



THE MIDDEN

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ENDANGERED SITES

DEVELOPMENT, LOOTING, AND THE BLACK MARKET
OF ANTIQUITIES

THE THREAT TO ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE

THE MIDDEN

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and the spread of archaeological knowledge.

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THE MIDDEN

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Initially, we did not plan for a double issue, however, when we assembled the contents, we opted to combine all of these articles together. The theme of this issue is endangered archaeological sites in British Columbia and in the world overall. Most of the articles address or touch on the issues of looting and destruction through development. Eric McLay provides accounts of site damage that has occurred in the Gulf Islands, while Patricia Ormerod discusses the devastation of sites in the lower Mainland and presents some methods of moving towards better protection of archaeological resources. We also present news on affected sites in Moricetown, B.C. and in Iraq. Our lead book review evaluates a recent volume concerning the black market in looted artifacts from regions all over the world. The editors welcome your news and thoughts about other endangered sites, as this is a pressing issue for all who are concerned with preservation of archaeological sites.

The Editors

Cover

Poets Cove, February 10, 2003. View of construction site for Poets Cove Resort and Spa (Photo courtesy of Eric McLay).

THE ASBC PAGE

IN MEMORY OF JAN BLACKBOURN

Janice Blackbourn (nee Champoux), a Founding Member of the Archaeological Society of BC, Nanaimo Branch, passed away suddenly at her home, on Saturday, July 10, 2004. She is survived by her two children Jessica and Michael Blackbourn, her sisters Phyllis Odell and Paula Shorrock, her mother Helen Champoux, her former husband David Blackbourn, her colleagues and her many friends in the ASBC, Nanaimo Branch (ASBC-NB).

Jan was born in Rhode Island, USA, on January 18, 1942. She graduated with a Bachelor of Science from the University of Rhode Island, where she developed a love for science, astrobiology and intellectual debate. During the mid-sixties, Jan moved to Vancouver, where she worked at the University of British Columbia. While there, she met and married David Blackbourn, in June of 1968. They started a family, and after staying home for a few years, Jan went back to work at Douglas College. The family moved to Nanaimo in the early 1980's. Jan worked intermittently at the Pacific Biological Station until recently, when she became the station's histologist. Jan particularly enjoyed the electron-microscopy part of her job, as well as the thrill of discovery. She found and described a new parasite, which turned out to be not only a new species, but a whole new class. Over the course of her career, Jan authored or co-authored numerous publications.



Jan and Daphne (ASBC-Nanaimo Branch)

Jan had the heart of a teacher and loved to be able to share her knowledge with others; part of the satisfaction she had in her job was sharing her skills with the younger or less experienced lab techs. Nothing made her happier than discussing ideas or being part of a lively debate, especially over a meal. Her enquiring mind and forthright manner made her fearless in the pursuit of "the truth."

The Harbour City Photography Club has also lost a valued member in Jan. Photography was a hobby Jan pursued with a sense of wonder and exploration, as can be seen in her dazzling microphotographs of Vitamin C. These photos transcend the realm of the snapshot to the sphere of art.

During her time in Vancouver, Jan worked as a volunteer on the St. Mungo Cannery archaeological excavation, which she enjoyed immensely. Consequently, when given the opportunity to participate at the 1992 Departure Bay archaeological project, Jan was one of the first to volunteer and she was instrumental in the creation of the Nanaimo branch of the ASBC. Since then she has been an important asset to the ASBC-NB, sitting on the executive in most of the intervening years. Jan fulfilled the position of President, membership coordinator, treasurer and most recently newsletter editor, admirably. Over the years, Jan also worked hard to convince the city to include archaeology in its official community plan. She contributed greatly to the dialogue with our provincial executive, and brought intelligence and reason to our own meetings. She will be sorely missed.

Jan was a loyal friend and mother: supportive and caring. Although bewildered by her children (she often wondered how she had produced such hugely creative kids), she was extremely proud of them. Jan also loved, food, fossils and fun. She laughed much, slept little and knew great joy in her family, work, and the beauty of Vancouver Island. She will remain forever in the hearts and minds of all who knew her.



ARCHAEOLOGY NEWS

The Future of Kennewick Man's Past Still Locked in Legal Turmoil

Sandy Grant

The long fight for rightful ownership of one of the most complete skeletons ever found in North America, did appear as though it was coming to an end. After an eight year legal battle between eight US anthropologists, and four Northwest Native tribes, the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals has ruled in favour of the scientists: they will be allowed to study the remains. The 380 piece assortment of bones and bone fragments, were found on the banks of the Columbia River in Kennewick, Washington in 1996. Very quickly after, the Nez Perce, Yamaka, Umatilla and Colville tribes filed claims to the skeleton, believing they are the remains on an ancestor. They feel that under the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), the remains should be returned without potentially invasive scientific study, and reburied. These claims were met with opposition from the scientists who feel the 9,300-year-old remains could provide valuable information about the early peopling of North America. As set out in NAGPRA, the tribes must prove lineal descent or cultural affiliation to the skeleton, dubbed "Kennewick Man," in order to lay legal claim of ownership. Failing to sufficiently do so, the court ruling that came down in July was on the side of the scientists. However, before the much anticipated study could proceed, the tribes launched a new argument. They feel that they should still have a strong say in how any studies are carried out, and what happens to the remains after the scientists are done.

Rob Roy Smith, an attorney representing the Confederated Tribes of the Colville Indian Reservation, reported to the *Tri-City Herald*, "One of the tenets

of the tribes' beliefs is that remains should not be disturbed, and if they are disturbed they should be set at peace as soon as possible. That is still what the tribes are trying to do" (published August 5th, 2004). The tribes are worried that during the study, the burial site will be disturbed further than it has already has and the tests performed on the remains will be damaging.

Even with assurance that damage resulting from the study will be insignificant and minute, they still feel studying the remains will diminish the cultural importance of them. Because of this, the tribes are asking to be granted a leading role in any decisions on how any studies are done.

The main aspect of the tribes' argument is that they don't want destructive tests performed that would raze any skeletal material, and want the remains to be reburied. The scientists do not want to cause any harm to the remains, but just want to learn the secrets locked inside them so that the Kennewick Man's story can be told. They say the amount of bone material that they would need to remove would only be meagerly small samples, and therefore the impact of the study would be low. The greatest gap between the tribes and scientists coming to terms, is not caused by the decision of what kind of study to perform, but about what happens to the remains when the study is completed. The scientists want Kennewick Man to stay in the museum with hopes that in future there might be scientific advances and new methods of study that would allow more information to be obtained and shared with everyone.

Because the scientists are anxious to get on with the study and the court has already ruled the tribes have no ancestral connection to the remains, the scientists have petitioned the court to remove the tribes from the remainder of the

proceedings. The Associated Press reported to the *Tri-City Herald* that U.S. Magistrate Judge John Jelderks barred the tribes from further participation in the Kennewick Man lawsuit by ordering the case limited to government defendants and the scientists who want to study the ancient skeleton (published August 19, 2004). Now it is up to the scientists and the federal government to agree on the best cause of action for the study. Until they do, and the study actually begins, it looks as though the tribes will continue to throw up stumbling blocks in the process. The tribes say they have cultural interest in the ancient skeleton and, under other sections of the NAGPRA, have the right to assist in the planning of the scientific study. They are requesting that the court give them full party status, which would put them on the same level of the playing field with the scientists and the government for all current and future cases. Alan Schneider, an attorney for the scientists, told the *Tri-City Herald* that it appears the tribes simply are using other legal means to achieve their original objective, to prevent testing and gain possession of the remains (published September 10, 2004). Until this is sorted out once and for all, the Kennewick Man remains in storage at the University of Washington's Burke Museum, and the knowledge and history locked inside awaits to be brought to light.

Sources:

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<http://www.kennewick-man.com>

National Park Service US Department of the Interior; National NAGPRA:

<http://www.cr.nps.gov/nagger/>

Tri-City Herald:

<http://www.tri-cityherald.com/>

The Looting of Iraq The side-effects of war

Bill Angelbeck

The Iraq war has not been good for the country's archaeological heritage. Museums have been looted. Archaeological sites have been damaged by the war effort, both by assaults and by the setting up of military camps. Organized looters have devastated countless sites in the uncontrolled regions of Iraq on an unprecedented scale. And, like the coalition occupation itself, there is no end in sight.

The first Gulf War itself was not good for the region's archaeology. For instance, the ancient city of Ur was bombed, inflicting significant damage. Russell (2001) stressed that "Bombing and strafing left four large craters in the temple precinct and some 400 holes in the temple's great ziggurat, or stepped tower." However, damage from military operations has been slight compared to damage from looters. Since that war ended in 1991, looters took advantage of the limited oversight in the country, neglected both by the government of Saddam Hussein and by the international community, represented primarily by foreign arms inspectors. Archaeologists, particularly American archaeologists, were kept out the region due to a ban on travel to the country. Subsequently, there were burglaries from the museums in Mosul and Kirkuk (Cotter 2003). In the *New York Times*, John Noble Wilford (2003) reported that "Assyrian sculptures in northern Iraq were sawed up so the pieces could be taken out of the country....Unexcavated sites in the south were bulldozed by plunderers, who hauled away artifacts in dump trucks. One expert said even a diplomat's car was stopped crossing the border from Iraq into Jordan with 80 illicit artifacts."

In part, the sanctions imposed by the United Nations contributed to this situation, causing widespread poverty throughout Iraq. With few options in an economy under strangle-hold, many turned to looting archaeological sites for some quick returns on the black market (McWhirter 2002). The borders of Iraq have been and still are quite porous, allowing for a flow of artifacts and small monuments. McWhirter (2002) noted that "Galleries across the world have seen an increasing

number of questionable pieces from Mesopotamia since the Persian Gulf War." Numerous artifacts from Iraq are even on eBay (Wilford 2003).

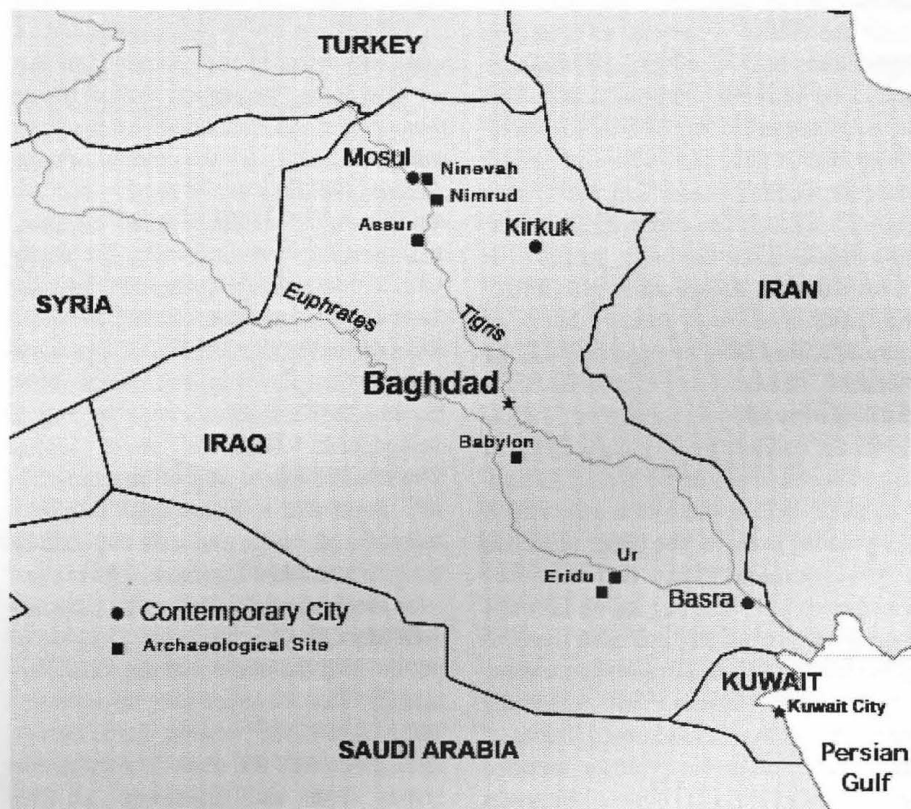
In 2001, *Science* magazine reported that Iraqi researchers and foreign archaeologists were prepared to assess the damage since 1991 and "attempt to rebuild the shattered country's archaeological community and end a long period of isolation" (Lawler 2001). Sadly, that effort was short-lived. By 2003, teams of researchers were preparing lists of archaeological sites for the U.S. government in the hopes of making the military aware of the thousands of archaeological sites across the country. In their discussions they emphasized that "Virtually all of Iraq is an archaeological site" (Russell 2001), that there are essentially "no natural hills in southern Iraq" (Wilford 2003), and that the museum of Baghdad some of the finest collections of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian artifacts and monuments (Cotter 2003). Unfortunately, even one of the researchers, McGuire Gibson, conceded at the time that "If Saddam Hussein puts a command center next to a ziggurat, it becomes a legitimate target" (Lawler 2003).

The rampant looting of the National Museum after Baghdad fell is all too

unforgettable. This was "a civilisation torn to pieces," Robert Fisk reported for *The Independent* of London, shortly thereafter. "Why? How could they do this? Why, when the city was already burning, when anarchy had been let loose—and less than three months after U.S. archaeologists and Pentagon officials met to discuss the country's treasures and put the Baghdad Archaeological Museum on a military data-base—did the Americans allow the mobs to destroy the priceless heritage of ancient Mesopotamia?" (Fisk 2003).

