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Editorial DISASTER STRIKES NATIONAL MUSEUM: WHO'S TO BLAME?

What in heaven's name is happening in Ottawa?

We're not referring --this time-to the petty aggravations of government, but to the apparent wholesale destruction of priceless artifacts in the National Mu@Jum.

Virtually all the museum's halfmillion items are threatened, according to press reports, by "hostile" storage conditions.

To be specific, humidity and temperature control equipment in the museum has apparently been allowed by Public Works Canada people to run amuck.

According to the press, wooden masks and rattles split, paint peeled, decorative abalone popped out, and bone and ivory cracked.

The equipment failure apparently was allowed to continue over a six-week period, so that delicate treasures, crafted in the western rainforest decades or even centuries ago, were exposed to the totally alien climatic conditions of our unlivable capital.

But that's not all. The reports indicated that only one per cent of the museum's collection is even in the museum: the other 99 per cent is tucked away in offices and warehouses around the city. And for many of <u>them</u>, said a museum apologist, storage conditions are as bad or worse than in the main building. How can such disastrous news possibly be explained? Even if wiping out vast numbers of national treasures can be blamed on a single equipment failure (and that seems a generous approach at best), that doesn't explain why hundreds and hundreds more items are squirreled away in other places known to be "hostile," as they euphemistically say.

Clearly the National Museum has --through some gargantuan kleptomania in the past-- vastly more material than it can possibly cope with. And if the present 1905 building is in urgent need of replacement, as reports suggest, and yet houses only 1/100th of the museum's holdings, then the museum will NEVER get sufficient funds to protect every item properly.

So --without showing too much western chauvinism-- perhaps we could make one firm suggestion: If Ottawa is incapable of displaying or even protecting west coast treasures, then for goodness sake send them back!

British Columbia, through its public museums and a growing number of native museums, would be glad to protect and display these classic and irreplaceable mementoes from our past.

Believe us, Ottawa: If you don't want our treasures, don't destroy them: Send them back. We'll even pay the postage.

Early Indian presence found in U.S. desert

CARSON CITY, Nev. (AP) — Scientists have uncovered evidence Indians stalked mammoths in the Nevada desert 20,000 years ago, thousands of years before the earliest accepted date of man's presence in the New World.

Archeologist Billy Clewlow, who led the expedition to the desolate Black Rock desert northeast of Reno this summer, said yesterday the orthodox view is "man did not make his appearance in the New World until about 11,500 years ago."

Mr. Clewlow said a tooth from the 4.6-metre-high American mammoth was tested, "and the first solid date we got indicated it's about 20,000 years old."

He said two crude stone tools, resembling the type used by early man to scrape hides, were found with the mammoth bones, and two dozen other artifacts were found scattered around the site.

Mr. Clewlow theorized Paleo-Indians may have butchered the animal after it became mired and died in what was then a swampy area near Lake Lahontan.

"We're doing more tests on some other skeletal parts and on some vegetable matters, and if this date holds up, there should be no question about it,"*Mr. Clewlow said.

"The potential is there to push back the date for man's entry into the New World by 9,000 years," he said. "You have to realize this is preliminary, but we're quite excited about it."

Besides the early date — at a time when the Ice Age was ending — the find also shows what Mr. Clewlow describes as "the first positive association between man and mammoth west of the Rockies."

Mr. Clewlow was led to the site a year ago by an Oregon logger, Steve Wallman, who spotted what appeared to be a mammoth tooth while exploring in the desert during a vacation.

Once the tooth was positively identified, Mr. Clewlow organized his expedition. Efforts to date the tooth were not completed until this summer while Mr. Clewlow was at the excavation site.

Mr. Clewlow's Ancient Enterprises Inc. and the Nevada State Museum sponsored the venture, which ended earlier this month.

He plans to return to complete the excavation next summer.

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<u>Submissions</u> and exchange publications should be addressed to the Editor, P.O. Box 29, Whonnock, B.C., VOM ISO. Contributions on subjects germane to B.C. Archaeology are welcomed. They should be relatively brief, with no footnotes and only a brief bibliography (if necessary at all).

