda V. Mapes (2009:100)

Mapes' *Breaking Ground* and Stapp and Longnecker's *Avoiding Archaeological Disasters* should represent a collective benchmark and crucial turning point in Northwest Coast archaeological practice. Sadly, and for the same reason the 2010 Gulf of Mexico (BP) looks like the 1989 Prince William Sound (Exxon) and the 1969 Santa Barbara Channel (Union Oil), they will not. The reason for this is awkwardly and painfully simple: landscapes are standpoints (Hicks and McAtackney 2007). As a consequence, landscape archaeologies, which include both academic archaeology and cultural resource management, are "often explicitly political: distinguishing how 'people, differently



engaged and differentially empowered, appropriate and contest their landscapes” (Bender 1993:17 in Hicks and McAttackney 2007:15). It is in this vein that these books find their value, and it is in communication they find their hope.

Journalist Lynda Mapes’ heartfelt yet objective telling of the Tse-whit-zen story (see Charles, this issue) is all about communication, both good and bad. Invited by the Lower Elwha Klallam to relate the saga, the book’s objective is to not ‘get the story right,’ but to instead give voice to people’s very personal experiences with an ‘archaeological disaster,’ to use Stapp and Longnecker’s term. For Mapes (2009:226), the voices of those affected “needed a wider audience and a place of permanent, public record because the views they express set a marker for our development as a people and a region. They tell us who we are and who we are becoming.” It is in this light that Mapes sensitively uses nearly 100 color illustrations and accompanying personal narratives, most derived from interviews with government representatives, archaeologists, construction workers, Port Angeles business owners and residents, and Lower Elwha Klallam Tribal members, many of whom were hired to work at the site, to explicate what had long been portrayed as an ‘uncontested’ landscape.

Despite an apparent regard by the City of Port Angeles for the concerns of the Lower Elwha Klallam, as detailed in their 1995 *Shoreline Master Plan Regulations*, in 2002 the City sold to the Washington State Department of Transportation (WSDOT) a 22.5 acre (9.1 hectare) waterfront parcel. The site was to be used as the location of a 200,000 cubic foot (5,663 cubic meter) dry or ‘graving’ dock to facilitate the replacement of the Hood Canal floating bridge, a project expected to total \$30 million. Construction and use of the graving dock, projected to cost around \$19 million, was a massive and unexpected infusion of wealth (and power) into the relatively small community of Port Angeles. “*This would prove to be a mistake*, as over a 24 month period, WSDOT would disrupt 276 full burials and 500 partial burials of Lower Elwha Klallam ancestors. The costs for recovering the burials and the millions of artifacts were staggering” (Stapp and Longnecker 2009:41, emphasis added). By 2008, four years after the Port Angeles project had been abandoned by the State, the estimates for the bridge and graving dock had ballooned to \$291 million and \$85 million, respectively.

Money is only one aspect of the story, however. I will focus here on the historical component, for this too is where Mapes (2009:215) shines her light. Not unexpectedly, project ‘abandonment’ did not bring closure, for “breaking ground at Tse-whit-zen uncovered not only the past of this place but its present.”

The true history under every footfall, along every shoreline, is often silenced by collective amnesia. But here, on a twenty-two-acre waterfront property, the ground spoke: of the Indian village here, and of a river that once sustained an entire ecosystem and way of life. Of uncounted Indian burials, ancestors of the Klallam people. Of the sawmill built right over their village and cemetery, transforming the look, but not the truth, of this ground (2009:xi).

For Mapes, when the State of Washington “broke ground” for their bridge project in August 2003, inadvertently unearthing Tse-whit-zen, they “actually broke ground for a different sort of

bridge altogether,” on leading to a “sense of history” (2009:xi). *Breaking Ground* is presented in three parts: ‘Tse-whit-zen,’ ‘Amnesia,’ and ‘Enough is Enough.’ Part one serves as an introduction to the 2003 Tse-whit-zen/Port Angeles cultural landscape (Ch.1, ‘Buried Past Comes Alive’), to the pre-contact Klallam cultural landscape (Ch. 2, ‘Abundance’), and the to the colonial era cultural landscape (Ch. 3, ‘Calamity’), which includes the introduction of smallpox to the region. Colonialism, of course, extends mostly unabated to present day society, including the world of archaeology (Nicholas 2006). This point Mapes makes painfully clear in her reference to a recent publication on Port Angeles history. Concerning the origins of the Indians of Port Angeles, author Paul Martin, in his 1983 book, *Port Angeles, Washington: A History* (Pen Print, Port Angeles), asks the following:

From what remote place did he come? What ancient land spawned this mysterious creature whom early explorers found practicing strange customs and displaying even more peculiar dress. [...] Indians were the children of Babel, doomed forever to a primitive life as penance for their sins. [...] From an early explorer’s standpoint, the Indians and their magnificent land lay yawning and exposed like a giant pearl longing to be discovered (Martin 1983, in Mapes 2009:56).

Building on the history of colonial encounters, part two of *Breaking Ground* addresses four subjects: ‘Conquering the Last Frontier,’ ‘The Big Mill,’ ‘Collective Amnesia,’ and ‘This Ground Speaks.’ Here, Mapes traces the radical and rapid transformation of the physical and cultural landscape, from the displacement and subjugation of the Lower Elwha Klallam people to the ruination of their montane (logging), riverine (damming), and waterfront (milling) landscapes. The Lower Elwha Klallam’s history on this land “was buried by 150 years of disease, dispossession, forced assimilation, and attempted annihilation. Within the tribe, a cultural gap had opened. This town, this state, and the tribe would soon fall into it together” (2009:96). It is around these memories that people, including archaeologists, had gained ‘collective amnesia.’