Since then, some items have been returned, but only a smattering. Dr. Nawala al Mutawalli, the director of the museum, noted that only seven of a list of 47 major items have been returned, and still more than 13,000 items are missing (MacLeod 2003). In the countryside, however, looting also has taken place: from the site of Nimrud, two Assyrian reliefs had been taken, and the palace of Sennacherib at Ninevah also had been severely damaged (MacLeod 2003).

Neela Banerjee and Micah Garen (2004) reported in the *New York Times* that sites contained "a moonscape of craters," not from bombs, but from the holes left by looters. One man told them, "When you



come here at night, it looks like a city, there are so many lights." Teams of looters, often 40 to 50 in total, indicate that these are well-organized operations, and they are heavily armed. (Micah Garen, the journalist who reported on the story, was abducted on August 13 by insurgents while making a documentary on the state of Iraq's antiquities. He was set to be another victim for a videotaped beheading until the Shiite rebel leader, Muqtada al-Sadr, ordered his release nine days later.) Banerjee and Garen noted that protecting archaeological sites was a low priority for both the Iraqi and coalition authorities.

One archaeologist, Dr. Elizabeth Stone, has called for the military to protect these sites with patrolling helicopters. "I think you've got to kill some people to stop this. The looters are armed and they are going to shoot people. This is a major problem" (quoted in MacLeod 2003). The *Guardian* of London reported that "All the sites she visited in the south of Iraq in May were being looted, except one at Ur—and that was inside an American compound" (MacLeod 2003).

The U.S. military argued that they were protecting the site of Babylon from looters, but its own activities there contributed to demolition of the site. The military had built a military base there for more than 2,500 troops and had bulldozed several portions of the site to create three helicopter landing pads. Moreover, sandbags—standard accoutrements for a camp—were loaded with soils from the site. Instead of relying on the coalition authorities, some Iraqi archaeologists have sought the aid of local sheiks to stir among the populace a sense of protection for these sites (MacLeod 2003).

Dr. McGuire Gibson, from the University of Chicago, said that the extent of damage from this recent war is severe: "It's one of the major, major tragedies around the world. We have basically lost most of the ancient cities of Sumer" (Harris 2004). Gibson presented an update on this situation to a conference in Istanbul last June, and attendees were shocked by his display of aerial photographs detailing the destruction of archaeological sites that occurred within months after the invasion (Harris 2004). Concrete and detailed assessments of the damage to these sites will not even begin until the situation is

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Protecting the "Cradle of Civilisation"

Anthony Russell

Most of the area known as Mesopotamia lies within Iraq's territories. The heritage of the region stretches back over 8000 years. Although Iraq has only one official World Heritage site, the Parthian fortress of Hatra, it is not unreasonable to consider the entire country as an irreplaceable legacy. It represents what is commonly held to be the "cradle of civilisation," the fertile plain between the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers where the world's first cities took shape (Adams, 1981). Experts have estimated there are more than 100,000 sites of historical importance.

Some of the most famous sites in both archaeology and ancient history have been put at risk to looting and damage associated with the war, including Babylon, Uruk (legendary home of Gilgamesh), Ur, Nineveh, and Nimrud (Kalhu), the site of the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal's palace. Certain organisations, such as the Archaeological Institute of America, have called for the increased awareness and protection of these sites (Wilkie 2003: 6). Still, the resources and the power to implement pragmatic, functioning conservation programs are severely limited for such institutions, and violations by both occupiers and locals are known.

The World Monuments Fund lists both Nineveh and Nimrud among the 100 most endangered sites in the world today. In April 2003, UNESCO Director-General Koichiro Matsuura made a plea in Paris that countries not accept archaeological or cultural artefacts from Iraq, and that museums and collectors refrain from dealing in such material. He pledged to speak with UN Secretary General Kofi Annan in order to get a resolution passed, which would mandate that any objects that have left Iraq since the beginning of the war be returned.

Since the autumn of 2003, Italian military police have been assisting in the patrol of sites in southern Iraq. Their vigilance has involved both random ground and helicopter sweeps, as well as aerial photography to document and assess damage (Garen 2004: 28). Still, they are easily outnumbered by the looters, and just

as easily evaded. The senior advisor for culture to the Coalition Provisional Authority, John Russell, himself an excavator of Assyrian sites like Nineveh, would like to see some resources directed towards more grassroots objectives, such as alleviating the crippling poverty and lack of education that leads to looting, and a more strenuous attack on the black market which provides the financial incentive.

Still, some small successes have been reported. In June, an Iraqi sting operation arrested four men and recovered hundreds of artifacts, which had been looted from the area of Babylon. Even so, such minor gains are called "a rare victory" (Komarow, 2004) in the battle to protect Iraqi heritage.

The physical damage caused by bullets and shells is irreversible, and all the historical and archaeological community can hope for is that most key sites escape with only minor damage. Given the immediacy of certain sites to battle hot spots, however, such as Nineveh's proximity to Mosul, there will doubtless be a fair share of cultural tragedies as well. As for looting, more stringent penalties in the west, and an educated atmosphere of intolerance for ill-gotten artifacts, can only help in curbing the systematic pillaging of the cradle of civilisation, and ensure that objects without provenience are returned to Iraq promptly.

Related Websites

War in Iraq and Archaeology Archive:
<http://cctr.umkc.edu/user/fdeblauwe/iraqarchive35.html>.

The World Monuments Fund:
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Divers Make Historic Discoveries

Sandy Grant

An underwater exploration of parts of the Caribbean coastline, has revealed at least three ancient skeletons. A team of divers, and archaeologists, made the discoveries in submerged caves and water holes scattered along the coast of Mexico's Yucatan Peninsula in 2001 and 2002. The network of submerged caves in and around the Yucatan Peninsula, make up the longest underwater cave systems in the world. Because of the location of the finds, and the dangerous nature of the expedition, it required several carefully planned trips to thoroughly record the sites and complete the excavation of the remains. The Associated Press reports that team co-director Carmen Rojas said the divers had 40 minutes to wind their way through the cave to the site, 20 minutes to work there and 40 minutes to swim back, followed by 20 to 60 minutes of decompression time. Now after two years of preservation, research and study, the team is releasing their findings. One skeleton, determined to be the oldest, was found 369 meters into a cave that is almost 20 meters below sea level. Some charcoal was also found, and when tested by an expert at the University of California, Riverside, it was dated 11,670-radiocarbon-years old that is over 13,000 calendar years. If the evaluation is correct, and the age is accurate, then these discoveries would be the oldest human skeletons yet found in the Americas. At the time of the Ice Age, the level of the world's oceans was hundreds of feet lower than it is now, and the caves would have been on dry land. Arturo Gonzalez, team leader of the expeditions, theorizes that people may have followed them in search of fresh water. He told the Associated Press that "To find a person who had walked those caves was like a treasure." These findings show that humans likely inhabited the Yucatan Peninsula 5,000 years or more before the ancient Mayan culture.

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Underwater Caves of El Jacinto Pat:

<http://www.cavedive.com/>

Accidental Discovery may Bring 115 Years of Searching to an End

Sandy Grant

A crab fisherman, and diver, came across an old anchor in the waters near Tofino. The 300 kilogram anchor was raised, and determined to be approximately 200 years old. That would indicate that it is of correct age to have belonged to a famous U.S. ship called the *Tonquin*. The *Tonquin* was lost somewhere in the waters off of Clayquot Sound in 1811, and through several unsuccessful searches over the past 115 years, this is the first relic recovered that may have belonged to the doomed vessel. Sailing from New York, in the early 1800's, Captain Jonathan Thorn and his crew were on a mission to create an American outpost on the West Coast; and help diminish the control the British Empire had over trading routes to Alaska.

After creating the first U.S. fur trading post, Astoria, Oregon, in the Pacific Northwest, the *Tonquin* headed north. This time the objective of the voyage was to trade for furs on Vancouver Island. While anchored near what is now Tofino, they were met by a Nuu-Chah-Nulth tribe and began trading with them. During negotiations Captain Thorn, who had brash attitude, slapped the native chief with a fur pelt. The next day the tribesmen returned, but this time in the form of a war party. They wanted to avenge the insult to their chief and tribe, and a bloody battle ensued in which most of the *Tonquin's* crew, and many natives perished. After the battle was over, it is believed that one or more surviving crew members ignited the ships gunpowder stores destroying the ship and killing everyone on board.

Still without factual proof that the anchor is from the *Tonquin*, the search continues. A company from Vancouver performed a magnetic scan of the ocean floor where the anchor was found, and had three anomalous readings that may suggest buried remnants of a shipwreck. Also found were some glass trading beads, and a small amount of wood originally from the East Coast. Both of

these also support the theory that the *Tonquin* has finally been located. The Tonquin Foundation spokes-man David W. Griffiths, reported to Save Ontario Shipwrecks, Inc. "We've got the anchor of the right period, the wood from the eastern seaboard, we've got these trade beads encrusted on the anchor itself, and they fit the time period exactly. And she was buried very quickly, so we're encouraged that the great portion of the ship may be well preserved" (SOS Newsletter, February 15, 2004, a publication of Save Ontario Shipwrecks). If it is indeed the *Tonquin*, items recovered will end up at the B.C. Maritime Museum in Victoria.

Sources:

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published September 3, 2004.

Save Ontario Shipwrecks:

www.saveontarioshipwrecks.on.ca/

Aboriginal Burials Impacted and Accommodated in Moricetown, Northern B.C.

Nadine Gray

A \$5.2 million development project on the Wet'suwet'en reserve of Moricetown in Northern British Columbia has impacted several Aboriginal burials. According to an article in the Vancouver Sun (August 28, 2004) and CBC Radio interviews with the archaeologist Rick Budhwa, the development was the cause of conflict between the band office and local elders even before the project began. Ray Morris, Wolf Clan Chief, expressed his concerns to the Office of the Wet'suwet'en, the hereditary chiefs' organization of the Moricetown Band which deals with treaty negotiations. Chief Morris explained that the proposed site of the new Cultural Heritage Centre and accompanying buildings was near the location of a nation-to-nation battle in the 1800's between the Interior Carrier peoples and Wet'suwet'en over access to fishing grounds in the resource rich

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ENDANGERED ARTIFACTS, ENDANGERED SITES: ENDANGERED HERITAGE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

Patricia Ormerod

During the discussion of "The Collection and Sale of British Columbia Artifacts" at the 2003 *B.C. Archaeology Forum* in Prince George, members of First Nations communities and archaeologists alike voiced alarm at the continual endangerment of First Nations heritage in British Columbia (refer *the Midden* Vol. 35, No.3). They, and members of the Archaeology Branch (Archaeology & Registry Services Branch, B.C. Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management) commented that the best, and perhaps the only, remedy for the current situation will be a revised Heritage Conservation Act (the Act) with teeth in it. Under the current Act, infractions of the law regularly occur and, if reported to the Archaeology Branch, the Branch works with law enforcement. But then —the case may languish for lack of evidence. Even if charges are laid, it is possible that the Attorney General's office may consider the Act unenforceable and, thus, the case may never go to court. Tougher laws will be written and passed only if the government of British Columbia perceives that the protection of First Nations heritage sites and the enforcement of the current Act has strong popular support.

Heritage Watch Proposed

The Archaeology Society of British Columbia (ASBC), the Union of B.C. Indian Chiefs (UBCIC), and individuals representing other First Nations have entered into an alliance to develop a program similar to the volunteer Regional Advisors Program that the province supported between 1975 and 1987. Individuals working on the proposal have given the task force a temporary name: the *Heritage Watch Alliance* (the Alliance). The Alliance will present a proposal for the new program at the 2004 *B.C. Archaeology Forum* in Merritt in November. So far, response to the idea has been encouraging: each time archaeologists or members of First Nations groups have heard of the initiative, they have unanimously expressed interest in becoming part of

the movement. The Alliance hopes to attract many more members at the Forum in November and complete the development of a culturally appropriate name, specific goals and programs, and fundraising plans over the next few months.

Elements of a Heritage Watch Program for British Columbia

In the original Regional Advisors Program, volunteers regularly monitored archaeological sites and reported to government archaeologists in Victoria; they also arranged talks and other education programs for the public in their local areas. Although loosely based on the earlier program, possible elements of a new program currently being discussed by the Alliance include that it: (i) be independent of government but support the Heritage Conservation Act and heritage conservation initiatives of all levels of government (federal, provincial, municipal and First Nations), (ii) be guided by First Nations community members and the wisdom of First Nations Elders, (iii) share information and create public appreciation for First Nations heritage and heritage sites in local communities throughout B.C., and (iv) assist the Archaeology Branch, municipalities and law enforcement to ensure charges will be brought against repeat or conscious offenders of the Heritage Conservation Act.

Proposed Role of the Heritage Watch Volunteer

In communities throughout British Columbia, volunteers would share information about the Heritage Conservation Act with local residents, construction and forestry workers and developers and tell them how to report sightings of First Nations heritage artifacts or sites. Volunteers would also monitor and report to the Archaeology Branch and First Nations on the condition of registered archaeological sites (numbering 23,000 in B.C.). It is hoped that permits will be issued by the province and First Nations so volunteers could collect and record exposed artifacts and ensure they are deposited in the designated repository. Volunteers could also assist with lobbying the provincial government for prosecution of those knowingly engaging in illegal actions at archaeological sites and for stronger penalties for offences under the B.C. Heritage Conservation Act.

Tales of Endangered Sites in B.C.

