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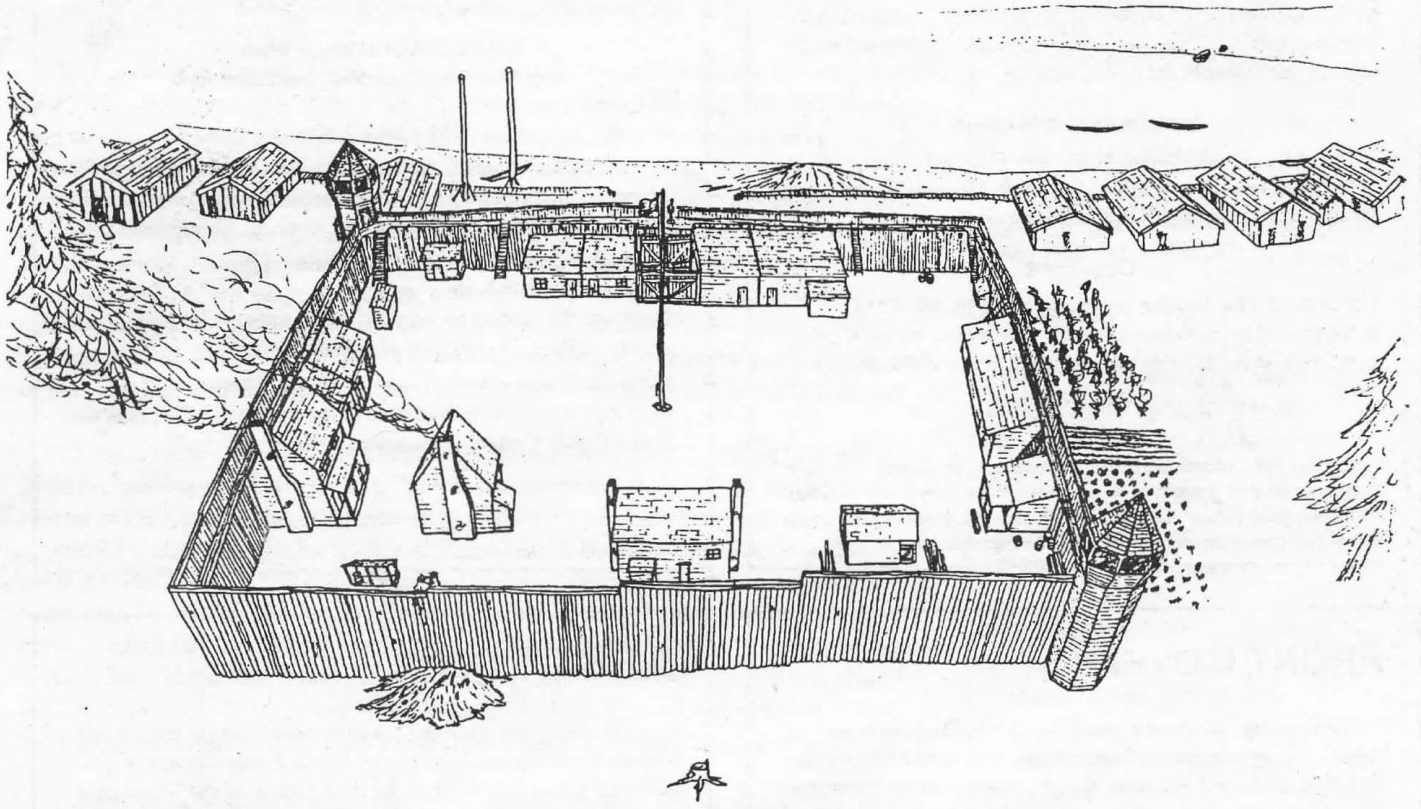
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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF THE



FUR TRADE

THE MIDDEN

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Scott Hamilton, Philip M. Hobler, Geordie Howe,
Olga Klimko, John Porter.

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FRONT COVER:

The drawings by *Remi Farvacque* on the front cover and on page 4 show interpretive reconstructions of Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella and illustrate the introductory article starting on page 2: "Archaeology and the British Columbia Fur Trade" by David Burley and Philip Hobler. (Drawings courtesy of P. Hobler)

Remi Farvacque, a former SFU student, is nearing completion of an M.Sc. (Earth Sciences) at the U. of Waterloo. He was Archaeological Researcher at Parks Canada-Ontario 1995 - 1997 and is now archaeologist and digital media technician with Terra Archaeological Laboratory. His areas of research interests include the Lake Superior basin, geoarchaeology, digital imaging and reconstruction of (Holocene) paleoenvironments.

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MIDDEN

INTRODUCTION

During the organisation of the Spring 1996 issue of *The Midden* [28(1)], I became very conscious of the scope and extent of historical archaeology investigations in British Columbia. I also was well aware that that issue lacked any articles pertaining to the archaeology of the fur trade era. Subsequently, the publication of *The Prophecy of the Swan* (UBC Press, 1996) by David Burley, Scott Hamilton, and Knut Fladmark, on the archaeology of the fur trade in the Upper Peace region between 1794 and 1823, convinced me that the subject deserved a special issue of *The Midden*.

The coastal and interior fur trade posts represent tangible evidence for early European occupation in many parts of the Pacific Northwest, including British Columbia. The continuous search for new sources of pelts and other natural resources, and the increased competition between the North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company for trade monopolies led to the exploration and mapping of many of the drainage systems, coastlines, and geographical features of this region. Numerous temporary and permanent trading posts were established in various strategic areas, some of which have developed into major towns and cities. Ex-traders and their families became leading members of the socio-economic and political elite of the colony and early provincial eras. The fur trade period also initiated changes within the traditional fabrics of the First Nations through their active participation in this trade and its aftermath.

This issue brings together three articles by several well-known researchers of the fur trade archaeology in this province. The introductory article by David Burley and Phil Hobler of the Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University, presents an inter-regional discussion of the fur trade manifestations in British Columbia, providing both the historical contexts and descriptions of archaeological research conducted thus far. Next, John Porter, Archaeological Services, Parks Canada (Western Region), in Calgary, gives us a brief overview of the archaeological investigations at Fort Langley National Historic Site. In the final article, Scott Hamilton, Lakehead University, and Olga Klimko, B.C. Archaeology Branch, explain the nature and logistics of the advance of the fur trade into northeastern B.C. from the archaeological and documentary records.

I would like to personally thank David Burley, Phil Hobler, Olga Klimko, Scott Hamilton, John Porter, Geordie Howe, and Mike Brand for contributing articles and book reviews specifically for this issue. My gratitude is also extended to the A.S.B.C. Executive for approving this theme, and to my colleagues on *The Midden* Editorial Committee, Geordie Howe, Heather Myles, John Maxwell (then Field Editor), and Alison Biely, for allowing me to run with this ball. I hope the reader will gain some appreciation for, and insight into, the nature and potential of historical archaeology, particularly of the fur trade period, in British Columbia and the Pacific Northwest.

Robbin Chatan, Guest Editor

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction by R. Chatan	1
Archaeology and the British Columbia Fur Trade by D. V. Burley and P.M. Hobler	2-5
Look For ... more on the Fur Trade by R. Chatan	5
Fort Langley National Historic Site by J. Porter	6-9
Courses by H. Myles	9
The Development of a Land-Based Fur Trade in British Columbia by S. Hamilton and O. Klimko	10-13
Prophecy of the Swan Review by G. Howe	13-14
Fort Reliance: An Archaeological Asset Review by M. Brand	15-16
A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World Review by R. Chatan.	16-17
Permits by R. Brolly	18-19
Conferences by H. Myles	20-etc

ARCHAEOLOGY AND THE BRITISH COLUMBIA FUR TRADE

by DAVID V. BURLEY and PHILIP M. HOBLER

Introduction

It has been said that much of the European history of British Columbia is a history of the fur trade, an assertion of considerable merit. Even the exploration voyages of such stalwart navigators as Juan Pérez (1774), Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra (1775) and James Cook (1778) were no more than a pre-ambule and stimulus for the events to follow. The 1784 English publication of Cook's journals confirmed an abundance of sea otter pelts on the Northwest Coast, and the incredible price these could command in Canton, China. Thereafter, in 1785, the onslaught began at Nootka Sound with the appearance of James Hanna and his suitably named vessel, *Sea Otter*. Simultaneously, during the last two decades of the 18th century, Montreal based traders of the North West Company had been moving progressively westward through northern North America, reaping large scale profits in the process. A final stage for their exploration saga was set in 1793 when Alexander Mackenzie crossed the British Columbia border by way of the Peace River, travelled up this river to its headwaters in the Rocky Mountains, and thence overland reaching Pacific tidewaters in Bella Coola. The interior of British Columbia, like its coast, was about to become a focus for European commercial enterprise.

We have been asked to write an introductory article to this issue of *The Midden* by giving an account of archaeological research on the British Columbia fur trade. This is not a straight forward task as this trade was a diverse endeavour involving radically different peoples, incomparable geography, conflicting motivations, and

quite different results. The archaeology cannot be divorced from individual historical considerations, and we include, of necessity, a summary context for each of the principal regions in which trade was conducted. It is also important to note that archaeologists have increasingly become concerned with Native history for this period, and the impact of the trade on indigenous cultures. These indirect studies are further included in our review.

The Maritime Trade

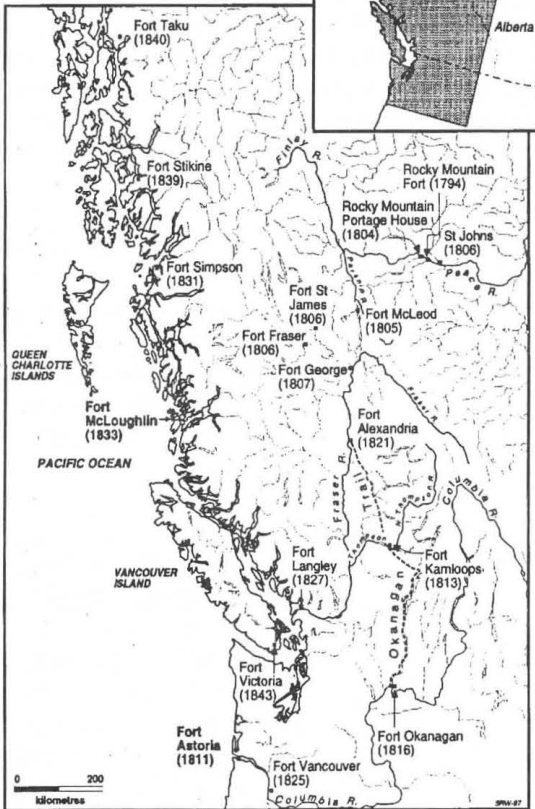
From 1785 to the 1820s, ship-based trading activities along the British Columbia coast were frenetic. By 1820, it is estimated that approximately 650 sailings had been made to the northwest Pacific, with British Columbia trade dominated initially by British interests and, slightly later, American ones. The trade evolved as a fierce competition for a scarce resource, namely sea otter pelts, first in easily accessed outer coast locales, and later into inner coastal waterways. Most historians would concur that the maritime fur trade was radically different from any other in North America. It occurred virtually without settlement or a presence on the land. It was generally characterized by a distrust between the trader and his client resulting in limited interaction or outright conflict. Most coastal Native groups were already skilled in trade through traditional practice, especially those who controlled long-standing coastal-interior trade routes, and most of these groups were able to maintain the upper hand in trade negotiations. When combined with the fact that a wholesale adoption of European technology had little advantage for a fishing based economy, immediate cultural disruption was limited.

