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HIGHLIGHTS OF THIS ISSUE

E D I T O R I A L

Just when we think we are making headway with public education about archaeology, we get slapped in the face with something gross, like this "news story."

The ambiguous headline topped a piece in the Vancouver Express extolling the joys of artifact hunting around Kamloops.


THE VANCOUVER EXPRESS FRI. MARCH 23 1979 C13

Spring for arrowheads

Certainly the item paid lip-service to legislation protecting heritage sites, but basically it urged people to collect, and that, we think, is less than desirable.

There are several interlocking issues here: Should YOU be permitted to collect? If so, should EVERYONE? If so, should people be ENCOURAGED to collect?

The Midden is certainly not going to set out single-handedly to stamp out the collecting instinct, which, judging by the pretty pebbles found in some ancient caves, is fairly fundamental. Indeed, some collecting may in fact protect material that would otherwise be lost. But we wish the media would urge that any private collections should be well documented, and should ultimately be donated to public institutions for research and display. And also that even surface finds are often much more use to archaeology left in situ than kept in secret.

DIG PLANNED AT BEACH GROVE

The Society has been invited to help with an excavation at Beach Grove this summer. Project will be run by Stan Copp, through Vancouver Community College, sponsored by the Provincial Archaeologist's office.

The dig, close to the Pillars Inn, Tsawwassen, involves a potentially important site about to be demolished by sub-division.

Excavation work will last six weeks, tentatively starting May 21. Only A.S.B.C. members will be able to participate, along with professional supervisors and archaeology students. Help will be coordinated, and volunteers (even just for one day, with or without experience) should call him at 263-8782.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL ARCHIVES GROW FAST

The Archive of Pacific Northwest Archaeology at the University of Idaho is growing at a dramatic rate, but is still seeking new material.

The collection, based in the U.I. Anthropology department at Moscow, Idaho, is designed to gather all written materials relating to northwest archaeology. A recent report notes the Archive already has more than 3,000 items on file, with a total of 20,000 index cards. The holdings include rare printed materials, theses, handwritten reports, newspaper clippings, notes from one 40-year-old dig, and even conference audio tapes.

Archive administrator Roderick Sprague continues to welcome old and new materials, including photocopies.

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CANOE RECOVERED DURING ETHNOHISTORIC/ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF THE BOUNDARY AREA, SOUTH CENTRAL B. C.

by Michael Freisinger

In the fall of 1978 a Canada Works grant was awarded to the author and The Boundary Historical Society to conduct an Ethnohistoric/Archaeological reconnaissance of the Boundary Area in South Central British Columbia. The area is located just north of the 49th parallel (Canadian-U.S. border) 576 km. (360 miles) east of Vancouver, B.C., near the town of Grand Forks. The area is bounded on the east by the Rossland range of the Monashee Mountains, and includes the drainage of both the Kettle and Granby Rivers. To the west the area is bounded by the Anarchist Summit, just west of Rock Creek.

