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# MIDDEN

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## THE REPATRIATION OF STONE T'XWELÁTSE The Long Journey of an Ancestor Returning Home

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# THE MIDDEN

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Single copies of most previous issues are available for \$5.00 each. Subscription forms and membership application forms are available on our website (<http://asbc.bc.ca>).

**Cover**

Stone T'xwelátse in the Burke Museum wood shop, freshly set in a newly fashioned cedar canoe (made by Mark Point) and mid-way through the preparations for his journey home. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)





# THE ASBC PAGES

EDITORIAL

## The Message of the Poets Cove Sentence

The first sentence of the *Heritage Conservation Act (HCA)* has been given. After pleading guilty to one charge, the Bedwell Harbour Hotel Ltd. (BHHL), property owner of Poets Cove Resort, agreed to pay \$50,000 as a condition of the sentence. The parties associated with the four-star resort on South Pender Island had been charged with two violations of the *HCA*: (1) for disturbing a burial site of historic or archaeological value and (2) for damaging an archaeological site that pre-dates AD 1846. BHHL pleaded guilty to the latter charge, while the other two parties that were charged — Poets Cove at Bedwell Harbour Limited Partnership (the developer) and Bill James (the CEO of Poets Cove Resort) — received a stay of charges on both counts; the destruction to the site was described in previous issues of *The Midden* (36 [3/4], and 37 [2]).

Shortly after the charges were laid, the *Edmonton Journal* described the Poets Cove parties as facing charges under the “rarely used B.C. Heritage Conservation Act,” as if it were a quaint, old law that was ignored for a reason — they seemed to confuse that while it regards antiquities, the law itself is not antiquated.

Now, that the decision has been made, it has been described by the *Cowichan News Leader* (May 12, 2007) as the “biggest court-ordered payment to date under the B.C. Heritage Conservation Act.” That’s \$50,000 to be paid by a multimillion dollar resort.

As Peter Parmar, the president of the resort, noted in a letter to the *Times-Colonist* (April 12), “Poets Cove was not fined but was given a suspended sentence. The \$50,000 payment is a donation that Poets Cove agreed to make for the promotion of archeology in B.C., part of the agreed-upon disposition of the case.” Thus, the funds will be directed to the B.C. Archaeology Branch, which certainly is worth supporting.

While I must applaud this enforcement of the *HCA*, I’m somewhat astonished at the level of the sentence, especially when considered in light of the severity of the damage to the site — a destruction, of course, that cannot be undone. Robert Morales, chief negotiator for the Hul’qumi’num Treaty Group, had a point when he described the sentence to the *Cowichan News Leader* (May 12) as “pretty light,” stating that “How a mistake of that magnitude could be made is hard to understand. There seems to be a disconnect between the sentence and the values that underlie the whole issue.”

In the testimony regarding the settlement, much seemed

to weigh on the fact that the destruction was unintentional. Peter Parmar, in his letter, described the damage as “an oversight, not an intentional breaking of the rules.” This factored into the lightness of the sentence, reflecting a “minimum culpability.”

In the statement, the lawyer for the defendant, Mr. Milman, stated to the Judge (*Regina v. Poets Cove At Bedwell Harbour Limited Partnership*):

“There is a further complication in this case in that there was no harm actually caused to that heritage itself. It’s rather a technical breach of the permit, and the harm is mainly to the authority of the permitting process, because the permit itself wasn’t complied with, so that’s really the gravamen of the offence.”

Thus, the destruction of the site, and the burials within (including a minimum of 4,700 human bones and fragments), was not really the matter; instead, it was simply a mere violation of the terms of the permit.

Even so, Poets Cove did have to pay \$50,000 — but, as Crown Counsel John Blackman himself noted to the *Times-Colonist*, it is “not technically a fine.” If \$50,000 is the amount levied for destroying a shell-midden, the remains of a village, a graveyard, and for violating a site alteration permit — if it is 5% of the maximum fine for that — what kind of damage exactly would incur the maximum fine?

According to the proceedings, a problem in determining the resolution was the fact that there were no prior instances to follow. As Crown Counsel stated to the Judge, “I have no case law to provide Your Honour.” Unfortunately, the next time such site destruction occurs, Poets Cove will be a precedent to guide sentencing. Perhaps \$50,000 will be a deterrent to developers, but given the budgets of such projects, that appears unlikely.

It seems that a moment has passed when the *HCA* could have been given the backbone it deserves, a point at which other developers would recognize that heritage is something to be concerned about in the early stages of a project. Maybe, after all, Poets Cove wasn’t the case to stand as that example, but if that wasn’t, it’s difficult to imagine what would be.

At first glance, the \$50,000 figure seems like an attempt to guard the heritage of B.C., but — without the enforcement by the RCMP and Crown Counsel — ultimately the *HCA* will remain in the public eye a “rarely used” law.

**Bill Angelbeck**  
Editor



March 29, 2007

David G. Lewis, Manager  
Cultural Resources Department  
Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Tribe of Oregon

Dear Editors of *The Midden*,

The recent issue of *The Midden* contains an article by Dr. Dale Croes about the Sunken Village site in Oregon. Grand Ronde is actively working on this site and has been for some time. In the article there are photographs of the site, cultural materials found at the site, and one of a Tribal member and Grand Ronde Tribal site monitor at the site.

As far as we at Grand Ronde can determine, no permission was given to Dr. Croes to publish these images. Likewise, we were never made aware that the archaeological team was writing an article about the site. We have concerns the public will be able to identify the site from the photos, and that the image of a Tribal site monitor has been used without permission.

Collaboration and cooperation between tribes and anthropologists in the field is critical. Tribes are now partners and team members with many anthropologists conducting research. As part of this relationship, tribes have some say in the outcome of the research and will often enter agreements with the anthropologists on the disposition of the cultural materials and how or if the research may be published. Increasingly tribes are stipulating that they do not wish any publication of site locations or photographs of cultural materials and tribal representatives without the tribes' approval. These agreements are meant to protect tribal cultural resources from amateur excavations which can and do affect tribes every year, as well as honor tribal spiritual and legal relations with these resources. Similarly, many federal and state agencies have policies that place security protocols on their archival databases in order to protect and secure tribal cultural resources. If the tribes and anthropologists are to continue their close working relationships, anthropologists need to understand these policies and agreements and abide by them.

It is gratifying to hear a positive response to our concerns from *The Midden*. It is encouraging when professional journals choose to listen to the people most affected by the outcome of their publication and make a responsible decision that protects the continued relationship enjoyed throughout the community. Grand Ronde wishes to recognize *The Midden* for making such a progressive decision.

As the relationship between tribes and anthropologists continues to evolve, tribes are increasingly partners in research which concerns them. In cultural anthropology, researchers must abide by policies that protect people affected by their research. The same protection standards should apply to archaeology, because of the deep cultural, political, social, psychological, and spiritual connection between tribal people and their cultural resources. By treating cultural resources with care and respect, scientists treat tribal people with care and respect, and in doing so the sovereignty of tribes and the human rights of tribal people are protected.

It is the Grand Ronde Tribe's sincere wish to continue creating positive relationships with our scientific colleagues and to work collaboratively with them on their research and publication of their findings.

Sincerely,

David G. Lewis M.A., Manager  
Cultural Resources Department  
ABD, University of Oregon, Department of Anthropology

Dear Editors of *The Midden*:

Thank you for asking me to respond to David Lewis' letter from the Confederated Tribes of the Grand Ronde Tribe of Oregon. We recently presented our research in an all day symposium at the 60th Annual Northwest Anthropological Conference at WSU, Pullman, Washington, and had a follow-up Panel Discussion, with invitation to the three tribes who share ceded lands and co-management of this site. The Grand Ronde had their Cultural Protection Specialist, Eirik Thorsgard, represent them on the panel. Eirik explained their publication concern during his public presentation, and I personally apologized and could only say "I blew it!" Really nothing else I can say—and would like to apologize here as well.

I would recommend that everyone carefully read Mr. Lewis' letter and recognize the Grand Ronde lessons here. I am sorry I blew it, and will be much more aware of these perspectives in future work with them and the other two Tribes with ceded lands and with authority at the Sauvie Island site.

I must add that Eirik Thorsgard also emphasized on the panel that the project represented a "great deal of collaborative efforts between Tribal Cultural Resources Specialists and Archaeologists and this speed bump in our relationship should not reflect our overall team efforts to properly protect and evaluate one of the most significant Heritage Sites in our ceded lands."

Thanks,

Dale R. Croes  
Head, Anthropology  
South Puget Sound Community College  
Olympia, Washington, USA

Dear Readership,

In response to the letter from David Lewis, Cultural Manager for the Grand Ronde Tribe of Oregon, the Editors of *The Midden* and ASBC Executive Committee have revisited and clarified our publishing guidelines and protocols. We expect all contributors to *The Midden* to have received the permission from all relevant parties or individuals regarding the publication of archaeological information and photographs.

The ASBC shares the Grand Ronde's concern for how archaeological information may be shared and presented by researchers, particularly from the cultural perspectives of descendant communities.

Please know that the ASBC will post our publishing guidelines for submissions in a future issue and on the website to reflect this updated policy.

**The Editors**



# ARCHAEOLOGY NEWS

## UVic to Continue Archaeological Research in Haida Gwaii and initiate Investigations in Northern Washington in Field Season 2007

Adrian Sanders

This summer further fieldwork will be conducted at the Richardson Island site in Southeastern Haida Gwaii by Jenny Storey and a team of archaeologists from the University of Victoria, Parks Canada and the Haida First Nation. While previous excavations have recovered material dating to between 9,300 and 8,500 BP, investigations in July and August will focus on an area adjacent to previously excavated units that contains deposits potentially dating to a slightly later time period. Storey's research will focus on the unifacial tool assemblage from previous excavations at the Richardson Island site, including any additional artifacts recovered during investigations this summer. Through an analysis of these unifacial stone tools, Storey will attempt to answer some larger questions regarding the activities that have taken place at the site, technological continuity and change within the fluctuating environment of Haida Gwaii and more broadly, how these processes of change and stability are situated within the context of the early peopling of North America. While a decrease in bifaces and an increase in microblades reflect technological change at the site, unifacial tools appear to remain fairly consistent between 9,300 to 8,500 BP. It is hoped that further excavation this summer will continue to trace the decline, increase or continuity of stone tool technologies at the Richardson Island site from 8,500 to 7,500 BP.