For archaeologists in British Columbia, the direct study of the maritime fur trade is not easy. Without a network of fur trade posts upon which to focus, the problems of research are readily apparent. An exception here has been Donald Mitchell's work at Fort Defiance in 1968. Located in the vicinity of Lemmens Inlet on the west coast of Vancouver Island, Fort Defiance was the 1791-1792 wintering site of the American trader, Robert Gray. It is also notable that several of the trading vessels of this era were captured and/or sunk in accessible coastal waters, and their potential for research is high. This latter situation has long been recognised by the Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia (UASBC) whose members conducted underwater surveys in 1983 and 1994 to respectively locate the vessels *Tonquin* (captured in 1811 probably in Clayoquot Sound) and *Boston* (captured in Nootka Sound 1803). Although unsuccessful in these endeavours, an ongoing UASBC shipwreck inventory of northeastern Vancouver Island continues to hold promise for the future.

Another productive approach for British Columbia archaeologists has been to investigate the impact of maritime trade on Northwest Coast peoples and adjacent interior cultures. George MacDonald's archaeological study at the Native fort site of Kitwanga near the Skeena River has highlighted the historical accounts of local Chiefs to control and manipulate trade. Settlement pattern research in Nootka Sound by Yvonne Marshall (SFU, PhD thesis) similarly has been concerned with the effect of maritime trade, in this instance on the traditional Nuuchah-nulth political landscape. A number of excavations by Philip Hobler on the central coast have

Major fur trading posts in the Pacific Northwest.

Courtesy of D. Burley, Department of Archaeology, Simon Fraser University



after Harris and Matthews 1987

been centred on traditional Native sites in which early trade goods are present. Analyses by Hobler and Paul Prince (SFU MA thesis) have proposed a staged integration of European goods into traditional technologies and lifeways with a particular focus upon the long term processes of acculturation. And still other projects have inadvertently recovered trade assemblages that, when examined as a group, may address research questions on the types of goods being sought and bartered, and how they came to be employed by coastal peoples.

The Northeast Land Based Trade

The land based fur trade of northeastern British Columbia began in 1794 with the establishment of Rocky Mountain Fort near the present day city of Fort St. John. A series of posts was subsequently built in the upper Peace River valley and to the north, along the Liard River. Trade in northeastern British Columbia was typi-

cal of areas to the east, and Native dependencies on metal tools, cloth and other items were quickly established. The land-based trade had progressed westward largely by the efforts of the North West Company, an amalgamation of traders, mostly highland Scots, who operated from Montreal. Even with a forward exchange depot at Grand Portage in northwestern Ontario, North West Company supply lines from British Columbia posts required an annual canoe trip in excess of 6,500 km. By 1820, the Hudson's Bay Company began to compete with the North West Company along the Peace River valley and, following union of the two rivals in 1821, continued to operate the post of St Johns at the confluence of the Beatton and Peace Rivers. This operation ended abruptly in 1823 with the massacre of its company clerk and four other men at the hands of the Beaver Indians.

Knut Fladmark began a survey for and investigation of upper Peace River fur trade sites in 1974. With the assistance of SFU field school students in 1975 and 1976, he oversaw excavations and tests at the massacre site of St Johns, Rocky Mountain Fort, and other locales. In 1985 with support from the B.C. Heritage Trust, he again initiated work on sites of the upper Peace River valley. Joined by David Burley and Scott Hamilton in 1986 and 1987, this work has produced one of the most extensive fur trade archaeological records in Canada. Recovered data have been used to address a host of research issues from the problems of logistical supply in an isolated hinterland, to the impact of the fur trade on Peace River faunal populations, to theoretical issues of gender and ethnicity at fur trade sites, to considerations of the underlying causes of the St Johns massacre. Aspects of these problems, or the use of Peace River data to address related concerns, are found in

SFU theses by Jean Williams (MA), Elisabeth Bedard (MA), Heinz Pyszczuk (PhD), Scott Hamilton (PhD), and Olga Klimko (PhD). The cumulative research effort has recently been published by UBC Press under the title *Prophecy of the Swan* (reviewed in this issue).

New Caledonia Trade

Simon Fraser was sent westward in the summer of 1805 to extend North West Company trade beyond the Peace River canyon into the heart of interior British Columbia. This area was to be known as New Caledonia, Caledonia being the Latin name for Scotland. On Fraser's orders, the first post to be built was Fort McLeod on present day McLeod Lake. Quickly thereafter the territory was explored and Fort St. James (1806), Fort Fraser (1806) and Fort George (1807) were established in rapid succession. Native peoples, the landscape, and the resources of New Caledonia were far different from those previously encountered in North West Company operations. Most importantly, land based re-supply was pushed to its limits, and a Pacific base of operation had to be developed. This problem led Simon Fraser to explore the Fraser River to its mouth in 1808, and in 1813 it resulted in the creation of an Okanagan Trail for access to the Columbia River. The New Caledonia District produced an abundant fur return over its history, and it provided access to an alternative source of provisions — the Pacific salmon. Of the posts established within its boundaries, Fort St. James on Stuart Lake came to dominate as the district's administrative centre for both North West Company and Hudson's Bay Company tenures. Fort St. James continued its operations into the mid-20th century.

Archaeological research on the New Caledonia trade has been concentrated at two sites, Fort St. James and Fort McLeod. Fort St. James was designated a site of National Significance by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and this has led to its restoration and public interpretation by Parks Canada. In support of these programmes, Parks Canada has sponsored numerous archaeological projects at the site between 1971 and 1976, in 1988, and at various times between 1990 and 1994. The vast majority of these studies has been concerned with restoration

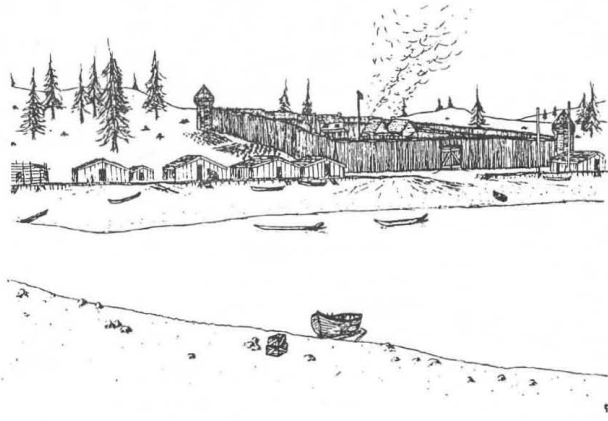
or impact assessment objectives, but a wealth of artefact and architectural data have now been gathered for future synthesis and problem oriented research. Impact assessment concerns for Fort McLeod also led to its first archaeological study in 1986 by William Quackenbush and David Burley under contract to the British Columbia Provincial Parks Branch. Further investigations by Quackenbush in 1987 provided data for a Masters thesis (SFU) in which different historical stages in the post's 147 year operation are defined. The McLeod Lake Sekani band now considers this site to be an integral component of their historical past, and they have sponsored additional archaeological research in the 1990s.

Columbia River Trade and the Okanagan Trail

As part of their expansionist program in 1807, North West Company traders established Kootenae House, the first of several posts to be built in the Columbia River Basin. Four years later, the American based Pacific Fur Company challenged North West Company operations through the construction of Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River. In 1813 this operation was sold (presumably by force of arms) to the North West Company, renamed Fort George, and then employed as a Pacific depot for resupply to New Caledonia. Under Hudson's Bay Company control in 1825, the operation was moved upriver and renamed Fort Vancouver. The route by which goods were shipped from the Columbia River to New Caledonia and the upper Fraser River watershed was difficult, but far more effective than a trans-continental canoe brigade. Referred to as the Okanagan Trail, supplies were first taken by canoe to Fort Okanagan at the junction of the Columbia and Okanagan Rivers. Here they were repacked onto a horse train for overland transport north through the Okanagan region to the Thompson River post of Fort Kamloops (1811), and then onward to the upper Fraser River. Upon reaching the upper Fraser, they were again loaded into canoes for travel throughout the district. Al-

though temporarily abandoned by the Hudsons Bay Company between 1821 and 1825, the Okaganan Trail provided a critical supply line for the Thompson River and New Caledonia districts until 1847.

Most fur trade posts associated with the Columbia River trade now occur in United States territory. Archaeological research at these sites has been considerable, providing a voluminous data base for comparison to related posts in British Columbia. Of those sites on the Canadian side of the border, only the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Kamloops (1821-1842) has been investigated. This work was undertaken by Catherine Carlson in 1993 and



Interpretive reconstruction of Fort McLoughlin

1995, with the assistance of field school students from the University College of the Cariboo. Carlson's study has been concerned predominantly with the recovery of material culture related to Native occupations at the site, not the fur trade post *per se*. Plans for the 1997 field season, however, are to initiate test excavations at the post, as well as to continue with previous concerns of the Native encampment.

Coastal Trade after 1825

The intense maritime trade collapsed in the 1820s with the extirpation of the sea otter. The trade that did continue became focused on beaver and fur seal, with coastal groups often acquiring beaver through traditional exchange systems into the interior. The Hudson's Bay Company consequently established a string of permanent fortified trading posts from the Columbia River north to Alaska. Included here were Fort Nisqually (1833) in Puget

Sound, Fort Langley (1827) on the Fraser River, Fort McLoughlin (1833) on Milbanke Sound, Fort Simpson (1831) on the Nass River, Fort Stikine on the Stikine River (1839), and Fort Taku (1840) on the Taku River off Lynn Channel in Alaska. In 1846 the Oregon Boundary Treaty established the United States/Canadian border as it exists today, placing Fort Vancouver and the Columbia River district within the jurisdiction of American customs. Anticipating this event, the Hudson's Bay Company had built Fort Victoria in 1843 to serve as its new Pacific depot. Simultaneously, it closed a number of coastal posts due to burgeoning costs, reverting back to the earlier use of trading vessels, including the steamship *Beaver*. Resupply along the Okanagan trail ceased in 1847, with goods now sent inland from Fort Langley via the Hope Trail.

Archaeological research into this later period of coastal trade has centred on two sites, Fort McLoughlin and Fort Langley. The Fort McLoughlin excavations were undertaken by Philip Hobler in 1982 as a joint venture with the Heiltsuk Band. Hobler conducted excavations at both the fort and the closely associated Native settlement. Combined with archival study of period accounts and later

photographs, it is now possible to reconstruct the site's layout in relative detail. The data from these excavations also permit examination of changing patterns in the acceptance and use of European goods by Heiltsuk peoples. This theme has been pursued by Alex Maas (MA thesis SFU) who analysed Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella ceramic assemblages with a concern for the role of Native and European women in the acculturation process.

Fort Langley, like Fort St. James, has been declared of National Historic Significance by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Also, like Fort St. James, it has been the focus for reconstruction and public interpretation programmes by Parks Canada. Excavations in support of these programs began as early as 1956 and now include no less than 15 separate archaeological projects since that time. These excavations have resulted in a wealth of data on building architecture, fur trade material culture and other

aspects of fur trade life. Since 1988, this work has been largely under the supervision of Parks Canada archaeologist John Porter. In conjunction with Douglas College and Vancouver City College (Langara), several archaeological field schools have been carried out here.

Conclusions

We initiated our discussion with the statement that the earliest European history of British Columbia is a history of the fur trade. This, we believe, has been understated in our overview of its diverse manifestations within provincial borders. Because of the limitations of space, our review of the archaeology has been limited to no more than a simple survey of who has done what and where. There are many other issues that might have been

discussed from individual research questions to unique and interesting discoveries. Perhaps the most important of these other issues is the problem of resource management and long term preservation. These sites are a fragile record of the British Columbia past, and several are now destroyed or threatened by modern land use. Most importantly, current heritage legislation in British Columbia offers only limited resolution, for sites post dating 1846 are without protection or government concern. One can only hope that future consideration of this legislation will take a more sensitive approach to British Columbia's fur trade legacy.