While conducting research on the issue, the Heritage Watch Alliance has heard many accounts of recent damage to, and even the obliteration of, archaeological sites in B.C. Stories have been reported to us by: archaeologists, individual members of the public and First Nations, the Union of BC Indian Chiefs, the ASBC, archaeologists at UBC and SFU, journalists, and archaeologists at the Archaeology Branch. Each story presents a particular point of view. Thus, accounts about the same incidents can have various twists — especially in regard to who dropped the ball on preservation or protection. The multiplicity of perspectives clearly illustrates that, although these are perilous times for heritage protection, it has become impossible to ignore incursions on First



Excavations at Glenrose in 1972 Photographed by Charles Borden
(Photo courtesy of the Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC).



Glenrose 1973: archaeologists screening as the bulldozer threatens (Photo courtesy of the Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC).

Nations' heritage resources in this province. It is no longer reasonable to avoid open discussions about the lack of respect shown to the ancient graves and heritage sites of the First Nations within the borders of British Columbia.

The Heritage Watch Alliance has been working through these diverse reports and perspectives to understand *all* the dangers currently affecting First Nations' heritage sites. And, as the few tales presented below illustrate, there are many ways in which recorded archaeological sites are endangered in the province. Finding effective solutions will be more difficult, but some recurring themes in the accounts suggest ways to begin and ways in which a Heritage Watch of volunteers can make a difference.

Heritage Endangerment at the Glenrose Cannery Site

In a discussion I had in February with Steven Acheson of the Archaeology Branch about endangered sites in general, a number of points he made illustrate the conundrum of the entire archaeological heritage management issue. Although the Branch would, in principle, appreciate a volunteer group making the public more aware of archaeological sites, a greater profile for archaeological resources often puts a greater strain on the Branch to protect them.

At the Glenrose Cannery site, for example, public awareness of the beautiful artifacts recovered there since the 1970s has led to the site being targeted by looters. Although members of the public were regularly telephoning the Branch to report each new incidence of illegal collecting of artifacts, and although Acheson had been advising the Delta police regarding implementing the Heritage Conservation Act, it was impossible for the Branch, police, or residents to regularly monitor the site. They knew looters were repeatedly digging on public land — and even on private land — for artifacts, but they could not catch them. People living adjacent

to where looting regularly occurs were trying to monitor the site themselves and report incidents to Delta police. These local residents had confronted individuals in the act of looting — even on their own property — and had been made very uncomfortable by the belligerent refusal of looters to stop. In response to the residents' complaints, the Archaeology Branch asked the police to investigate with a view to laying charges.

The Delta police picked up one person at the site, forced him to empty his pockets onto the ground and took him into custody for questioning. This individual apparently caused quite an altercation with police at the scene, clearly demonstrating the ferociousness and violence previously encountered by local residents. Delta police have renewed their interest in this person in the last few days when Andrew Mason, archaeologist with Golder Associates, reported finding quite a large "excavation unit" at the site. As Steven Acheson described it, this situation is "back on the boil."

Acheson agrees that a volunteer watch group could make an impact on situations like this by writing letters — to the press, to police, and to elected representatives in local municipalities and the province — and by actively monitoring sites and contacting local police to report evidence of looting. Although volunteers are strongly admonished not to confront looters but to be discrete in their observations, they can make a difference by promptly reporting descriptions of individuals and their vehicle licence numbers to police — ideally while the looters are still at the site. Despite the fact that no looter has yet been taken to court in British Columbia, Acheson believes that sooner or later, a case will make it to trial. He says "it is far more likely to occur under the current Heritage Conservation Act than under the previous one." An organized, systematic Heritage Watch program could make a significant impact and ensure it is "sooner," rather than later.

The difficulties for heritage conservation at the Glenrose Cannery site include the inability of a few local residents and the

local police to monitor sites on a systematic basis to catch looters in the act. It would be helpful if there were more volunteers to assist besieged residents in the watch. It would also be helpful if politicians (both local and provincial) publicly recognized and congratulated people like the homeowners who, by trying to have looters removed and charged, support the objectives of the Heritage Conservation Act. There is a need for provincial government funds so the Archaeology Branch can collaborate with and provide ongoing training to police, municipal workers, and politicians in all areas of the province on how to effectively use the Heritage Conservation Act to protect archaeological sites.

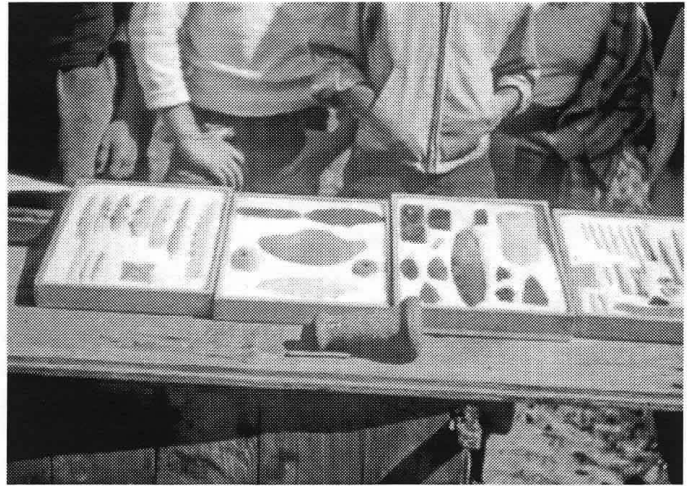
Heritage Endangerment at the Marpole Midden

Sunday morning, three days after talking with Steven Acheson in February; a hearty cup of coffee, and the slow enjoyment of the *Vancouver Courier* – until confronted by the headline *Ancient Marpole Midden Exposed: Archaeological Site Bulldozed* (Thomas 2004). Here we go again! A local activist for the Fraser River noticed that a large area of the Marpole midden, dating from up to 2,400 years ago, had been bulldozed but he was unable to find out who had done it or why.

Leonard Ham, the archaeologist working for the Musqueam Indian Band, had reported the site disturbance to both the Band and the Archaeology Branch and was completing a request for permit to conduct an impact assessment. When I contacted Len Ham, he indicated that a construction company leasing the property had decided to bulldoze it for a parking area and had just done it, without consulting the title-holder, the City of Vancouver. Local children were having a field day collecting artifacts until the damaged area was fenced and locked. The locks will stay on until the impact assessment has been done.

Part of the problem with incursions on the Marpole midden, Ham commented, is that although the Marpole site is recorded and protected by the B.C. Heritage Conservation Act, large parts of the midden fall outside the recorded boundaries and on private property and so those areas are not protected. It would be helpful if B.C.'s Heritage Conservation Act protected a buffer zone around registered archaeological sites. The destruction of part of Marpole midden might also have been avoided if construction company workers and municipal workers had been trained to ask about the implications of the Heritage Conservation Act when planning to dig at properties. The city should alert tenants of properties on or close to registered archaeological sites of the increased importance of consultation before digging.

Marpole midden has also been designated a site of National Historic Significance. That designation also did not help save it from destruction. The federal government developed the register (see the Parks Canada web site: www.parksCanada.pch.gc.ca) as a first step toward addressing the absence of legislation to conserve and protect historic places that fall under federal jurisdiction. They have promised a Canada Historic Places Act that will safeguard archaeological resources on federal lands — and reserve lands — draw on the wisdom of Aboriginal Elders, and foster an appreciation for First Nations culture and heritage among the public. Unfortunately, no mention is made of sites that are of national significance, such as Marpole, that continue onto land that is privately held. Will protection continue to stop at property lines even for sites listed as being of significant national



The public viewing artifacts collected during archaeology salvage work at the Marpole site, 1957 (Photo courtesy of the Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC).

importance?

The Act proposed by the federal government would regulate construction or archaeological research projects on federal land that might disturb archaeological resources. The legislation would require an archaeological impact assessment (AIA) – similar to the Heritage Conservation Act in British Columbia. The initial assessment is planned as a “simple checklist based on archival material and knowledge of the site” using the databases of the Canadian Museum of Civilization. Only if the checklist indicates a need for a more detailed impact assessment would a permit be issued by Parks Canada, ensuring on-site investigation. The results of the AIA might mean that a construction or archaeological project would need to be modified. Now, this sounds very fine, but read below about a situation in which conducting an AIA under provincial permit did not necessarily protect First Nations heritage or the archaeological record.

Heritage Endangerment on Pender Island

Andrew Costa (2003) reported in the Cowichan Valley Citizen that the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group (HTG) had filed a complaint with the RCMP against owners of a resort (Poet's Cove) at Bedwell Harbour on Pender Island (for more details see McLays' article in this issue). The HTG complained that the resort owners had arranged for the destruction of a 4,000 – 5,000 year old archaeological site and many ancient burials in order to expand their luxury resort and spa. We have been told that, in spite of an archaeological impact assessment (AIA) completed in 1990 by Arcas Consulting and approval in October 2003 of a Site Alteration Permit prepared by I.R. Wilson Consulting, the site was virtually obliterated, allegedly overnight and without archaeological monitoring. The midden, including ancestral remains and artifacts, was bulldozed and dumped into a parking lot.

Since the incident, a fair bit of money has gone into remedial archaeology and recovery and there is a police investigation underway. But the situation remains very confusing and it has so far been impossible to get a clear understanding about what occurred and what caused the communication breakdown among the various parties: the developer, consulting archaeologists, the Archaeology Branch, First Nations people and police. If what we

have heard is accurate, this situation raises doubts about the protection really provided under the Heritage Conservation Act under the current process of conducting archaeological impact assessments and issuing permits.

Conclusions

If situations like the alleged illegal destruction at Poet's Cove can be avoided, then the current process of AIAs and archaeological permits does afford some protection to registered archaeological sites whenever resource extraction, developments or archaeological projects are proposed. The fact that the Poet's Cove incident occurred at all, however, indicates that the penalties for breaches of the Heritage Conservation Act of British Columbia should be more severe. David Pokotylo and Neil Guppy (1999) reported that in their survey, over 80% of the public in British Columbia do support penalizing individuals and corporations knowingly destroying archaeological sites. Penalties approved of by the public included fines, community service or even jail sentences.

Sites, however, remain in danger from looting long after the permitted work is completed. Well known sites, such as the Glenrose Cannery site and Marpole site, are being targeted by looters. A volunteer Heritage Watch Program could help protect endangered sites by monitoring sites on a regular basis and reporting illegal collecting activities promptly to police. As Steven Acheson of the Branch commented, "if looters are continually intercepted by the police they may eventually give up." A volunteer Heritage Watch group could, by their presence and by creating greater awareness among the general public, make a large contribution to protecting First Nations heritage in British Columbia.

Other potential initiatives being discussed by the Heritage Watch Alliance are also suggested by the situations at the Glenrose Cannery, Marpole, and Poet's Cove sites. These include delivering focussed education programs for police, municipal workers and construction / resource extraction workers and creating programs to give recognition to people who alert police and the Archaeology Branch to looters. Lobbying efforts at both the provincial and federal level to protect buffer zones around archaeological sites in British Columbia would go a long way to protect First Nations heritage in areas under threat by looters. The Heritage Watch Alliance is determined to move the discussion of endangered First Nations' heritage out of meetings and classrooms onto the land, into the media and, ultimately, into the courts of British Columbia.

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Glenrose 1973: archaeologists collecting at the jaws of the bulldozer (Photo courtesy of the Laboratory of Archaeology, UBC).

The Heritage Watch Alliance

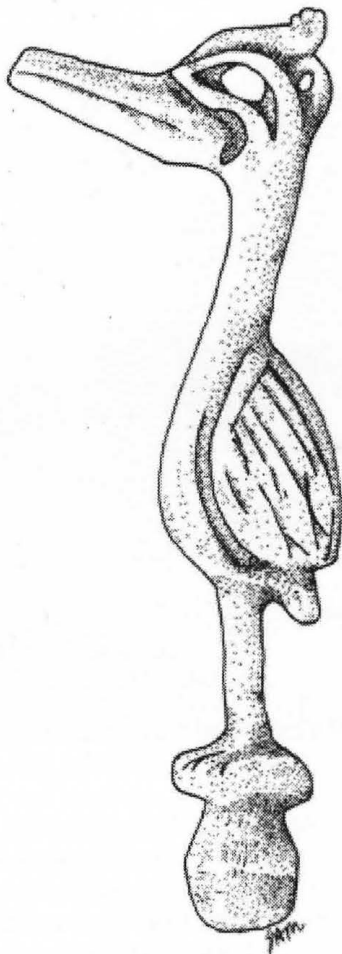
If you would like to know more, or become a member of the Heritage Watch Alliance, please contact the Alliance c/o: pormerod@interchange.ubc.ca

Currently, the *Heritage Watch Alliance* is comprised of:

- Don Bain (Executive Director of the UBCIC)
- Rudy Reimer (Squamish First Nation, Archaeology Consultant, ASBC / Midden field editor)
- Fred Glendale (Councillor, Da'naxda'xw/Awaetlala Nation)
- Jodie Anderson (ASBC Membership Secretary)
- Bill Angelbeck (ASBC Midden Rep. on the Executive / UBC)
- Sarah Ladd (ASBC President / SFU)
- Patricia Ormerod (ASBC Past President, Curatorial & Research Assistant at UBC Lab of Archaeology)
- Susan Rowley (ASBC Vicepresident, Curator of Public Archaeology - Museum of Anthropology, UBC)
- Kisha Supernant (ASBC member / UBC)
- Emily Wilkerson (ASBC Recording Secretary / UBC)

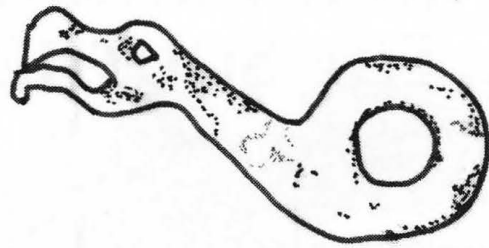
LOSS OF CHERISHED MARPOLE MASTERPIECE PREVENTED

The recent history of the Blue Heron small pestle from the Marpole site demonstrates what can happen when archaeological sites become known locally as sites of unguarded treasure. This artifact, cherished by the Musqueam people and Vancouverites alike, almost slipped from view before it was even recovered!