Subscriptions (\$5.00 a year) should be addressed to the Manager, Ms. H. Braches, 1020 Lillooet Road, North Vancouver, B.C., V7J 2H8. The next issue of THE MIDDEN will appear October 1981.

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THE SALMON AND THE INTERIOR SALISH OF THE SOUTHERN PLATEAU OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Fred Braches

A legend recorded by James Teit, the ethnographer of the Interior Salish, starts as follows:

"Formerly there was no salmon in the interior because they were prevented from ascending by dams which the people of the coast had erected near the mouth of the Columbia and Fraser Rivers." (Teit 1912)

The Interior is of course more susceptible to short-term fluctuations in the salmon runs due to such accidents as unusual water levels, a fallen log blocking a stream, etc., but could such a catastrophe as the legend recounts have happened? It is possible that the Indians of the Interior were without salmon for long periods. Sanger (1969) suggests that, for some time during the Thermal Maximum until the 13th century, salmon could not reach the Plateau and that only a landslide in 1265 a.D. created conditions favourable for the return of the salmon to their spawning beds on the Columbia Plateau. There is no evidence that a similar event has ever stopped the salmon from ascending the Fraser, but it would be speculative to argue that it never happened. We have an example from historical times. In 1913 blasting in the Fraser Canyon caused an almost complete obstruction of the stream, which at Hell's Gate is no more than 38 m wide. A dramatic drop in the sockeye run was the result. We do not even know what happened to the other salmon species or if salmon ever returned to their spawning grounds in numbers comparable to the days before the accident took place. This particular blockage was removed in 1945. It would have been impossible in aboriginal days to clear a rockslide of any magnitude and things would have been left as they were until natural causes restored the access to the interior. A drastic reduction or perhaps a complete disappearance of the salmon from the rivers in the Interior by a blockage of the River can very well be imagined at any time in the prehistory of the Interior Plateau.

The centre of the Southern Plateau of British Columbia is without salmon streams. The Indians who lived in this area which lies between the Thompson and the border of the United States, the Okanagan, Similkameen and Nicola, had no salmon unless they travelled to the Columbia River system to the south, the Coast Salish of the Fraser across the mountains or to the Fraser and Thompson rivers above the Fraser Canyon. The Thompson, Lillooet and Shushwap Indians living close to or on the shores of the Thompson and Fraser were of course near to a source and could include salmon in their diet, but not everyone had the same abundance.

There are differences in the salmon resource of the Fraser above the Canyon and the Thompson River. Four salmon species can be caught in the Fraser on the Plateau: the chinook, the humpback, the coho and the sockeye. The salmon caught in the Thompson is predominantly the sockeye, which, for reasons still not fully understood, runs in large quantities only once every four years. This is the situation today as it was in ethnographical times. We do not know, however, in what proportions the various species contributed to the available salmon in the Fraser in pre-historic times or what the total volume of salmon ascending the Fraser Canyon was at the coming of the white men or even before the blockage of the Canyon in 1913. Historically sockeye is the most valued fish of the white man and more attention has been given to its presence, number, wellbeing, survival and procreation than to that of the other



species; the figures are thus incomplete. Kew (1969) constructed a model of the abundance of salmon in the Fraser River system at the time of contact also taking into account the four-year cycle of the sockeye. The model is derived from figures originating in this century worked back with some modifications for "European impact" to the year 1801. That an attempt is made at all to reconstruct the salmon volumes before contact is important. The tampering with the "Mighty Fraser" since contact and the bias towards the sockeye create doubt, however, as regards the validity of 20th century figures for the recreation of a figure for

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the early 1800s. The sockeye may be the predominant species today but this does not tell us much about their number before the arrival of the white man.