David V. Burley is a professor in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University. Although he is working in the South Pacific, he also has a keen interest in historical archaeology. Recently, he co-authored *Prophecy of the Swan* (UBC Press, 1996), describing the archaeology of the Upper Peace River fur trade.

Philip M. Hobler is presently the Chair of the Department of Archaeology, S.F.U. He has a long time interest in the prehistoric and historic archaeology of the Northwest Coast, including the investigations at Fort McLoughlin - Old Bella Bella.

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FORT LANGLEY NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE:

A REVIEW OF ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

By JOHN PORTER

Introduction

Fort Langley National Historic Site, assigned the Parks Canada designation Site 2T, is located on the south bank of the Fraser River approximately 56 km upstream from its mouth (see Figure 1). This site commemorates the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Lower Mainland between 1839 and 1888. The original site at Derby reach, also called Fort Langley I, was established in 1827. By 1839 this site was dilapidated and proved to be inconveniently situated for both the fishing and farming operations. Subsequently, Fort Langley II was established at its new location in 1839. In addition to making the farming and fishing operations more accessible, the new site provided access to a large variety of land and sea resources; fresh water, ocean and anadromous (spawning) fish, many varieties of birds, and various invertebrates. Finally, the new location afforded an improved defensive position given the international tensions of the time.

Archaeological investigations at the site during the past four decades have ranged from non-scientific exploratory excavations in the 1950s to systematic archaeological assessments of various areas on the historic site property (see Figure 2). These archaeological studies have revealed information concerning the structural sequence of the fort and the various buildings and associated features. Testing has also identified an extensive First Nations precontact occupation over most of the current historic site property. Finally, information regarding the 20th century use of the site has been recorded.

An Overview of Archaeological Investigations

Initial archaeological examination of Fort Langley was undertaken by J. Calder Peeps, a local architect, as part of the original site development and restoration

project. This work occurred in 1956 and concentrated on identifying the palisade lines prior to reconstruction. Evidence for 44 palisade post remnants was recorded as well as a concentration of scrap ferrous metal at the northeast corner of the site. This latter discovery was interpreted as evidence that the first building at this location was the blacksmith shop. While no mention was made of the methods used in the testing programme at the time, testing in the 1980s and 1990s indicate augers and a backhoe were used.

Archaeological studies were next conducted in 1970-71, prior to reconstruction of the southeast section of palisade and the removal of Hudson's Bay Road. The work was primarily concentrated at the southeast corner of the fort, but limited excavation was carried out at selected areas along the west and east palisades. Evidence for sections of the east side palisade and two east-west oriented south palisades was noted.

The 1979 investigations were designed to test specific areas of the 1839-88 fort. This project delineated four separate palisade building phases, designated phases I-IV, and highlighted a number of historic features (cellars, refuse pits) and building remains. The testing primarily consisted

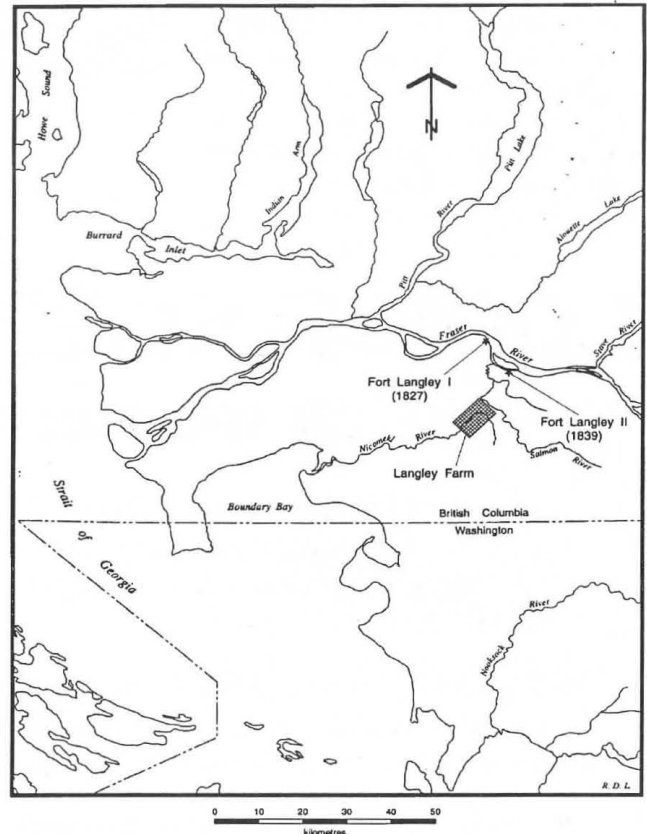


Figure 1
Location of Fort Langley I (1827-39), Fort Langley II (1839-88) and the Langley Farm

of test trenches positioned to cross-cut historic building locations. Limited block excavations were completed adjacent to the west palisade jog. A limited quantity of precontact artefacts were recovered during the programme.

In early 1984, archaeological excavations were initiated beneath the Warehouse (Structure K), the sole extant building. This project was undertaken to provide additional data regarding subfloor levels and the nature and location of a portion of the Phase I palisade and possible bastion. Excavations revealed the Phase I trench, a cultural depression, and horizontal wood elements, but no evidence

for a bastion was uncovered.

The archaeology programme continued in 1986, and marked the beginning of extensive excavations primarily to test historic building or palisade locations prior to reconstruction. The Friends of Fort Langley National Historic Site provided archaeological assistants for three field seasons (1987-89). Archaeological field schools commenced in 1988 and, except for a hiatus in 1991, continued to the 1996 field season. The field schools have been principally headed by Stan Copp of Langara College. Over 300 students from five lower mainland community colleges have participated in the field schools. A number of First Nations students, including members of the Stó:lo, Squamish, and Katzie, have participated. A Stó:lo elder has also presided over opening and closing ceremonies at the site.

Excavations have covered most of the east and west side palisade lines at the north end of the fort, the north escarpment area prior to reconstruction of the north palisade, the gallery system, and the reconstructed northeast and northwest bastion locations. Six historic building locations have been tested, with one, the Salesshop (Structure O), excavated prior to construction of the new Operations building. Testing occurred prior to the reconstruction of the Cooperage (Structure G) at the north end of the fort. Three proposed sites for the new Visitor Centre have been examined. Two presumed water wells have been partially excavated and their locations mapped for future reference. Test excavations have also occurred adjacent to the southeast escarpment and the waterfront area.

A vigorous programme of monitoring various ground disturbance activities is also in place. The installation of a variety of service lines including water, electrical, gas and security has been monitored. In addition, excavations for two new buildings, the Operations building and the Visitor Centre, have been completed, with new precontact, fort related and 20th century features being found.

Results

The various excavation and monitoring projects have resulted in a great amount of information being recovered from the site. To date 349 features have been designated. A small number were later determined to be of natural origin but most rep-

resent precontact, historic or 20th century features. Precontact features include hearths, pits and postholes. Historic features include cellars, refuse pits, privies, basal sill remnants, gallery posts, fencelines, cache pits and a variety of trenches. Features associated with the 20th century include refuse pits, a privy, water wells, fencelines and miscellaneous posts.

A total of 21 radiocarbon dates have been obtained. These range in age from 8420 ± 70 years BP to 210 ± 70 years BP. Three dates are associated with the Gulf of Georgia complex, five are associated with Marpole, three dates are affiliated with Locarno Beach, six dates relate to Charles phase occupations and four dates are associated with Old Cordilleran times. The radiocarbon dates demonstrate that this site location has a great time depth. The most recent dates indicate occupation until shortly before the arrival of the Hudson's Bay Company. Company records, however, do not indicate occupation of this locale by Native peoples prior to or at the time the fort was relocated to this site.

To date five activity areas have been identified with most being situated on the upper terrace. However, it is very probable that the entire upper terrace area has been utilized through time and it is just the lack of excavation in certain areas which gives the impression of discreet activity areas.

Excavations have recovered over 50,000 artefacts. The vast majority are of historic origin but artefacts from precontact occupations are also well represented. Most of the lithic artefacts are made of locally available materials such as basalt but several obsidian pieces have been recovered. Analysis indicates these are from quarries in southern Oregon. During the 1995 season two quartz crystal microblade cores, several small microblades and two nephrite adze blades were recovered. These findings support the existence of extensive trade networks.

One problem at the site regarding the later precontact periods is the extensive disturbance of the upper 30 cm of the site. This has almost surely resulted in the loss of many of the features and artefacts associated with the last 2000 years or so of site history.

The excavations have helped clarify a

number of building sequence or structural questions regarding the historic fort. Historic documentation suggested the presence of two fort construction phases. Archaeological evidence clearly indicated the presence of four distinct expansions. The work also provided evidence for the gallery system and has confirmed building locations and dimensions identified on an 1862 map of the site. Excavations at the northernmost Residence (Structure E) exposed a series of overlapping cellars. This circumstance indicated the existence of at least two historic residences at this location. Interestingly, no evidence for a structural fire was noted in any of the cellars, in support of the 1840 fire which destroyed the original fort. However, one of the cellars contained European red elderberry seeds. The presence of a 'exotic' plant species early in the history of the fort is very interesting.

Postholes at the south end of the Salesshop (Structure O) provide evidence for a set of stairs indicated at this location on the 1862 plan. The same map indicates a small structure behind one of the residential buildings. Excavations in 1988 confirmed the presence of a cellar at the location.

Excavations beneath the surviving Warehouse (Structure K) found evidence for a wood (possibly cedar) shim. This suggests wood shims may have been placed under the basal sill of the buildings to raise them off the ground in an attempt to extend the building's lifespan.

Some of the gallery postholes clearly showed evidence for post replacement. A second posthole was excavated partially overlapping the first and a new post was installed. A number of the gallery postholes contained post remnants. It appeared that the posts were simply broken off rather than cut or sawn. Squaring of the post was also inconsistent with some being fully squared and others only being squared on one or two faces.

No conclusive evidence for the temporary fort constructed after the 1840 fire has been uncovered. While a number of anomalous trenches do exist the relationships between these features remains to be clearly established as none match up with the known dimensions of the temporary fort.