The Heron Pestle / Pendant, Ma 3299, has been featured in many exhibits and books since it was recovered in 1957. It dates between AD 1 and AD 950 (Drawn by Susan Matson).

In 1957, the site was being bulldozed to prepare for the Marpole bus loop and teams of volunteers and archaeologists were working under the direction of Dr. Charles Borden of UBC to recover all the bone, stone and antler artifacts. On a July day, once the archaeologists had packed up for the day,



Sketch of the antler Bird Cord Adjuster, DgRs 1:215. Recovered in situ at the Beach Grove site in 1957, Borden suggested it may have been used as a cord adjuster. It dates between AD 250 and AD 650.

a twelve-year old—probably filling long summer vacation days with personal adventures—joined other locals in taking objects out of the shell midden at the site. Fortunately, the child's father ensured that the child and the finds were returned to Borden the next day. Among the items recovered was the famous Blue Heron pestle. Twenty years later, Borden described the pestle as "perhaps the finest example of Marpole phase antler sculpture" (1976).

The Musqueam Indian Band has given permission for the Blue Heron to appear in *Totems to Turquoise: Native North American Jewelry Arts of the Northwest and Southwest* at the American Museum in Natural History in New York. The exhibit explores the art of the maritime people of the Northwest and the desert people of the Southwest from prehistory onward.

Also travelling to New York is the bird cord adjuster from the Beach Grove site (with permission of the Tsawwassen First Nation and Semiahmoo First Nation) and the zoomorphic blanket pin fragment from Musqueam East (by permission of the Musqueam Indian Band).

The exhibition, *Totems to Turquoise: Native North American Jewelry Arts of the Northwest and Southwest*, highlights jewellery made by contemporary First Nations masters, including Bill Reid, Susan Point, and Debra Sparrow, and places their pieces in the context of traditional objects and archaeological artifacts to dramatize the transformation of traditional culture into contemporary art.

Totems to Turquoise runs between October 2004 and July 2005 and will be seen by over two million visitors.



Sketch of the bone Zoomorphic Blanket Pin fragment (MuE 4438). Recovered from bulldozed material at the Musqueam East site in 1964, Charles Borden dated the blanket pin to the late 1700s or early 1800s as it appears to have been made using metal tools.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE OF THE SOUTHERN GULF ISLANDS

Eric McLay



Poets Cove, February 10, 2003. Cowichan Elder Angus Smith and Wayne Paige atop monumental pile of midden (E. McLay).

The southern Gulf Islands of British Columbia are nationally treasured for their unique natural heritage, their endangered ecosystems and their rare species at risk. In recognition of the fragile ecological significance of this archipelago, British Columbia first enacted the Islands Trust Act in 1974 to establish a special regional government with the principled mandate to 'preserve and protect the trust area and its unique amenities and environment' for the long-term public benefit of British Columbia. More recently, Canada and British Columbia announced the creation of the new Gulf Islands National Park Reserve under the Pacific Marine Heritage Legacy project – a joint federal-provincial parkland initiative to help preserve the unique heritage of the Gulf Islands on Canada's Pacific Coast.

In comparison to this extraordinary level of federal, provincial and local government effort to conserve the islands' environment, the rich, threatened archaeological heritage of the southern Gulf Islands has unfortunately received much less

public recognition and national concern. Intensified rezoning of private land, high-density residential subdivisions, and large-scale commercial building developments increasingly threaten the conservation of our archaeological heritage in this key cultural region on the Pacific Northwest Coast. In the last two years, a boom in real estate development in the Gulf Islands has resulted in an unprecedented level of destruction for archaeological sites. In at least two instances, the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group and local Gulf Island residents have instigated official RCMP investigations against private developers to enforce alleged violations of the Heritage Conservation Act [RSBC 1996]. In another significant case, Elders from the Penelakut Tribe have filed a court challenge to review whether the Crown and developer may have unjustly infringed upon their Constitutionally-protected aboriginal rights in the disturbance of ancient human remains and burial ground on private land.

These controversial land-use conflicts in the southern Gulf Islands highlight key gaps that currently exist in the provincial management of our archaeological heritage in British Columbia. In the following article, I provide three examples of these current land-use conflicts to illustrate different directions for necessary change and, more importantly, advocate the urgent need for British Columbia to build regional partnerships with First Nations and local governments to ensure responsible stewardship of threatened archaeological heritage.

Poets Cove at Bedwell Harbour Ltd. (DeRt-004), South Pender Island

This DeRt-004 site is a large, deep coastal shell midden situated in the shelter of Bedwell Harbour, South Pender Island. This ancient settlement site is located directly across the harbour from Pender Canal (DeRt-001 and 002), where large-scale archaeological investigations by Simon Fraser University in the 1980's explored the richness of First Nation history in the southern Gulf Islands over the last 5,000 years.

The DeRt-004 site, while less well-documented, has long been known to archaeologists and local residents, having been first recorded in 1955 by Wilson Duff from the Provincial Museum. In 1990, a professional Archaeological Impact Assessment (AIA) for the commercially-zoned hotel property identified that archaeological deposits at DeRt-004 may reach up to 4 meters in depth and potentially be over 4,000 to 5,000 years old.

In October 2002, First Nations first reported to the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management that recorded archaeological site, DeRt-004, had suffered minor disturbance by unregulated development activity for a luxury resort and spa on South Pender Island. The new Calgary-based property owner, Poets Cove at Bedwell Harbour Ltd., asserted that before it began construction of its estimated \$40 million dollar luxury resort development it had received all necessary permits from provincial and local governments, including a development permit from the Pender Islands Trust Committee and a building permit from the Capital Regional District. In the process of applying for these local government permits, Poets Cove reportedly had not been made aware of the presence of this recorded archaeological site, nor been notified of the previous AIA study, nor informed of their corporation's responsibilities to protect this site under the Heritage Conservation Act.

After subsequent notification by the Ministry, Poets Cove contracted an archaeological consulting company to prepare a Site Alteration Permit application. After receipt of the permit that allowed only minor site alterations, however, it was learned that Poets Cove had been conducting large-scale excavations at DeRt-004 without archaeological monitoring. During an on-site meeting between the Ministry, First Nations, Poets Cove and their archaeological consultant in early February 2003, it was discovered that at least 1500 cubic meters of archaeological shell midden deposits had been excavated to bedrock and removed for the installation of a swimming pool. Three monumental piles of archaeological shell deposits containing exposed artifacts and human bones were observed dumped in the resort's tennis courts, parking lot, and forested edge of the adjacent First Nation reserve.

The assembled representatives of nine Coast Salish First



Poets Cove February 10, 2003. View of construction site for Poets Cove Resort and Spa (Photo courtesy of E. McLay).

Nations jointly demanded the RCMP investigate Poets Cove for its destruction of these archaeological deposits outside the conditions of the site alteration permit and in contravention of the Heritage Conservation Act. First Nations further insisted that a recovery project be immediately directed to screen all of their ancestors' bones and belongings from the construction backfill. It is reported that this project still in progress has since recovered the ancient human remains of at least 36 individuals and thousands of stone, bone and antler artifacts from less than half the construction fill.

After nearly two years, however, Crown Counsel has yet to enforce provincial law and lay charges against the developer. This is despite wide-spread recognition that Poets Cove is the site of one of the worst documented violations of the Heritage Conservation Act in recent history. Poets Cove public relations and advertising campaign has been so successful in quelling news coverage and debate over this controversy that during the grand opening of Poets Cove Resort and Spa, the Chair of the Islands Trust Council publicly lauded Poets Cove as a "model, a text-book case" of responsible development. "The developers have done it with a great deal of sensitivity" (Vancouver Sun, Page D03, May 18, 2004).

Walkers Hook (DfRu-002), Salt Spring Island

DfRu-002 is a prominent archaeological shell midden located on a low-lying coastal sand spit at Walkers Hook, Salt Spring Island. The DfRu-002 site is situated immediately across the channel from the archaeological site of Montague Harbour (DfRu-013) on Galiano Island, where Donald Mitchell's excavations in the 1960s first placed the culture history of the Gulf of Georgia into a regional archaeological context. No archaeological excavations have been ever directed at DfRu-002, although it is documented in the provincial heritage registry as the fifth largest shell midden area recorded in the southern Gulf Islands. Protected under the Agricultural Land Reserve, the private property has been held as a pioneer family farm



Walkers Hook, August 12, 2004. Rally by First Nations and local residents at Walkers Hook, Salt Spring Island (E. McLay).

over the last century. Local residents of Salt Spring Island have equally valued the site over the years as a recreational beach and ecologically-sensitive coastal habitat. Walkers Hook has long been designated on Salt Spring Island's Official Community Plan as a potential property to acquire for public parkland.

In January 2003, the property owner applied for a subdivision lease of the sand spit at DfRu-002 to a commercial aquaculture company, Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd., who proposed to build a land-based fish hatchery atop Walkers Hook. In this instance, the property owner and company were fully aware of the recorded archaeological site at DfRu-002. To avoid large-scale mitigation of archaeological deposits, the aquaculture company relocated its buildings off-site, but chose to retain its design to place its wells and run its utility pipes through the midden area, using it as a natural filter for its industrial effluent into the marine environment.

Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. applied for and received a building permit from the Capital Regional District and began construction of the hatchery buildings before receiving any provincial decision on the proposed subdivision application, or permit from the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management. At this time, the company also applied for approval from the Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection to discharge its effluent directly into the midden. These provincial and local government permits were applied for by Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. without the requirement of first preparing a preliminary Archaeological Impact Assessment study. An AIA would evaluate the best practices for development to conserve archaeological resources at this site of potentially high scientific,

cultural and public significance on Salt Spring Island.

At this late stage in the land-use planning process, local residents of Salt Spring Island informed local First Nations of the development activity in-progress at Walkers Hook. The Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group immediately notified the developer, Salt Spring Islands Trust Committee and the Ministry of Transportation that the proposed subdivision application did not address the protection of recorded archaeological heritage sites at Walkers Hook and that a professional AIA study should be directed prior to any land-use decision or further development activity. Instead, Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. contracted an archaeological consulting company to expediently apply for a Site Alteration Permit. The alteration permit proposed that the installation of all utility pipes and wells by a backhoe excavator would be archaeologically monitored and that all cultural materials would be raked from the backfill. The Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management approved the site alteration permit and, subsequently, over the course of the backhoe trenching over 250 metres of archaeological shell midden deposits and the ancient human remains of a minimum of 13 individuals were excavated and removed from the DfRu-002 site.

In January 2004, the Penelakut Elders, Salt Spring Island Residents for Responsible Land Use and the Canadian Sablefish Association separately took the Ministry of Water, Land and Air Protection and Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. to court to quash the approval which allowed the company to discharge its industrial waste into this culturally-significant and environmentally-sensitive location. Penelakut Elders' court

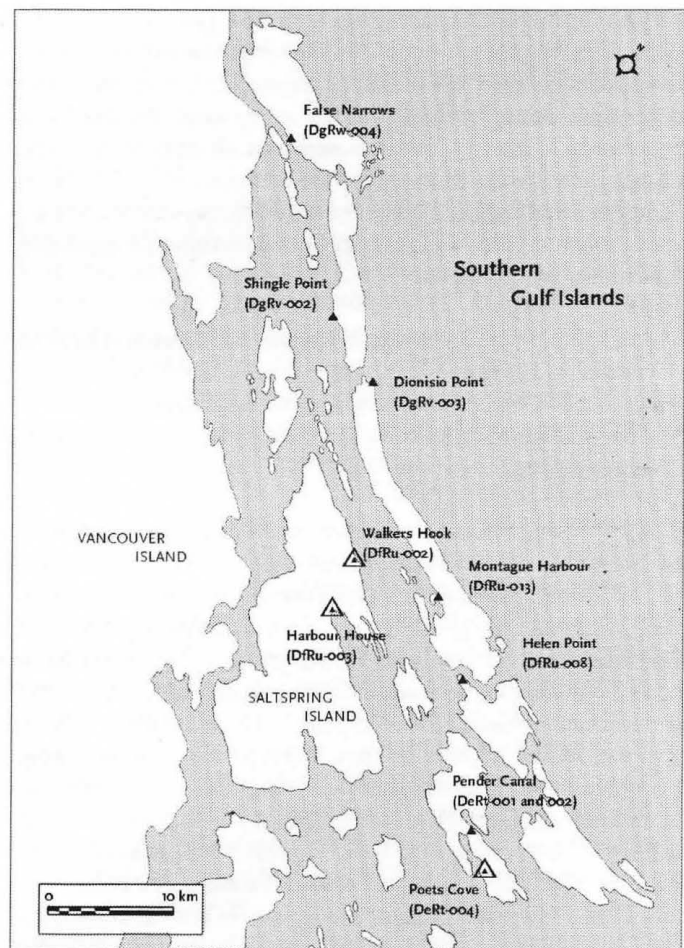
action at the Environmental Appeal Board asserts that the protection of their Ancestors' remains and cemeteries is an integral part of their Coast Salish cultural beliefs, traditions and customary laws, and that these aboriginal rights are protected under s.35 of the Constitution Act. Salt Spring Islanders and commercial fishers protested that the Crown and Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. had been negligent in their duty to protect public interests in the environment, archaeological heritage and aboriginal rights at Walkers Hook. Several public rallies involving First Nations and Salt Spring Islanders have been held and the support of local residents in gaining media attention on this important issue has been successful. Yet, despite wide-spread public and legal opposition to this controversial land-use issue, Sablefin Hatcheries Ltd. has recently applied for a permanent waste permit to expand their well systems atop the DfRu-002 site at Walkers Hook. The decision from the Environmental Appeal Board is still pending.