Brendan Gray's MA research will focus on the development of a sampling strategy for use in archaeological investigations of faunal remains from households. Brendan hopes to create and execute a sampling simulation using existing zooarchaeologi-

cal data from the Ozette archaeological site in northern Washington. The large Ozette database provides a unique opportunity to compare a variety of sampling strategies to determine which one will provide the most accurate and representative sample for future excavations. Brendan plans to investigate two questions using the faunal data from Ozette: firstly, what percentage of a given household has to be sampled in order to understand the spatial patterning of zooarchaeological remains, and secondly, which types of sampling strategies are most useful to help understand these patterns. The results of this data will hopefully be applied to other excavated houses on the Northwest Coast in order to understand both the complexity and limitations of specific sampling strategies within house contexts and how this affects our understanding of the past.

Search strategies have long been a strategic component in the work of archaeology. While locating sites associated with the late Holocene periods for the Northwest Coast of British Columbia has its many difficulties, doing so for the Pleistocene-Holocene boundary (11,000 — 9,000 BP) adds a layer (or a few) of complexity. This summer Adrian Sanders will conduct his MA research in NE Graham Island, Haida Gwaii, a region of high archaeological visibility corresponding to the temporal period in question. Specifically, three terrestrial zones have been identified for modeling that were oriented within a biologically productive habitat by at least 13,500 BP; these are Argonaut Hill, Taaw Hill, and a series of relict beach and spit features stretching between the two hills respectively. The former two

landforms were stable during the volatile Pleistocene-Holocene boundary, when the marine transgression and regression occurring during this period left a suite of clear morphological demarcations on the landscape that help to predict locations of greater and lesser archaeological potential. High resolution LiDAR remote sensing imagery made available through a joint interdisciplinary project between UVIC Geography and Anthropology departments will inform a GIS-generated map to interpret the palaeolandscape of NE Graham Island as a single component of a dynamic potential model. Archaeological prospection for the region will target areas based upon a series of attributes relating to the palaeoclimate, environment, geomorphology, and local knowledge of toponyms and land use practices informing behavioral analogs.

Darcy Mathews' doctoral research on the burial cairns and mounds of the southern Strait of Georgia is underway and will focus on the distribution of these mortuary sites at multiple scales. Building upon his recently completed master's thesis entitled *Burial Cairn Taxonomy and the Mortuary Landscape of Rocky Point, British Columbia*, Darcy's detailed analysis of the placement of cairns on the landscape will continue at the Rocky Point site on southern Vancouver Island, which has over 300 burial features. In addition, analysis is ongoing for the Uplands site in Victoria, which while mostly destroyed by historic residential development, has highly detailed maps from the early twentieth century showing the locations of the cairns on the landscape. Darcy's approach is to look at the kinship relations of the precontact



# SFU to Investigate the Harrison River Valley for Field Season 2007

Morgan Ritchie

During the 2007 field season, the Simon Fraser University archaeological fieldschool will be hosted by the Chehalis First Nation on the Harrison River in southwestern British Columbia. Sixteen undergraduate students and one Chehalis community member will spend June and July helping to collect data for Morgan Ritchie and Chris Springer's Masters research. Ritchie's and Springer's research is part of the Fraser Valley Project directed by Dana Lepofsky and other researchers. The Fraser Valley Project has been investigating identity and interaction at pre-contact settlements along the Fraser River from Scowlitz, at the mouth of the Harrison, to Xelhalh, near Yale in the Fraser Canyon. The inclusion of the Harrison River is a logical extension of this project because the people on the two rivers were closely related culturally, linguistically, through marriage, and by trade. In addition,

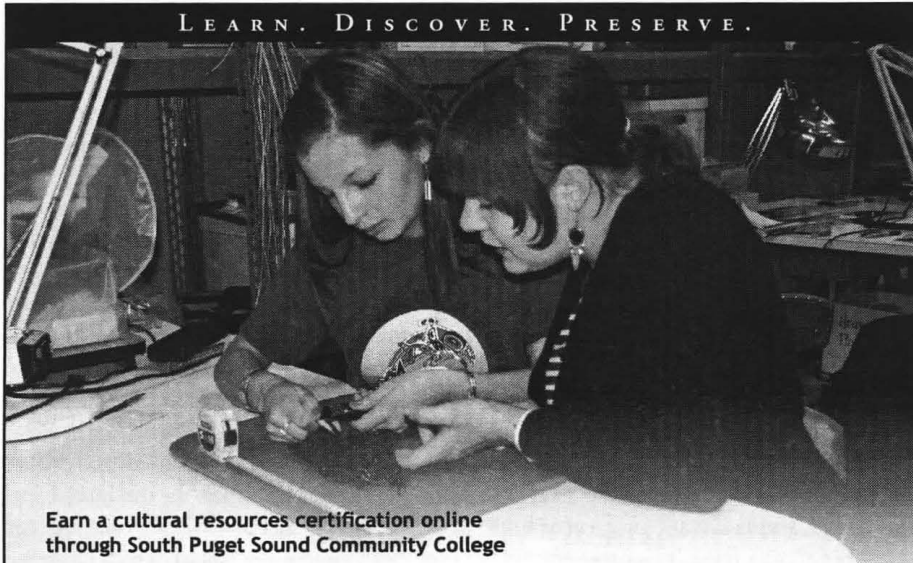
the people on the Harrison, like those studied on the Fraser, were in an intermediary position between coastal and interior culture areas.

Morgan Ritchie's project is an archaeological survey of the ancient cultural landscape of the Harrison River Valley. Three major stages of his research in which students will be involved are: (1) survey, which he began during the summer of 2005 with Adrian Sanders; (2) total station mapping of settlements; and (3) test excavations to obtain radiocarbon samples for the purpose of establishing whether settlements were contemporaneous. Morgan intends to integrate the archaeological features with place name information and other culturally important places for a better understanding of how the landscape was conceptualized and constructed.

Chris Springer will be directing the excavation of a housepit feature near the

confluence of the Chehalis and Harrison Rivers. The purpose of this excavation is to examine how cultural identity and household organization are associated with the form and contents of the housepit. A preliminary test excavation conducted during the summer of 2006 demonstrated that this housepit would be ideal for the proposed research; at least three floors and associated house features were identified.

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**Who You Are. What You'll Be.**

Continued from UVic, pg. 5

Straits Salish peoples as expressed through the placement of their ancestors on the landscape and how this reflects social and economic relationships between individual families, among and between villages, and with the larger world around them. Moving beyond these individual sites, Darcy's research will also address the placement of burial cairns across different types of landscapes and the distribution of cairns and mounds throughout the region as a whole. Preliminary fieldwork will be conducted this summer on southern Vancouver Island and the adjacent islands.



## Northwest Coast Archaeological Research at McMaster University

**As compiled by  
Rudy Reimer/Yumks  
with contributions from  
all mentioned individuals**

Northwest Coast archaeological research at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario ranges from the south and central coast to almost the most northern regions of the culture area. Currently, people in the Department of Anthropology are using a variety of methods and theoretical perspectives in their investigations. They use department facilities that include a soils analysis lab, a fisheries archaeology lab, thin-sectioning equipment, micros-

copy and image analysis equipment, and an ancient DNA lab, and have access to shared facilities in other departments, which provide the capacity for stable isotope, neutron activation, scanning electron microscopic, and GIS analyses. Interpretations of data gleaned from the archaeological record of the Northwest Coast incorporate agency theory, cognitive approaches, and multi-scalar analysis, and view archaeology as long-term history.

*Dr. Aubrey Cannon, Professor and Department Chair.* His Northwest Coast research has focussed on the archaeological histories of settlement and subsistence on the central BC coast, in the territories of the Heiltsuk and Wuikinuxv Nations. Building on his early and ongoing work on the long-term history of the Namu salmon fishery, he has expanded his investigations, through core and auger sampling,

to look at patterns and developments in settlement and marine resource use at a variety of sites in the Namu vicinity and, most recently, in Rivers Inlet. Working with members of the Wuikinuxv Nation in 2005-06, he obtained auger and core samples from eleven previously untested sites in Rivers Inlet. Preliminary analyses indicate a record of settlement that spans the past 4000 years, and a particular subsistence focus on the rich sockeye and chinook salmon and eulachon and herring fisheries of the area.

*Rudy Reimer PhD Student.* His PhD research will examine the Squamish Nation perceptions of the environment and territory and how those perceptions are manifested in the archaeological record. This research will help in ongoing development of Indigenous landscape archaeology, Squamish Nation land use



planning, the Sea to Sky highway 99 place name and recognition project and development of cultural content of information and materials for use in the joint Squamish/Lil'wat Culture Center, called Spo'ez, currently being built in Whistler. His research will actively involve Squamish Nation people by learning and doing archaeology, with, for and by the Squamish Nation. Therefore his research will combine traditional knowledge of places and events in Squamish Nation history, as told by elders and knowledgeable community members who know their history, language and culture. This past summer season included conducting community interviews, archaeological survey that found six mid- to high elevation sites and test excavation of a mid-elevation rockshelter. For more information contact Rudy at reimerr@mcmaster.ca.

*Natalie Brewster PhD Student.* Her research is in Tshimsian territory, near Prince Rupert and part of the Dundas Island Archaeological Project. She is interested in the motivations and economic basis for the establishment and maintenance of settlements on the islands. She will be analyzing fauna from a series of shell midden sites to create an archaeological history of marine resource use. Multiple sites will be sampled since this approach can provide the indications of subsistence over a wide area, while at the same time highlight variability that may be present between different time periods and site types. Through this research she hopes to show how the Dundas Island Group was used through time, as well as how they fit within the wider social and economic context of the northern Northwest Coast.

*Meghan Burchell PhD Student.* Her research will investigate shellfish resource use and seasonal settlement strategies in the vicinity around Namu on the central coast, and the Dundas Islands on the north coast. Her research will combine growth increment analysis and isotopic profiles of the butter clam *Saximus giganteus*, to understand local histories of shellfish use. Growth increments can reveal patterns relative to the intensity of shellfish gathering practices. Based on the frequency of clams exhibiting a specific type of growth, either mature or senile growth, the relative intensity of shellfish gathering practices can be inferred. Stable isotope profiles of oxygen and carbon are used to identify the

season of death, or collection of shellfish, and therefore season of site occupation. This research aims to interpret patterns of seasonal shellfish collection, and place sites within the larger framework of seasonal settlement systems.