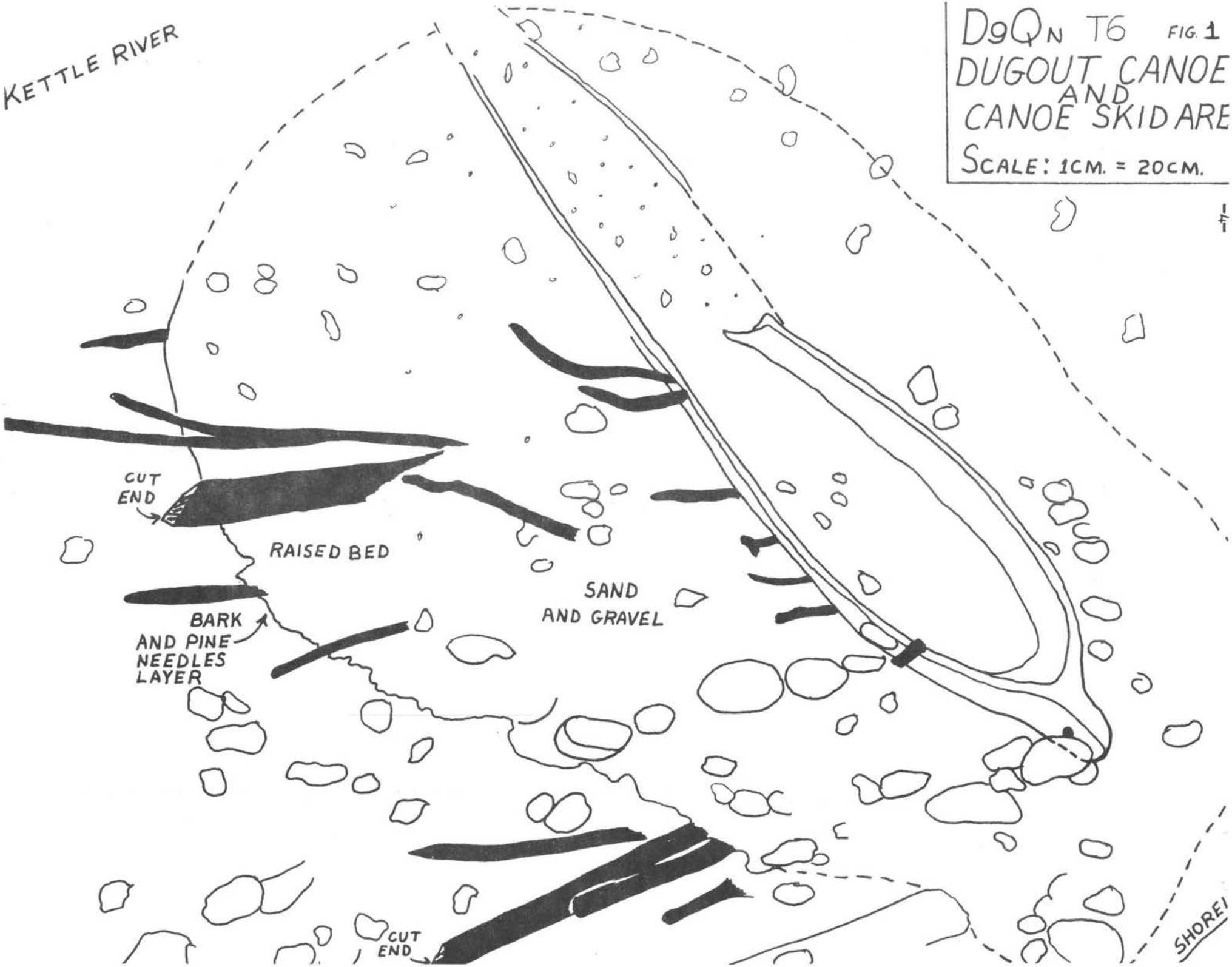
From Sept. 25 to Nov. 7 a systematic site survey of the Kettle River was conducted just south of Christina Lake from the 49th parallel to just outside Grand Forks, 20 km. west. A spot survey was conducted at Christina Lake and along the Granby River.

The purpose of the study was to investigate the area's ethnohistorical and archaeological resources, which have been examined minimally in the past. The investigations concentrated on the location, preservation, and yield of ethnohistorical information of archaeological sites in the Boundary area.

A total of 34 archaeological sites were recorded, eight of which were sites previously inadequately recorded which have been recorded. The total comprised 13 general-activity sites; eight isolated finds; five sites with cultural depressions (three of which are house pits); two trails; two pictographs on Christina Lake; two resource-utilization sites (a roasting pit and butchering site); and two burial sites.

Eleven sites were located at the southern end of Christina Lake, on Christina Creek, and in the area around Cascade Falls, known as K'lh saxem (a Colville-Okanagan place name) (Bouchard, personal communication; B.C. Indian Language Project). Within this concentration, 1 km. above K'lh saxem, a unique archaeological site was discovered submerged in the Kettle River, known as The Nehoialpitkwu ethnographically (British Boundary Commission, 1860-1861). A wooden dugout canoe was located a meter off shore imbedded in riverine deposits (see fig. 1). The dugout was 70% complete and in one piece and was situated perpendicular to the present day shoreline on what appears to be a prepared canoe skid. The site is directly above the canyon to the falls in a location ideal for landing watercraft.

The dugout canoe was manufactured from a single Ponderosa Pine log (wood analysis by Conservation Branch, B. C. Provincial Museum) and was adzed and axed into shape. Metal adze marks 10 cm. in width are evident in the inside of the bow section. John Work, Hudson


KETTLE RIVER
DgQN T6 FIG. 1
DUGOUT CANOE AND CANOE SKID ARE
SCALE: 1CM. = 20CM.
CUT END
RAISED BED
SAND AND GRAVEL
BARK AND PINE NEEDLES LAYER
CUT END
SHORE

Bay manager at Fort Colville, stated the following:

> "By 1829, the Indians of the (Colville) district were also using iron adzes for making dugouts. Dugouts and sturgeon-nosed canoes of bark were used on the numerous rivers and lakes of the district, the former principally in the SW corner (referring to the Columbia River south of Kettle Falls, Washington). In many areas these craft provided the principal means of travel, even after horses came into use."
> (Work, 1829d in Chance, 1973)