Harbour House Site (DfRu-003), Salt Spring Island

The Harbour House Site, DfRu-003, is a major archaeological shell midden located in downtown Ganges, Salt Spring Island. Large-scale archaeological investigations at DfRu-003 were conducted in 1993 to mitigate a right-of-way through the property for the Ministry of Transportation and Highways. These excavations revealed this ancient settlement is over 2,000 years ago. In May 2003, Springbay Developments Inc. applied for a local government development permit to construct 15 luxury townhouse units atop the DfRu-003 property. Aware of this recorded archaeological site and First Nations concerns at Walkers Hook, the Salt Spring Islands Trust Committee stipulated in a unique condition that as a part of their development permit, Springbay Developments Inc. pro-actively consult the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group and acquire written consent for any archaeological permit.

Rather than consult First Nations, however, Springbay Developments Inc. prepared a site alteration permit in order to monitor the removal some of the last remnant archaeological deposits at DfRu-003 for the purpose of installing sewer trenches and utility lines. In response, the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group requested that the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management defer Springbay Developments Inc.'s site alteration permit pending further consultation and accommodation of their First Nations' interests. It was proposed that, rather than allow the incremental destruction of the site, all trenches be re-routed to avoid further impacts, and a heritage management plan be developed in advance to ensure the long-term stewardship of this important archaeological heritage site in downtown Ganges.

The Salt Spring Islands Trust Committee supported the First Nations' stand and refused to issue their development permit until Springbay Development Inc. had meaningfully consulted and accommodated their interests in heritage conservation. Unfortunately, rather than consult, Springbay Developments Inc. threatened to launch a lawsuit against Islands Trust for acting outside their jurisdiction and proceeded to begin construction activity without receipt of a development permit. Concurrently, during inspection of the construction in-progress,



Map of Gulf Islands Sites.

the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group notified the Ministry and Salt Spring Islands Trust that archaeological shell deposits had been impacted by the installation of building foundations and utility pipes at DfRu-003 without archaeological monitoring and outside the conditions of their received site alteration permit. Being in violation of the Heritage Conservation Act, Springbay Developments Inc. was forced to halt all development activity. After finally accepting consultation with First Nations, it was agreed that a recovery project be initiated to immediately screen any ancient human remains and artifacts disturbed from the construction backfill and to have an archaeologist on-site to monitor all further land-altering activity. In principle the of long-term stewardship, it was further agreed that a heritage management plan for the DfRu-003 site be developed in cooperation with First Nations, a restrictive covenant be placed on the remainder of the archaeological site, and a public monument be commissioned to commemorate this heritage site and provide greater educational awareness of First Nations' heritage on Salt Spring Island.

Directions For Social Change

In a place like the southern Gulf Islands where there exists such a unique environmental mandate for local government, the public support of a vocal, socially-active community and the vigilance of local First Nations, it is difficult to understand

how the destruction of our finite archaeological heritage has occurred in the past so frequently without public call for greater government action. On Salt Spring Island, there is an emerging cooperative among of First Nations, many local residents and the Islands Trust to assist the province to uphold heritage conservation standards in their own community. In the above examples, three major gaps are exposed in our provincial heritage management system, which necessitate moving toward greater community-based change:

- 1) Upholding provincial stewardship principles and the Heritage Conservation Act;
- 2) Reconciling First Nations' aboriginal rights; and
- 3) Integrating a local government role in provincial heritage management.

1) Upholding Provincial Stewardship Principles and the Heritage Conservation Act

In 1974-1975, the southern Gulf Islands was the first regional archaeological survey directed by the Archaeological Sites Advisory Board – a timely provincial government stewardship initiative to develop the baseline information for heritage site management across British Columbia. Since the early 1980's, however, British Columbia has re-interpreted its stewardship role in heritage conservation to be strictly limited to regulating permits and administering the provincial site registry under the Heritage Conservation Act. In 2004, provincial cutbacks to the Ministry have left four project officers in charge of regulating over 22,000 recorded archaeological sites in British Columbia. The Ministry's capacity to review land-use referrals and issue permits is operating at crisis management levels. At the same time, there is a greater need than ever for monitoring issued permits on the ground and monitoring and enforcing increased unregulated land use activity by developers in violation of the Heritage Conservation Act.

In the case of Poets Cove, it is perceived that the Crown lacks the political will to enforce conditions of permits issued to developers and uphold the Heritage Conservation Act. Few charges have ever been historically laid under provincial heritage laws in British Columbia, with only one successful prosecution. The Ministry currently does not have the legislative authority to employ conservation officers to lay direct charges against violations of the provincial law. It at the discretion of the RCMP to halt land development, conduct a police investigation and forward a report to Crown Counsel, but neither may be very familiar with the Heritage Conservation Act. Nearly two years after the incident at Poets Cove, it is feared that if this clear violation of the Act is not taken seriously by Crown Counsel, then no contravention of the Act will ever be enforced, leaving all archaeological sites vulnerable to increasing land development pressures in British Columbia.

2) Reconciling First Nations' Aboriginal Rights

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1976) recommends the Federal, Provincial and territorial governments enact legislation to establish a process aimed at recognizing (2:4:58):

- i) Aboriginal peoples as the owners of cultural sites, archaeological resources, religious and spiritual objects, and sacred and burial sites located within their traditional territory;
- ii) Aboriginal people as having sole jurisdiction over sacred, ceremonial, spiritual, and burial sites within their traditional territories, whether these sites are located on unoccupied Crown land or on occupied Crown lands;
- iii) Aboriginal people as having at least shared jurisdiction over all other sites (such as historical camps or villages, fur trade posts or fishing stations);
- iv) Aboriginal people as being entitled to issue permits and levy the fees charged for access to, or use of, such sites.

In the 21st Century, First Nations in British Columbia continue to be marginalized by the practices of provincial government heritage site management. The Heritage Conservation Act does not specifically address aboriginal rights. Neither does the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management follow the Provincial Guidelines for First Nations Consultation. Only in the last ten years, since *Nanosee Band vs. British Columbia* ([1995] B.C.J.No. 3059) at Craig Bay, have First Nations had any official role in providing comment on archaeological permits. On a practical level, many First Nations people continue to say they have no meaningful voice in the process of how their Ancestors' places and their cultural property should be protected in accordance with their cultural traditions, beliefs and customary laws.

3) Integrating Local Government into the Provincial Heritage Management System

Despite the government of British Columbia's awareness during the formative years of the Islands Trust Act that the southern Gulf Islands represents one of the most well-known and densest concentrations of recorded archaeological sites in the province, the conservation of archaeological heritage has never been a part of the Islands Trust's unique stewardship mandate. The Local Government Act [RSBC 1996] does provide for legislative measures for the protection of designated heritage sites and heritage conservation areas, but these designations are not generally applied by local governments to archaeological sites. The registry and management of archaeological sites has always been exclusively held as a duty of the provincial government, as recently defended in *Kitkatla vs. Regina* ([2000] B.C.J. No. 86).

Heritage conservation is best addressed at the earliest stages of development and at the highest level of strategic land-use planning. However, most local government Official Community Plans and Land-Use Bylaws contain no policies or zoning arrangements for the protection of archaeological heritage sites. Based on the lack of local government jurisdictional role and policy development afforded by the province, there exists a hierarchy of provincial approvals and local permit applications. These are regularly reviewed by local governments for consistency with their community land-use plans but are not checked for their potential impact on archaeological sites. Each step in the land-use development planning process – from

rezoning and subdivision approvals to development and building permits – has a progressively greater negative impact on the archaeological record if left unregulated. Many of these provincial rezoning and subdivision approvals and local government permits for land development planning are also not reviewed by the Ministry of Sustainable Resource Management. The most evident of these systemic gaps in provincial regulation is in building permits – one of the leading causes of damage to archaeological sites on private lands and perhaps the most difficult to monitor and enforce at the provincial level. At the other end of the scale, when local government is made aware of archaeological concerns through the public referral process, such as at Ganges Harbour, local government finds it has little jurisdictional power to help address public interests in heritage conservation.

Emergent Interests In Community-Based Stewardship

There is an urgent need for greater provincial-level partnership initiatives to provide community-based stewardship of our archaeological heritage in British Columbia. To reduce conflicts with archaeological sites on private property, there must be a cooperative effort on behalf of the province, local government, First Nations and private property owners to ensure that heritage conservation is addressed at the earliest stage of land-use development planning.

British Columbia must take the lead at the provincial level to register archaeological and heritage sites on land titles, provide incentives for heritage conservation on private property and inform property owners of the importance of heritage conservation and their responsibilities under provincial law. First Nations, local government and private property owners must assert active stewardship and management over our archaeological heritage. Community-based stewardship may fill many important gaps in provincial management, including monitoring, preparing inventories, developing heritage management strategies and plans, implementing site conservation measures and providing public education.

There also exist new legal frameworks for all government decision makers to respect aboriginal rights. Recent court decisions, such as *Haida Nation vs. British Columbia*, specify the Crown and third parties have a legal duty to avoid unjust infringement upon constitutionally protected (under s.35) aboriginal rights. The *Penelakut Elders case at Walkers Hook* is an important case attempting to apply these aboriginal rights to protect their ancestral burial ground on Salt Spring Island.

Toward directions for change, an intergovernmental technical working group has been established in the treaty process between the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group, British Columbia and representatives from three regional governments to explore existing tools and processes for local government to assist in heritage conservation and, if necessary, recommend new directions for legislative change. Existing tools and processes to be explored include the designation of key heritage sites and heritage conservation areas under the Local Government Act, developing policies and zoning arrangements under official community plans, improving the consultation process with First

Nations in provincial and local government land-use referrals, information-sharing and integrating archaeological issues into the inspection process for building permits, and public education.

Conclusion

In the recent meeting of the Islands Trust Council, a broad spectrum of local residents have publicly called for the Islands Trust to declare a "moratorium" on development and announce a "renewal" of its "preserve and protect" mandate. The Salt Spring Island Justice and Reconciliation Society specifically petitioned the Island Trust Council to find solutions to integrate First Nation heritage conservation under the mandate of the Islands Trust. The society also petitioned the Islands Trust to support local First Nations treaty rights to achieve their aboriginal interests in the ownership, jurisdiction, management and access to their archaeological heritage as their cultural property in British Columbia.

This emergent sense of community-based partnerships between First Nations, local residents and local government in the southern Gulf Islands to protect archeological heritage may be somewhat unique in British Columbia. What is common between these groups is that each holds their own deep commitment for preserving and protecting these islands where they live, and each shares an active commitment for positive social change in their communities. At a local level, they witness that there is a lack of provincial stewardship to protect their valued archaeological heritage against development in their community, and perceive there exist many injustices preventing First Nations from having any meaningful say in how their ancestral heritage, lands and even cemeteries are managed. Only recently have these different groups recognized their common interests in community-based stewardship and sought cooperative solutions to specific developments projects through partnerships. It is a shared hope, however, that in working together one day the rich, but threatened archaeological heritage of the southern Gulf Islands will not only be valued at a local community level, but valued as a national part of Canadian heritage. In this modern era of reconciliation, there is a need to foster such emergent partnerships across British Columbia.

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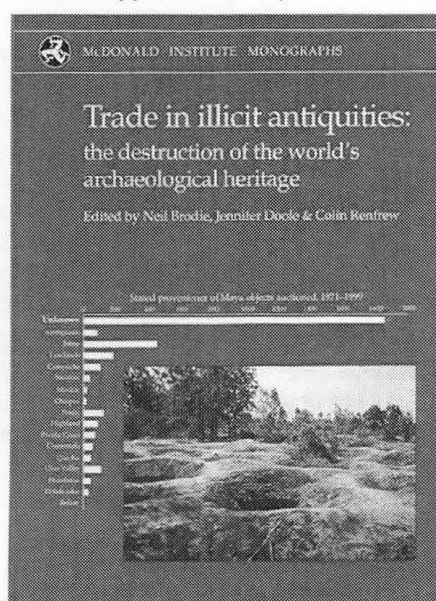
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Eric McLay, MA (UBC 1999) is an archaeologist specializing in the archaeology of the Coast Salish region on the Pacific Northwest Coast. Eric has worked on many archaeological research projects in the southern Gulf Islands over the past decade and has a strong professional interest in integrating First Nations in heritage resource management. Eric currently lives in Ladysmith on Vancouver Island and works in the Research Department for the Hul'qumi'num Treaty Group.

BOOK REVIEWS

Trade in illicit antiquities: the destruction of the world's archaeological heritage

Edited by Neil Brodie, Jennifer Doole, and Colin Renfrew
Cambridge University Press, 2001.
xii + 176 pp., illus., maps



Like the destruction of the world's natural environment the destruction of its archaeological heritage continues in a most depressing manner. The last year and a half brought us the sad story of the looting of the National Museum in Bagdad, which for a time focused not only scholarly but journalistic attention on this significant issue. This book presents twenty papers from an international symposium held at Cambridge University's McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research in October, 1998. Scholars and cultural officials from seventeen countries present at length (16 pages: Belize and Niger) or in brief summary (2 pages: Turkey) the situation in their own land. Canada is absent and the two U.S.

papers focus on federal archaeology and on litigation to recover cultural property. It is surprising to see Central America and Mexico, major centres of antiquities smuggling, represented only by a paper by an American archaeologist on Belize and South America only by Peru. Nor is there any presentation on Iran, Iraq, Egypt or the Maghreb while all of Europe and the former Soviet Union is represented only by a four pager on the U.K. that focuses on metal detectors, perhaps the most important issue in that country. One might have looked for an account of the looting of shipwrecks, often permitted by local governments to treasure hunters like recent for-profit projects by a Canadian company in Cuba (Spanish treasure ships), or indeed of modern sites like the Titanic. I focus in this review on topics of perhaps particular interest to readers of *The Midden*.