*Jodi Lynn Barta, PhD.* Jodi's research employed ancient DNA genetic analyses of pre-contact dog bone assemblages. These assemblages serve as proxies of their closely associated human populations in studies of interaction patterns along the Northwest Coast and adjacent interior Plateau. Her analysis includes data from eleven archaeological sites ranging from Haida Gwaii in the north, to the Gulf of Georgia in the south, and east into interior at Keatley Creek. The resulting genetic data are used to address questions of regionally specific genetic variants, genetic change over time at a particular site, site use and seasonality. The discovery of a Northwest Coast specific genetic variant that accounts for over 40% of the individuals sampled, and is no longer present in modern dog populations, sheds light on the impact of European contact on the dog populations in this region. Further analysis is planned to expand the sample size within sites and to include in this project other Northwest Coast archaeological sites of interest. For more information contact Jodi at bartajl@mcmaster.ca

*Paul Ewonus, MA Student.* His current research is centered in the southern Strait of Georgia of southwestern BC, in the traditional territory of the Hul'qumi'num Coast Salish Nation. He is conducting detailed zooarchaeological analysis of several sites, with an emphasis on the Dionisio Point site (DgRv 3) on Galiano Island. The Pender Canal site (DeRt 1) is also a subject of additional faunal study as part of detailed site characterization. His research focuses on the investigation of pre-contact subsistence and settlement patterns that includes evidence from artifacts and site features. This research intends to address the rhythms of past daily life and seasonal movement through this coastal and island landscape. In addition to research in the southern Gulf Islands, he will continue his involvement in fieldwork on the central coast of BC. During the past two field seasons he worked with Dr. Aubrey Cannon and the Wuikinuxv Nation to map and sample shell midden sites in

the vicinity of Rivers Inlet. He has also participated in several field projects in and around the Broughton Archipelago. He is beginning his PhD research this fall at the University of Cambridge, England.

*Brandi Lee MacDonald, MA Student.* Brandi's multidisciplinary research will focus on the analysis of ochre from a range of site types on the central coast of British Columbia. Her goal is to use neutron activation analysis (INAA) to identify and source ochre samples. This technique is being used to identify the elemental composition of the samples, so she will be able to identify variation in types and preparation methods for use. Interpretation of these materials will be aided by ethnographic documentation that suggests it plays a role in social networks of trade of this material among and between prehistoric communities. This will allow her to ultimately present a clearer understanding of changing patterns of ochre use and collection over time. She is currently considering expanding her research to include other areas along the Northwest Coast. If anyone has any ochre from archaeological, ethnographic contexts or information on contemporary use and is willing to contribute to this research, please feel free to contact her at, macdonbl@mcmaster.ca

*Andrew Kingston MSc Student (Geology).* Andrew's research is focused on understanding climate change through examination of archaeological deposits along the Northwest Coast. The site of Namu offers a unique opportunity to examine past climates since it has 11,000 years of continuous occupation. His research will focus on using stable isotope geochemistry of clams from the extensive midden deposits at the site. Clam stable isotope geochemistry is controlled by seasonal variations in rainfall and temperature. Therefore by using multiple clam specimens of various ages we can elucidate climate change. Since the significant clam deposition has occurred over the past 6,000 years within the site, a climatic record is being produced that indicates a significant degree of change in the regional climate.





# Learning to Live Together in a Good Way

## Lessons on Repatriation from Stone T'xwelátse

by David Schaepe  
featuring photographs by David Campion

Helen Joe and Th'itsxwelatse (Kurt Joe), carrier of the junior version of the name T'xwelátse, visit their ancestor in the Burke Museum collections. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

It is difficult to choose from the many lessons and points of discussion brought out by Stone T'xwelátse and his journey home; which to share in this brief space. Many details mark the circuitous path of the repatriation process leading to Stone T'xwelátse's homecoming celebration last Fall after 114 years of separation from his family and community.



T'xwelátse (Herb Joe) holds his ancestor and name-sake while undergoing preparations for a new base. (Photograph: © David Champion 2006)

**SXWÓXWIYÁM**  
 ('History of the Distant Past')

~ In the distant past, in the period of time when the world was 'not quite right' — T'xwelátse was born at the village of Th'ewá:lí along the lower Chilliwack River and became the ancestor of the Ts'elxweyeqw (Chilliwack) Tribe. This sxwóxwiyám was told to Franz Boas by George Chehalis in 1890.

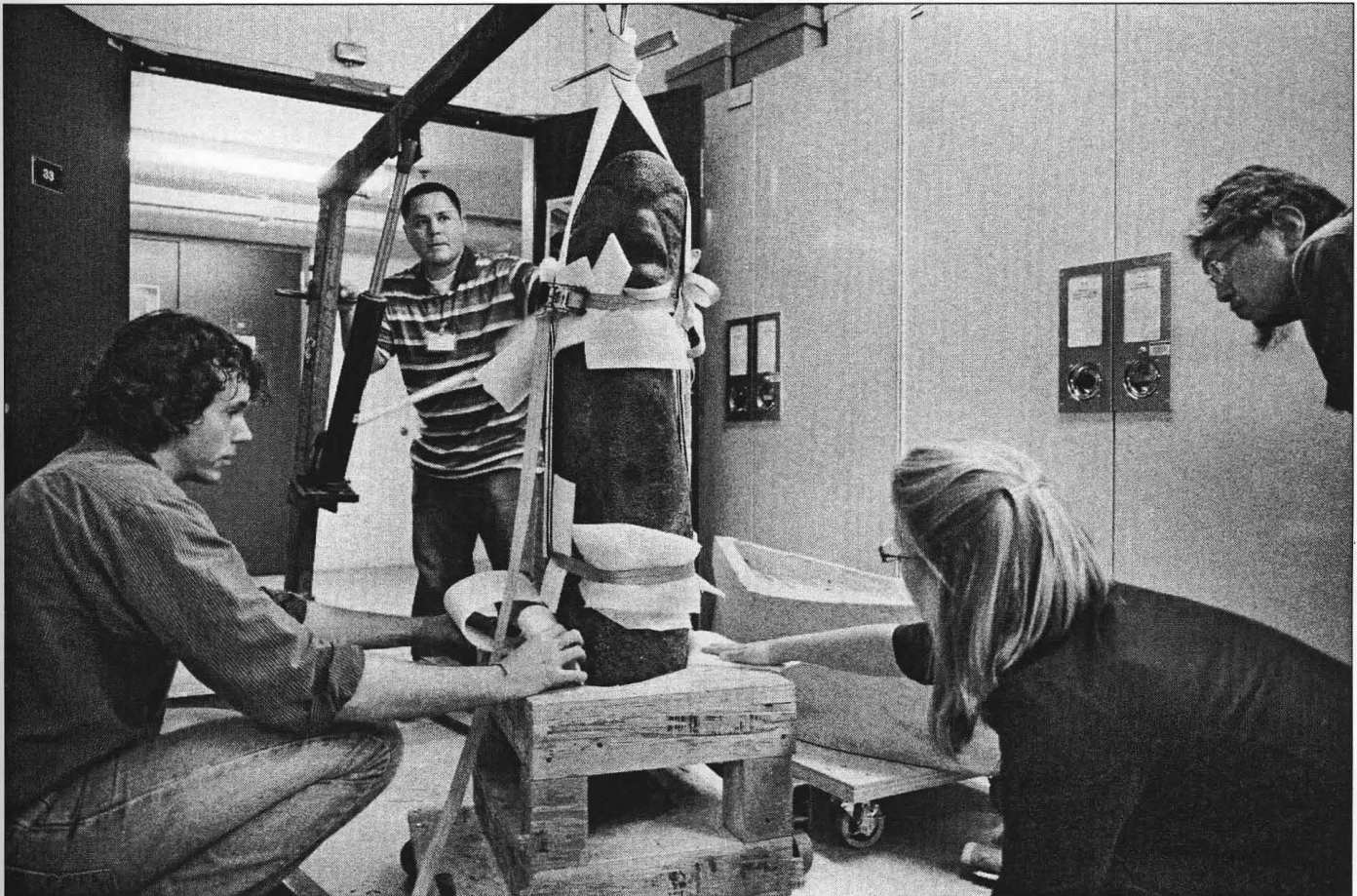
~ Later, one of the inheritors of the name T'xwelátse was turned to stone by Xá:ls:

*"Stone T'xwelátse is a transformation of one of the T'xwelátses. T'xwelátse and his wife were on the river bank arguing when Xá:ls happened upon them. Xá:ls, the great Transformer being given the responsibility by Chichel Siya:m for making things right as he traveled through our lands, asked this man and woman if they would consider not arguing and that there were better ways of resolving conflict and resolving problems. As a result of his intervention Xá:ls and T'xwelátse, who was a shaman, decided to have a contest. They tried to transform each other into various things — a salmon, a mink, a twig. Finally, Xá:ls was successful in transforming T'xwelátse into stone. Xá:ls then gave the responsibility of caring for Stone T'xwelátse to T'xwelátse's wife. Stone T'xwelátse was to be brought home and placed in front of their house as a reminder to all of the family that we have to learn to live together in a good way. And the family's responsibility from that point in time was caring for Stone T'xwelátse — given to one of the women of our family. They were to be the caretaker of Stone T'xwelátse throughout their lifetime and would pass it on to one of their daughters or grand daughters who would then be responsible for caring for Stone T'xwelátse for that generation"*

— (as told by T'xwelátse [Herb Joe], recorded by Dave Schaepe, 2003).

The human remains of T'xwelátse in his granite form as the Stone T'xwelátse retain his life force (shxweli) and soul (smestiyexw) as an ancestor. The Stó:ló recognize him as both an 'Object of Cultural Patrimony' and ancestral 'Human Remains' as defined in NAPGRA., while the U.S. government recognizes his inclusion in only the first of these categories.