The point of parts one and two are clear: history has a habit of ‘interfering’ with everyday life, often complicating engagements that are already socially and/or politically charged. As a consequence, individuals or groups are frequently forced to take a stand, simultaneously defending their memories and explicating their (often conveniently) forgotten pasts. The lesson is simple: histories, even ‘lost’ ones, rarely remain hidden or uncontested for long. This is because who we are, as individuals and as groups, both defines and is defined by our ‘landscape.’ In this sense, our identities create and reflect the tensions that exist between contested landscape histories. Landscapes, however, are ultimately negotiated and defined through human communication, a realm where politics and power rule.

In part three of the book, Mapes relates the complicated history of what were often very personal and emotional negotiations concerning the post-2003 Tse-whit-zen landscape. Despite an enhanced understanding of the complex archaeology and history of the site, the National Historical Preservation Act still allowed for those parts of the village that lay in the path of the project to be destroyed, so long as archaeological research was undertaken. For former Washington State secretary of transport-

tation Douglas MacDonald, "that wasn't good enough. He told the tribe early and often that he would restart the project only with the tribe's agreement" (2009:146). For MacDonald, "[a] lot of community work is going out and sitting and talking to people, and the power of the commitment and transparency and willingness to communicate was huge. [...] I'm listening, and learning, and it's what I've done my entire life. It's not an exercise in cultural anthropology; I'm just doing what you do" (Mapes 2009:146).

For Mapes (2009:13, 10), "the buried past came alive" on the Port Angeles waterfront; but it is not the burials but rather "the invisibility of the Lower Elwha Klallam Tribe, here for more than 10,000 years, that is the real surprise." In this sense, "Port Angeles still seems perplexed by the Indians who refused to die off. Local histories of the town usually give scant mention to the area's first residents. They are often consigned to a misty realm, usually with a combination of romanticism and insult" (2009:56). Mapes (2009:107) thus uses archaeology to confront head-on deeply rooted and ongoing colonial structures, challenging along the way "the history of the forgetting," a "collective amnesia [that] is so profound that no one even asked the question," what about the Indians? The Tse-whit-zen story thus parallels the history of colonialism and Native-white relations on the Pacific Northwest Coast, where they, for a variety of reasons, "don't understand each other's history" (2009:120).

As we see in Mapes' sensitive and diligent treatment of this exceedingly complicated and emotionally charged (archaeological) experience, tensions not only exist in our world(s), *they define our world(s)*. Tensions exist between people, and between people and the land. Not only do they exist between different groups (or 'cultures'), but between people in the same group; between, for example, men and women, young and old, and rich and poor. Tensions exist between governments and communities, and between communities and corporations; between academic archaeologists and cultural resource managers, and between archaeologists and the communities they 'research.' Resistance to such tensions is not only 'played out' on the landscape, it *is* the landscape. The lesson here is that while conflict cannot be avoided (it should in fact be expected), the process of landscape contestation can and must become more humanized, a process that begins and ends with dialogue and listening.

For archaeologists and project managers, *Avoiding Archaeological Disasters* picks up where *Breaking Ground* leaves off. Stapp and Longnecker (2009:21) begin with a simple query: "So what can professionals do to avoid a project disaster when archaeological remains are discovered during construction? For a project manager, the answer is straightforward: become aware of the *possibility* of a problem and recognize the basic steps that should be taken prior to starting construction."

In an attempt to characterize the 'Anatomy of Archaeological Disasters,' the authors begin with a detailed review of two "classic examples of what happens when basic principles of risk management are ignored" (2009:26): the Blaine Wastewater Treatment Facility project and the Tse-whit-zen/Port Angeles project. In the Blaine case,

[a] community began an expansion of its municipal sewage treatment plant [in the 1990s] with a loan from a federal agency. The cultural sensitivity of the area in and around the

existing plant was well understood, and the project manager obtained archaeological expertise to help [navigate] the approval process. Archaeological sampling and data recovery were completed, and the project was approved to go forward, with construction monitoring by archaeologists. Soon after construction began, the heavy equipment operator encountered the ethnohistoric cemetery that many knew was in the area. About 60 full and partial graves were removed in hasty fashion, and no one notified the local tribe as required by a previous agreement with project proponents. When the local tribe [Lummi Nation] discovered that the ancestral remains were being removed, tribal members called state officials and the project was shut down. The tribe was furious to learn that 20 boxes of bones had been transported to an out-of-state laboratory, which also violated the agreements regarding the procedures for handling remains. The project was abandoned, and the community had to find a new location to construct its water treatment plant (2009:25).

Stapp and Longnecker's detailed account of the Blaine project, which is in turn done for the Port Angeles case, includes important insights into (1) The initial assessment, (2) Defining the regulatory compliance requirements, (3) Obtaining expertise, (4) Developing the agreement documents, (5) Pre-construction mitigation, (6) Construction monitoring, and (7) Project shutdown. They include important observations about the weaknesses of each project that contributed to their ultimate failure, including problems with archaeological compliance, tribal consultation, contractor funding and qualifications, and following agreed-to procedures. What makes this approach so valuable is the fact that such insights rarely make it into print, thus little is ever learned from most archaeological disasters, regardless of size or impact.

The remainder of the book examines the stages of a typical construction project, in the process exploring "the types of actions that project managers can take to minimize the potential for archaeological problems as their projects evolve" (2009:56). Chapter three, for example, describes the actions that managers can take to start mitigating an archaeological situation. This includes suggestions for consulting with stakeholders, budgeting for and hiring of archaeologists, and identifying regulatory requirements. Subsequent chapters describe the kinds of archaeological investigations that can be initiated during the different project phases to minimize risk and detail a risk management approach that can use to evaluate the potential scenarios facing a project. This is followed by the presentation of three short case studies (African Burial Grounds, New York; White Swan Campground, South Dakota; and Manhattan Project Landfill, Washington) that show how the risk management might have altered their 'disastrous' outcomes. This is followed by a chapter dealing solely with the unique challenges associated with the discovery of human remains.

Stapp and Longnecker (2009:119) conclude by offering ten basic principles for avoiding an archaeological disaster:

Actively manage the heritage resource component of the project just as you manage other critical project components.

Hire professional, qualified expertise to advise you on heritage resource issues and to conduct the assessment and

fieldwork needed.