Excavations have also identified a number of late 19th and early 20th cen-

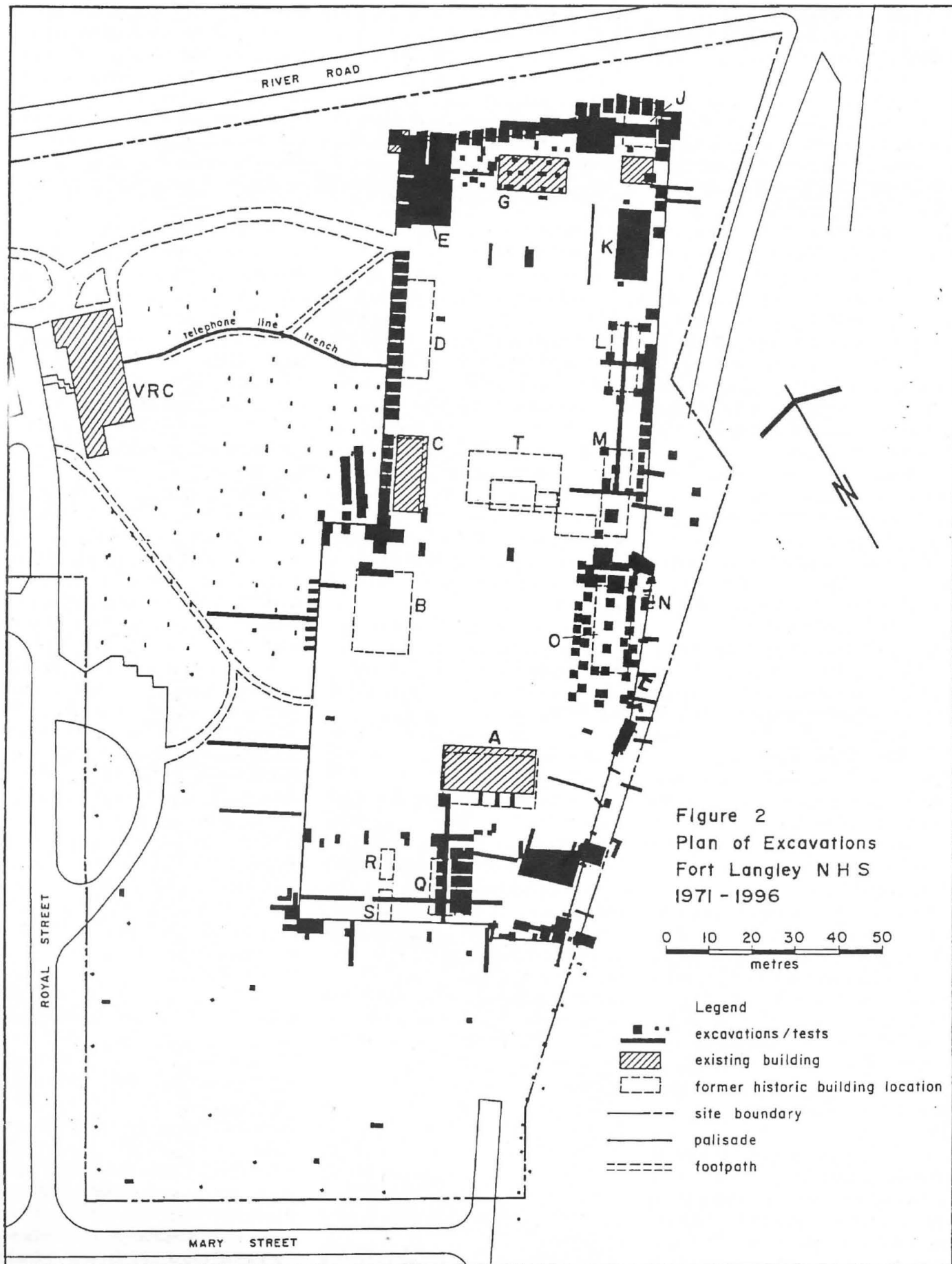


Figure 2
Plan of Excavations
Fort Langley NHS
1971 - 1996

0 10 20 30 40 50
metres

Legend

-  excavations / tests
-  existing building
-  former historic building location
-  site boundary
-  palisade
-  footpath



Field School students at work at Fort Langley National Historic Site. (Photo courtesy of J. Porter, Archaeological Services, Parks Canada, Western Region)

ture features including fencelines, a privy and a number of refuse pits. Most of these features relate to the Manager's Residence (Structure A) built in 1872 which later in the century became a private residence. It was dismantled in 1924 after sitting vacant for a number of years.

Conclusion

Since the 1950s excavations at Fort Langley National Historic Site have continued to provide a wealth of information regarding the various occupations of the area. The discovery of the long and widespread precontact occupation of the area was exciting. Although few diagnostic artefacts have been found at the site the information provided by the various features and the radiocarbon dates has helped fill in the gaps.

A great deal of information concerning the historic period of the site has been uncovered. Information concerning the palisade development sequence, the confirmation of a gallery system and the realization that two residential buildings existed where only one was thought to be has implications for other areas of the fort that remain

unexcavated. Discovery of possible palisade trenches in anomalous locations remains problematic. A number of interior separation trenches have been highlighted but excavations to determine the purpose and full extent of the features was seldom possible.

As is often the case in archaeological research, as some questions are answered additional avenues of study arise. However, such studies have served to reinforce the archaeological, historical and interpretive importance of Fort Langley National Historic Site.

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COURSES

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY COURSE

The Underwater Archaeological Society of British Columbia, in collaboration with the United Kingdom's Nautical Archaeological Society, is offering the Level 1 underwater archaeology course, where you learn specific skills to accurately survey shipwrecks. The course will be held in Vancouver, April 26-27. Day one will consist of indoor lectures, and day two includes pool time to apply the newly learned skills.

To register or for further information, contact Peter Ross, UASBC Education Director at (604) 469-3586, or send email to pross@istar.ca.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A LAND-BASED FUR TRADE IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

B Scott Hamilton and Olga Klimko

The British colonial fur trade between 1760 and 1821 was characterised by aggressive competition between British merchant firms, intensive resource exploitation, and rapid expansion in search of new hinterlands. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of this era was the development of aggressive Montreal-based British trade firms. Shortly after the 1760 British conquest of New France, Anglo-Scots merchants moved into the commercial void created by the collapse of the French colonial system. With surprising speed they achieved the maximum geographic extent of the former French system, and, by the early 1770s had expanded beyond those limits. This conspicuous success was due largely to their use of French Canadian skilled labour and the pre-existing transportation infrastructure. In effect the French trade system was decapitated and replaced by an Anglo-Scots managerial class. Several factors led to the rapid expansion of these merchants: the removal of restrictions on inland trade, comparatively bountiful supplies of trade goods deriving from the British industrial system, and more effective capitalisation of their ventures (Campbell 1983).

The dramatic success of the Montreal merchants forced the Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) to respond by abandoning the bay-side trading system and move into the interior to trade directly with fur trappers. The HBC inland expansion was initiated from York Factory, Albany Factory and Moose Factory (see Figure 1), but the most significant for this discussion was the 1774 establishment of

Cumberland House on the Saskatchewan River by Samuel Hearne. Both the Montreal traders and the HBC quickly realised that successful inland expansion required a co-ordinated effort based upon a network of inland trade posts that traded both furs and provisions. These provisioning activities were crucial for sustaining the increasingly cumbersome transportation system (see Ray 1974:129).

While the HBC was severely tested by inland expansion, the Montreal trade firms also faced significant logistical problems as they expanded to the limits of the Rupert's land watershed and began exploring the southern reaches of the Mackenzie River drainage basin (see Figure 1). In 1776 and 1777, Primeau and Thomas Frobisher (representing the Frobisher trade interest) began penetrating the rich fur bearing area of the Athabasca. However, it was not until 1778 that Peter Pond enjoyed spectacular success after crossing over the height of land at the Methy Portage, reached Lake Athabasca and "traded the shirt off his back" (Williams 1970:32). Pond's trade venture differed from the others in one important aspect. He effectively established himself in the Athabasca because he provisioned his crews with foodstuffs produced from trade posts along the Saskatchewan River. Others before him had relied upon provisions transported westward from Michilimackinac or the Grand Portage (see Figure 1) - - a costly strategy in terms of valuable canoe space used for provisions rather than commercial goods. Clearly, any significant westward expansion depended

upon a reliable locally derived food supply system and a network of forward depots where provisions could be cached to re-supply the annual canoe brigades. Equally evident was the need for a broad-based partnership (Rich 1959:116) to co-ordinate diverse efforts in a cost effective manner, to reduce competition and to provide superior capitalisation. Achieving these goals marked a new era in the British fur trade.

Pond's 1778 expedition was extremely successful in terms of fur returns, but it also drew attention to the logistical problems that would confound continued success. Pond left many furs behind at Lake Athabasca because he lacked transportation capacity and sufficient food and supplies for the trip back to Grand Portage. To effectively tap the rich fur resources of the Lake Athabasca region, a productive and reliable local food supply was required in the Mackenzie River drainage basin. However, at this early stage, the co-ordination and management of the Athabasca trade over-rode provisioning concerns. The potential wealth to be gained by overcoming these supply problems prompted the initial organisation of the North West Company (NWC) in 1779. Consisting of 16 shares held by nine different partnerships, this informal partnership failed within one year (Rich 1959:117). A second NWC was formed in 1780 and in 1780-81, Pond again entered the Athabasca country to collect previously abandoned furs. However, in the 1781-82 season Pond clashed with an independent Montreal trader named Jean Etienne Wadden, and

murdered him. Although acquitted at Montreal, the adverse publicity associated with Pond caused the dissolution of the second NWC.

The proliferation of traders along the Saskatchewan River, all struggling for control of the rich Athabasca, in conjunction with the catastrophic 1781-82 small pox epidemic, resulted in a disastrous fur

supply system, and developed a reliable provisioning strategy based upon locally preserved foodstuffs collected and strategically cached along the primary water routes (Hamilton 1991). The NWC headquarters depot, located at the western end of Lake Superior, formed the crucial hub of their operations. First located at the Grand Portage at the mouth of the Pigeon

functions. The small wintering outposts formed a stark contrast in terms of the rudimentary and often temporary nature of the accommodation, and the small complement of labourers and junior officers stationed there (Hamilton 1991). The comparative austerity of the wintering outposts and the limited range of archaeological recoveries found in them is

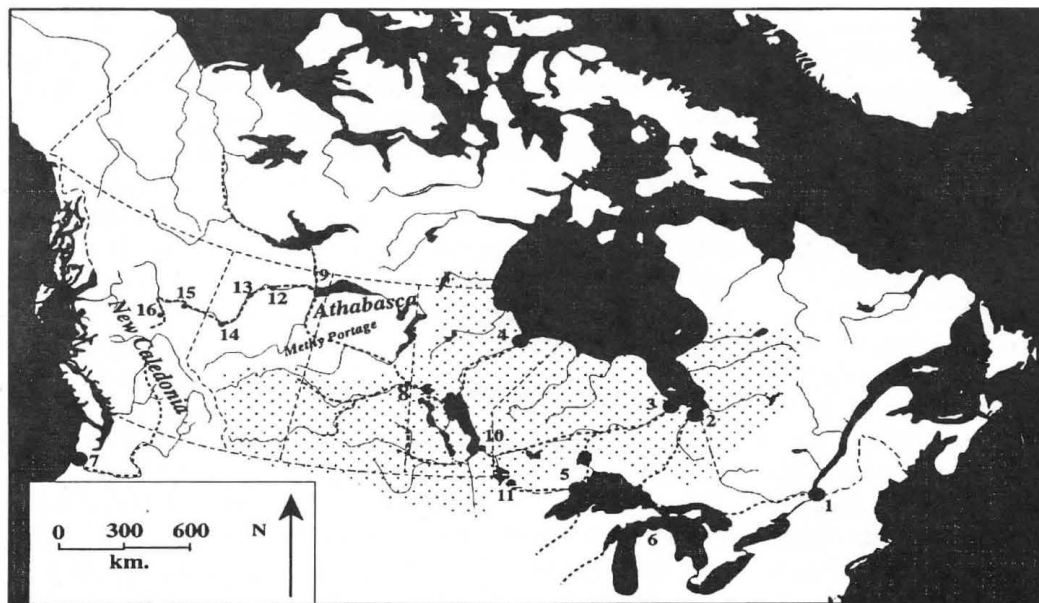


Figure 1 Selected 18th and 19th Century British Fur Trade Posts

- | | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Montreal | 7 Fort Astoria | 13 Fort Vermilion |
| 2 Moose Factory | 8 Cumberland House | 14 Fort Dunvegan |
| 3 Albany Factory | 9 Ft. Chippewyan | 15 Rocky Mountain Fort |
| 4 York Factory | 10 Bas de la Riviere | 16 Fort McLeod |
| 5 Ft. William/Grand Portage | 11 Lac la Pluie | |
| 6 Michillmackinac | 12 Boyer's Post | |

Approximate extent of Rupert's land

Major Transportation Routes

return. These pressures forced the most powerful Montreal trade firms to establish a new partnership in 1783-84 and the NWC was again formed. This partnership remained comparatively stable, and quickly dominated the British colonial fur trade to the detriment of both the remaining Montreal independent firms and the HBC. While trading widely throughout Rupert's land and beyond, the NWC was careful to retain a monopoly in the productive Athabasca region and sought to address the chronic logistical and provisioning problems that plagued their long and arduous transportation routes.