Dave Schaepe (SRRMC), George Swanaset, Jr. (Nooksack Tribe), Megon Noble (Burke Museum), and Albert 'Sonny' McHalsie (SRRMC) delicately lift 500 pound Stone T'xwelátse from his old housing. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

This celebration was highlighted in a previous edition of *The Midden*. The blazes left marking this path may be of use to others who find themselves on a similar journey. The details of this fifteen year-long process describe the stumbling blocks of international law affecting First Nations 'recognition' as overcome by the strength of individual and collective character exemplifying patience, persistence, cooperation, family connection, sharing of knowledge, trust, and relationship building. Fascinating points of history and cultural values converged and emerged from the research proving Stone T'xwelátse's identity as an "Object of Cultural Patrimony" under the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). Points of customary indigenous law surfaced and were recognized in addressing issues of ownership and "Right of Possession" central to repatriation under NAGPRA. The success of this endeavor, the achievement of a life's dedication for some, is serving now to re-activate Stone T'xwelátse's primary teaching -- "we must learn to live together in a good way" -- within and beyond the Stó:l̓c̓ community. This profound message, voiced from a period of the distant past, now resonates in a critical time of long-standing native-newcomer relations that requires reconciliation and healing. Repatriation efforts resulting in positive changes

**SQWELQWEL**  
 ('True Facts / Personal History')

- Early-to-Mid 1800s — T'xwelátse was "a great warrior" and the uncle of the remarkable twins Willíléq the sixth and Lumlamelut. Willíléq the Sixth governed the Ts'elxwéyeqw Tribe. "When the leader died it was the uncle who took over. That was the first time that there was a change. This other leader's name was T'xwelátse ...When he died the tribe started to divide. This family was large, in the hundreds and all over the place" (as told by Bob Joe; recorded by Norman Lerman, 1950).
- Early-to-Mid 1800s — Stone T'xwelátse was transferred from the vicinity of Chilliwack to a Semá:th village near Sumas Lake on the Sumas Prairie. This movement was tied to the arrangement of a marriage between high status families of the Ts'elxwéyeqw and Semá:th tribes — as a means of ending a dispute between the two tribes. Following traditional protocol, Stone T'xwelátse went with the Ts'elxwéyeqw bride as she relocated to her newly wed Semá:th husband's village on the Sumas Prairie.





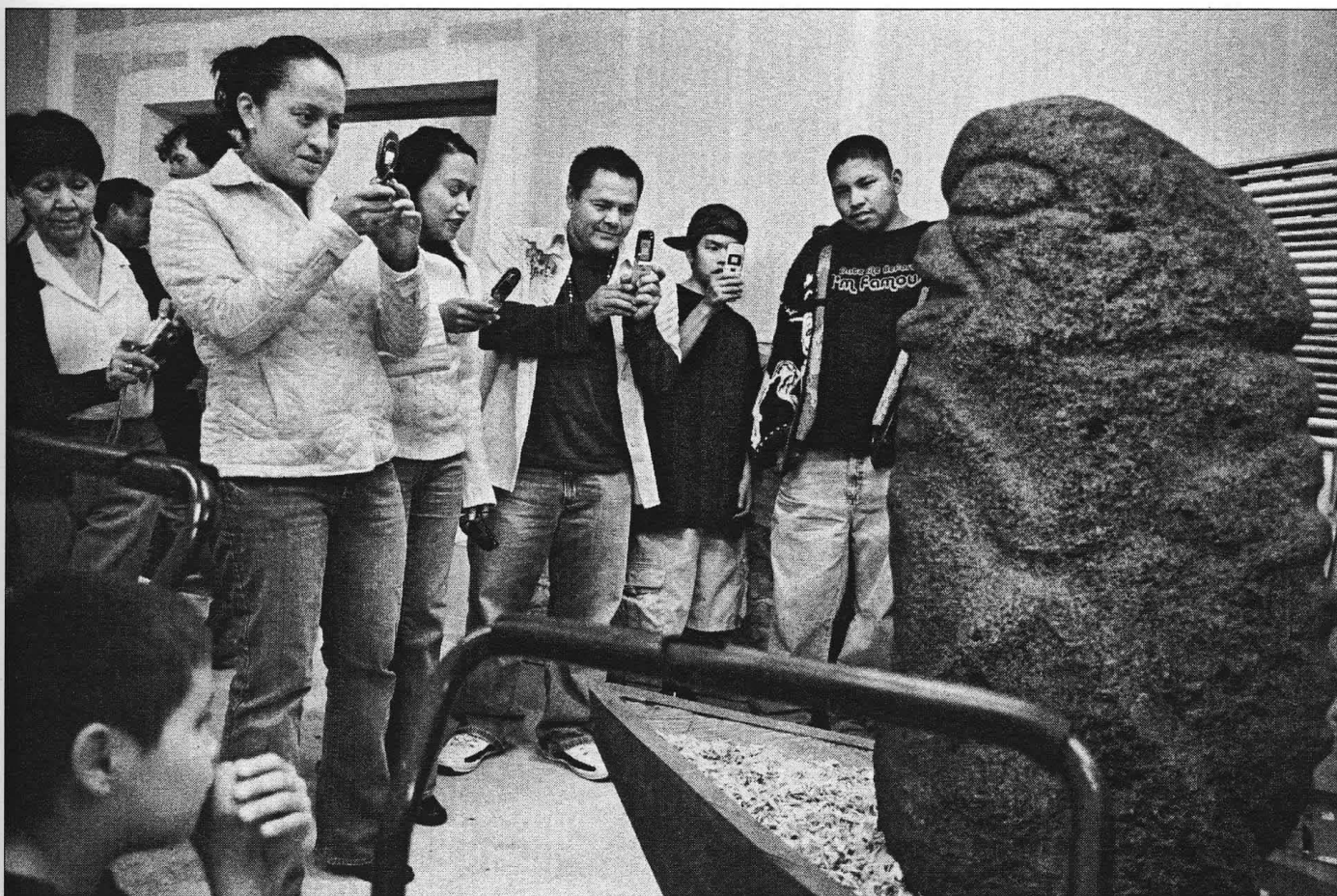
Young members of the extended family, including Herb Joe, Jr., Clarence Joe (right), and Brandon Williams (left) are among those that accepted Stone T'xwelátse from officials at the Burke Museum who officially returned him to the Family by way of the Nooksack Tribe on October 2, 2006. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

in relations between indigenous communities and museums is, perhaps, one manifestation of this teaching. Developing legislation that serves to more fully recognize and respect the diversity of cultural heritage shared in this province may be, perhaps, another -- working out voids and gaps in understanding between cultures.

The profoundness of this experience would surely meet a woefully inadequate end in an abstract of written words. Rather, I offer access to the 'Stone T'xwelátse Repatriation Report & Supplement I' (Schaepe 2005; Schaepe and Joe 2006) as the combined document supporting the actions of T'xwelátse (Herb Joe) and his Family in bringing their ancestor home. This document provides a framework that some may find useful in 'approaching and addressing NAGPRA (or other types of) repatriation claims; also for surmounting the 'international obstacle' as Herb and his family achieved by way of defining and activating their genealogical tree, the branches of which arched over and across the U.S.-Canada boundary between Chilliwack and Nooksack. Copies of this report can be obtained by request via my contact information, below.

Far more evocative of the range and depth of meanings of

- 1858-59 — the establishment of the International Boundary Commission and the surveying of the border separating the United States and Canada cut through the interconnected Nooksack and Stó:lō communities surrounding Sumas Lake (particularly Ts'elxweyeqw, Semá:th, and Máthequi).
- In 1884 — the young Stó:lō boy Louie Sam was lynched by a mob of American vigilantes near the international border between the town of Nooksack and Sumas Lake. The lynching of Louie Sam and subsequent lynching of Jimmy Poole of Semá:th motivated the movement of Stó:lō peoples away from the U.S.-Canadian border in the vicinity of the Sumas Prairie for fear of repeated vigilantism. Out of fear, people left that place and moved to live with relatives in the surrounding area. Stone T'xwelátse — weighing approximately 600-800 pounds — was left behind to await their return. Traditional customary law and "right of possession" to this ancestor remained intact even during this period of turbulence and absence. The lynchings of Louie Sam and Jimmy Poole are seen as tragic historical events that played a significant role in setting the stage for the loss of the Stone T'xwelátse to the Nooksack-Stó:lō community.



Stone T'xwelátse is greeted by his descendants and fellow community members after arriving at the Nooksack Tribe Community Hall. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

this process are the images of photographer David Campion. David and his partner, writer Sandra Shields, joined T'xwelátse, his Family, and me on this journey following the Burke Museum's notice to us of their intent to repatriate this stone ancestor in March of 2006. Selecting from David's many fantastic photographs proves as difficult as choosing from among the many issues surrounding Stone T'xwelátse's homecoming. David's images presented here mark significant events and elicit a deeper sense of the history leading to Stone T'xwelátse's journey home from the Burke Museum through the Nooksack Tribe and into the hands of his immediate Family and Stó:lō community at the Semá:th Longhouse as celebrated on October 14, 2006.

- 1892 — Stone T'ixwelátsa is taken by local non-Aboriginal farmers. The Chilliwack Progress reports that a 'curiously carved Indian statue' was found by the Ward Brothers on the Sumas Prairie on the south side of Sumas Lake in the vicinity of the old Semá:th village near the international border. Subsequent accounts report that Stone T'ixwelátsa was moved into Washington State and sold for display in a 'dime-store' museum in Sumas, Washington.
- c. 1899 — Stone T'xwelátse is acquired by the Young Naturalists Society — the founding society of the Washington State Museum (which became the Burke Museum in 1962). Stone T'xwelátse remained in the care of the Young Naturalists Society / Burke Museum staff over next 100 years; separated from his family and community for 114 years (1892-2006).
- 1973 — The Nooksack Tribe in Washington State gains U.S. federal recognition.





An honor song is leads Stone T'xwelátse's processing into the Semá:th Longhouse at Kilgard, B.C. — with name-bearer T'xweltel (Kelsey Charlie) at the front-right and Xwelixweltel (the Honorable Steven Point) at center-left. This longhouse, offered up for the event by Xeyteleq (Ray Silver, Sr.), was recently built using funds received in compensation for the alienation of the reserve-land that once held the village from which both Louie Sam and Stone T'xwelátse were taken. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

#### REPATRIATION EFFORTS BEGIN

- 1992 — T'xwelátse (Herb Joe) finds out that his ancestor is at the Burke Museum. He contacts the Burke Museum regarding the repatriation of the Stone T'xwelátse; with support from the T'xwelátse Family among the Nooksack Tribe. Contacts at the Burke Museum suggest awaiting the completion of the U.S. federal 'Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act.'
- 1992 — United States 'Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act' (NAGPRA) is enacted — recognizing 'sacred objects,' 'human remains,' 'funerary objects,' and 'objects of cultural patrimony' as potential objects of repatriation that can be claimed by 'federally recognized American Indian Tribes.' 'Canadian' First Nations are not recognized.
- May 16, 1992 — T'xwelátse, Helen Joe, Grand Aunts Rose Roberts and Nancy Phillips, and members of the Charlie family — Willie, Kevin, Pat — and Gerald Phillips visit Stone T'xwelátse at the Burke Museum — reconnecting with him for the first time in exactly 100 years. Numerous follow-up visits are made over the next decade — with many relatives visiting him.
- 1992-2006 — T'xwelátse and Family continue repatriation efforts over the next decade; supported by the staff at the Stó:lō Nation and aided by many others. During one visit, Rose Roberts and Nancy Phillips suggest that Museum staff cover Stone T'xwelátse with a sheet or blanket each night — putting him to bed. Museum staff make this protocol a regular part of their care-taking efforts.
- 1996 — The Nooksack Tribal Senate supports the request made on behalf of the T'xwelátse Family to sponsor their repatriation request.
- 2001 — Stone T'xwelátse is featured in the publication *A Stó:lō-Coast Salish Historical Atlas* (Schaepe 2001) as a means of drawing public attention to this issue.
- 2002 (February) — T'xwelátse and Schaepe re-establish contact with the Burke Museum following George McDonald's replacement of Karl Hutterer as Director.