What does the ethnographer tell us about the salmon in the Fraser and Thompson rivers? Teit writes that "In the Fraser the (salmon) are generally plentiful each year but in some years they are scarce in Thompson River where the sockeye run every four years in great number. When these are scarce the people caught what they could of humpback salmon" (Teit 1900). This suggests that given a choice the Salish of the Interior would have preferred the Fraser over the Thompson as fishing territory. Also the yearly round on the foodquest provides an indication of the relatively larger salmon stock of the Fraser compared with that of the Thompson River. The time involved in fishing for salmon shows a difference between Indians living on the Thompson and those fishing the Fraser River. The Shushwap of the Thompson River and the Spence's Bridge Band of the Thompson people spend hardly more than a "moon" fishing and preparing salmon for storage. The Thompson living along the shores of the Fraser Canyon needed three "moons" to harvest and prepare the main runs. The Lillooet upstream of the Fraser were busy for at least two "moons" (Teit 1900, 1906, 1909). The Thompson between the Lillooet and the Thompson of the Canyon must have had an equal resource as the Lillooet and the Lytton Band of the Thompson who straddled the confluence of Thompson and Fraser and could take a "double dip". But there seem to have been some particularly good spots in the Fraser. Besides the Fraser Canyon the cataracts of the Fountain near Lillooet were a place where large quantities of salmon could be caught, and somewhat to the north where the Chilcotin and the Fraser joined was another area important for fishing.

The amount of salmon in any stretch of the rivers is important as an indicator of the potential but production is also dependent on two additional factors as mentioned by Kew, namely natural conditions and technology. We must give the technology of the various bands the benefit of the doubt. Most likely the dipnets were appropriate for the requirements of the particular natural conditions of each location. But the huge dipnets of the Thompson Indians could be used in the muddy waters of the Fraser Canyon day or night, assuring them a better catch than the Thompson at Spence's Bridge who had to fish in clear waters and therefore did that only at night (Kew 1969).

There is yet another reason to suspect why the Interior Salish fishing in the Fraser would not regard the Thompson River as a better fishing territory than their own. The preference for sockeye of the white men seems not to have been shared by the indigenous people to whom the chinook seemed a better salmon (Teit 1900, Duff 1952). Of course the chinook weighs about three times more than the sockeye or humpback, but the Salish preference seems to have been the salmon which produced most oil. Salmon seems to have been valued most as a source of fat to complement a diet which on the coast and in the interior was scarce in starch and sugar. The chinook was "best" in Thompson eyes "because from it much oil is obtained" (Teit 1900). Unfortunately for the Indians of the Interior, salmon, as it progresses upriver but also as the season wears on, loses considerably in caloric value (Duff 1952, Kew 1969). The amount of caloric loss has only been measured for the sockeye but it would be important to know whether for instance the chinook would lose more or less than other varieties as it proceeds upriver. Because of the loss in nutritional value the Indians of the Interior had to use more fish to cook a quantity of oil than on the coast. Large resources were needed which seemed available to the Thompson of the Canyon and to the Lillooet who according to the yearly rounds given by Teit cooked salmon oil, an industry not included in the descrip-

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tions of the yearly round of the Indians of the Thompson River.

It seems that from the ethnographic record we can draw the conclusion that the salmon resource available to the Interior Salish living on the Thompson River was comparatively less than the resources of the Fraser, with the exception of the quadrennial run of the sockeye which possibly could have enabled also the Indians of the Thompson to build up a storable surplus. As mentioned before, there were Indians south of the Thompson who had no salmon stream in the vicinity: the Okanagan, Similkameen and Nicola. These Indians could presumably fish elsewhere and bring their catch home. But there were apparent reasons why salmon was not part of the regular diet of many of the Salish of the British Columbia Plateau south of the Thompson, at least not in truly aboriginal times.

The Indians of the coast and the lower mainland travelled extensively to obtain salmon. Even the Indians of Vancouver Island came to fish in the salmon-rich Fraser and the lower part of the Fraser Canyon. "Towards the end of September in laden canoes or rafts made by placing boards across two canoes they were observed (from Fort Langley) passing downriver again" (Duff 1952). We find a similar example in the Interior where the Okanagan from the Lake went fishing at Kettle Falls and Okanagan Falls in the Columbia River system and used the length of the lake to return with their catch (Teit 1930). Teit clearly shows that canoes were part and parcel of the material culture of the Interior Salish but their value as a means of conveyance was reduced by the absence of navigable waters to and from the salmon fishing areas. The coast and the lower Fraser offered an extensive and easily navigable system of communication. Heavy loads could be distributed with relative ease over a wide area. The rivers of the Southern Plateau of British Columbia, however, offer considerable obstacles in the form of cataracts and canyons. Kew (1969) considers navigation of the Fraser from the Canyon up to Soda Creek, well above the Chilcotin River, "impractical throughout," which may also be said of the cataracts separating the Indians of the Fraser from the Indians upstream on the Thompson. Travel on foot, an exception on the coast, was the rule in the interior. Whatever trade existed was probably reduced to valuables in small quantities such as dentalia and, interestingly enough, some salmon pemmican (Teit 1930).