To re-supply their widely distributed trade posts throughout Rupert's land and beyond within one frost free season, the NWC carefully co-ordinated their efforts, employed two complements of labourers, established an effective marketing and re-

River, the major rendezvous point was later moved to Fort William at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River (see Figure 1). These posts mark the most convenient westward point of the Atlantic drainage basin, after which crews entered water routes draining either into Hudson Bay or the Arctic Ocean.

The NWC administered their trade operations by establishing a series of trade regions, each supervised by a Wintering Partner. From strategically placed headquarters, these partners supervised their regional operations by dispatching small crews to occupy small wintering outposts. Each of these trade posts types served different functions and had sharply divergent facilities. The major depots and regional headquarters were comparatively large and permanent in keeping with their warehouse, administrative and industrial

consistent with their economic role and their placement at the furthest reaches of the fur trade hinterland. Such posts are notable for the scarcity of ceramic and glass tableware and containerware, and the narrow range of utilitarian or easily transportable goods. While the difficulty of obtaining supplies contributes to this archaeological manifestation, in our view, it is only one mitigating factor in a complex interplay of forces that includes the economic and social role of Aboriginal women and the adoption of indigenous technology by European males (see Pyszczuk 1984, 1989; Bedard 1990; Gullason 1990; Hamilton 1991). This pattern is common in virtually all trade regions prior to circa 1840, but is particularly apparent in the remote Athabasca district where logistical difficulties were the most severe.

With respect to the Athabasca region, prodigious efforts were required to transport the winter fur yield from the regional headquarters at Fort Chippewyan south eastward to market. These crews were re-provisioned at the depots along the lower Saskatchewan River (Cumberland House) and at the mouth of the Winnipeg River (Bas de la Riviere) (see Figure 1). From there they moved onwards to the forward rendezvous at Rainy Lake (Lac la Pluie) where they unloaded their fur returns and restocked their canoes with trade goods and provisions. Upon completing these transactions, the Athabasca Brigade immediately re-embarked for the return to Lake Athabasca before freeze up. To expeditiously travel such long distances, no time could be spared enroute for hunting or fishing. Therefore, a sufficient food supply had to be available at the depots, or disaster would strike. The annual spring journey from Fort Chippewyan to the Saskatchewan River depots required the local acquisition of large quantities of dried meat, pemmican and fat the previous winter. Situated well within the southern boreal forest, the Athabasca area enjoyed highly productive fisheries, but terrestrial game productivity was spotty and vulnerable to over-exploitation (Hamilton 1996). Two essential exceptions to this generalisation include the local populations of wood bison and the high density of bison reported in the parkland ecotone regions of the Peace River valley to the west. Thus, the effective provisioning of the Athabasca Brigades could be realised and only maintained by establishing trade posts along the Peace River Valley. Recognising this advantage, the NWC began its exploration of the Lower Peace River valley by 1786 and established Boyer's Post in 1788 (Burley, Hamilton and Fladmark 1996:28) (see Figure 1).

While comparatively effective, these logistical measures exacted a high price. Indeed, when the cost of transporting cargoes as far as Fort Chippewyan is calculated relative to their invoice value in Montreal, there was a value escalation of about 430% (Hamilton 1996:428 citing Davidson 1918). These expenses are the direct product of the long and labour-intensive transportation system (see Figure 1). To recover these payroll-related costs it appears the NWC charged their employees high prices for goods purchased from

the company store (Hamilton 1991). The NWC also attempted to address their expensive transportation problem by seeking more cost-effective water routes into the Athabasca. This involved dispatching exploration parties from Fort Chippewyan in search of a viable water route to the Pacific Ocean. Establishment of such a route would open enormous new possibilities for the NWC. The western portion of British North America could be re-supplied by ships dispatched around the southern tip of South America. It also would offer the option of transporting furs across the Pacific Ocean for sale in the Orient.

This search for the Western Sea was directed by a young Wintering Partner named Alexander Mackenzie. He initiated the search in 1789 by following the Slave River northwards to Great Slave Lake and then down the Mackenzie River. This, of course, led the party northwards to the Arctic Ocean and not to the Pacific Ocean. After this disappointing first try, in 1793 Mackenzie made a second attempt, this time travelling up the Peace River from a forward base of operations at Fort Fork (see Figure 1). This avenue proved more promising as the Peace River offered a route through the Rocky Mountains and into the intermontaine region of what is now northern B.C. The party followed water courses southward, but the only route westward consisted of overland Aboriginal trade routes leading into the headwaters of the Bella Coola River. This latter water system eventually led Mackenzie's party to the Pacific Ocean on July 22, 1793. While Mackenzie succeeded in finding a water route across the continent, the cost of supplying the Athabasca River district via the Pacific coast was not commercially viable. However, his explorations documented a new fur hinterland beyond the Rocky Mountains (New Caledonia) which could be integrated into the NWC operations, largely because of the reliable food supplies along the Peace River valley (Burley, Hamilton and Fladmark 1996). Throughout the late 1790s the NWC gradually developed its post network along the Peace River (Rocky Mountain Fort, Fort Dunvegan and Fort Vermillion) (see Figure 1), and in 1797 sent an exploratory party beyond the Peace River Canyon under the direction of John Finlay.

A second attempt for such a route took place shortly after the 1805 NWC build-up in New Caledonia under the leadership of Simon Fraser. This exploration eventually led to the charting of the Fraser River which also proved too hazardous to be commercially viable. It was not until 1813, with the purchase of Fort Astoria at the mouth of the Columbia River, that the NWC gained a secure Pacific Ocean landfall and were able to begin developing a western supply route into the intermontaine region. This led to a decline in importance of the eastern supply route through the Peace River valley. This coincided with serious difficulties in provisioning the Peace River route due to dramatic declines in the availability of bison (Burley, Hamilton and Fladmark 1996).

Both Mackenzie and Fraser failed to accomplish their primary objective of charting a cost effective transportation corridor to the Pacific Ocean for the NWC. However, they made an important contribution by pushing the realm of European geographic knowledge and also introduced British colonial domination into the last great fur trade hinterlands — the Mackenzie River basin and the northern intermontaine region of B.C. In this regard, the Peace River valley played a central role as a transportation corridor, a fur hinterland and, most importantly, as an essential provisioning ground for the exploitation of New Caledonia.

Scott Hamilton received his Ph.D. in Archaeology from Simon Fraser University in 1991, and is now an associate professor in the Department of Archaeology at Lakehead University, Thunder Bay, Ontario. He has research interests in the archaeology of the fur trade, as well as the late prehistory of southwestern Ontario. Olga Klimko obtained her Ph.D. in Archaeology in 1994, also from S.F.U.. She is now a Project Officer in the Archaeology Branch in Victoria. She specialises in historical archaeology with an emphasis in the fur trade.

BOOK REVIEWS

Land-Based Fur Trade (previous page)

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BEADS FOR PELTS

Prophecy of the Swan takes its title from a Beaver (*Dunne-za*) tradition that tells of *Makenunatane*, an individual gifted as a powerful dreamer or *swan*, who foretold the arrival of Europeans and the fur trade into Beaver traditional territory. David Burley, Scott Hamilton, and Knut Fladmark tell the story of the European land-based fur trade in the upper Peace River valley, and its effects on the environment and people living there. They provide us with a rich mosaic of the characters and the trading posts during the period of intense rivalry between the North West Company (NWC) and Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) who aimed at controlling the area. This book is also a cautionary tale, presenting the reader with the story of the quick resource depletion of the upper Peace River and its subsequent aftermath.

The expertise of these authors in the fur trade archaeology in Western Canada and the upper Peace River valley make them ideally suited to write this book. There can be little doubt that the authors wrote the book for a general audience. The fluidity of the prose, the lack of archaeological jargon, and text uncluttered with references or footnotes, makes *Prophecy of the Swan* a joy to read. At the very beginning, the authors admit to the unconventional nature of their book. Not being historians, they employ the techniques available to their discipline, that is, the physical remnants of the fur trade post themselves, to serve as the focus of their narrative. However, to flesh out the story, archival records and existing histories were also utilised.

Archaeologists writing for a general audience tend to present archaeological data to their readers in one of two ways. The first approach consists of a grand pan-historical synthesis, a method that covers a wide geographical area and long intervals of time. Another approach is to employ a mini-or micro-scale analysis of a specific artefact, research subject, or site.

Prophecy of the Swan: The Upper Peace River Fur Trade of 1794-1823

by DAVID V. BURLEY, J.
SCOTT HAMILTON,
and KNUT R. FLADMARK

UBC Press, Vancouver, 1996.

xx + 213 pp., illus., tpls., appendices, notes, refs., index. Price: ISBN 0-7748-0544-7, (Hc) \$65.00 CDN; ISBN 0-7748-0545-5, (Pb) \$24.95 CDN.

For this publication Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark discuss several fur trade posts, including Rocky Mountain Fort, Rocky Mountain Portage House, St John, Yale and McIntosh Posts during the years 1794-1823. Archaeologists seldom have the opportunity to analyse so brief a time span. The years under examination are so short that, as is pointed out in the book, the research project itself lasted for a similar period to that which was studied.

The authors set out three goals at the beginning of their book. The first objective was to present the early fur trade history of the upper Peace River valley through its archaeological remains and archival record. Next was to present the physical features and artefacts of the fur trade that form that archaeological record. Their third goal was to relate the story of the research project itself, including its participants, motivations, and results.

To present the story of the upper Peace River valley fur trade, the authors first discuss the environmental setting and pre-history of the region in chapter 1. The following chapter provides the reader with

an introduction to the ethnographic First Nations (the Beaver and Sekani) occupying the valley. The third chapter presents a synopsis of the Canadian fur trade and the upper Peace River valley history. Readers wishing to find examples of excellent background summaries need not look any further than these chapters.

Chapter 4 addresses the third goal of the book by discussing the history of the upper Peace River land-based fur trade archaeological project. It is worth mentioning here, however, that the authors are continually interrelating the archaeological record, the results of the research project, and the archival evidence, in their attempts to answer their goals.

The heart of this book is found in chapters 5-8. Discussions of the results of investigations into each fur trade post are provided. Historical information, where available, is employed to elucidate the results of many years of research at each post. The narrative is enhanced by wonderful historical illustrations of some figures associated with the posts, archaeological excavation plans, photographs of the excavations, and several drawings of reconstructions of the posts. All are clear and quite useful. Shannon Wood deserves praise for her illustrations.

One of the joys of this book is the inclusion of comments relating to the actual on-hand excavation of the various posts. For example, the authors point out that during excavations at McIntosh's post, the field school students (in 1987) found more items lost or discarded by Finola Finlay's 1976 excavation crew than they did artefacts lost or discarded by the North West Company operation. As I was supervising these students I can attest to their disappointment at having to dig at McIntosh's post, or, as it became labelled "the dead zone" for the number of fur trade artefacts recovered.