The dugout is 6.55 m. in length and .57 m. in width; thickness on the sides varies from 2-3 cm. with the bottom averaging 4 cm. The bow section (see fig. 2) has a round protruding nose with a drilled hole through the nose. The bow section in comparison to the stern stands higher and is bowed upwards. The bow appears to have been made from the butt section of the tree. The stern section shows several knots from branches whereas the bow section is clear. Olsen explains this construction in the following:

> "The butt end of the log was always used for the bow of the canoe for the reason that the wood of that portion has a higher specific gravity. When only one man is in the canoe it manages much more easily if the bow is relatively heavy. The canoe swings less easily with each stroke of the paddle than if the bow is light and rises out of the water."
> (Olsen, 1936:69)

The stern section of the dugout is pointed and slopes inward from top to bottom. A milled rough-cut board seat made from Ponderosa Pine with round nails toe-nailed into the stern section was evident; also round nails protruded out of the mid-section suggesting a seat in the middle of the watercraft.

A total of 219 measurements were taken which have indicated a well constructed, well proportioned watercraft designed and built by an experienced craftsman(men). The shape and design of the dugout suggests an aboriginal origin; the area above the canoe (DgQn 5) contained a historical component (G. Roberts, 1976).

In 1898 the Cascade Water and Power Company began construction of a dam 150 m. downriver from the location of the dugout. The dam was 400 feet long, 40 feet wide at the base and 24 feet wide at the top, and raised the level of the river 35 feet above the natural level (Glanville, 1971). Due to the nature of the deposits now eroding out of the shoreline it appears that the canoe was in its location prior to the construction of the dam.

In 1860-61 the British Boundary Commission established a camp in the vicinity of Cascade Canyon; one map places the camp above the canyon on the south side of the river, the exact location of DgQn 5 and DgQn T6 (the canoe site). At the present an estimate on the age of the canoe ranges from A.D. 1875±25.

On Nov. 21, 1978 a crew of 12 people carefully recovered the dugout from the Kettle River by easing it out of the water and cradling it on a long tarp up the riverbank to a long flatdeck truck. The canoe was transported to Grand Forks (20 km. west) and placed in

a 7 m. x .75 m. x .75 m. holding tank. The tank was lined with six layers of plastic and filled with water. The Conservation Branch of the Provincial Museum visited the site prior to the boat's removal and donated Polyethylene Glycol (Carbowax 500) and fungicide, and provided assistance in the preservation techniques. The sum of $500 (for expenses in the removal and construction of the holding tank) was provided by the Heritage Conservation Branch, Archaeology.

At the present a 10% solution of Polyethylene Glycol to water is being used with a 4% solution of Dowicide (a fungicide used to prevent mold growth). Total impregnation by the Polyethylene Glycol will take three years.

There is little ethnographic information on dugouts of the Lake or Colville-Okanagan. Durham (1960) gives a brief description of Middle Columbia River dugouts, however his description contrasts significantly with the type located on the Kettle River in that the Middle Columbia River dugouts were thicker and generally constructed more crudely. There is a lot of information pertaining to the "Kutenai" sturgeon-nose bark canoe which was manufactured by the Lakes, Shuswap and Colville-Okanagan, as well as the Kutenai (Otis, 1899) (Carmichael, 1973) (Durham, 1960) (Chapelle, 1960).

According to a local informant, two wooden dugout canoes were dredged out of Christina Lake in 1930 in a location utilized by the Lakes people who

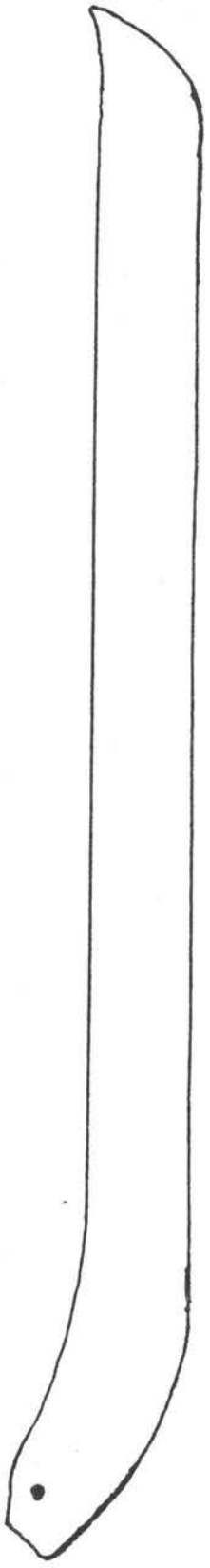


Fig.2. ORIGINAL SHAPE OF DUGOUT CANOE Scale: 1cm = 30.5cm.