Learn the regulatory requirements that have been established for your project area.

Identify and consult with interested parties regarding the heritage resources important to them.

Conduct a comprehensive background research analysis and site records check on the project area and don't fall for the 'it's disturbed' claim unless your research can confirm the disturbance.

Incorporate the archaeological risk-management approach into project decision making.

Minimize destruction of heritage resources whenever possible because they are non-renewable and important to communities.

Be prepared for the unexpected; have contingency plans in place.

Be open, transparent, and honest from the beginning.

Just follow the process and don't fall prey to accelerated approaches, streamlining, or other innovative approaches if they violate basic heritage management principles.

Avoiding Archaeological Disasters includes four important appendices. While the first offers guidance developed by the World Bank for dealing with cultural properties, the second identifies numerous archaeological organizations that are recognized for their professional ethics and standards. The third provides ethical codes drawn from various heritage management organizations. The final appendix is a 'global guide' to heritage management that includes a country-by-country listing of procedures and relevant government organizations. Also included is a glossary of common archaeological and project management terms.

Returning to the themes I presented at the outset, I am somewhat wary of Stapp and Longnecker's bold assertion that if a project manager is able to incorporate their principles, "the risk of turning the project into an archaeological disaster will be *virtually eliminated*" (2009:23, emphasis added). I am concerned that this statement may be taken too literally, in the process simplifying and underestimating the dynamic, multifaceted, and inherently social and political nature of the archaeological landscape (David and Thomas 2008; Nicholas 2006). Frances Charles succinctly identifies two major concerns. Regarding policy and hindsight: "Everyone would go back and say, 'What we would we do differently?' It's good to have a checklist. But what is the next crisis going to be?" (Mapes 2009:117). Her point, I think, and one emphasized by Stapp and Longnecker, is this: checklists are for the expected, not the *unexpected*. If anthropology has taught us anything, it is that history repeats itself. Yet history never reproduces itself perfectly, thus the landscape, including the archaeological landscape, is subject to change, for

better or worse. In this sense, these perspectives are in line with Hicks and McAtackney (2007:15), who suggest that landscapes are complex and uneven, "where many past and present voices are silenced or erased." Charles' second point cuts closer to the quick: "I don't blame [DOT]. I don't blame federal highways. I blame the City of Port Angeles. They knew what was here 150 years ago. They knew the heritage, of what was here. They can't sit there and be unaware. They ignored it because of their greed" (Mapes 2009:117).

As with oil spills, another archaeological disaster will happen on the Northwest Coast. The question to be asked, then, is when and how bad? And more importantly, how far can we put off the inevitable into the future and how can we minimize its effects? It is here where these books find their greatest value. It is in their accessibility, and their efforts to effect positive change, that they can work to break down barriers and promote communication between multiple, potentially conflicting audiences. This, however, requires that the ideas contained within these books become part of public discourse. It is this notion that should give us most cause for concern. It is also this issue that these books tackle: *Breaking Ground* makes painfully clear the problem, *Archaeological Disasters* offers a way forward.

Both books are appropriate for all audiences, and both should be considered required reading for all archaeologists. *Breaking Ground* is, by design, geared for the general reader, but its content is so valuable that it should be considered required reading for all, no matter the focus of one's work. *Archaeological Disasters*, on the other hand, is written specifically for project managers and archaeologists, both applied and academic. The strength of these books ultimately lies in their ability to communicate in an accessible way what are otherwise complex and rarely discussed issues, particularly in the context of Northwest Coast archaeology. The objective, I think, is clear: "We don't want the generations behind us to go through what we did. [...] For too long, people have been cheated. They never learned any of this in school. The history books were tainted" (Frances Charles, in Mapes 2009:xv).

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B.C. Archaeology Crossword - No. 1