Name-bearers (R-L) T'xwelátse (Herb Joe), T'xwelátse (Simon Roberts), T'ixwelwit (Eleanor Joe), and T'ixweláthia (Kayla Malloway) stand before their ancestor Stone T'xwelaste (note: the two carriers of the name T'ixwelwit — Kelsey Charlie and Kelsey Charlie Jr. — are not pictured). (Photograph: © David Campion 2006)

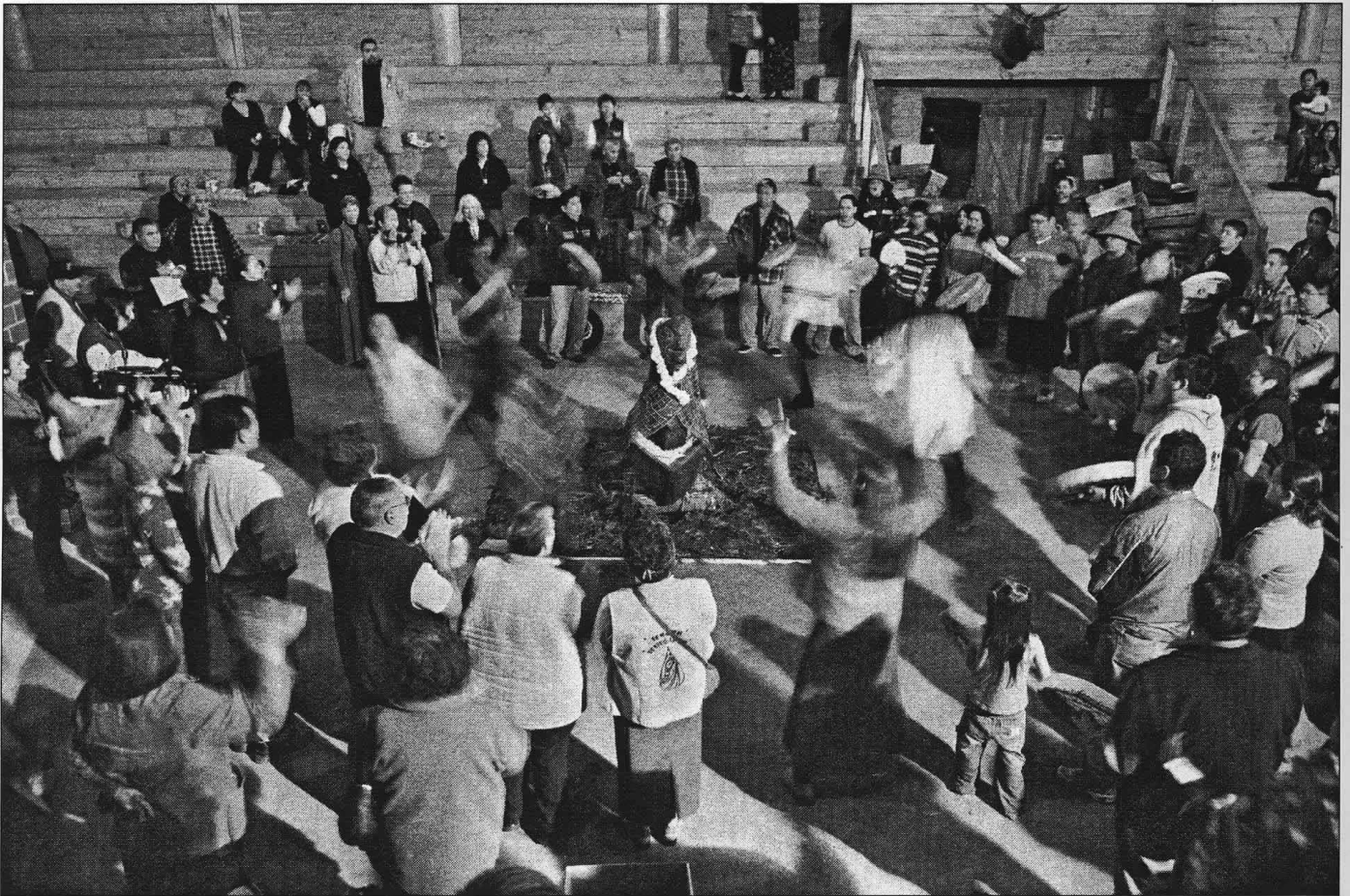
- 2003 (January) — T'xwelátse and Schaepe meet with Dr. McDonald and Dr. Peter Lape at the Burke Museum to discuss the repatriation process.
- 2003 — The T'xwelátse Family reconnects with the Nooksack Tribe and gains support from the current Nooksack Tribe Cultural Committee and Executive Council to host the NAGPRA repatriation request. This process is backed by the Stó:l̓ Tribal Council, Stó:l̓ Nation, Ch-ihl-kway-uhk Tribe, and Stó:l̓ House of Elders. Work begins on the repatriation report substantiating the Family's claim.
- 2003-2006 — the Nooksack Cultural Committee meets regularly with Joe and Schaepe to review and discuss the NAGPRA repatriation plans.
- October 14, 2005 — The Nooksack Tribe submits the official repatriation claim (Stone T'ixwelátsa Repatriation Report) to the Burke Museum for the Stone T'xwelátse under NAGPRA, section 7(a)(1) pertaining to "Native American 'human remains'" and section 7(a)(5) pertaining to "objects of cultural patrimony". The request is supported by the leadership of the Stó:l̓ Tribal Council, Stó:l̓ Nation, Ch-ihl-kway-uhk Tribe,

and House of Elders. The claim is received by Dr. Julie Stein — current Director of the Burke Museum, Dr. Peter Lape (Curator of Archaeology), and Megon Noble (NAGPRA Coordinator / Asst. Curator of Archaeology).

- January 9, 2006 — The Burke Museum responds to the Nooksack claim with a request for clarification.
- February 16, 2006 — A follow-up report (Stone T'ixwelátsa Repatriation Report - Supplement I) is prepared and submitted by the Nooksack Tribe to address the Burke's questions.

#### ACCEPTANCE OF THE NAGPRA CLAIM

- March 2, 2006 — Dr. Lape writes that the Burke Museum accepts the Nooksack Tribe's repatriation claim and begins preparing the federal 'Notice of Intent to Repatriate' the Stone T'xwelátse as an "Object of Cultural Patrimony" — a first for the Burke.



Stone T'xwelátse's return home on October 14, 2006 is celebrated by a gathering of over 600 people at the Semá:th Longhouse. (Photograph: © David Campion 2006).

- April 2006 — T'xwelátse and Schaepe connect with photographer David Campion and his wife Sandra Shields, a writer, who begin documenting the repatriation process.
- July 2006 — Xeyteleq (Ray Silver) volunteers the Sumas First Nation Longhouse for the location of the return celebration.
- August 18, 2006 — 'The Notice of Intent to Repatriate a Cultural Item' by the Burke Museum is published in the U.S. Federal Register / Volume 71. No. 160, Page 47829.
- August 18, 2006 — the T'xwelátse Family meets at the Nooksack Community Hall to begin planning the celebratory events; dates are set for the gatherings.
- August 29, 2006 — a new base — modeled after a Coast Salish Canoe — is commissioned for Stone T'ixwelátse's journey home and carved by Mark Point of Skowkale First Nation.
- October 2006 — the Nooksack Tribe Executive Committee passes a resolution "to complete its commitment to aid the T'xwelátse family (the Family) in repatriating their ancestor — Stone T'xwelátse — from the Burke Museum....As executor of the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act request... the tribe shall support the family in receiving the Stone T'xwelátse from the Burke Museum. Direction for receiving their ancestor will be provided by the Family elders in accordance with traditional customary law derived from the T'xwelátse *sxwóxwiyám* — as maintained through many generations

of care-taking responsibility. The Tribe completes its participation in this process by witnessing the return of the Stone T'xwelátse to his Family."

#### CELEBRATING T'IXWELÁTSA'S RETURN

- October 6, 2006 — Burke Museum Celebration — the Burke Museum turns over possession of stone T'xwelátse to the T'xwelátse family of the Nooksack Tribe.
- October 9, 2006 — Nooksack Tribe Community Celebration — the Nooksack Tribe celebrates the return of Stone T'xwelátse to their community, as members of the T'xwelátse Family and hosts of the repatriation process.
- October 14, 2006 — Sumas Longhouse Gathering — the T'xwelátse Family and broader Stó:lō-Nooksack community celebrate the return of Stone T'xwelátse — and his teachings — to Stó:lō territory after 114 years of separation.
- Stone T'xwelátse will be provided a new home at the Ch-ihl-kway-uhk Tribe's Stiheyáq Healing and Wellness Centre, currently being designed and built in the Chilliwack River Valley, near Centre Creek — very near where T'xwelátse was transformed by Xá:ls. The Ch-ihl-kway-uhk Tribe is currently hosting Stone T'xwelátse in their recently remodeled Tribal Headquarters in Chilliwack/Vedder until he can be transferred to the Healing Centre.

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2006 Stone T'xwelátse Repatriation Report — Supplement I. Unpublished report prepared for the Nooksack Tribe, on file at the Stó:lō Nation Archives, Chilliwack B.C.

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David Campion's award-winning photography has appeared in publications in North America, Europe and Africa. He is married to writer Sandra Shields and they are the authors of two documentary books *The Company of Others* and *Where Fire Speaks* which won the Hubert Evans Award for Nonfiction. His website is: [www.fieldnotes.ca](http://www.fieldnotes.ca).

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# Household Archaeology on the Northwest Coast

Edited by

Elizabeth A. Sobel, D. Ann Trieu Gahr, and  
Kenneth M. Ames

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**Chris Springer**

The household as an analytical unit has become an increasingly important component of archaeological investigations on the Northwest Coast (NWC) since the mid-1980s (e.g. Coupland 1985; Ames 1985). The impetus for this emphasis on households was fuelled by the recognition that these domestic units were the basic social and economic components of non-industrial societies (Wilk and Netting 1984). Therefore, it was assumed that to understand the broader social and economic processes leading to complex hunter-gatherer societies described historically and ethnographically, a more refined approach or movement "downward in specificity" was necessary (Wilk and Rathje 1982:617). This refinement was, and continues to be, pursued in NWC archaeology by ever more detailed and focused explorations of house remains, the archaeological "footprints" of households. Reporting on a number of past and ongoing excavations and analyses of house sites on the NWC, this publication purports to represent the latest efforts in household archaeology in the region.