It is the horse, introduced according to Teit early in the 18th century, which caused a complete restructuring of the salmon distribution and of tribal relationships as a whole. In the Interior, the horse became the equivalent of the canoe on the coast. For the first time trade on a larger scale throughout the plateau became a reality. But more important: "A great impetus was given to intertribal trade, visiting and even intermarriage; also new methods of hunting became possible and transportation of large quantities of meat and fish could be effected over long distances in short time and with little labour" (Teit 1930).

This affected in particular the region originally deprived of salmon but the impact was widespread, as may be illustrated by some examples provided by Teit. People from the Okanagan and Similkameen bought large packs of dried fish and oil from the Stalo in Hope. The Thompson traded salmon with the Similkameen near Keremeos, where the Thompson and the people from Nicola and Okanagan lakes were invited for mountain sheep hunting. Okanagans fished at the Fountain with the Shushwap. Also the Thompson and the Shushwap from the Thompson River went to the Fountain when salmon was scarce in their river. Okanagan Indians turned up in the lower Thompson villages in the Canyon to buy

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salmon but traded mostly with the Lytton band for dried salmon, salmon oil and pemmican. Also the Spence's Bridge Band of the Thompson sold salmon to the Okanagan and the Nicola and bought dried salmon caught in the Fraser River from the Lytton Band. The Lytton Band who certainly had salmon of their own still bought salmon heads, dried salmon and salmon grease from the Thompson in the Canyon, probably to trade it eastwards. The coast acquired dried meat, skins, vegetable fibres and animal greases from the Plateau in exchange for salmon products (Teit 1900, 1930).

The revolutionary change brought about by the horse could establish itself on the Southern Plateau of British Columbia for a full century before the arrival of Simon Fraser. He and the Europeans who followed him looked at an already changed, no longer truly aboriginal culture.

Simultaneously, as Teit reports, the large ungulates started to disappear. Perhaps the increased demand of dried meat and hides for trading and the new hunting techniques introduced with the horse put too much pressure on the wildlife resource. The reduction of game seems to have put a greater emphasis on salmon than before, even for those who had previously lived predominantly without it.

CONCLUSION

Although salmon is generally seen as a paramount food source for early B.C. people, it was by no means as common a food as in the Interior. Until recently a large part of the Southern Plateau of the Interior of B.C. was cut off from salmon supply or had less than other areas. Furthermore it is possible that vast areas of British Columbia, which now have salmon, from time to time and possibly for long periods experienced a complete absence of salmon in their rivers.

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Art: Logo of the Salmonid Enhancement Program, Dept. of Fisheries. By permission.



PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENT IN KWATNA, B.C.

by S. Steve Antle, S.F.U.

Introduction

This paper deals with prehistoric site location and its meaning in the Kwatna area of B.C.'s central coast. The two questions under consideration are 1) is there a recognizable pattern of site location here? and 2) if so, what does it mean? These questions are interesting ones because Kwatna is a culturally intermediate area between the territories of the Wakashan-speaking Heiltsuk (Bella Bella) toward the sea and the Salish-speaking Bella Coola inland. Indeed, the area seems to have been inhabited by members of both groups.

The data in this paper were gathered from the published accounts and unpublished field-notes of several seasons of research by S.F.U.'s Department of Archeology, and the author's observations as a field-school member at Kwatna in 1980.

The Kwatna Area

Kwatna Inlet opens onto Burke Channel from the south, midway between Bella Coola and Namu (see map). Its shores rise steeply from the water to over 900 m. There are a few boulder-strewn shingle beaches but the only flat land is at the head of Kwatna Bay, at the mouth and along the lower course of the Kwatna River. The area is covered with dense coniferous rainforest and has a mild, wet climate and all the natural resources --fish, shellfish, sea and land mammals and plants-common on the Northwest Coast.