The next chapter, 9, entitled *Artifacts of the Fur Trade*, discusses four of the more important artefact types that include trade beads, North West Co. trade guns and parts, artefacts associated with the tobacco trade, and trade-silver ornaments. This chapter is one of the more important in the book for it demonstrates to the reader how archaeologists make inferences

from material remains.

The concluding chapters of this book deal with the Massacre of St Johns, and its aftermath. The story of the murder of Guy Hughes on 2 November 1823, and the subsequent murders of an additional four men the following day resulted in the cessation of the fur trade in the region for many years by the HBC, makes a very profound tale. The authors make the case that the murders may have been the long-term outcome of natural resource depletion in the valley. They (p.136) state that: "Fur-bearer scarcities, a Native economy in part reliant on European goods, and the insensitivities of a company concerned with maximizing profit strained relations between the Europeans and the Beaver and propelled them inescapably toward the events of 2 and 3 November 1823." I found myself agreeing, in part, with their overall interpretation of the underlying causes for tension between the First Nations and the traders. However, the firsthand account provided in the text seems to suggest that Hughes was simply not a pleasant fellow, and he just found himself in the wrong place at the wrong time. It's an intriguing hypothesis nonetheless and worth further debate.

Three appendices are provided at the end of the book, and are a wonderful bonus for the reader. A transcript of the Rocky Mountain Fort Journal (winter trade season 1777-1800) and the St Johns Journal (winter 1822-23) are reproduced. The publication of these two sources allows both the lay audience and the more specialized researchers an opportunity to access these journals without having to go to the archives in which the originals are stored. The third appendix, presenting the artefact assemblages and their spatial distribution was not as useful. I believe that researchers will go to the original unpublished reports, theses, and dissertations for more detailed information.

In order not to disrupt the narrative flow, the authors have chosen wisely to provide a Notes section for further elaboration of ideas, information, or issues brought forth in the text. Readers wishing additional clarification may proceed from the text to the notes, and then to the bibliography to obtain complete source in-

formation. It should be noted that the Notes section is by no means dry or mundane reading.

Burley, Hamilton, and Fladmark deserve high praise for presenting the many years of research of the upper Peace River fur trade projects in such a highly readable and entertaining format. They have succeeded in their first goal of presenting the early fur trade of the upper Peace River valley through archaeological and archival sources. Their discussion of the physical remains and artefacts of the fur trade are interesting without being pedantic. However, their third goal, that of presenting the story of the research project, its participants, motivations, and outcome is not as well presented. At times the authors interject or mention specific events concerned with the actual project, but not, I feel, completely address the story behind the archaeological research.

The authors conclude the story of the early fur trade in the upper Peace River valley by summarising what the archaeological and archival records seem to indicate that the effect of the fur trade was extremely damaging to the First Nations and the local environment. They (p.138) explicitly conclude by stating that: "Sadly, as is attested to by our society's persistent acceptance of monetary and individualistic gain over environmental consequences, the lessons of this history have yet to be learned." We would do well to heed their warning.

Geordie Howe

Geordie Howe has been active in archaeology in British Columbia for 21 years. He was Teaching Assistant for the Simon Fraser University Fieldschool at Rocky Mountain Fort, McIntosh's Post, and Rocky Mountain Portage House during the summer of 1987. He is currently employed at Arcas Consulting Archeologists Ltd. as a Senior Archaeologist, a member of the BCAPCA, and is presently Chief Editor of *The Midden*.

DONALD CLARK AT FORT RELIANCE, YUKON TERRITORY

Fort Reliance, Yukon: An Archaeological Assessment, presents the results of archaeological testing Donald Clark conducted at Fort Reliance (LaVk 1) in 1983 and 1991. This work was primarily aimed at gathering enough information about the site to allow for the development of a substantive research design, should a larger project be conducted in the future. To this end, Clark has succeeded admirably with this monograph, presenting both the archaeological and documentary evidence.

Established in 1874 on the east side of the Yukon River (approximately 11 km downstream from Dawson City), Fort Reliance operated for 11 trading seasons before the location was abandoned in 1886. The post was constructed on a site previously used by the Han people, and located opposite the contemporary salmon fishing village of Nuclaco. The founding of Fort Reliance represented the initial direct access the Han had to trade goods within their home territory, and the further advance of the increasing number of prospectors and miners into the interior. Accordingly, Clark has organized his research questions around the pre-contact occupation of this location and the transition in Han technology from stone tools to imported trade goods.

The book is organized into nine chapters and two appendices. Chapter 1 introduces the reader to Fort Reliance and some of the key individuals associated with the post, briefly discusses previous archaeological investigations, and presents the research questions. Chapter 2 provides a detailed history of Fort Reliance based on the documentary evidence. Clark approaches the written sources with caution, critically evaluating each document and cross-checking events and details between documents. Tables in this chapter list all individuals Clark could document having been at the fort, and a season by season account of the location of the in-

dividuals who traded out of Fort Reliance: François Mercier, Leroy McQuesten, Arthur Harper, Al Mayo and Joseph Ladue. Included in the text are First Nation people and individuals of Russian-First Nation descent who are identified in the documentary sources. Clark finishes the chapter by introducing the reader to the Han First Nation.

Chapter 3 describes the location of the site, its present condition, the environment, and the effects of erosion and vandalism. Three types of features were identified at Fort Reliance: semisubterranean dwelling depressions, cabin outlines and miscellaneous small pits.

The archaeological investigations conducted at Fort Reliance are presented in Chapter 4. Particulars regarding the two field seasons and excavation methods are given and an extensive table listing all the units is provided. The largest portion of this chapter is concerned with a rather detailed look at the stratigraphy of the various units, focusing on the semisubterranean houses. Other features are also described, including a vertically set post Clark believes to have been the flagpole. The chapter ends with a synthesis of evidence concerning the construction of a semisubterranean house.

Chapter 5 presents a brief overview of the artefact assemblage collected from the site. General artefact categories are discussed, with the more specific treatment of the artefacts left to the appendices.

In Chapter 6, Clark examines the area around Fort Reliance, including a number of other sites in the vicinity. The bulk of this chapter discusses the attempts to identify other locations which may have had house structures similar to those at Fort Reliance, and to find the exact location of Nuclaco based on the historical descriptions. His attempts to locate this village site were unsuccessful.

Chapter 7 places the construction and operation of Fort Reliance within the larger context of trade in the region. The recon-

Fort Reliance, Yukon: An Archaeological Assessment

by DONALD W. CLARK

Hull, PQ, Canadian Museum of Civilization, 1995. Mercury Series, Archaeological Survey of Canada, Paper 150.

xiv + 247 pp., 22 tables, 52 figures, 13 artifact plates. Price: ISBN 0-660-14032-2 (Pb): \$24.95 CDN.

struction of the development of trade from First Nations intermediaries and the increasing activities of white traders in the area, to the establishment of direct "home-territory" trade with the building of Fort Reliance, makes interesting reading. Pre-contact trade routes and the actual trading methods are discussed.

Chapter 8 brings much of the previously discussed data together. Clark has divided the occupation of the site into six stages: (1) Pre-contact, (2) Indirect Contact (starting just prior to 1800), (3) Direct Extraterritorial Contact (1847-1873), (4) Direct Home-Territory Contact (1874 Fort Reliance established), (5) Abandonment (1886) and (6) Reoccupation (1886 to present). To assist in separating the pre-contact occupation from the Fort Reliance period, Clark continues his attempt to find semisubterranean houses similar to those at Fort Reliance. The difficulty in identifying the different ethnic components at the site is discussed.

The final chapter (9) identifies a variety of research opportunities that Clark believes may be profitably undertaken by future work at Fort Reliance.

Donald Clark ... continued

The two appendices comprise a large portion of this monograph. The first appendix is a comprehensive description and analysis of the Fort Reliance artefact assemblage. Clark's goal here was to provide other archaeologists with a sufficient amount of information to make re-analysis of the collection unnecessary. I think he has succeeded quite well in this regard. Beads are treated separately in the second appendix. Again Clark is very thorough, particularly with respect to spatial distributions and the chronological information they provide.

The photographs and drawings found throughout this volume are of high quality and overall the writing is quite good. A disclaimer at the beginning of the volume seeks the readers indulgence regarding typographical and grammatical errors. These range from simple typos and awkward sentences to a mix-up with figure captions (Fig. 1.4 left and right). Although these detract little from the volume on the whole, they could easily have been remedied. With a price of \$25.00, I do not think this would be too much for readers to expect. The combination of historical research and archaeological evidence will make this volume interesting to a wide range of readers, although I believe it will be particularly useful for other researchers working with similar structures and artifact assemblages.

Mike Brand

Mike Brand is currently enrolled in the Ph.D. programme in the Department of Archaeology, at Simon Fraser University. His interests include historical archaeology, particularly historic mining towns, and the prehistory of the American Southwest.

"My research took many twists and turns, but I slowly began to realize that four historical forces provided the basis for the connection between seventeenth-century Brazil and early-nineteenth-century Ireland. Colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity were the common denominators between the two places. I also came to understand that these historical forces were globally significant. Their widespread impact convinced me that historical archaeologists must pay explicit attention to them. This book is my effort to explain how the four forces - which I term "haunts" because of their all-pervasive character - can be studied by historical archaeologists."

Thus Charles Orser (p.xi) writes in the Preface of this book, the inaugural volume in a new series entitled Contributions to Global Historical Archaeology. In this publication the author puts forward a theoretical framework based on network theory, to examine the impact of colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity on all archaeological sites that post-date 1492. To illustrate this global approach Orser uses data from the seventeenth-century runaway slave state of Palmares in Brazil and the early-nineteenth-century Irish peasant village of Gorttoose, County Roscommon.

This publication addresses what the author sees as a trend towards atheoretical research in historical archaeology. This is partly based in the fallout from the history — anthropology debate within this discipline. He wants to correct this situation by developing a theoretical approach, or what the author prefers to call a research programme for historical archaeology concentrating on global connections. The discipline of historical archaeology has been defined by three inter-related criteria: 1) the study of "literate" societies, dating from the period ca. 1400 to present; 2) that it is a multi- or inter-disciplinary method; and, the most important aspect in Orser's mind, 3) it is the study of the modern era, relating to the spread and impact of European culture throughout the world. Historical archaeology is therefore the archaeology of the modern age. He (p.82)

A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World

by CHARLES E. ORSER, Jr.

Plenum Press, New York, 1996.

xvi + 247 pp., figs., tbl., refs., index. Price: ISBN 0-306-45173-5 (Hc) \$34.95 US.

writes: "For me, this is what truly makes the field unique, important and exciting."

Orser bases his global approach on the theory of mutualism that is derived from the work of cultural anthropologist Michael Carrithers (1992). This approach stresses the inter-connectedness of human relationships in which individuals and their social relationships are conceived as the foundation of human life. What is apparent from the text, is that Orser wants the reader to be aware that a historic site, no matter how seemingly isolated or bounded, is connected to the world at all levels (i.e., community, district, region, and global) at varying degrees. The Palmares maroon polity in Brazil serves as used as an example. This isolated socio-political manifestation had both friendly and hostile inter-relationships with the European colonists (Portuguese and Dutch), neighbouring Native American groups (Tupinambá and Tupuya), as well as connections with Africa (Angola), the source of the runaway slaves. Orser (p.53) believes that: "Palmares provides a dramatic example of the need for historical archaeologists to think broadly, to incorporate a mutualistic perspective in their repertoire of analytical and interpretative skills."