The volume is an outgrowth of a symposium given at the 64th annual meeting of the Society for American Archaeology held in Chicago, Illinois in 1999. Although initially conceived as a symposium on household production, the eleven papers in this volume (not including the editors' introduction) also speak to a number of other topics germane to household archaeology: the origins of households; the social and economic structure of households; the life-cycle of houses and households; the association of households with exchange networks; and site formation processes. Varied in specific approach, the fundamental issue that binds the papers presented here is determining what role households played in social complexity on the NWC. In addition, all of the studies use the remains of plank houses as the focal point of research. Although plank houses were certainly important structures on the NWC, it is this latter focus that highlights the volume's two main weaknesses. First, the long known presence of pithouse remains on the NWC is not addressed (Barnett 1955, 1944; Duff 1952, 1949; Hill-Tout 1904; Smith 1949; Smith 1925) and second, the lower Fraser River Valley, a major social and economic artery where these in-ground structures were widely utilized, is neglected. The inclusion of papers concerned with sites located along the lower Columbia River to the south of the Fraser (Ellis, Sobel, and Smith) and the lower Skeena River to the north (Martindale) makes the omission all the more confusing.

Kenneth Ames opens the collection with a paper addressing

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what he considers to be a lack of theory regarding the development of households among hunter-gatherer groups on the NWC. He claims that the underlying assumptions viewing households as both venues linking individuals to the broader community and as fundamental to the emergence of social complexity are derived from ethnographic work conducted among peasant farming communities. When applied to NWC hunter-gatherer societies, he argues for these assumptions being articulated as hypotheses rather than tacitly accepted frameworks for research. With this in mind, he proposes a model that considers the relationship between fluctuating household demographics (the household-cycle) and risk management as causal factors in the emergence and perpetuation of large-scale households out of a pre-existing system based on social ranking.

Ames highlights an interesting issue in this chapter but his criticism of the assumptions that guide household approaches on the NWC falls decidedly short. He fails to speak to the problems associated with the unquestioning use of local ethnographic and historic sources in archaeological investigations in the region generally and among the contributors to this volume specifically (Martindale's study a notable exception). For example, the ethnographically derived assumption that large houses equal elite

households and small houses equal commoner households is a fundamental premise underpinning much of the work presented in this volume (e.g. Coupland, Ellis, Grier, Smith, Samuels, Trieu, Sobel). Assumptions such as this should be no more tacitly accepted than the assumptions inherent to household theory borrowed from research conducted among peasant farming communities. This does not even begin to address the many other problems associated with the ethnographic present and the Eurocentrism that plagues much of the available documentary evidence for the NWC.

Yvonne Marshall and Ann Trieu follow Ames with papers offering general perspectives on the built environment of the house and its role in structuring and maintaining large-scale households. Both papers apply Claude Lévi-Strauss' (1982) concept of *Sociétés à maison* or "House Societies" which emphasizes the importance of place and the sociopolitical interests of individuals or groups in their choice of residence over consanguinity in kin relations. Marshall expands on this concept to address the question of why House Societies emerged by combining it with Peter Wilson's (1988) ideas on the relationship between social domestication and permanent architecture. She contends that the first people to arrive in the region came with already established notions of household organization and connection to place (*sensu* Ames, this volume) from which formalized social systems eventually emerged as a means for regulating the complexities of domestic living in large houses and communities. In a similar vein, Trieu considers the appearance of plank houses and their concomitant households as fundamental to the emergence of social complexity. She defines the household as the "pivot" of social organization bound together by a mutual commitment to a large body of tangible and intangible property including house structures. To ensure the continued life of the house, Trieu proposes that a system of transmission was devised which facilitated the rise of household elites who managed household property and assured its continuity through inheritance and descent.

Using specific case studies, the seven papers that follow the more general contributions of Ames, Marshall, and Trieu, comprise the bulk of the volume. Gary Coupland's and Colin Grier's papers continue the argument presented by Marshall and Trieu for the importance of the built environment of the house to the structure and continuity of NWC households. Relying heavily on ethnographic and historic evidence, Coupland builds an argument for House O at the McNichol Creek site located near Prince Rupert as a "Chiefly dwelling." Specifically, he considers the size and location of the house and the distribution of features and artifacts as indicators of a Chiefly household that utilized House O as a means of communicating non-verbal social messages to both community and household audiences. Combining a similar degree of ethnographic expectation within a practice theory (Bourdieu 1977) perspective, Grier also explores the link between plank house architecture and household organization. Central to his paper is the concept of transmission, the mechanism through which cultural norms are produced and reproduced over time within an overarching social structure of "organization and meaning." Analyzing the internal features and artifact distributions in House 2 at the Dionisio Point site on Galiano Island, he argues that plank houses and their contents both reflected the social mores of ancient NWC communities and reified those mores over time through the organization of the household and the placement of the house on the landscape.

Andrew Martindale and Stephen Samuels add to the northern and central coast regional themes with papers focusing on investigations in traditional Tsimshian and Makah territories. Martindale critically compares documentary sources against archaeological work conducted at the sites of Pscelacy and Ginakangeek on the Skeena River to show that, contrary to standard interpretations, Tsimshian resistance to change and acculturation at the household level lasted well into the early twentieth century. He argues that the initial incorporation of European interests, vis-à-vis an increased focus on fur, altered power structures at the community level with a shift toward paramount chiefs but did not substantially change the traditional makeup and subsistence practices of households. However, the subsequent rise of the wage-based economy in the mid-nineteenth century diminished the power of the paramount households by giving increased economic opportunities to individuals outside of the traditional lifeways pattern. Martindale proposes that it was this transition that ultimately began the slow demise of traditional extended families and practices such that by the 1920s European style nuclear households were the norm in Tsimshian communities.

Thinking about house economics from a different perspective, Samuels uses spatial and temporal analyses to compare elite and commoner household production at the Ozette wet site on the Olympic Peninsula. His findings suggest that, although production intensity was very similar between the houses, the elite household emphasized woodworking whereas a greater focus on land-based hunting strategies was pursued by their lower status counterparts. More significant differences between the houses were noticed by Samuels when he considered change in household production over time. The elite household reflected a greater degree of variability in activity types and production intensity between compartments compared with the consistent "factory-like operation" of the low status household. Samuels interprets this difference as the development of intra-household organization according to status in the elite house.

The three remaining case studies (Ellis, Sobel, and Smith) shift the regional focus of the volume southward to Chinookan sites located in the lower Columbia River Valley. Exploring social patterning in what he defines as non-elite houses, David Ellis notes that a consequence of the long standing interest in the emergence of social complexity on the NWC has been an emphasis on investigations of large plank houses or the "big houses" of elite households which are generally believed to reflect this shift in social organization. To fully understand the range of complexity among NWC populations, he argues that the role of non-elite households must also be considered. In contrast to the storage-based, delayed-consumption strategy pursued by high status Chinookan households, smaller commoner households had to move according to their subsistence needs and engage in immediate use of resources. Based on analysis of the house remains and artifact assemblages from the Broken Tops site in the Portland Basin, Ellis interprets the two modestly sized dwellings as reflecting the latter immediate consumption strategy utilized by commoner households. He further supports his argument with ethnohistoric data which suggest that contrary to what is commonly argued for other areas of the NWC, the economic needs of low status Chinookan households were not met through association with elite houses. Elizabeth Sobel ad-

dresses this variability in Chinookan households and communities from a different angle in her study on the connection between intra-site prestige and supra-local trade in obsidian. Through detailed lithic analyses of artifact assemblages collected from the sites of Cathlapotle located in the Cascades area and Clahclellah in the Portland Basin, she found that all the households from both sites had access to obsidian in its raw state and all manufactured and maintained similar tool types. However, her findings also indicate that the elite households at Cathlapotle and Clahclellah were more directly involved in the supra-local trade of obsidian than the lower status households. This suggests to Sobel that controlling exchange along the Columbia was associated with prestige among Chinookan households and communities.

Using the excavations conducted at the Meier site in the Portland Basin as a case study, Cameron McPherson Smith explores the effects of site formation processes on spatial analyses of floor deposits for interpreting ethnographically documented household organization and rank-based production. With ethnographic descriptions of household organization as a guide, Smith breaks the Meier house into three analytical units representing the social and spatial divisions of Chinookan culture. He considers fifteen potential cultural and natural site formation processes in his study and determines that the majority reflect culturally patterned behaviour within the analytical units. Given these findings, Smith argues that spatial patterning of production-related artifacts and features can be used to infer social organization at the Meier site. Further, he claims spatial analysis in general is an effective tool for archaeological interpretation assuming that all possible formation processes are accounted for prior to interpretation.

The closing overview chapter authored by Jeanne Arnold also offers a comparative perspective on the current state of household archaeology conducted on the NWC and in her particular area of interest, the Channel Islands off the coast of southern California. Although an interesting read, greater emphasis on her association with the work being conducted in the lower Fraser River Valley (Lepofsky et al. n.d.) would have been both more compelling and appropriate for the volume. As mentioned above, the omission of work on pithouse sites in the Fraser Valley is an unfortunate lack in the volume's content given both the significance of pithouses among the Coast Salish groups who populated the lower Fraser River watershed (Barnett 1955:55; Duff 1952:46-47; Hill-Tout 1904:332; Schaepe et al. 2001:46-47) and the past and recent archaeological work on pithouses and pithouse settlements in the area (e.g. Duff 1949; Hanson 1973; Lepofsky et al. n.d.; Mitchell 1963; Schaepe 1998; von Krogh 1980). There is an implication in this omission that the lower Fraser Valley is not part of the "Northwest Coast proper." A paper on the social implications of variability in pithouse forms and the use of plank houses and pithouses in the same communities, alluded to by Arnold in her overview, would have given the volume balance and greater justification for its claim of representing the latest work in NWC household archaeology.

These complaints aside, this volume represents an unprecedented collection of NWC household data presented in well-written and informative papers. The authors persuasively demonstrate the utility of the household as an analytical unit for interpreting past social dynamics in the region. Although no question is ever truly answered by archaeology, the contributions in this volume offer

insightful perspectives on NWC households and lay important groundwork for future research. As such, it is an indispensable volume for anyone interested in NWC households and the intriguing research directed at understanding these complex and ancient social institutions.