Site Location

There are 25 known sites in the Kwatna area, comprising 28 distinct features. These may be broken down as follows: habitation site (9), pictographs (8), intertidal lithic sites (5), burials (3), historic sites (2), and fish traps (1).

When the geographic contexts of these sites are examined, a clear pattern of distribution emerges. The habitation sites (village sites, middens, plank houses, house depressions) are mostly (78%) located along the Kwatna River and near its mouth. This is the only place in the area where flat ground coincides with plentiful resources and shelter from bad weather. It is thus a natural choice. Local resources were probably sufficient to allow year-round occupation of this area, as in the Bella Coola settlements of Bella Coola, Kimsquit and Talio.



Kwatna's pictographs are relatively common and all are located on sheer rockfaces, near the water and easily visible from passing canoes. They tend to be about 1.5 km from the nearest habitation site, a fact most likely due to the rarity of sheer rockfaces in the flat Kwatna valley.

Kwatna burials are of from 2 - 6 individuals and may or may not involve cedar burial boxes. All are found in small caves or rockshelters near the water and close (80 - 600 m) to habitation sites. This custom is closer to the Bella Coola practice than to that of the Heiltsuk, though data on central coast burials are scarce. The practice is probably a cultural preference, as burials under houses, in middens or by exposure are all equally practical. The only fish trap in the area is a weir found at Axeti (FaSul) (Hobler 1970, 1976). Due to the steep topography of the area, its streams are usually too fast-running for the use of stone wall traps (Pomeroy 1979) and the inhabitants of Kwatna, like the Bella Coola, probably relied on weirs, spears and baskets for their catch.

This paper did not consider historic sites. Intertidal lithic sites were also excluded, because they likely date to the period of 3000 - 6000 B.P., which seems to have been one of different cultural adaptations (Carlson 1972; Hobler and Carlson: in press) and is certainly poorly understood.

Who Were Kwatna's Inhabitants?

What does the knowledge of this pattern of site location tell us about the cultural affiliation of Kwatna's prehistoric inhabitants? This archaeological evidence is much more similar to the pattern found among the Bella Coola than that of the Heiltsuk. As at Kwatna, Bella Coola settlements are concentrated in river valleys at the heads of fjords. The fish and other resources of this river environment enabled them to live in permanent villages (Hobler 1970). The Heiltsuk however were seasonally nomadic due to the more seasonally variable nature of the resources in their territory. They dispersed from winter villages at Elcho Harbour and Cascade Inlet to spring camps secure from Haida raiders and then to summer and fall camps with abundant food resources. The lack of stone wall fish traps and the preference for rockshelter burials at Kwatna is also in accordance with the Bella Coola pattern. Only the high frequency of pictographs suggests, archaeologicall, a Heiltsuk presence at Kwatna.

Were it not for the statements of the Bella Coola themselves, it would be easy to view the Kwatna simply as a fourth major area of Bella Coola settlement. In the 1920s the Bella Coola referred to Kwatna as a major Heiltsuk centre (McIlwraith 1948). More recently, they have described the area as containing some bilingual settlements and with some Heiltsuk living there as well as Bella Coola (Hobler 1970). It seems clear from this ethnographic evidence that there were both Bella Coola and Heiltsuk living at Kwatna.

Conclusion

Perhaps the most likely situation, which resolves this problem, is that there was a permanent Bella Coola settlement at Kwatna, similar to the others mentioned, and that the area was also used seasonally, in summer or fall, by some Heiltsuk taking advantage of its prentiful resources. This accounts for the Bella Coola nature of most of the area's archaeological remains and for the mixed nature of the settlements and the Heiltsuk presence spoken of by the Bella Coola.

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NEW ARCHAEOLOGY CHIEF NAMED AT NATIONAL MUSEUM

Dr. J.V. Wright has been appointed Chief, Archaeological Survey of Canada, National Museum of Man. Dr. Wright assumed the duties of this appointment in July.

This is a familiar position to Dr. Wright who was Chief of this Division from 1966 to 1969 before he took the position of Senior Archaeologist and then Head, Scientific Section (ASC).