Knut Fladmark

ACROSS

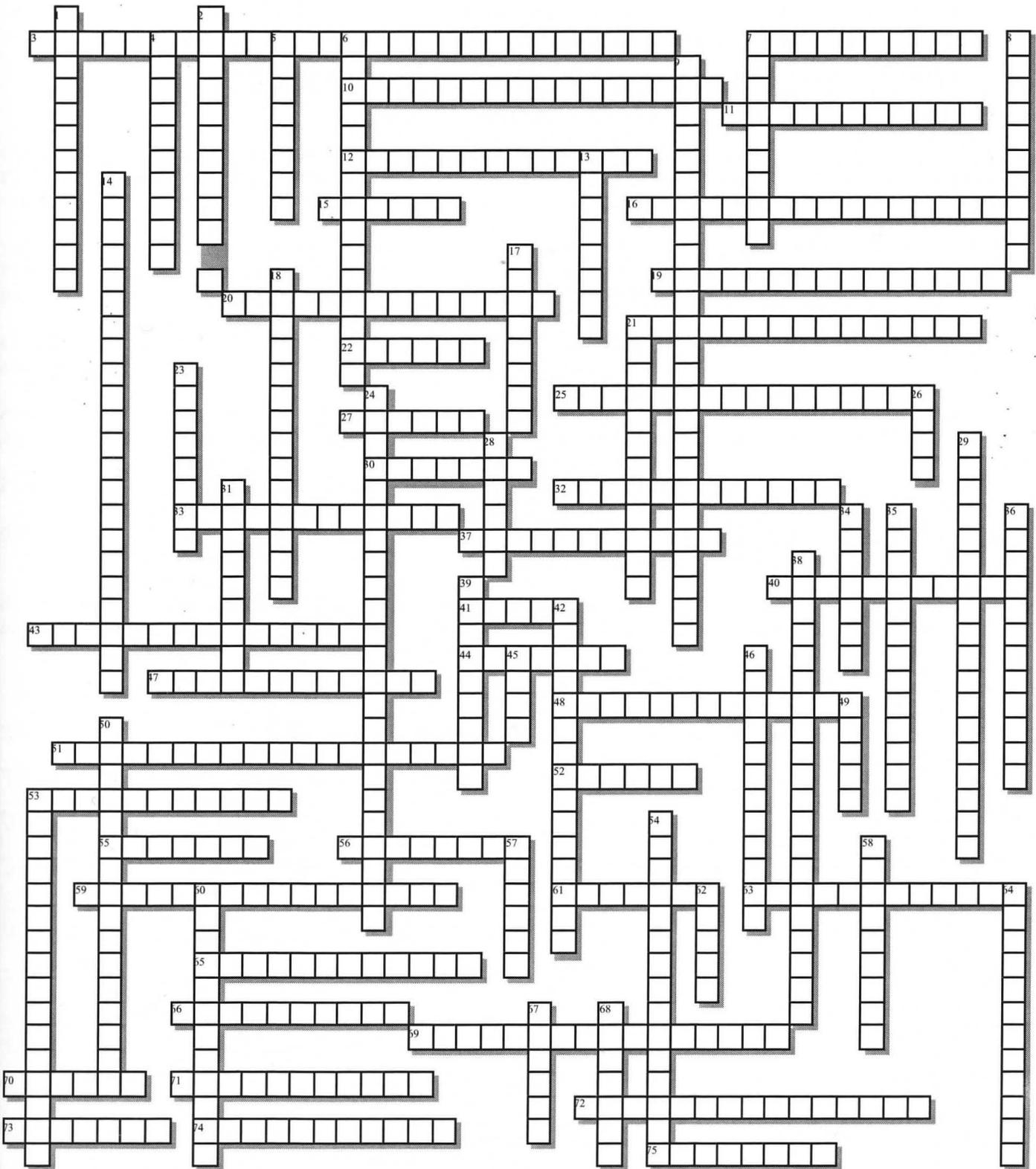
- 3 - The latest of two major cultural patterns in the Lithic Stage of Haida Gwaii dating ca. 8000/9000 to 5500/5000 BP, first seen in the Lawn Point and Kasta sites
- 7 - A large Middle Developmental Stage mortuary site in the Nass R. valley salvage excavated by Jerry Cybulski in 1982-83, dated ca. 1400-1000 BP
- 10 - Kinds of aboriginal harpoon tips which stayed imbedded in prey animals by internally turning at right-angles to the force of their retrieving lines
- 11 - Produced by removing a few flakes off one side of medium-sized rounded stones, these simple lithic artifacts occur in almost all regions and time periods on the Northwest Coast
- 12 - Probably best known for his site designation code now used all across Canada and who began research in the Vancouver area in 1946 as the first modern British Columbian archaeologist
- 15 - A site in the Peace River area of north-eastern B.C. that yielded the province's first 'fluted', or extensively basally thinned projectile point, as part of an undated surface collection in 1974
- 16 - They tend to be the earliest form of harpoon point in most areas of the Northwest Coast, with barbs and line guards on each side of a central shaft
- 19 - A deep shell-midden site on the lower Fraser River, with Old Cordilleran components at its base and C-14 dates of 8150 to 6000 BP
- 20 - The middle phase of the Plateau Pit-house Tradition and the late Squelet Tradition ca. 2400-1200 BP, characterized by medium-sized to small corner and basally notched projectile points
- 21 - A very large late prehistoric village site in south-central Subarctic B.C. just northwest of the confluence of the West Road and Fraser Rivers, with evidence of earlier Salishans having been replaced by Athapaskans in the last ca. 1000-1200 years
- 22 - A late prehistoric pithouse site adjacent to the Milliken site in the lower Fraser Canyon excavated by Borden about 1960 and used by Donald Mitchell for his M.A. thesis
- 25 - A large Graham Tradition shell-midden site on northern Haida Gwaii, tested by Fladmark in 1969 and intensively examined by Sutherland in 1973, with C-14 dates of about 4200 BP in its lower levels
- 27 - Defined as lithic flakes at least twice as long as they are wide, produced in series from specially prepared cores
- 30 - A late pre-contact and early post-contact Carrier village site beside the Nechako River in north-central B.C. excavated by Borden in 1952
- 32 - A small island in Prince Rupert harbour that seems to entirely result from natives leaving shell-midden deposits on the tidal flat over about the last 4,000-5,000 years, investigated by MacDonald in 1966 and 1967
- 33 - A large petroglyph site in the lower Bella Coola valley with the outlines of many complex supernatural figures carved into the surface of hidden bedrock outcrops
- 37 - A general descriptive term for long projectile points with convex lateral edges and no separate bases, taking roughly willow leaf-like forms
- 40 - Designs or symbols carved into natural rock surfaces by aboriginal peoples
- 41 - A waterlogged site in Kwatna Inlet on the central mainland coast of B.C. dating <1500 BP, with a preserved wooden spoon handle, wooden wedge tips, woven cordage, etc.
- 43 - The only excavated and radiocarbon dated fluted point site in B.C., located in the Peace R. valley near the town of Ft. St. John
- 44 - A stratified site near Ashcroft with its lowest level dated at 8400 BP, making it (barely...) the oldest so far known for the B.C. Plateau
- 47 - A site between Fort St. John and Ft. Nelson in northeastern B.C. which produced a mixed surface assemblage, including fragments of two basally thinned ("Clovis") points
- 48 - The first President of the ASBC
- 51 - A large-scale southward movement of members of one native linguistic family from the western Subarctic, that ultimately saw the ancestors of the Navajo and Apache arrive in the American Southwest just before the first Spanish
- 52 - A characteristic late prehistoric-ethnographic Athapaskan woman's hide-scraping-working tool, based on a large to medium-sized quartzite cortical-spall mounted on the end of a wooden handle
- 53 - Small parallel-sided flakes deliberately removed in series from specially prepared cores, seen in all areas of B.C. in sites of generally early to mid pre-context ages
- 55 - An inter-tidal Kingii Complex site near the southern end of Haida Gwaii, with leaf-shaped bifaces and a butchered sea-otter bone dated at 9250 ± 100 BP
- 56 - The technical term for the soft green-

ish rock used by late prehistoric south coastal and Plateau peoples for ornaments and carvings