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**Chris Springer is a Master's candidate in the Archaeology Department at Simon Fraser University. The focus of his proposed research is to examine the association of cultural identity and household organization with the form and contents of a pithouse located in the Harrison River Valley of southwestern British Columbia.**

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REFERENCES CONTINUE ON PAGE 4



# Coming to Shore

## Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions and Visions

Edited by  
Marie Mauzé, Michael Harkin, and Sergei Kan.  
University of Nebraska Press, 2004.

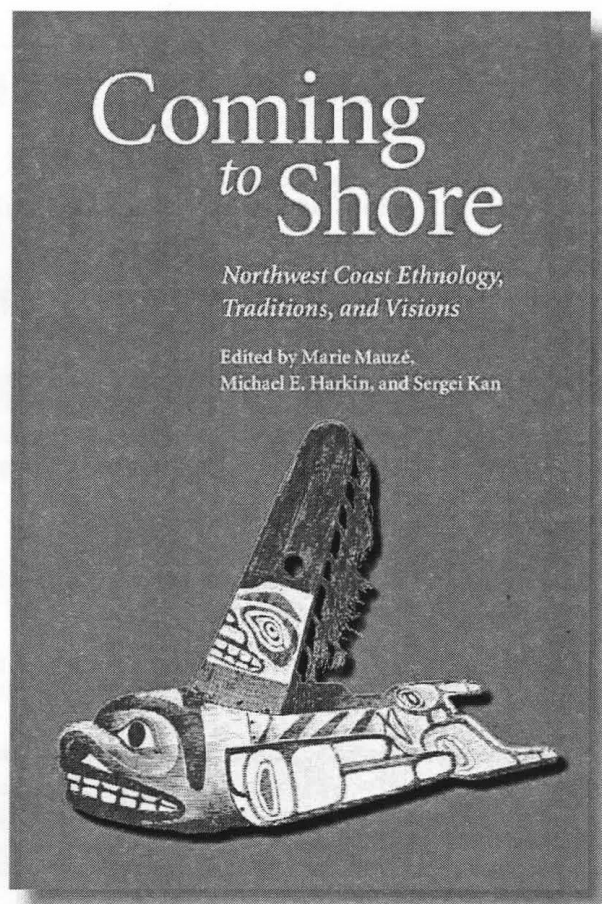
xxxviii + 508 p., illus., bib., index  
ISBN: 0803232306 (cloth); 0803282966 (paper)

### Kisha Supernant

Coming to Shore is a volume of papers presented at the 2000 conference in France in honour of Levi-Strauss. There are two stated purposes to this volume: (1) to honour the legacy of Levi-Strauss in Northwest Coast ethnography and (2) to bring together current ethnographers working on diverse issues in Northwest Coast communities for the first time in a generation. The editors see three strands of ethnographic traditions represented in this volume: French, American and Canadian. This holds true throughout the volume, but it becomes clear that these traditions do not always engage with Northwest Coast cultures and communities in the same way.

The volume is divided into four separate sections, each containing a number of papers, but thematically, it falls into two parts. The first part includes two sections: "The Legacy of Northwest Coast Research" and "Texts and Narratives", and focuses on ethnographers and methods from the past. The second includes: "History and Representation" and "Politics and Cultural Heritage" and focuses on the present and future of Northwest Coast research. Claude Levi-Strauss begins the volume with a short paper, in which he discusses the importance and significance of the Pacific Northwest in the anthropological imagination and sets up the first part of the volume. This first section, appropriately, deals with the history of Northwest Coast research. Several of the authors attempt to place Levi-Strauss in the pantheon of foundational ethnographers in the region, but fall short due to Levi-Strauss' limited influence on Northwest Coast anthropology. Regina Darnell draws comparisons between the approaches of Levi-Strauss and Franz Boas, connecting the Levi-Straussian approach to the Americanist framework and pointing out important areas of convergence and divergence. The next set of chapters are retrospective in nature, from Fredrica de Laguna's fascinating personal account of her career as a holistic anthropologist working in Alaska to Marie Mauzé's analysis of how the Northwest Coast has "haunted" the imagination of French anthropology. Peter Maranda, Marjorie Halpin and Margaret Anderson, in their respective papers, address structuralism in its various guises, from its role at the University of British Columbia to its application as a methodology in the ethnography on the Northwest Coast.

In the section entitled "Texts and Narratives", three scholars engage with oral traditions and life histories from the region. In Judith Berman's article, she contextualizes encounter stories as



social and cultural commentaries on contact, and argues that narratives "address *contemporary* Native relationships both to traditional cultural values and the dominant society" (157, emphasis in original). Robert Bringhurst analyzes Haida texts recorded by Swanton, emphasizing their poetic, literary and performance value. In their paper, Martine Reid and Daisy Sewid-Smith reflect on their experience facilitating the autobiography of Kwakwakawakw elder and noblewoman Agnes Alfred, a life history which strives to present life as seen and lived by Agnes Alfred herself.

While the first half of the book looks to the past, the last half of the book looks forward. It contains a series of important articles written by ethnographers and anthropologists who are currently engaged in active research in First Nations and Native American communities. It is this portion of the book that effectively demonstrates the continuing vitality and importance of Northwest Coast anthropological research to both the broader discipline and, most significantly, to the current socio-political struggles of First Nations and Native American communities.

The section "History and Representation" begins with Sergei Kan's article, in which he explores how Southeastern Alaska Natives were represented to early American tourists, and how they were portrayed as somehow more advanced, less noble, and cleverer than their counterparts in the lower United States. Tourists in the late nineteenth century were entranced by the natural landscape of Alaska, but were often disappointed with the "natives" and regarded them as "crafty and unclean" (211). The complex history of the Northwest Coast exhibit in the American Museum of Natural History is the focus of Ira

## CONTENTS

- Reflections on Northwest Coast Ethnology — Claude Lévi-Strauss
- The Legacy of Northwest Coast Research*  
Text, Symbol, and Tradition in Northwest Coast Ethnology from Franz Boas to Claude Lévi-Strauss — Regna Darnell
- Becoming an Anthropologist: My Debt to European and Other Scholars Who Influenced Me — Frederica de Laguna
- Crossing Boundaries: Homage to Frederica de Laguna — Marie-Françoise Gueïdon
- When the Northwest Coast Haunts French Anthropology: A Discrete but Lasting Presence — Marie Mauze
- Structuralism at the University of British Columbia, 1969 Onward — Pierre Maranda
- Lévi-Straussian Structuralism on the Northwest Coast — Marjorie Myers Halpin
- Asdiwal: Surveying the Ethnographic Ground — Margaret Seguin Anderson
- Texts and Narratives*  
"Some Mysterious Means of Fortune": A Look at North Pacific Coast Oral History — Judith Berman
- The Audible Light in the Eyes: In Honor of Claude Lévi-Strauss — Robert Bringham
- Voices of One's Life — Martine J. Reid and Daisy Sewid-Smith  
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- "A Magic Place": The Northwest Coast Indian Hall at the American Museum of Natural History — Ira Jacknis
- Politics and Cultural Heritage*  
Evolving Concepts of Tlingit Identity and Clan — Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer
- The Intention of Tradition: Contemporary Contexts and Contests of the Hamat'sa Dance — Aaron Glass
- Rereading the Ethnographic Record: The Problem of Justice in the Coast Salish World — Bruce G. Miller
- Whither the Expert Witness: Anthropology in the Post-Delgamuukw Courtroom — Daniel L. Boxberger
- "Defining Ourselves through Baskets": Museum Autoethnography and the Makah Cultural and Research Center — Patricia Pierce Erikson
- The Geography of Tlingit Character — Thomas F. Thornton
- Thirteen Ways of Looking at a Landscape — Michael E. Harkin
- Contemporary Makah Whaling — Janine Bowe chop

Jacknis' article, in which she argues that these displays have "played a critical role in forming our image of Northwest Coast Indian cultures" (222). Richard and Nora Marks Dauenhauer, in their paper, continue their long tradition of insightful research by exploring the dynamic and changing nature of Tlingit identity, particularly how the notion of clan has shifted through the creation or re-imagining of different songs, symbols and patterns of inheritance in contemporary Tlingit communities.

The next three articles, by Aaron Glass, Bruce Miller and Daniel Boxberger, are interconnected in that they focus on current socio-political issues in First Nation communities, challenging the way that anthropologists and others have constructed ideas of "tradition" and providing the highlight of the volume. One of the most interesting and relevant points to come out of these discussions is how concepts of tradition, often constructed through earlier ethnographies, are adopted, modified and maintained in contemporary communities. These authors move beyond and redefine what much of the rest of the book honours and upholds as Northwest Coast ethnography.

Patricia Erikson, coming from a museum perspective, uses the model of "autoethnography" to explore the contribution of cultural centres and tribal museums to Native communities on the Northwest Coast, specifically the Makah. She points to the role of tribal museums and cultural centres as focal points for undermining traditional museum representations and creating

new methods of presentation and interpretation of Native history. Cultural geographies are increasingly discussed in the context of non-literate societies, and are the focus of Thomas Thornton's article. He explores the role of place among the Tlingit; particularly how place represents and informs the Tlingit ideal of living and being in the world. Harkin continues in this thread, unpacking how different narratives and experiences have constructed the past, present and future place of Clayquot Sound. His analysis of the changing political, environmental and historical context of Clayquot Sound illustrates the tension between local traditions and global discourses about environment, wilderness and the meaning of place.

The final chapter in the volume is an account of the process leading up to the Makah whaling hunt, told by Janine Bowe chop, a woman from the Makah Nation. She is one of the few anthropologists to discuss the connection between archaeological material and contemporary practice as she recognizes the role of material from Ozette in teaching the younger generation of people about traditional whaling.

In general, this volume fulfills its two stated goals, as it both pays tribute to and moves beyond the ethnographic approaches of Lévi-Strauss and Boas. The subtitle of the volume, Northwest Coast Ethnology, Traditions and Visions neatly summarizes the accomplishments of this collection of papers.

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**Kisha Supernant is a PhD Candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia**

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# PERMITS ISSUED BY ARCHAEOLOGY & REGISTRY SERVICE BRANCH ENDING 2006

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.