Dr. Wright, who earned both his B.A. and his M.A. from the University of Toronto and his Ph.D. from the University of Wisconsin has worked for the Museum since 1960 in several capacities. His professional involvements include, among others: President, Canadian Archaeological Association, 1968-69; Chairman, Council for Canadian Archaeology, 1967; Director, Council for Canadian Archaeology, 1980 and President, Ontario Archaeological Society, 1954 and 1971. He is a recipient of both the Centennial Medal and the Queen's Jubilee Medal for contributions to Canadian archaeology and is also a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada.

Dr. Wright's primary archaeological interest is in the Iroquoian and Algonquian cultures of central Canada although his field work has ranged from the Arctic to New York State and from Quebec to Alberta.

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(from Arch Notes, July/Oct'81 Ontario Archaeological Society) - 5 -

and place of every special meeting of members and the notice shall be mailed not less than fourteen days before the date of the Special Meeting.

- (e) The Executive Committee shall meet when deemed necessary on a day and time agreed upon by the Executive Committee and at such other times as may be necessary.
- (f) <u>Voting</u> All questions before a meeting of the Society or the Executive Committee shall be decided by simple majority unless otherwise provided for in these By-laws. The President shall abstain from voting except in the event of a tie he or she may cast their vote.
- (g) Quorum

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- A Quorum for a meeting of the Socity shall be 10 members, not including members of the Executive Committee;
- (ii) A Quorum for an Executive Committee Meeting shall be 50% of the total Executive Committee plus one.

ARTICLE VII - Inspection of Books and Records

The books and records of the Society may be inspected by the members at the place of and during the course of any meeting of the Society. Books and records to be audited annually by an auditor who is not a Director of the Society.

ARTICLE VIII - Committees

(a) Membership Committee

The duties of the Membership Committee shall be to engender new membership and to see that members are in good standing at all times.

(b) Program Committee

Shall plan and co-ordinate all activities to the advantage of the membership as a whole and shall efficiently utilize the facilties available.

(c) Project Committee

Shall carry out such duties and projects as may from time to time be agreed upon by the Executive Committee.

(d) Public Relations and Publication

Shall be in charge of all advertising and interpretation of the activities of the Society to the community at large; and shall be responsible for promoting the activities of the Society in connection with the protection and understanding of the archaeological and historical heritage of British Columbia.

(e) Special Committee ·

The President at any time may appoint a Special Committee as authorized by the Executive Committee.

(f) Committee Chairmen

The Chairman of any committee will be appointed by the Executive Committee and the Chairman in turn will choose his committee from the membership.

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ARTICLE IX - Alterations

- (a) Alterations, amendments or additions to the Constitution shall be made only by extraordinary resolution approved at the Annual General Meeting of the Society by two-thirds vote of the members present and voting, provided that Notice of Motion has been adequately publicized at least two weeks prior to meeting.
- (b) Alterations, amendments or additions to the By-laws shall be made only by extraordinary resolution passed by a two-thirds majority of the votes cast by the members present at any regular or special meeting of the Society, provided that the notice of the meeting advises that such amendment or re-enactment or alteration is to be dealt with at the meeting.

ARTICLE X

In the event that funds are donated to the Society with the expressed preference for a specific archaeological project, the Society may on the authority of the Executive Committee undertake such projects to be carried out. It is understood that the expenditures will not exceed the donated funds. The individual disbursements will not be limited in amount by Article IV of the By-laws.

DATED the	day of	1968.		
WITNESS: (as to all signatu	res)			
Name		Name		
Address		Address		
Occupation)	Occupation		

Dates worth noting

The Vancouver Community College colloquia on Classical Studies is once again underway at the Langara Campus, and the public are invited.

The series, started three years ago, is held in Auditorium A136 at 3:30 on Wednesday afternoons.

Future lectures include:

October	21	Three Versions of Electra	J.	Parker
October	28	The Gladiators	в.	Dusing
November	4	Plato	s.	Sullivan
November	18	The Transmission of Classical Culture	E.	Bo <i>n</i> gie
November	25	Chips	м.	McGregor

For further information, please contact:

Ariadne Bursewicz....Telephone: 324-5209

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"Course