- 59 - A natural raised land-form in the upper S. Thompson River valley, which seems to have been preferentially preferred as a burial location in the Kamloops Phase
- 61 - An Early Nesikep Tradition site in the Thompson River valley with a deeply buried 7500 year old microblade-bearing cultural layer
- 63 - A formally defined cultural tradition on the Fraser Plateau ca. 7500/8000-6000/5500 BP, with large-to-medium sized notched points and microblade technology
- 65 - A very large pithouse village site on a high raised terrace in the upper Fraser Canyon north of Lillooet, intensively investigated by Brian Hayden in the 1990's
- 66 - A large site on the northern shore of Mayne Is., with deposits going back about 5,000 years, which Carlson used as the type-site for his Mayne Phase
- 69 - A meltwater lake that covered most of the Peace River area east of the Rocky Mountains in the early post-glacial period, with raised shoreline features often associated with Paleoindian sites
- 70 - The Aztec name for a "spear-thrower", now used commonly by archaeologists
- 71 - A large volcanic complex in the Stikine R. drainage of far northwestern interior B.C. which is the largest source of obsidian in Canada, intensively exploited by natives for at least 10,000 years
- 72 - The latest defined period of Fraser Plateau prehistory post-dating 1200 BP, when small side-notched arrow heads are diagnostic
- 73 - The salmon species of most economic importance to the native occupants of the Fraser Plateau
- 74 - The first editor of "The Midden"
- 75 - The ethnographic native linguistic family centered in southwestern coastal B.C. and the Interior Plateau

DOWN

- 1 - The pioneering archaeologist with the "Jesup North Pacific Expedition", who conducted initial surveys and excavations between Lytton and the Strait of Georgia in the early 1900's
- 2 - Dating ca. 2400-1500/1100 BP this phase of the aboriginal culture history of the southern inner coast seems characterized by numerous large sites and increased cultural diversity and elaboration
- 4 - A shell-midden site on Haida Gwaii, salvage excavated by Leonard Ham in the late 1980's with basal dates of 6150-4990 BP, making it the oldest such site known on those islands



5 - Investigated by C. E. Borden in 1960, this Fraser Canyon site yielded dates of 8000-9000 BP on its oldest levels, making it the earliest in all of Canada at that time

6 - The simplest class of stone tool, consisting of stone flakes from which chips have been removed along one edge to shape it for an expedient scraping or cutting task

7 - A small eroded gully joining the South Thompson River east of Kamloops, with exposed fragmentary human remains below Mazama ash, C-14 dated 8340±115 BP

8 - The predictable fracture-pattern that allowed aboriginal people to flake stone tools out of certain microcrystalline or

'glassy' rocks, like chert or obsidian

9 - Matson and Coupland's 1995 name for the earliest period of Northwest Coast prehistory

13 - Small 'tusk-shaped', cylindrical, marine shells obtained off the west coast of Vancouver Island and traded widely through the Northwest as valued items of

- personal adornment
- 14 - The meaning of "C.M.T."
- 17 - A site with over 40 burial mounds in the lower Fraser River valley, dating ca. 1400 BP, right at the transition between the classic Marpole and Developed Coast Salish phases
- 18 - A English language name for a site in the lower Fraser Valley marked by a prominent glacial erratic with the Stalo name "Xa'ytem", and with aboriginal house floors as old as 4500-5000 BP
- 21 - The general designation for the early occupants of North America who hunted large land animals with a series of distinctively shaped large lanceolate projectile points, pre-dating ca. 8000 BP
- 23 - An informal name for "Gulf Islands Complex objects" from the Locarno Phase of the southern B.C. coast, ca. 3500-2500/2200 BP
- 24 - A very ancient northwestern life-way named after the mountains
- 26 - A late prehistoric pithouse site in the upper Fraser valley investigated by several archaeologists since the 1970's, with the Stalo name Sxwo'xwiyemelh
- 28 - Dated at ca. 4800 BP, this site in the mid-Fraser Valley has one of the oldest habitation features known on the entire Northwest Coast
- 29 - Fladmark's term for the last ca. 5500-4500 years of Pacific coastal prehistory when shell middens appear along with a diversity of preserved organic artifacts
- 31 - A large and complex site in Prince Rupert harbour, with extensive waterlogged deposits and house floors dating within about the last 1500 years
- 34 - Also known as "lip-plugs", they were flanged ornaments set in holes in the lips, used on the southern B.C. coast from ca. 4000 to 1500 BP and on the northern coast from ca. 4500 BP to the contact period
- 35 - The earliest culture so far known for Haida Gwaii, pre-dating ca. 8000-9000 BP, with long bifacial points and an absence of microblades
- 36 - Refers to a chain of unglaciated refugia along the Northwest Coast during the late Pleistocene which could have been used by early people moving south from Beringia
- 38 - D. H. Mitchell's notion that the standard ethnographic perception of Nuchanulth culture could be traced back in the archaeological record almost 4000 years with essentially no change, based on data from Yuquot and Hesquiat
- 39 - A site in the Kitselas Canyon of the Skeena River excavated by Gary Coupland in the early 1980's, with 10 depressed house floors dated slightly older than 3000 BP, considered the earliest formalized village known on the Northwest Coast
- 42 - A hypothetical area of incomplete merger of Late Pleistocene glaciers along the eastern side of the Rocky Mountains once thought to have been used for human movements south of the Alaska-Yukon area
- 45 - Currently the oldest excavated and securely dated archaeological site on the mainland coast of British Columbia
- 46 - A multi-component site in a terrace-edge dune in the Peace River valley near Fort St. John, with several small cultural assemblages dated after about 4500-5500 BP
- 49 - A common name for light throwing spears
- 50 - He conducted the very first study of the Marpole site and concluded that it's initial occupants were Eskimo
- 53 - That portion of the cultural sequence of Haida Gwaii characterized by microblade technology dating ca. 8/9000-5500/5000 BP
- 54 - Apparently the main quarry locality for the dominant aboriginal lithic material (black dacite) used on the Fraser Plateau, located west of Kamloops
- 57 - A late 19th. Century name for the Marpole site area
- 58 - Distinctively shaped hand-held hammerstones used in late prehistory and ethnographically on the southern Northwest Coast and Fraser Plateau
- 60 - A prominent geographic feature of the west coast of Vancouver Island, southwest of Port Alberni, that has been a center of archaeological research
- 62 - Ethnographic native occupants of the most isolated large island group considered part of Canada
- 64 - A pictograph site high on an exposed bedrock cliff on the central coast of B.C. west of Bella Coola
- 67 - The name given a major volcanic mountain that used to exist over what is now Crater Lake in southern Oregon. It erupted violently ca. 6850 BP, when it left a prominent volcanic ash horizon-marker all over the Plateau
- 68 - A site in Prince Rupert harbour with waterlogged cultural deposits extending below current sea level, with significant amounts of preserved wooden artifacts dating 2500-1500 BP