2006-427	Bruce Woodbury	alteration	Alterations to EbPw-1 by proposed 15-foot widening of a 100-foot section of the E side of Grainger Road by the Village of Canal Flats to facilitate moving of a house	Municipal
2006-428	Dan Manuel	alteration	Archaeological monitoring, including surface collection and inventory-level testing, at EaRa-4 during rehabilitation by the Upper Nicola Band of an existing rock weir complex on Spahomin Creek, located at the N outlet of Pennask Lake	First Nations
2006-429	Clinton Coates	inspection	Inventory and AIA of a property on the E side of Columbia Lake, within the bounds of EbPw-1, Canal Flats	Residential
2006-430	private individual	alteration	Alterations to EbPw-1 by excavation of an existing water line, excavations beside and under the existing house and minor landscaping to improve drainage on a property at Eagles Nest Estates, Canal Flats	Residential
2006-431	Sean Abram	alteration	Alterations to those portions of EbPw-1 referred to as "Zone A", "North Pond Area", "Boat Dock", "Tree House Area", "Remainder Zone B" and "Strata Roads" (N of the dedicated stream) by activities associated with the development of a proposed subdivision "Cottages at Painted Rock" within Lot A, DL 110, Plan 17833, Kootenay District, Canal Flats	Commercial
2006-432	Chris Engisch	inspection	AIA of possible impacts to DjSd-7 and DjSd-8 from activities related to demolition of a cottage and proposed house construction and associated ancillary activities in portions of a property on Porpoise Road, Hornby Island	Residential
2006-433	Wayne Coulson	alteration	Alterations to DISs-16 from forestry operations proposed by Hecate Logging Ltd. within Block H9502, FL A19236, on the E side of Port Eliza Inlet, Campbell River FD	Forestry
2006-434	Jim Stafford	inspection	AIA of Western Forest Products, Jordan River Division's proposed forestry operations within Cutblock 570, TFL 25, about 7 km inland of Juan de Fuca Strait near the headwaters of Loss Creek, South Island FD	Forestry
2006-435	Joel Kinzie	inspection	AIA of proposed geotechnical testing, on behalf of the Lower Nicola Indian Band, at the Hector Creek and Pye Lake Dam sites near Merritt	First Nations
2006-436	Chris Engisch	inspection	AIA for the MoT's proposed Trill Gravel Pit, located S of McCoy Lake and W of Devil's Den Lake in the Port Alberni area, and the proposed Espinosa Gravel Pit, located at the head of Espinosa Inlet	MoT
2006-437	Brian Pegg	investigation	Systematic data recovery to mitigate impacts from BC Hydro's Upper Hat Creek operations at EeRj-1, EeRj-99, EeRj-101, EeRj-215 and EeRj-221, and also including collection of unmodified cobbles from the Hat Creek, Maiden Creek and Arrowstone Hills "basalt" sources as well as analysis of regional collections (including trace element analysis) from previously investigated sites, generally located in the Upper Hat Creek area and the surrounding region	Hydro
2006-438	Rob Field	inspection	AIA of proposed forestry developments by Western Forest Products Limited, Gold River and Zeballos Operations, for portions of TFL 19, FL A19231 and other possible timber licences, located on Vancouver Island and Nootka Island, Campbell River FD	Forestry



2006-439	Douglas Brown	inspection	AIA for Spuzzum Creek Power Corporation's proposed development of a small (20 ha.) run-of-river hydroelectric generation project along Sakwi Creek, located N of the Chehalis IR #5 on the N side of the Harrison River near Agassiz	Hydro
2006-440	Jim Stafford	inspection	AIA of Island Timberlands Limited Partnership's proposed timber harvesting operations in Blocks 554201 and 554401 in DL 8 and 17, Rupert District, located just E of Port McNeill	Forestry
2006-441	Bob Macdonald	alteration	Alterations to EaRd-26 which may result from Sagebrush Golf and Sporting Club Ltd.'s construction of a golf course hole and associated facilities on the E side of Nicola Lake, approximately 2 km N of Quilchena	Commercial
2006-442	Jason Neumeyer	alteration	Alterations to FgSc-73, FgSc-74, FgSc-75, FgSc-76 and FgSc-77 by construction activities associated with development of the Kluskus Road in the vicinity of Kluskus I.R.1, at the W end of the middle Kluskus Lake, Quesnel FD	Forestry
2006-443	Remko Engelbertink	alteration	Alterations to CMT site FkTe-7 in cutblock 5, and CMT site FkTe-8 in cutblock 6, by forestry operations proposed by Brinkman Forest Ltd., on behalf of Haisla Forestry Ltd.; both blocks located in TFL 41 in the vicinity of Eagle Bay on the SE side of Amos Passage, Kalum FD	Forestry
2006-444	Tim Tanton	alteration	Alterations to DdRu-18 by the District of North Saanich's proposed upgrading of the existing storm sewer outfall at the NW end of Eventide Road in Ardmore, District of North Saanich	Municipal
2006-445	Heather Pratt	inspection	Inventory and AIA of Judy and Barry Cutler's proposed subdivision of Lot SD, Except Plan LMP102242, DL 1499, Plan 8958, NWD, at 7991 Highway #101, Powell River	Commercial
2006-446	Diana Alexander	inspection	Inventory and AIA of the MoT's proposed improvements to a 7 km section of Highway 97 between Bentley Road and Okanagan Lake Park, near Summerland	MoT
2006-447	private individual	alteration	Alterations to DgRr-1 (Crescent Beach site) by proposed redistribution of archaeological deposits previously excavated for a house foundation, and from excavation of service trenches, at 2623 McBride Avenue, Surrey	Residential
2006-448	Monty Willis	alteration	Alterations to EcQp-1 by proposed expansion of the Kokanee Resort, at the S end of Sugar Lake	Commercial
2006-449	Michael Clark	alteration	Alterations to Locality 1 and Locality 2 of DiRw-30 by proposed construction of a dock/pier and removal of industrial debris, associated with the development of a residential subdivision by Porpoise Bay Properties on Sechelt Inlet	Commercial
2006-450	Doug Perdue	alteration	Alterations to bark beetle-infested CMTs from FhRm-12, within TFL 53, CP 236 Block 5, 1 km W of Ahbua Lake, Prince George Forest District	Forestry

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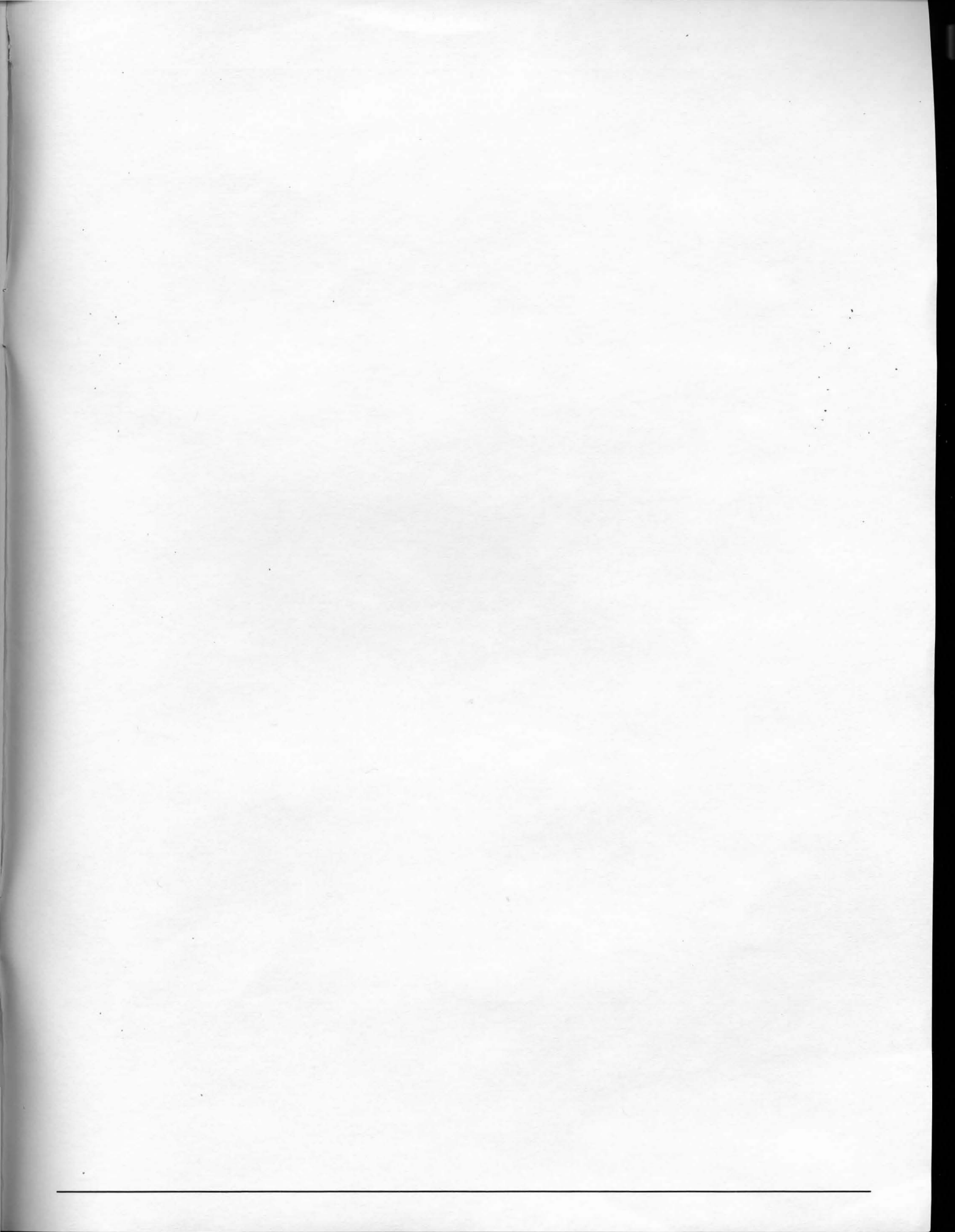
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## CONFERENCES & EVENTS

### CHACMOOL CONFERENCE

Calgary, Alberta, November 10 - 13, 2007

*Theme:* Eat, Drink and Be Merry: The Archaeology of Foodways

*Info:* <http://www.arky.ucalgary.ca/Chacmool2007/index.htm>

### SOCIETY FOR AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY 73RD ANNUAL MEETING

Vancouver, B.C., March 26 - 30, 2008

*Submission Deadline:* September 5, 2007 (Sept. 12, grace period)

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

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVISIBILITY AND FORGOTTEN KNOWLEDGE

Lodz, Poland, September 5 - 8, 2007

*Info:* <http://www.worldarchaeologicalcongress.org/site/invisibility.php>

### SECRECY AND SOCIAL PRACTICE FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE PRESENT

Providence, Rhode Island, February 23 - 24, 2008

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