The author (p. 22) defines a "haunt" as an underlying historical process found in all historical archaeological research

"whether or not the archaeologist realizes it." It is in the modern world where his four haunts, global colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity all combine. However, each haunt has elements that are peculiar both spatially and temporally. They exist in archaeology, affecting all sites throughout the modern world. Each haunt played a role in forming the modern world, and each had some impact on every site. Orser (p.88) notes that: "The point is to acknowledge the haunts and to understand that the relations forged in the name of each one helped to tie together people of the modern world." In the historical context of the Irish peasant village of Gorttoose, Orser observes that all four haunts (colonialism, Anglocentrism, capitalism, and modernity) had impacted both the peasants' interactions with one another and those those that were forced upon them.

Artefacts are intrinsic to the archaeological study of the past. They had "active, social lives" that were re-contextualized throughout their use-lives, and subsequently, their meanings changed with each new social situation. Both artefacts and people have been ensnared in complex networks of meaning throughout human history. Therefore, artefacts are also mutualistic. To illustrate this, Orser interprets the Colono Ware ceramics of South Carolina and Virginia, and the clay pipes found in Palmares. Both these artefact types were products of human interaction — African, Native American, and European — representing the "blended" elements of their diverse cultures. They were the products of colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity. Orser (p.129) states that these two examples "demonstrate the interpretative power that results from a mutualist perception when investigating the modern world."

The author also applies this approach to space and landscape. A mutualistic approach can disentangle the complexities of historic settlement patterns, at the district, regional, and global levels. Space is both topographic (natural) and human (social). It was the arena in which humans interacted with nature as well as with other humans, a process that the author calls

"the self-and-other awareness of mutualism." In his global model he (p.140) conceives of similar archaeological manifestations throughout the world, such as seventeenth-century European fort architecture, as representing what the author calls "transpatial relations" between continents. They were the products of interactive colonialism, at the same time one cannot ignore the roles played by the other factors of Eurocentrism, capitalism, and modernity to varying degrees.

Orser (p.160) rightfully acknowledges that the ability to illuminate the lifeways of the disenfranchised individuals and groups is one of the greatest strengths in historical archaeology. In chapter 7 he tackles the issue of the archaeology of the under classes based on a mutualist perception of social power. Within socio-cultural contexts people are bonded together through time and space by a network of relations and ideologies. He suggests that historical archaeologists should use a dialectical approach that emphasises the study of the poor and often invisible people from both the "top down" and "bottom up" perspectives rather than the "inside out" approach recently employed by some scholars (i.e., Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski, 1991).

Historical archaeology is a materialist study of the modern world based on the analysis and interpretation of interrelationships at various complex and seemingly contradictory levels. The author (p.203-204) emphatically proposes that "historical archaeologists - regardless of where they conduct their investigations - couch their research questions mutualistically in broadly conceived terms that fully incorporate the netlike complexities of modern life." While acknowledging that archaeology is the study of the past from the present, the researcher must be self-reflexive in analysing theoretical biases in the interpretation of the data in order to contemplate "contemporary social contexts" and that the results of archaeological studies "can have an impact on living men and women". Archaeology has been largely restricted to academic contexts, and that archaeologists should "learn to situate their studies in a world that extends far beyond the confines of the university."

Orser (p.201) acknowledges that his global mutualistic approach in historical archaeology, relying on the "interlaced webs of interaction and association" is a product of the contemporary milieu, particularly the impact of increasing globalisation through communications and information networks

In sum, I found this book fascinating to read, and it was very difficult for me to put down. It now has become the historical archaeological companion to Eric Wolf's *Europe and the People Without History* (1982), a work that ignored the contributions of historical archaeology. The theoretical adaptation of mutualism in historical archaeology throughout the world, including British Columbia, is both obvious and appealing. This publication is well-written and well-edited, which, I think, augers well for both Plenum Press and this series. *A Historical Archaeology of the Modern World* will now hold a prominent place on my book shelf, right next to my copy of Wolf.

Robbin Chatan

References

- Beaudry, Mary C., Lauren J. Cook, and Stephen A. Mrozowski. 1991 *Artifacts and Active Voices: Material Culture as Social Discourse*. In *The Archaeology of Inequality*, ed. Randall H. McGuire and Robert Paynter, pp. 150-191. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.
- Carrithers, Michael. 1992 *Why Humans Have Cultures: Explaining Anthropology and Social Diversity*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982 *Europe and the People Without History*. University of California Press, Berkeley.

Robbin Chatan obtained his M.A. in Archaeology from the University of Calgary in 1992, and is currently the Publications Editor for *The Midden*. He has a great interest in historical/ industrial archaeology of the North American West, and has worked on historical period sites in both Alberta and British Columbia.

PERMITS

PERMITS ISSUED BY THE ARCHAEOLOGY BRANCH, OCTOBER - DECEMBER 1996

The following completes the list of Permits issued by the Branch in 1996. The assistance of Mr. Ray Kenny (Manager, Assessment and Planning Section) in providing this information is gratefully acknowledged.

PERMIT	HOLDER	TYPE	DESCRIPTION
1996-243	Hugh Middleton	Insp.	AIA of forestry developments near Anahim Lake, Chilcotin FD.
1996-244	Arne Carlson	Insp.	AIA of Houston Forest Products 1996/1997 forestry operations in the Morice FD
1996-245	John Howe	Alt.	Alteration of CMTs within TL T0633, on Dean Channel in the vicinity of the Kimsquit River
1996-246	Kevin Twhog	Insp.	AIA of subdivision within D.L.3376, KDYD
1996-247	Ian Franck	Insp.	AIA of Federated Cooperative forestry operations within CPs 746, 783 and 814, Salmon Arm FD
1996-248	Peter Merchant	Insp.	AIA of West Fraser Mills forestry operations in CPs 033-70 and 033-71, Forest License A20006, Quesnel FD
1996-249	Jeff Bailey	Insp.	AIA of Wastech Services Ltd. proposed borrow pit next to Cache Creek Landfill, Cache Creek
1996-250	Bruce Ball	Insp.	AIA for proposed forestry operations in MoF Woodlots, Williams Lake FD
1996-251	Bruce Ball	Insp.	AIA for proposed Silvicultural Project 920.057-040, Williams Lake FD
1996-252	Bruce Ball	Insp.	AIA for forestry operations in proposed bark beetle salvage areas, Williams Lake FD
1996-253	Jeff Bailey	Insp.	AIA of proposed refuse transfer station north of Lytton, KDYD
1996-254	Jack Sickavish	Alt.	Removal of a petroglyph at 1773 Turnabout Road, Gabriola Island, to the Gabriola Museum at 505 South Road
1996-255	Arlene Yip	Insp.	AIA of proposed extension to Sunshine Bay Provincial Park, south side of Kootenay Lake West Arm
1996-256	Justin Kumagai	Alt.	Alterations to CMTs within Cutblock K51033, vicinity of Carpenter Creek, Kalum FD
1996-257	Andrew Mason	Insp.	AIA for proposed BC Hydro road development at Stave Falls
1996-258	Ian Wilson	Insp.	AIA of Canfor forestry haul roads, Prince George FD
1996-259	Arnoud Stryd	Insp.	AIA of Small Business Forest Enterprise Programs (SBFEP) Cutblocks A18652, A18644, A38011-3, A18637 and Woodlot 1664, Salmon Arm FD
1996-260	Morley Eldridge	Insp.	AIA of Chilcotin FD forestry operations in the Lessard Creek and Hump Creek Woodlots, east of the Dean River
1996-261	Clinton Coates	Insp.	AIA of proposed Petro-Canada pipeline developments: (1) wellsite 98-H to Wapiti Pipeline tie-in, and (2) pipeline gathering system in the West Tommy Lakes area
1996-262	Philip Hobler	Insp.	AIA of InterFor Ltd. forestry operations in South Bentinck Arm
1996-263	Arlene Yip	Insp.	AIA of MoF SBFEP, Crestbrook Forest Industries, Evans Forest Products, and Radium Forest Products forestry operations in the Golden and Invermere FDs
1996-264	Normand Canuel	Insp.	Post-harvest AIA of Carrier Lumber Ltd. 1995/1996 forestry operations in FL A18158, Prince George FD
1996-265	Clinton Coates	Insp.	AIA of Imperial Oil Resources Ltd. proposed gas and water gathering pipeline system in the Sunset Prairie area, NE B.C.
1996-266	John Maxwell	Insp.	AIA of Woodlot 1632 on Gabriola Island, Port Alberni FD
1996-267	Morley Eldridge	Insp.	AIA of MacMillan Bloedel forestry operations in Cutblocks 8206, 8302, 9208, 9303, 9304, 9307, 9308, 9310, 9311, 9312, 9360, 9361, and 9362, TFL 39, Mid-Coast FD
1996-268	Morley Eldridge	Insp.	AIA of Canadian Forest Products forestry operations in CP212, near southern head of Halfway River watershed, Fort St. John FD
1996-269	Clinton Coates	Insp.	AIA of Numac Energy road, from Canfor Tommy Lakes Forestry Road near wellsite b-66-E to the Numac Compressor site at b-28-1, NE B.C.
1996-270	Allan Hunter	Insp.	AIA of cottage lot expansions and access road construction, North Star, Suzanne, and Edwards Lakes, Kootenay Land District
1996-271	Ian Wilson	Insp.	AIA of JS Jones and Canadian Forest Products forestry operations in FL A19201 and A19208, Fraser Timber Supply Area (TSA)
1996-272	Richard Brolly	Insp.	AIA for residential development at 1642 56th Street in Tsawwassen, Municipality of Delta
1996-273	Dave Archer	Insp.	AIA of proposed developments at Enso Park Forest Service Recreation Site, near Kitmat
1996-274	Bruce Ball	Insp.	AIA of MoF SBFEP forestry operations, Williams Lake FD