PERMITS ISSUED BY ARCHAEOLOGY & REGISTRY SERVICE BRANCH, Spring through Summer, 2009

Permitted project descriptions as provided by the Archaeology Branch have been edited for brevity and clarity. The assistance of Ray Kenny (Manager, Permitting & Assessment Section) and Jim Spafford (Heritage Resource Specialist) in providing this information is gratefully acknowledged.

Note: Information about Permits is subject to restrictions imposed by Federal privacy regulations. For this reason, Site Alteration Permits issued to private landowners will not identify those Permit-holders by name, or provide exact addresses or legal descriptions for their properties. The federal privacy regulations do not apply to corporate developers, or archaeologists.

Glossary of Abbreviations: A number of recurrent abbreviations may not be familiar to many readers of *The Midden*, and the most common of these are defined here.

Permit types: ALT = Alteration; INS = Inspection; INV = Investigation.

Archaeological project types: AIA = Archaeological Impact Assessment; AIS = Archaeological Inventory Study; SDR = Systematic Data Recovery.

Forest industry terms: CMT = Culturally Modified Tree; CP = Cutting Permit; FD = Forest District, FL = Forest License; MoFR = Ministry of Forests and Range; TFL = Tree Farm License; TL = Timber License; TSA = Timber Sales Area.

Other government agencies: FOC = Fisheries and Oceans Canada; DIAND = Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development; LWBC = Land and Water B.C., Inc.; MEM = Ministry of Energy and Mines; MoT = Ministry of Transportation; RD = Regional District.

First Nations abbreviations: ATT = asserted traditional territory; FN = First Nation.

Legal title descriptions: DL = District Lot; P/L = pipeline; Rge = Range; R/W = right-of-way; Sec = Section, Tp = Township; T/L = transmission line.

| Permit # | Permit Holder | Description | Permit Type |
|-----------|--------------------|---|-------------|
| 2009-0174 | Matthew Begg | Post-construction AIA for seismic programs proposed by Harrison Energy Group Inc. and possible additional seismic program proponents, within the Fort Nelson, Peace and Mackenzie FDs | INS |
| 2009-0175 | Nathan Goodale | Research excavations at DkQi-1, DkQi-2 and DkQi-17, along the Slokan River approximately 10 km S of the town of Slokan | INV |
| 2009-0176 | David Hall | AIA for proposed Ryan River Hydroelectric Project, in the Ryan, Lillooet and Green River watersheds near Pemberton | INS |
| 2009-0177 | private individual | ALTs to DhRt-6 by construction of an extension to storm and sanitary sewers servicing a residence in Vancouver | ALT |
| 2009-0178 | Bruce Ball | AIA of Deka Lake Estates Ltd.'s proposed residential development near 100 Mile House | INS |
| 2009-0179 | Jessica Morrison | AIA for the District of Mission's proposed expansion of a pedestrian trail in Heritage Park, Mission | INS |
| 2009-0180 | Matthew Begg | AIA for Finavera Renewables Inc.'s proposed Meikle Wind Energy Project in NE BC | INS |
| 2009-0181 | Todd Paquin | AIA for a proposed residential development in Sorrento | INS |
| 2009-0182 | Cameron Robertson | AIA for expansion of MOTI's Pinecone Quarry, between Pinecone Lake-Burke Mountain Park and the Pitt River on the SW \square of Sec 27, Tp 40, E of the Coast Meridian, NWD | INS |
| 2009-0183 | Shauna Huculak | ALTs to DcRu-32 and DcRu-75 by upgrading of a sewer line between Pilot Street and St. Lawrence Street in Victoria | ALT |
| 2009-0184 | Bruce Ball | AIA for DWB Forestry Services Ltd.'s proposed operations in the Central Cariboo, 100 Mile House, Quesnel and Chilcotin FDs | INS |
| 2009-0185 | Ken Schwab | AIA of oil/gas developments as may be proposed by clients of Roy Northern Land Service Ltd. and possible additional land agents operating within NE BC | INS |
| 2009-0186 | Nina Polujanski | AIA for forestry operations proposed by Louisiana Pacific Canada Ltd., Tembec and other possible proponents within the Peace FD | INS |
| 2009-0187 | Brad Taylor | ALTs to CMT sites DiSI-11, -70 -- -78 (inclusive) and -120, and DiSm-4, -96, -98, -99, -113 -- -119 (inclusive) and -121 -- -128 (inclusive) by Iisaak Forest Resources Ltd. In TFL 57 on Beddingfield Inlet, Clayoquot Sound | ALT |