Chapter One points out the need for hard figures, for a "sounder empirical foundation" that can be used to stir up needed political action by "quantifying destruction and investigating the structure of the trade, criminal and cultural." In spite of the UNESCO convention of 1970 and the UNIDROIT convention of 1995 the trade continues to grow and triumphs are rare. The authors suggest of course that education of public and public officials will help, but smuggled antiquities are small stuff compared to the narcotics trade and interest is not great. A positive step in the academic world was the establishment of the International Journal of Cultural Property in 1990 and in related courses taught at UBC and other educational institutions.

Chapter Two takes us to Thailand and Cambodia, two southeast Asian countries with a rich archaeological heritage under threat. Cambodia is

particularly exposed in the aftermath of the Khmer Rouge destruction of its middle class; the Cambodian army itself has looted some sites like Banteay Chmar as recently as December of 1998. Although Thailand has had a relatively stable recent history, plundering of its Neolithic and Bronze Age past has created a catastrophic situation as villagers loot and sell to dealers. Some collectors even carry out their own illicit excavations for desirable objects. Literally thousands of pieces are being smuggled annually into the USA and Canada for sale.

Chapter Three presents the situation in China in six pages and immediately makes the point that the recent "opening" of the country while a "Good Thing" in many ways has had disastrous results for its historical and archaeological heritage with rampant illegal excavation and smuggling and with new reports coming in "almost weekly." At major scheduled sites like the tombs at Reshui, hundreds of locals using explosives and bulldozers have devastated the area. The author gives six major examples of plundering and also mentions robbing underwater sites like the Song Dynasty wreck near Huagang Island. Between 1991-1995 the customs service intercepted "more than 110,000 illicit cultural objects" which include only objects seized from tourists, not from mail or freight shipments.

Chapters Four and Five focus on aspects of Pakistan and India. The former looks at the risk to monuments of Gandharan art, the amalgam of Asian and Greek that has become fashionable for collectors these past two decades in particular. The authors make the good point, however, that simple looting is only part of the problem: many sites, for example, are destroyed by

development (roads, canals, building projects, even graveyards) that accounted for nearly 75% of damage in the Charsadda area. Chapter Five gives a number of examples—they could be multiplied manifold, alas—from across India but looks more at pieces smuggled out and eventually recovered; one feels, however, that this chapter touches barely the tip of a very large iceberg. More hard figures would have been more useful than the summary provided of the country's Antiquities and Art Treasures Act.

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight look at Somalia, Kenya, Tanzania and Niger. Somalia is a desperate case because of the internal chaos that has prevailed there for many years; when civil order collapses, damage to archaeological heritage is one of the smaller things that concern a people struggling to stay alive. The Tanzania chapter talks about the absence of archaeological impact assessments on many projects like roads, pipelines and airports and advocates public education as at least a partial solution; it also is unusual in that it criticizes the country's antiquities service for neglect of duty. Even famous Olduvai Gorge sites have been vandalized. The chapter on Niger is particularly useful as most of us know little of the area; it includes an overview of recent research that in fact takes up much more space than the account of destruction.

The next chapter on Belize is one of the best in the volume. Written by a graduate student at Boston University it was created by a person who spent eight months working on the problem of illegal traffic in antiquities in the second smallest country of the continent. Increased development has opened much of the country with new roads and with it came a boom in plundering ancient sites. The growth in collecting Mayan artifacts both abroad and among the ever growing wealthy families of Mexico and Central America has created a huge market which Gilgan demonstrates with graphs and charts: nearly 2,000 of the 3,300 Mayan artifacts sold in the past thirty years at Sotheby's have no provenance and the average price has grown nearly

twentyfold. The author also carefully surveyed local police records to get a picture of enforcement: it was dismal with an average of three person a year being charged with antiquities looting. The situation is improving now, however, but only a ban on importing antiquities into major markets like the US would really curtail it.

The even richer culture of precolumbian Peru is the subject of the next chapter and once again looting has been at catastrophic levels; as with the drug trade, the local producers receive only a tiny fraction of the eventual market price of the object.

Short chapters follow on Syria, Jordan and Turkey. In spite of stricter police controls in those countries the trade continues to flourish. The Jordanian author suggests tentatively that banning all antiquities trading may in fact be counterproductive and only drive it underground. The paper on Cyprus focuses in particular on the problems in the northern part of the island, occupied by Turkey since 1974, but the author also makes it clear that there were serious problems long before. One positive step was the return to Cyprus by a US court of Byzantine wall paintings cut out of their chapel, but literally thousands of other pieces (particularly ceramics) continue to be smuggled out via Turkey and allegedly offered at dealers like Christie's.

Chapters Eighteen presents a different and most interesting approach to the issue: Ric Elia organized his students at Boston University to study the looting and sale of thousands of Greek-style red figure vases from Apulia in southern Italy. Only 6.9% of ca. 13,600 Apulian vases have known provenances and, while before 1980 the majority of vases were at least in museums, now 75% are in private collections or on the market. Ironically, the careful scholarly study of these vases by Professors Trendall and Campitoglou at the University of Sydney over the past half century has had much to do with creating an appreciation and a market for this remarkable pottery. Such detailed market studies for other types of antiquities would help bring home the

message about the extent of the illegal trade. Chapter Nineteen, the only one by a police officer, briefly presents the vast amount of damage done to Italy's heritage by clandestine excavators but points out the major efforts made by law enforcement bodies in Italy to control the traffic. The scale of the problem can be seen by some figures: ca. 160,000 works recovered by police and 326,000 saved in situ by prompt intervention.

Chapter Twenty by Marisa Marthari, a member of the Greek Archaeological Service, starts with a brief survey of antiquities smuggling from Greece and then presents a case study of the great early Bronze Age culture of the Cyclades islands whose schematic marble figurines influenced modern masters like Picasso and Modigliani. The vast majority of these figurines have come from illicit excavations and from master fakers, indeed to the point that scholarly studies of them have doubtful value in the eyes of many specialists. The author points out a new museum on the small Cycladic island of Ios that puts the culture into a better context and makes it clear to locals how much damage clandestine excavations do to our knowledge of their heritage.

This book is a useful contribution to the topic and presents the situation ca. AD 2000 in a number of countries, especially some like Niger, Kenya and Tanzania about which we hear little. Symposia like the Cambridge one are positive forces in the neverending struggle to preserve ancient sites from wanton destruction, but they are only a very small step on a very long journey. It was good to read in the paper from Syria that Canadian customs officers have managed in 1991 and 1996 to return 86 smuggled mosaic panels back to their home, but such successes are, alas, all too infrequent.

Hector Williams

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Faces in the Forest: First Nations Art Created on Living Trees

by Michael D. Blackstock,
McGill-Queen's University Press,
Montreal and Kingston. 240 pp.



Forestry, forest art and First Nations oral history and knowledge are brought together in this book as Blackstock takes the reader on a journey through the forests of Northern British Columbia and the Yukon Territory. Through his investigation of tree art, Blackstock takes the reader through each step of what would become his master's research and along the way he shares important oral teachings from elders. These teaching, transcribed conversations are an integral part of the story and also provide the elders an opportunity to pass this traditional knowledge to future generations. The sharing of traditional knowledge is particularly important with tree art because, as Blackstock outlines, industrial development poses a serious threat to this art form. Although the focus of his book is the carvings, etching, paintings, drawings, and writings done on the wood or bark of living trees by First Nations people, his message goes beyond an exploration of art in the forest. His message is a complex one and it is relayed in various ways in each of the four chapters.

Beginning in the introductory chapter, it is clear to the reader that there is a loss of

knowledge regarding tree art. His guides know the landscape and have many lessons to teach but the meaning and history of tree art remains largely an enigma. Even in his training as a forester, Blackstock had not heard of, nor encountered, carvings on trees. In Chapter Two, he begins to learn about tree art and it through his study of ethnographic examples and correspondences that the range of artwork in the forest and its significance becomes apparent. The art created on trees is a visual communication system which is known to be utilized by first peoples in parts of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the American Mid-west and the southwest. In terms of classifying the tree art, the following definitions are utilized: an *arborograph* is a drawing or painting on exposed wood of a tree; an *arboroglyph* is a carved image on the bark or exposed wood of a tree; an *arboroscript* is written or painted text on the bark or exposed wood of a tree. The possible meanings for these forms of tree art varies, depending upon the images created and the artist, but in general the purpose was to relay information to traveler's, record events and mark burial areas or trail systems.

With this knowledge about tree art, Chapter Three describes a textual and visual journey across the First Nations' landscape. Through a series of conversations and informal interviews, several examples of tree art are discussed including "George" the face carved on a hop pole, faces carved on trees along the Phillips River, and several carved trees near Hazelton. There are photographs and descriptions of the tree art and also a discussion of the spiritual aspect of the art. Among the Gitksan, the carvings of a human-like face in trees are referred to as "Gyetim Gan," which means person in the tree or wood. In this sense, the art in the forest is seen as living force, not a static entity with the forest being the intended viewing context of tree art. Unlike crest or totem poles that have a viewing context in a village, the carved face is a living spirit and resides in the forest setting. Moving south into the Carrier Territory forests, examples of arboroscript with syllabics marked a burials (death), traplines, meeting places, and seasonal camps, also the art also served as thanks or apology to the spirit of an animal (lynx, for example) that was killed. As one reads these accounts you

begin to understand spiritual power of the tree art and also gain a glimpse of how First Nation peoples utilized the forest landscape in the past.

The use of the forest and the art left beyond is in danger of being lost. As continues his Blackstock journey north from the Central Interior, he discovers that a recorded tree (GgRg-1) with a carved face near Tumbler Ridge that has disappeared. Tree art from the Yukon has also been lost although photographs were taken prior to their disappearance or destruction. In the final chapter, Blackstock reflects on what he has learned on his journey through the First Nations landscape. He then draws on his experiences as a forester and outlines ways to preserve and protect tree art. He suggests a "recognition and celebration" as well as a strategy of "protection and maintenance" of Trees of Aboriginal Importance (TAIs). He briefly outlines portions of the Heritage Conservation Act which are designed to protect culturally modified trees and encourages professionals to learn about tree art and the First Nations' Landscape. It is puzzling why Blackstock does not offer more information on archaeological impact assessments and the current methods used by archaeologists and forest licensees to protect heritage resources. The Culturally Modified Tree (CMT) handbook Reference as well as traditional use studies are now mainstream resources used in all kinds of natural resource extraction projects whether it being mining development, forest cut blocks or road development. It seems that Blackstock's caution is targeting the wrong audience. I believe that professionals are aware and actively protecting forest art, in part, because of requires outlined in the Forest Practices Code and Ministry of Forest's (MoF) Protection of Aboriginal Rights Policy and they are also concerned about protecting the forest and it's living history. Perhaps the audience to target is the general population of the province who use the landscape for recreation reasons and who are not aware of the faces in the forest.

Nadine Gray

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Perspectives on Northern Northwest Coast Prehistory

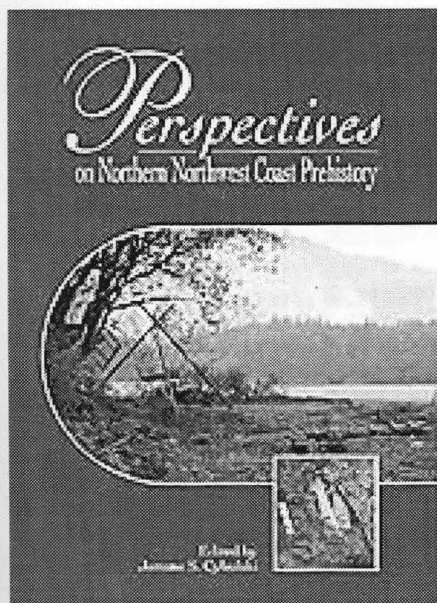
edited by Jerome S. Cybulski.

Archaeological Survey of Canada

Mercury Series Paper 160,

Canadian Museum of Civilization,

Ottawa, 2001. ix+281 pp., illus.



The northern area of the Northwest Coast — from roughly Prince Rupert to the north end of the Alaskan panhandle — presents an interesting face to archaeologists. The natural setting is stark and dramatic, seemingly touched only in a limited way by the modern world. This region has hosted some of the richest cultural traditions recorded on the Northwest Coast, and the archaeological record holds clues as to the identity and origin of some of the earliest inhabitants of this hemisphere. It is therefore useful to have a book devoted specifically to the character of the region, its aboriginal societies, and the archaeological record that documents their prehistory.

As editor, Jerome Cybulski has assembled a cast of thirteen authors offering contributions that cover a wide array of topics of recurrent interest to archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and the interested general reader. The eleven chapters in the volume derive from papers presented before a special session at the 1996 meetings of the Canadian Archaeological Association in Halifax. Represented are studies both broad and specific, including discussions

of prehistoric environmental change, biological affinities of northern coast cultures, intersocietal relations and trade, subsistence and settlement patterns, and concerns about the preservation of the very archaeological record upon which these studies draw.