1996-275	Erwin Erb	Alt.	Clearing vegetation and levelling ground surface within site EeQr 2, at 339 Old Spallumcheen Road (Lot A, Plan KAP 48139, Section 36, Township 21, Rge. 8, W6M, KDYD)
1996-276	Ian Wilson	Insp.	AIA of InterFor forestry operations in cutblocks within FL A16841, near Kumaleon Lagoon, North Coast TSA
1996-277	Lindsay Oliver	Insp.	AIA of Cattermole Timber forestry operations in the Nahatlatch and Anderson River areas, within TFL A19202, Chilliwack FD
1996-278	Jeff Bailey	Insp.	AIA for proposed subdivision of D.L.259S near Yellow Lake, south-central BC.
1996-279	Alan Bush	Alt.	Falling, removal and other alteration of CMTs within the Skoonka Mainline road right-of-way east of Pasulko Lake, Lillooet FD
1996-280	Andrew Mason	Insp.	AIA for proposed Mission Bypass West Leg Extension, Municipality of Mission
1996-281	Ian Wilson	Insp.	AIA of JS Jones Timber Ltd. forestry operations in FL A19201, in the Fraser TSA near Boston Bar
1996-282	Morley Eldridge	Insp.	AIA of MoF forestry operations within TSL A42296 in vicinity of Thames Creek, Port Alberni FD
1996-283	Ian Wilson	Insp.	AIA of forestry operations in the McShane Creek, Minerva Lake, and McNeil Creek area, North Coast TSA
1996-284	Normand Canuel	Insp.	AIA of proposed subdivision of DL 11558 and remainder of DL 394, east end of Little Lake, Cariboo Land District
1996-285	Lindsay Oliver	Insp.	Post-disturbance AIA of gravel extraction operations around EIRn-2, west side of Fraser River and south of Sheep Creek Bridge
1996-286	Bruce Ball	Insp.	AIA of West Fraser Mills forestry operations in CP 909-3, FL A20020, Williams Lake FD
1996-287	Al Monette	Alt.	Alteration of CMTs at FdUd-3, Dinan CAB 1, TSL A45998, near Ian Lake on Graham Island, Queen Charlotte Islands FD
1996-288	Clinton Coates	Insp.	AIA of Remington Energy Inc. development projects: compressor site adjacent to wellsite d-36-C and pipeline from wellsite d-36-c to b-45-C to c-12-C, NE B.C.
1996-289	R.G. Matson/ Eric McLay	Insp.	AIA for Crown Land Sales within DLs 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, and 339, Nanaimo District
1996-290	Andrew Mason	Insp.	AIA for MoF proposed timber sales and Woodlot licenses, Chilliwack FD
1996-291	Roger Briscoe	Insp.	Alteration of CMT by Western Forest Products (Kimsquit River Operations) forestry operations on Dean Channel
1996-292	Dan Roberts	Alt.	Alteration of CMTs at FeTc-5, and others along the Wallace Mainline forestry road on Roderick Island, within TFL 25 in the Mid-Coast FD
1996-293	Stanley Van Dyke	Insp.	Inventory and AIA of the former Forestry Complex at 1019 Cranbrook Street, Cranbrook
1996-294	Jeff Bailey	Insp.	AIA of forestry operations in District of Mission's TFL 26, near Mission, B.C.
1996-295	Arnoud Stryd	Insp.	AIA of Pacific Forest Products' Machmell and Sheemahant forestry camps, Owikeno Lake
1996-296	Jeff Bailey	Insp.	AIA of proposed residential subdivision of Part of Lot 23, Plan 712, Sec.8, Tp.14, ODYD, located on the east side of Okanagan Lake
1996-297	Morley Eldridge	Insp.	AIA of a bareland strata subdivision, DL 772 on Goepel Island, Sayward District
1996-298	Peter Verity	Alt.	Alteration to archaeological sites by pipeline construction, West Tommy Lakes Field gathering system, Trutch Creek, NE B.C.
1996-299	Andrew Mason	Insp.	AIA of MoF proposed log dumps at mouths of Deserted River, Osgood Creek, and Brittain River in Jervis Inlet, Sunshine Coast FD
1996-300	Andrew Mason	Insp.	Inventory and evaluation within the Sydney River, Bedwell-Warn-Fortune and Catface-Herbert watershed units, Clayoquot Sound
1996-301	Lindsay Oliver	Insp.	AIA of proposed subdivision within DLs 3985, 8905 and 9505, west side of Puntchesakut Lake, Cariboo Land District
1996-302	Dan Roberts	Alt.	Alterations to CMTs located within Cutblock 1, TFL 25, Mid-Coast FD
1996-303	D'Ann Owens-Baird	Insp.	AIA for proposed house construction within Lot 18, Block B, Sec.14, Tp.5, Plan 4818, NWD, at 1727 Beach Grove Road, Municipality of Delta
1996-304	Bruce Dahlstrom	Insp.	AIA for subdivision of Lots 13 and 14, DL 274, Clayoquot District, Plan 33516, at Jensen's Bay south of Tofino

Types of Permits are Insp(ection) and Alt(eration)

Other abbreviations which may be found are:

AIA — Archaeological Impact Assessment

AIS — Archaeological Inventory Survey

AIM — Archaeological Impact Management

AOA — Archaeological Overview Assessment

CMT — Culturally Modified Tree

CP — Cutting Permit

FD — Forest District

MoF — Ministry of Forestry

SBFEP — Small Business Forest Enterprise Programs

TFL — Tree Farm License

TL — Timber License

TSA — Timber Supply Area

CONFERENCES

1997

April 17-19

Northwest Anthropological Conference

50th Annual Meeting, "Celebrating Interdisciplinary Research, Teaching, and Applications" CENTRAL WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Ellensburg, Washington, USA

The CWU Anthropology Department is considering electronic publication of the *Proceedings of the 50th Annual Northwest Conference* on the Internet. If you are interested, e-mail smithw@cwu.edu; subject, Internet Proceedings.

Contact: Steven Hackenberger, Chair, Department of Anthropology, Central Washington University, 400 E. 8th Ave., Ellensburg, WA, 98926-7544, USA; WWW: <http://www.cwu.edu/~anthro/default.html>

May 1-4

British Columbia Historical Federation Conference

"Settlement and Sites" NELSON, British Columbia

Conference highlights include heritage home tours, walking tour of Nelson's heritage buildings, Nelson cemetery tour, and Silver Slocan Bus tour. Registration deadline is April 4, 1997.

Contacts: Shawn Lamb, Nelson Museum, 402 Anderson St., Nelson, BC, V1L 1N4; Tel. (250) 352-9813. Ron or Frances Welwood, Tel. (250) 825-4743.

May 7-11

CAA, Canadian Archaeological Association

30th Annual Meeting, SASKATOON, Saskatchewan

Suggested sessions: Public Archaeology; Women in Archaeology; Canadian Archaeologists Abroad; Native People and Archaeology; Forestry Industry and Archaeological Resource Management; Pottery Technology in Northern Plains and Boreal Forest; Contact Archaeology; Historical Archaeology; Development of Archaeological Interpretive Centres; Developments in Saskatchewan Archaeology.

Conference Coordinator: Margaret Kennedy, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK, S7N 5A5; Tel. (306) 966-4182; Email: kennedym@duke.usask.ca

Program Chairs: Urve Linnamae & David Meyer, Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon, SK, S7N 5A5; Tel. (306) 966-4177 (Linnamae), (306) 966-4178 (Meyer); Email (Meyer): meyerd@duke.usask.ca

May 22-24

The Stó:lo - People of the River

STÓ:LO NATION, Chilliwack, British Columbia

The Stó:lo Nation, which represents and provides services to nineteen member First Nation communities located along the lower Fraser River, will be hosting a multi-disciplinary conference on the Stó:lo. The conference will be a forum for academics to present new scholarship dealing with issues pertaining to the Stó:lo, as well as an opportunity for health care workers, government representatives, community development workers, and Stó:lo people to discuss Stó:lo history, contemporary issues, and views of the future.

May 22-24

The Stó:lo - People of the River (Continued)
STÓ:LO NATION, Chilliwack, British Columbia

Conference sessions: Governance Issues; Directions for First Nations; Recent Archaeological Research and the Stó:lo; Ethnobotany; Spirituality; Training and Education Issues; Stó:lo Education Initiatives; Archaeology; Resource Management; Intercultural Relations - A Historical Perspective; Approaches to Social Problems; Treaty; Child & Family Services; First Nations and Health; The Stó:lo - European Contact; Aboriginal Rights, History and the Courts; Archaeological Excavations in Stó:lo Traditional Territory; Fisheries; Employment and Education Issues; Residential Schools; Justice; Culture in Contact; Stó:lo Education in Public Schools.

Early registration fee deadline is May 5, 1997.

Conference Coordinator: Sarah Eustace, Stó:lo Nation, Bldg.#1 - 7201 Vedder Rd., Chilliwack, BC V2R 4G5; Tel. (604) 858-3366; Fax (604) 824-5226.

June 5-8

Heritage Society of BC 1997 Conference
NELSON, British Columbia

The Heritage Society of BC is inviting bids for communities to host the 1999 and 2000 annual conferences. Those interested should contact the Heritage Society in Victoria to obtain a copy of the "Conference Bid Guidelines."

Contact: Heritage Society of BC, 660 Michigan Street, Victoria, BC, V8V-4Y7; Tel./Fax (250) 384-4840; E-mail: hsbc@islandnet.com

October 1-5

British Columbia Museums Association Conference '97
"The New Frontier: Has a Museum Renaissance Begun?"
PRINCE GEORGE, British Columbia

The 1997 conference will challenge the status quo, discussing the unique ways large and small institutions are responding to their communities. Discussions will examine and encourage the optimism and opportunity museums are now creating, highlighting the efforts institutions are making towards success in the new millennium.

Contact: Glen Mikkelsen, Fraser Fort George Regional Museum, PO Box 1779, Prince George, BC, V2L 4V7; Tel (250) 526-1612; Fax (250) 562-6395; E-mail: ffgrm@solutions-4u.com

October 16-18

Heritage Canada, 24th Annual Conference
"Lightening the Burden: Taxation, Regulation and Heritage Property"
OTTAWA, Ontario

The 24th Annual Heritage Canada Conference, to be held at the Canadian Government Conference Centre, will provide a forum for the discussion and resolution of tax and regulatory problems at all levels of government as they relate to the heritage field. Conference speakers and panelists will provide both a broad perspective and the practical courses of action necessary to resolve problems in this field.

Further Information: Heritage Canada, P.O. Box 1358, Station B, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5R4; Tel. (613) 237-1066; Fax (613) 237-5987; E-mail: hercanot@sympatico.ca

November (T.B.A)

Sixth Annual BC Archaeology Forum
STÓ:LO NATION, Chilliwack, British Columbia

Contact: Heather Myles, Stó:lo Nation, Bldg.#1 - 7201 Vedder Rd., Chilliwack, BC, V2R 4G5; Tel. (604) 858-3366; Fax (604) 824-5226.

Conferences, cont'd from inside cover

November 13-16

Chacmool 30th Annual Conference, "The Entangled Past" Integrating History and Archaeology
UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY, Calgary, Alberta

Archaeologists and anthropologists who study culture contact around the world have recently sought to integrate archaeology with history as a means of understanding significant cultural transformations, within the context of large-scale, long term traditions in cultures. Researchers have increasingly turned to historical sources in order to re-construct the transition from a pre-contact to a post-contact world. This approach has begun to impact archaeologists investigating all forms of culture change. The recognition of the numerous historical sources, such as oral history, folklore, art, and photography, has also been implicit in this approach. This new synthesis of history and archaeology has allowed the discipline of archaeology to play a leading role in the critical reappraisal of historical events and culture change around the world.

Confirmed Sessions: Archaeology as Long-Term History; Archaeology as Historical Anthropology in Polynesia; Beyond the Baseline: Placing Post-Contact Histories into Long-Term Perspectives; Linguistic and Archaeological Structures; Mythology and Archaeology; Text as Material Culture/Material Culture as Text: Alternative Readings of the Archaeological Past; Tangible Histories: Time, Historicity and Material Realities; From the Edge of History.

Plenary Session includes Dr. Thomas Patterson, Temple University; Dr. Ann Stahl, SUNY Binghamton; and Dr. Jennifer Brown, University of Winnipeg.

Call for papers: Paper abstract deadline, extended to April 15, 1997.

Contact: Nancy Saxberg, Chair, 1997 Conference Committee, Department of Archaeology, University of Calgary, 2500 University Drive N.W., Calgary, AB, T2N 1N4; Tel. (403) 220-5227; Fax (403) 282-9567; Email: njsaxber@acs.ucalgary.ca

1998

March 26-29

SAA, Society for American Archaeology, 63rd Annual Meeting
SEATTLE, Washington, USA

The 1998 meeting of the Society for American Archaeology will be held at the Seattle Convention Center. Call for papers, submissions, and symposia tentatively set for early spring, 1998. Submission deadline tentatively set for September, 1997.

Further information: Society for American Archaeology, 900 Second Street NE #12, Washington, DC, 20002-3557, USA; Tel. (202) 789-8200; Fax (202) 789-0284; E-mail: meetings@SAA.org; WWW: <http://www.saa.org>

 **THE MIDDEN**

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