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|-----------|--------------------|---|-----|
| 2009-0188 | Harold Harry | ALTs to EJRn-18 and concurrent archaeological studies for the Canoe Creek FN's reburial of ancient human remains (BC Coroner's Case File 2006-629-0027) recovered from this locality, on the W side of the Fraser River along the Churn Creek or Empire Valley Road, near its junction with the Dog Creek-Canoe Creek Road and the Fraser River bridge crossing | ALT |
| 2009-0189 | Gareth Spicer | AIA for oil/gas developments proposed by Talisman Energy Inc. and Apache Canada Ltd. within the Fort Nelson, Peace and Mackenzie FDs | INS |
| 2009-0190 | Matthew Begg | AIA for forestry operations proposed by West Fraser Mills Ltd., Canadian Forest Products Ltd. and possible other proponents, within the Quesnel and Prince George FDs | INS |
| 2009-0191 | Joel Kinzie | AIA for proposed construction of the Garcia Pond, Pye Lake, Hector Creek, and Mamit Lake dams near Merritt | INS |
| 2009-0192 | Barbara Horrell | AIA for forestry developments proposed by BCTS (Cariboo-Chilcotin Business Area) and other possible licensees, operating within the Williams Lake TSA of the Central Cariboo and Chilcotin FDs | INS |
| 2009-0193 | private individual | ALTs to EaRe-11 by landscaping of the Church of Jesus Christ the Latter Day Saints' Merritt Chapel property Merritt | ALT |
| 2009-0194 | Bob Parsons | ALTs to DhRq-1 by the City of Port Moody's proposed replacement of the loco Road bridge crossing over Noon's Creek | ALT |
| 2009-0195 | private individual | ALTs to DJRx-34 by renovations to a residence on North Thormanby Island, Sunshine Coast | ALT |
| 2009-0196 | Kees Ruurs | ALTs to DfRu-3 by Salt Spring Parks and Recreation's construction of a staircase to provide public beach access in Ganges, Salt Spring Island, on Lot 1, Sec 3, Rge 3E, Plan 11914 | ALT |
| 2009-0197 | Peter Vigneault | AIA for the City of Abbotsford's proposed expansion of the James Wastewater Treatment Plant, at 5959 Gladwin Road | INS |
| 2009-0198 | Matthew Begg | AIA for Finavera Renewables Inc.'s proposed Wildmare Wind Energy Project, approximately 3 km NW of Chetwynd | INS |
| 2009-0199 | Diana Alexander | AIA for BC Hydro's proposed redevelopment of the Bridge River town site (South Shalath), near Seton Portage on Seton Lake | INS |
| 2009-0200 | private individual | ALTs to EbPw-1 by redevelopment of property located in Canal Flats | ALT |
| 2009-0201 | private individual | ALTs to DiRi-1 by a residential redevelopment in Hope | ALT |
| 2009-0202 | Shane Bond | AIA for proposed construction of the Highway 17-McTavish Road Interchange, S of the Town of Sidney in the District of North Saanich, vicinity of DdRu-4 | INS |
| 2009-0203 | Colin Grier | Research investigations at sites DgRw-6, DgRv-3, DgRv-6, DfRu-12, DfRu-13, DfRu-18 and DfRu-22 located along Trincomali Channel and adjacent waters of the southern Gulf Islands | INV |
| 2009-0204 | Paul Harrison | AIA of forestry developments proposed by Kalum Ventures Ltd. in those portions of the ATT of the Kitsumkalum FN that are not in overlap with other FNs, within the Kalum FD | INS |
| 2009-0205 | private individual | ALTs to DcRw-55 by redevelopment of property in Sooke | ALT |
| 2009-0206 | Charla Downey | Post-construction AIA for seismic programs on behalf of Peace River Hole Cementing & Exploration Ltd. and other possible proponents within those portions of NTS Map Sheets 93/O, 93/P and 93/I that lie within the Peace and the Mackenzie FD | INS |
| 2009-0207 | Sarah Kamp | AIA for District of Coldstream's proposed road at Lumby Junction on the N end of Kalamalka Lake, on Sec 22, Tp 9, ODYLD | INS |
| 2009-0208 | Owen Grant | AIA for proposed construction of a fuel station and ancillary facilities in Courtenay | INS |
| 2009-0209 | Duncan McLaren | AIA for BC Hydro's proposed Heber River Dam and Diversion Decommissioning Project, approximately 70 km SW of Campbell River | INS |
| 2009-0210 | private individual | ALTs to DiSc-29 by proposed installation of a Terasen Gas service line in Parksville | ALT |
| 2009-0211 | Diana Alexander | AIA of wharf and/or moorage facilities and related works as may be proposed on Okanagan Lake and other smaller lakes within the ATT of the Westbank First Nation, that are subject to the ILMB approval process for foreshore leases | INS |
| 2009-0212 | Normand Canuel | Data recovery from GfRs-2 (McLeod's Lake Post National Historic Site), at the junction of the Pack River and McLeod Lake | INV |
| 2009-0213 | Patrick Robins | ALTs to DiRd-41, -42 and -45 by construction of a water system expansion project in Princeton | ALT |
| 2009-0214 | Lisa Seip | AIA for Gold Fields Toodoggone Exploration Corporation's proposed exploration and drilling program in the Finlay River region of N-central BC, approximately 15 km N of the Kemess copper-gold deposit | INS |
| 2009-0215 | private individual | ALTs to DeRu-34 by a residential redevelopment in North Saanich | ALT |
| 2009-0216 | David Hall | AIA for proposed replacement a section of the Metro Vancouver trunk sewer line in the Township of Langley, from the Langley Connector E of 203 rd Street to the Langley Pump Station | INS |
| 2009-0217 | Ken Schwab | AIA for proposed subdivision of a property within the area encompassed by NTS Map Sheet 94 A/12 | INS |