In terms of focus, the Prince Rupert Harbour area is well represented (seven of eleven chapters) in the volume. This is not surprising given that this area is probably the most accessible region of the North Coast, and thus (relatively) well-explored by archaeologists. But it is also a result of the initial conference papers having been presented to mark the passing of three decades since the implementation and execution of the North Coast Prehistory Project. This project, directed by George MacDonald in the late 1960s and staffed by many of the paper contributors, focused primarily on the archaeology of the Prince Rupert Harbour region. Complementing these localized studies are papers that take a broad, regional perspective in addressing the questions and issues raised. Some papers have clearly been significantly revised and/or supplemented following their initial presentation in Halifax, while others are brief enough to indicate that little has been added. In either case, bibliographies include few references more recent than 1996.

Appropriately, the first chapter is a summary of the results of George MacDonald's investigations conducted in the late 1960s. These data have not been reported in full previously, and, while this chapter is no substitute for such a report, it perhaps provides the most useful summary to date. An impressive array of sites dating to the last 3,500 years were investigated by MacDonald and crew, and information from these sites has played a pivotal role in conceptualizations of North Coast prehistory over the last four decades.

A critical long-term discussion is provided in Chapter 2 by Fladmark, who contextualizes the prehistory of the North Coast in its environmental history, particularly the dramatic changes that characterized the early postglacial period prior to 10 000 years ago. Paleoenvironmental data (pollen, sea level records) can make for a dry read, yet Fladmark presents a completely accessible

treatment, weaving data with their most critical implications for the earliest cultures of the region. His interpretations are in the tradition of his long held view that the B.C. coast provided a suitable corridor for movement of North America's earliest inhabitants past the ice sheets to more southerly parts of our hemisphere. Coupled with the recent findings of Daryl Fedje and colleagues on Haida Gwaii (e.g., Fedje 2003; Fedje and Christensen 1999; Fedje et al. 2001) — work which is unfortunately absent from this volume, I might add — the coastal perspective on the route of the initial peopling of the New World is alive and well. While submerged data has always been a critical problem for establishing a coastal route for the early peopling of the Americas, it seems the more we look, the more we find.

With the exception of Fladmark's contribution, all papers pertain to developments that occurred in the last 5000 years. During this time fundamental and monumental changes have occurred in Northwest Coast societies. Perhaps the most significant is the emergence of so-called "ranked societies" sometime (as Archer argues in this volume) during the last two millennia. Such societies, where social life involved relations of economic and status inequality, are a critical research question on the Northwest Coast, and indeed, in anthropology most broadly. The term "ranked society" also acts as a sort of shorthand description for a series of traits (e.g., large-scale storage of resources, permanent villages) that made Northwest Coast societies quite unique amongst hunting and gathering societies of the world, including ancestral cultures of the same area. The archaeological record of the North Coast has much to contribute to understanding the critical elements of this transition, and many papers directly or indirectly tackle this topic, including contributions by Sutherland, Marsden, Cybulski, Croes, Archer, Prince and the team of Coupland, Martindale and Marsden.

A major conclusion I drew from these papers as a group, and in at least this respect they are in concordance, is that the changes that accompanied the development of rank society were widespread, far reaching, and involved the reconfiguration of relations both within and between North Coast societies. The

rich burial traditions evident at a number of sites in the harbour document that conflict may have been an important factor in such social changes. As an archaeologist working mostly in southern coastal B.C., I find the rich grave tradition, and particularly the warfare symbolism in "high-status" graves at the Boardwalk site, particularly striking. Clearly status and warfare have been inextricably linked for many millennia on the North Coast.

But conflict is clearly not the whole answer as to why societies of the North Coast underwent fundamental changes and developed highly structured systems of social inequality. This point is made clear by Coupland, Martindale, and Marsden. They consider the notion that the wealthiest local groups in terms of their access to natural resources may have been the highest-ranking groups in the region. Contra some earlier studies (Donald and Mitchell 1994), they find no correlation in the north, however, and suggest that we cannot employ such one-dimensional explanations to explain the process everywhere we look.

Archer tackles the issue of when such "ranked societies" arise more directly with archaeological data, specifically using village patterns and differences in house size as a measure of the differences in wealth and, presumably, status among households within villages. A number of village sites with a few very large houses appear quite quickly after 100 A.D. in the region, which Archer suggests reflect the appearance of high ranking and wealthy households and thus "ranked society". While differences in house size are not the only nor perhaps even the most effective way to measure differences in wealth and status, clearly some fundamental changes were happening in village life in the early second millennium before present.

Papers by Sutherland, Marsden, Cybulski, and Prince emphasize that the development of ranked society occurred in tandem with increasing regional relations of trade, interaction, and conflict, as well as population movements. In particular, conflicts over resources, space, and power are central though perhaps unfortunate elements of the expanding scale (and expanding scale of

inequality) in small-scale societies, at least those of the North Coast.

In addition to thematics, the coverage of Prince Rupert Harbour is expanded significantly in papers by Croes and Kathlyn and Frances Stewart. These papers focus primarily on materials analyses — basketry in the former and animal bones in the latter — and nicely complement the more problem-oriented research. Since my impression is that no major report on the North Coast Prehistory Project will be arriving in the mail soon, the coverage presented here allows this volume to suffice in the interim.

While much of the book explicitly involves "looking back" over almost four decades of archaeological research, the final chapter by Simonsen looks squarely into the future. It is unfortunately standard practice these days to have to punctuate such insightful research with the point that the wonderfully rich archaeological record that forms the basis for such research is at high risk for destruction. A great deal of data has and will continue to disappear before any archaeologist will have a chance to document their context. Even on the seemingly remote North Coast, the relentless pace of development, forestry, natural erosion and even human recreation engender highly destructive forces and results. Simonsen prescribes that, in light of the almost embarrassing lack of federal policy on heritage conservation, increased involvement of First Nations in a system of more local management initiatives may be one way to develop credible and effective approaches to conservation, both politically and pragmatically.

In style and format, the volume receives generally high marks. A satisfying combination of academic weightiness and general accessibility is achieved, which provides for a pleasant read for both scholars and general readers alike. Despite that a few papers are quite brief and consequently somewhat general in their conclusions, there is certainly more than enough here to wet the appetite of archaeological specialists. The editor should be commended for this approach. The illustrations are well produced and the large type size creates a visual accessibility that often eludes similar data-

rich publications.

Is the book worth the money and a space on your bookshelf? I would say at under \$30 this volume represents an excellent value. Its shortcomings are minor compared to its strengths, and, as the authors of the first chapter point out, regional syntheses are few and far between on the Northwest Coast. This volume should be a useful addition for any interested person for some years to come.

Colin Grier

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Any books listed above potentially are available to be reviewed for *The Midden*. Also, perhaps you know of other recent publications that you would like to see noted in an upcoming issue. For either of these reasons, contact the Publications Editor.

PERMITS ISSUED BY ARCHAEOLOGY & REGISTRY SERVICE BRANCH IN 2004

Permitted project descriptions as provided by the Archaeology & Registry Services Branch have been edited for brevity and clarity. The assistance of Ray Kenny (Manager, Archaeological Planning & Assessment) and Al Mackie (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 explained 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; MoF = Ministry of Forests; SBFEF = Small Business Forest Enterprise Program; 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.

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	Type	Applicant	Description
2004-109	AIA	Karen Brady	AIA of proposed forestry developments by Tsi Del Del Enterprises Ltd within CP 162, Blocks 1-3, and CP 163, Blocks 1-2, and associated roads, near Thunder Mountain, on unsurveyed Crown Land within Rge 3, Coast Land District, in the Chilcotin FD
2004-110	AIA	John Dewhirst	AIA in the vicinity of DfRw-013 for proposed sewage treatment plant expansion for the Town of Ladysmith, located within Lot A, DL 56, Oyster Land District, Plan 36898, on the N side of the mouth of Holland Creek
2004-111	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	AIA of forestry developments proposed by Canadian Forest Products Ltd., within NTS maps: 93-O-9 through 93-O-16, 93-P-12 through 93-P-13, 94-A-4, and 94-B-1 through 94-B-4, generally located in the vicinity of Peace Reach and Williston Lake S of the Peace River, Peace FD and Mackenzie FD
2004-112	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments by EnCana Corporation, and possible other clients to be identified, within NTS maps: 93-O-1, 93-O-7 through 93-O-16, 93-P-1 through 93-P-16, 94-A-1 through 94-A-4, and 94-B-1 through 94-B-2, generally located from S of Tumbler Ridge to the Peace River in NE BC
2004-113	ALT	Bruce Middleton	Alterations to FhSc-037 by removal of beetle-infested trees from TSL A52093, located in the vicinity of Blue 2000 FSR, N of Suscha Lake in the Blackwater River drainage, Vanderhoof FD
2004-114	ALT	Bruce Middleton	Alterations to FhSc-036 by removal of beetle-infested trees from TSL A64891-2, located in the vicinity of Suscha Narrows in the Blackwater River drainage, Vanderhoof FD
2004-115	ALT	Bruce Middleton	Alterations to FhSc-032, FhSc-033, FhSc-034 and FhSc-035 by removal of beetle-infested trees from TSL A64891, Blks 1 and 2, located in the vicinity of Suscha Lake North in the Blackwater River drainage, Vanderhoof FD
2004-116	AIA	Barry Wood	AIA of the proposed expansion of the College of the Rockies within lands located E of DL 25 and a portion of DL 36 situated outside of the boundaries

2004-117	INV	Sheila Minni	of the City of Cranbrook Systematic data recovery of DhRq-046 located at 18335 and 18407 - 96 Avenue, Surrey; DhRq-050 located at 18335 - 96 Avenue, Surrey; and DhRp-051 located at 20208 McIvor Avenue, Maple Ridge; all within the proposed route of the Fraser River Crossing Project
2004-118	AIA	Dan Weinberger	AIA for forestry operations proposed by Riverside Forest Products Ltd. and other forestry proponents as may be identified, within the 100 Mile House FD
2004-119	AIA	Andrew Mason	AIA of proposed residential redevelopment including removal of existing residence by barge and construction of a new residence and ancillary facilities, at 822 and 832 Tsawwassen Beach Road, Delta
2004-120	INV	Andrew Mason	Systematic data recovery and follow up monitoring of impacts to DkSb-030 resulting from installation of telecommunications cable landing and associated infrastructure within the intertidal and upland zones at Saltery Bay, Jervis Inlet
2004-121	ALT	Dave Watts	Alterations to DfSg-050 through DfSg-056 from Tsemac's proposed timber harvesting of TSL A42274, on Tzartus Island, Barkley Sound, South Island FD
2004-122	ALT	private owner	Alterations to DiSe-007 by relocation of a driveway, stump removal, shoring and general landscaping on Chrome Point Road, Deep Bay
2004-123	AIA	Dan Weinberger	AIA of the Canoe Creek Indian Band's proposed road upgrade to facilitate repair of the Gustafson Lake Dam, including three proposed gravel extraction areas for use during road upgrading
2004-124	AIA	Keary Walde	AIA of proposed and existing oil and gas developments by Burlington Resources Canada Ltd., Canadian Natural Resources, Devon Canada Corporation, Dominion Exploration Canada Ltd., and possible other petrochemical companies or their agents, within the Fort Nelson FD
2004-125	AIA	Joel Kinzie	AIA of petroleum industry developments proposed or already built by Dynamic Oil & Gas and possible other proponents or agents of the oil and gas industry within the Fort Nelson FD
2004-126	AIA	Dan Weinberger	AIA for forestry operations within the Central Cariboo FD as proposed by Lignum Ltd. and other proponents as may be identified
2004-127	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments by BP Canada Energy Company, and possible other clients to be identified, within NTS maps: 93-I-1, 93-I-2, 93-I-7 through 93-I-16, 93-H-16 and 93-J-16 located generally S of the Peace River and NE of the Fraser River
2004-128	AIA	Morley Eldridge	AIA of the Corporation of the District of North Cowichan's proposed Chemainus well water supply project including the proposed pipelines from the well head areas to the water storage facility
2004-129	AIA	Bonnie Campbell	AIA of proposed forestry developments by Weldwood Canada Ltd., and possible other licensees or agents, operating within the 100 Mile House FD
2004-130	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments on behalf of EnCana Corporation, and possible other proponents of the oil and gas industry, located in areas covered by NTS maps 94 H/9, 94 H/10, 94 H/11 and 94H/14, 94 H/15 and 94 H/16, in the vicinity of Gutah Creek, Kahntah River and the Ethithun River, all N of the Peace River
2004-131	AIA	Peter Merchant	AIA of proposed development by the Ruby Lake Lagoon and Nature Reserve Society of a field studies centre within the Remainder of DL 3988 (except those portions in Plans 12095, 14653, 15401, 15813 and 17325), NWD, located between Pender Harbour and Egmont on the E side of Highway 101 immediately S of Ruby Lake, Sunshine Coast Regional District
2004-132	AIA	Amanda Marshall	AIA of proposed forestry operations for Canadian Forest Products Ltd. (Prince George Division) within the Fort St. James and Prince George FD
2004-133	AIA	Chris Engisch	AIA of proposed residential redevelopment including removal of existing residence/foundation, construction excavation for new residence and ancillary services and facilities, at 1601 Comox Avenue, Comox
2004-134	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	Pre- and post-construction AIA for Anadarko Canada Corporation, and possible other proponents of proposed oil and gas developments located in