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|-----------|--------------------|---|-----|
| 2009-0218 | Aidan Burford | AIA of property adjacent to the Bear Flats Campground near Fort St. John, within Tp 84, Rge 22, Sec 9 | INS |
| 2009-0219 | Allan Baxter | ALTs to HbRi-10 and HbRh-33 by replacement and relocation of fence posts along existing fence lines in the vicinity of Fort St. John | ALT |
| 2009-0220 | Mike Rousseau | AIA for a residential development on the N shore of Shuswap Lake at Magna Bay | INS |
| 2009-0221 | Hartley Odwak | AIA for the District of Port Hardy's proposed infrastructure developments within the municipal boundaries | INS |
| 2009-0222 | Christopher Baker | AIA for PWGSC's proposed highway approaches and bridge across Racing River on the Alaska Highway, approximately 145 km W of Fort Nelson | INS |
| 2009-0223 | Mike Rousseau | AIA for proposed fishing resort on the N shore of Kamloops Lake | INS |
| 2009-0224 | private individual | ALTs to DgRs-14 by redevelopment of a residence in the Municipality of Delta | ALT |
| 2009-0225 | Bonnie McKenzie | ALT to DdRu-56 by the District of Central Saanich's construction of a public beach access trail between West Saanich Road and the E shore of Saanich Inlet | ALT |
| 2009-0226 | Kristina Bowie | Inventory and AIA for the proposed sale of residential property in Oak Bay | INS |
| 2009-0227 | Steven Killin | AIA for Westcoast Energy Inc.'s proposed Fort Nelson Northern Petrochemical Complex, within Unit b-47-I, 93-P-4, approximately 77 km NE of Fort Nelson and 8.4 km WNW of Cabin Lake | INS |
| 2009-0228 | Casey O'Neill | AIA for MOTI's proposed construction of a "laydown" area, access lanes, and a temporary bridge over the Capilano River, West Vancouver | INS |
| 2009-0229 | Joel Kinzie | Systematic data recovery from EaQu-63, -69 and -70 within the proposed Highway 97 realignment and expansion corridor on the W side of Wood Lake between Winfield and Oyama | INV |
| 2009-0230 | Rick Davidge | AIA for proposed expansion/upgrade of the existing Central Street Lift Station in Port Hardy | ALT |
| 2009-0231 | private individual | ALTs to DkSf-1 by construction of a utilities trench a business addition in Courtenay | ALT |
| 2009-0232 | David Bryans | ALTs to DhRr-8 by the District of North Vancouver's minor construction and landscaping activities in Cates Park | ALT |
| 2009-0233 | David Hall | AIA for the Gitga'at Development Corporation's Hartley Bay Micro-hydroelectric Project, along the Gabion River near Hartley Bay | INS |
| 2009-0234 | Ian Franck | AIA of three proposed bulk sampling locations within Placer Leases #383358, #383360, and Mineral Claim #594537 and associated ancillary impacts, on the E side of the Fraser River in the area of Qualark and Suka Creeks | INS |
| 2009-0235 | Patrick Regush | ALTs to EeQw-92 that may arise from the Village of Chase's extension of a natural gas main along a portion of the SE shoulder of 2 nd Avenue to service a property at 1301-2 nd Avenue | ALT |
| 2009-0236 | Hayley Chester | AIA for oil/gas projects proposed by Devon Canada Corporation, Devon ARL Corporation, and other possible proponents operating within the area encompassed by NTS map sheets 94/I, 94/J, 94/O and 94/P, NE BC | INS |
| 2009-0237 | Bryan Fraser | ALTs to CMT sites FhUb-58, -59, -77, -80, -81, -82, -84, -85 and -86, within FL A16870, CB LONG36, on Graham Island W of Long Inlet, Haida Gwaii FD | ALT |
| 2009-0238 | Jennifer Storey | AIA for the Town of Ladysmith's proposed property development between Oyster Bay Drive and Oyster Cove Road, along the W shore of Ladysmith Harbour | INS |
| 2009-0239 | Margaret Rogers | AIA for Oceanview Resort & Spa Ltd.'s proposed golf course and resort development adjacent to Northumberland Channel, Dodd Narrows, and Stuart Channel between Harmac and Cedar, S of Nanaimo | INS |
| 2009-0240 | Samara King | AIA for Eagle Peak Resources Inc.'s proposed Dome Mountain mine project, approximately 35 km E of Smithers and 37 km N of Houston | INS |
| 2009-0241 | Yvan Sylvestre | ALTs to DdRu-54 by the District of Central Saanich's replacement of a watermain approximately 75 m S from the junction of Marchant Road and Anglers Lane along the E shore of Brentwood Bay | ALT |
| 2009-0242 | Geordie Howe | AIA for proposed construction of the Evergreen Line Rapid Transit Project, within Burnaby, Port Moody, and Coquitlam | INS |
| 2009-0243 | Heather Pratt | AIA for forestry operations proposed by Island Timberlands Limited Partnership in DL 507 and 2313, CB 074150, approximately 24 km NW of Powell River at Thors Cove on the E shore of Lancelot Inlet | INS |
| 2009-0244 | Shane Bond | AIA for proposed redevelopment of property in Sooke | INS |
| 2009-0245 | private individual | ALTs to DiRu-15 by construction of a swimming pool in Gibsons | ALT |
| 2009-0246 | Hayley Kanipe | AIA for a proposed property development in Sooke | INS |
| 2009-0247 | Gordon Mohs | Archaeological investigations at DhRI-2, at the confluence of Morris Creek and the Harrison River | INV |
| 2009-0248 | Adrienne Marr | AIA for BC Hydro's proposed replacement of electrical tower 43-3 located approximately 12 km SW of Terrace, within the existing Circuit 2L101 r/w along the W bank of the Lakelse River | INS |

CONFERENCES & EVENTS

ARCHAEOACOUSTICS: SPACES AND SOUND IN THE ANCIENT WORLD

November, 2010

Malta, Malta

Info: <http://www.ancientmed.org/conference.htm>

READING COASTAL FOOTPRINTS: ECOLOGY AND MARITIME ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE PACIFIC

February 18 to 11, 2011

Hilo, Hawaii

Info: <http://www.mahhi.org>

Submissions Deadline: November 1, 2010

SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

76th Annual Meeting

March 30th to April 3, 2011

Sacramento, California

Info: <http://www.saa.org/>

Submissions Deadline: September 9, 2010

WORLD ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTER-CONGRESS

June 22 to 25, 2011

Indianapolis, Indiana

Info: <http://wacmuseums.info>

Theme: Indigenous Peoples and Museums: Unraveling the Tensions

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