2004-135	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	areas covered by NTS maps 94-I-1 to 94-I-12 and 94-J-1 to 94-J-12, inclusive, in the vicinity of the Fontas and Muskwa Rivers, NE BC AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments for Anadarko Canada Corporation, and possible other proponents of the oil and gas industry, located in areas covered by NTS maps 94 I/13 through 94 I/16, 94 J/15 and 94 J/16, 94 O/1, 2, 94 O/7 through 94 O/10, 15, 16, and 94 P/1 through 94 P/16, all N of the Peace River
2004-136	AIA	Beth Hrychuk	AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments on behalf of Anadarko Canada Corporation, and possible other proponents or agents of the oil and gas industry, located in areas covered by NTS maps 94 A/3, 94 A/4 and 94 A/5 W of the Halfway River, 94 B/1 through 94 B/15, and 94 O/16, all N of the Peace River
2004-137	AIA	Andrew Mason	AIA of the proposed David Avenue Connector Project running along David, Avenue from Pipeline Road across the Coquitlam River to Coast Meridian Road, City of Coquitlam
2004-138	AIA	David Schaepe	Archaeological inventory for the Cheam Indian Band within the private lot located at 50891 Old Yale Road, Rosedale, known as the "Porter Property", located in the vicinity of DhRk-006
2004-139	AIA	Dan Weinberger	AIA of forestry operations proposed by Chasm Sawmills, a division of West Fraser Mills Ltd., and possible other forestry licensees or agents, operating within 100 Mile House, Lillooett and Kamloops FDs
2004-140	AIA	Karen Brady	AIA of proposed forestry developments within area covered by Woodlot Licence 1655, located S of Buffalo Lake in the SE portion of DL 2898 (Lillooet Land District), 100 Mile House FD
2004-141	ALT	Bruce Middleton	Alterations by BC Timber Sales to CMTs within FjSg-021, TSL A18157, Block 261, Vanderhoof FD, located along the S shore of Emmett Lake, to remove areas of beetle-infestation
2004-142	ALT	Robert Ravai	Relocation by LeMare Lake Logging Ltd of the single wind-fall test-hole CMT (#2) comprising EbSw-013 from its position in conflict with the proposed Klaskino Mainline inside cutblock KC 7, North Island - Central Coast FD
2004-143	AIA	Casey O'Neill	AIA of existing and proposed oil and gas developments for Pioneer Natural Resources Canada Inc. and possible other proponents (to be identified), within the areas covered by NTS maps: 94 H/4, 94 H/5, 94 H/12, 94 H/13, (N of the Beatton River and sS of the Sikanni River), 94 G/9 and 94 G/16 (E of the Sikanni River) all within NE BC
2004-144	AIA	Simon Kaltenrieder	AIA of forestry developments proposed under the MoF, BCTS, for the Quesnel FD
2004-145	AIA	Rudy Reimer	AIA of proposed forestry operations by Surespan Construction within cutblock MB 03-01, located along McNab Creek on the W shore of Howe Sound within the Sunshine Coast FD
2004-146	ALT	Brian Sommerfeld	Alterations to sites EaSs-014 through EaSs-019 from logging operations proposed by Western Forest Products Ltd. for Block M72, located near the head of Amai Inlet, Campbell River FD
2004-147	ALT	property owner	Alterations to that part of DgRs-001 located on 56th Avenue, Municipality of Delta, from demolition of existing house and sub-grade excavations for construction of a multi-family residence
2004-148	AIA	Ian Franck	AIA of forestry developments proposed by Pacific Forest Consulting Ltd. in the area S of Weaver Lake and N, W and E of Grave Lake, all located W of Harrison Lake, Chilliwack FD
2004-149	AIA	Andrew Mason	CHANGED: AIA of Northwest Hardwoods Ltd.'s proposed forestry operations within the Chehalis Valley and the Stave River and Winslow Creek areas N of Stave Lake, Chilliwack FD
2004-150	INV	Owen Grant	Systematic data recovery of that part of EaSf-036 within Strata Lot A, Plan VIS3115, Fractional SW1/4, Sec 2, Sayward Land District, located at Cortes Bay, Cortes Island
2004-151	ALT	Stephen Smith	Alterations during harvest or road construction by Western Forest Products Ltd, to a total of 11 CMTs recorded at sites EkSp-052, -053, -054, and -055

			within FL A16847 Block S104, as well as 31 CMTs recorded at EkSp-024 and -025 within Cutblock S812H, all situated near Owikeno Lake, North Island-Central Coast FD
2004-152	AIA	Barry Wood	AIA of a proposed 2 km-long extension to the existing CPR Kingsgate Railway Siding, from approximately the Little Moyie River (station 78+900) S to the existing siding at station 81+000, the proposed construction area being located on the W side of the Moyie River N of Kingsgate in the West Kootenay District
2004-153	AIA	Andrew Mason	AIA of the proposed Port Mann/Highway 1 Project with the upgrading of Highway 1 for approximately 40 km from the McGill Street off-ramp in Vancouver to 216th Street in Langley, and possible twinning of the Port Mann Bridge
2004-154	AIA	Marianne Berkey	AIA of proposed forestry developments by Pope & Talbot Ltd. and possible other licensees within the Boundary TSA and TFL #8, Arrow Boundary FD
2004-155	AIA	Barry Wood	AIA of forestry developments proposed by Tembec Industries (Kootenay Region South), J.H. Huscroft Ltd., Wyndell Box & Lumber Company Ltd., Creston Valley Forest Corporation, MoF (BCTS), and possible other clients to be identified, operating within Kootenay Lake FD
2004-156	AIA	Tanja Hoffmann	AIA for the proposed replacement of 232nd Street bridge that crosses the South Allouette River, Maple Ridge
2004-157	AIA	Barry Wood	AIA of the proposed Elk Valley Coal Discovery Centre located within part of Lot 1, Plan 7590, DLs 4588 & 4589, Kootenay District, bordering Highway 3 within the District of Sparwood
2004-158	ALT	Jerry Kennah	Alterations to CMT CA2-2 and to lands and unmodified trees within CMT site FhUa-071, in the Chinukundl Creek drainage, near Queen Charlotte City, as a result of construction of an extension to the Chinukundl Mainline
2004-159	AIA	Hugh Middleton	AIA of forestry developments by West Chilcotin Forest Products Ltd. operating within the Chilcotin, Vanderhoof and Quesnel FDs
2004-160	ALT	property owner	Alterations to DjSa-051 by removal of an existing house and development of a new residence, at Francis Peninsula Point Road on the Sunshine Coast



stable in Iraq. Unless measures are employed in the meantime, the pace of looting is going to continue.

It may seem strange to raise concerns about archaeological sites when living Iraqis are suffering immensely from this invasion. The number of civilian casualties is conservatively estimated at more than 12,000, and the number of wounded is undoubtedly manifold higher. The loss of family members, houses, and jobs must be crippling for Iraqis, who already have withstood a generation of poverty and social strife under Saddam Hussein's tyranny, the war with Iran in the 1980s, and a decade of economic sanctions since the first Gulf War. Any sane archaeologist would choose to protect Iraqi lives over protecting remains, but the damage to their heritage simply reveals how far-reaching the devastation of war extends.

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Moricetown canyon.

Additional concerns were expressed by local elders who warned that the proposed development site was a formal burial ground that, if disturbed, would bring ill fortune to the entire community. The elders concerns were based on oral history and earlier archaeological work in the area that recorded three burial sites. Despite these concerns, the Moricetown band allowed the long-awaited development to proceed due to the need for economic development ventures and the promise of employment in an area stricken by high unemployment rates. However, the development plans were soon halted when human remains were encountered on the second day of work. The impact to the archaeological site has been significant as at least two burials and their accompanying artifacts have been disturbed. With permission from the elders, a salvage operation was conducted which enabled Budhwa to take photographs and samples of fabric and bone for analysis. Although the human remains have since been reburied in a small ceremony, the conflict between economic development and cultural heritage resource management will require further negotiations.

In an effort to ease the present conflict, officials at the Moricetown band council agreed to relocate the centre to the other side of the river at a cost tallying around \$30,000. It is unclear whether the new development site contains known cultural heritage resources but work at this location is currently being conducted without archaeological consultation. Budhwa is currently awaiting results from bone and artifact analysis of the impacted burials. Perhaps these results may assist in dating the site and also help to define strategies for negotiating future developments that impact archaeological and heritage resources.

FROM THE LOWER STRATA OF THE MIDDEN

10 Years Ago

I.R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. reported it was conducting controlled excavations and monitoring construction at Craig Bay (DhSb 8) near Parksville on Vancouver Island. Work was expected to expand to include a public interpretation programme. The site appeared to have been occupied from at least 3200 BP to the historic period. I.R. Wilson reported the recovery of several notable artifacts including a carved stone bowl fragment.

Volume 26, No. 3 (1994).

25 Years Ago

Midden editors recommended Dr. Carl Borden's final paper on B.C. archaeology "Peopling and Early Cultures of the Pacific Northwest," published posthumously in Science magazine (9 March 1979). They noted, however, that Borden's view that peopling of B.C. occurred via the inter-montaine plateau between the Coast Mountains and the Rockies was under challenge by Knut Fladmark's thesis of a coastal route.

Volume XI, No. 3, (1979).

30 Years Ago

Provincial Archaeologist, Bjorn Simonsen reported that government and industry would provide a record amount of support to archaeology in B.C. during the summer, to the tune of about \$400,000.

The B.C. Government approved a small budget for setting up a network of volunteer "archaeological site wardens" throughout B.C.

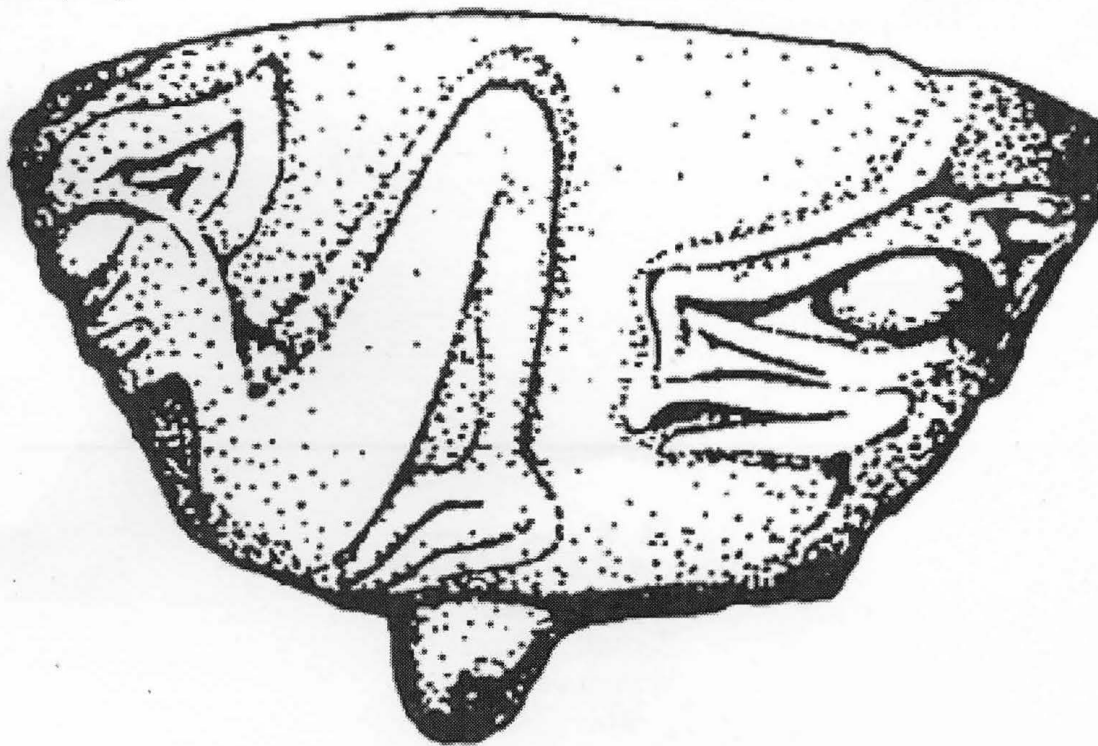
The Assistant Provincial Archaeologists, Gordon Hanson, planned to visit all regions of the province to locate and brief volunteers to act as watchdogs over local archaeological resources.

Volume VI, No. 3 (1974).

35 Years Ago

With the addition of three new members, ASBC membership rose to 95.

Volume I, No. 3 (1969).



Carved Stone Bowl from Craig Bay

CONFERENCES, MEETINGS, EVENTS AND SEMINARS

November 10 - 14, 2004

38th Annual Chacmool Conference: Once More With Feeling: 15 Years of Gender Archaeology.
Calgary, Alberta

For more information contact the organizers: chacmool@ucalgary.ca

November 17-21, 2004

American Anthropological Association Annual Meeting: Magic, Science and Religion
San Francisco Hilton and Towers
San Francisco, CA

For more information, contact the Program Chair: tluhrman@uchicago.edu (773)702-2496, or visit:
<http://www.alaska.net/~oha/aaa/index.htm>

November 13, 14, 2004

BC Archaeological Forum 2004
Merritt, B.C.
Merritt Secondary School

For more information contact: Nicola Tribal Association (NTA):
admin@tmixw.nicolatribal.org or (250) 378-4235

May 11 - 14, 2005

Canadian Archaeological Association, 38th Annual Conference
Nanaimo, B.C.

Best Western Dorchester Hotel & The Bastion Inn

Session proposals deadline: December 10, 2004; Paper/Poster Proposals deadline: January 14, 2005.

For more information contact Dr. Imogene Lim (limi@mala.bc.ca), or visit: <http://web.mala.bc.ca/caa2005/>



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