Dg Qn T6

Overall length: 6.55m. Maximum width: .57m. Hullsides thickness: 2 to 3cm.
Hullbottom thickness: 4 to 6cm.
2.Feb.1979

were on their seasonal rounds between the Arrow Lakes and Kettle Falls (second largest salmon fishery on the Columbia River). The informant believes there are more canoes submerged there. In the summer of 1979 The Boundary Archaeological Survey Project will examine this area as well as the remainder of the Kettle Valley, providing that funding through the Heritage Conservation Branch and other sources is made available.

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SEA LEVELS, TIDES AND ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES OF CANADA

By Bjorn O. Simonsen
B. C. Provincial Archaeologist

Introduction

From Aug. 1, 1978 until the end of February of this year I was engaged in setting up a major archaeological resources planning and management proposal in the Maritimes region of Canada. This task was accomplished while on seven months' Educational Leave from my regular job as British Columbia Provincial Archaeologist. My work in the Maritimes was, in fact, carried out under terms that were more of a "secondment" than Educational Leave in the usual sense of the term.

During my stay in the Maritimes, I was headquartered in the Halifax offices of the Council of Maritime Premiers (C.M.P.). The study was initiated by the Council's Maritime Committee on Archaeological Co-operation (M.C.A.C.) and I reported to this committee on a periodic basis.

Statement of Problem

The recession of landmass in the Maritime region of Canada has been well documented by both past and recent scientific research. The relative rise in sea-level in coastal areas has been measured at an average rate of 15 centimeters per century with some local rates as high as 30 cm/100 years. The direct effect of the rising trend in sea-levels has been a net loss of shoreline through pronounced wave erosion of up to three meters per annum in some areas. Although the average rate of erosion is substantially less than this, the over-all effect of wave erosion on the loss of land along the shoreline of the Maritime provinces over a number of years is quite significant. The consequence of this phenomenon on the archaeological resources in Maritime coastal areas has been devasting.

The problem of archaeological resource attrition caused by wave erosion has been observed and documented by every archaeological project carried out to date in the Maritimes beginning with the work of W. J. Wintemberg during the early part of this century. The C.M.P.-M.C.A.C. has identified this as the most pressing problem in any future efforts to conserve or retrieve a substantial portion of Canada's Maritime heritage.

Proposed Action and Goals

Given the above situation, the C.M.P., through its M.C.A.C., proposes to initiate a long-term, multi-phase program of archaeological resources management. The objectives and goals of such a program are as follows:

1. To carry out a systematic archaeological site survey of the Maritime coastline in order to produce the following:
   (a) An inventory of existing archaeological sites;
   (b) An evaluation of the significance of extant archaeological sites;
   (c) An assessment of the shoreline erosion problem and the effect of this on coastal archaeological resources.
2. To carry out a major, long-term program designed to mitigate the potential loss of significant archaeological resources by means of data recovery through archaeological excavation or by means of shoreline stabilization works to conserve threatened resources.
3. To disseminate information to the public about the cultural heritage (both historic and prehistoric) of the Maritimes based upon the results of archaeological surveys, excavations and other related research.

The goals and objectives as outlined above would be achieved by action taken in three successive phases.

Phase I

- Will provide information on the actual impact of natural erosion on archaeological sites; produce an inventory of a representative sample of Maritime archaeological resources and will provide data to aid in the formulation of action and objectives of consequent project requirements.
- The above objectives would be achieved by the completion of a two-year program of archaeological site survey of a number of predetermined sampling units.

Phase II

- Will provide a complete inventory of Maritimes coastal archaeological resources, an evaluation of these resources in terms of their significance to our understanding of the region's cultural history and will provide the basis for terms of reference and strategy to be applied in the mitigation stage (Phase III) of the program.

- Actions required to achieve the above objectives are as follows:

  (a) An intensive site survey of all coastal areas not previously surveyed.

  (b) A program of test excavations at selected sites in order to aid in the site evaluation process.

  (c) A multi-disciplinary program aimed at providing an understanding of regional and local sea-level dynamics, coastal recession and coastal erosion. Also included would be research related to the availability of food and other natural resources to past populations.

Phase III

- The goals of this phase would be to mitigate the problem of the loss of archaeological resources as a result of shoreline erosion by the application of one of three possible actions:

  (1) Conservation of archaeological resources by means of shoreline stabilization works.

  (2) Adequate archaeological excavation (or other means of data recovery) of selected sites or portions of sites.

  (3) A combination of the above actions.

Conclusions and Comment

It is anticipated that the above program would be completed in approximately 10 years, depending upon the availability of funding. In terms of total project costs it is impossible to make an estimate at this time. However, it is anticipated that the costs of Phases I and II will be in excess of $1½ million. These costs would be borne, in part, by the three Maritime provinces, but it is hoped that the federal government will provide a major share of the funds required (see also note below).

Two reports have resulted from the above study and both are available (in limited numbers) from the Council of Maritime Premiers, Maritime Committee on Archaeological Co-operation, c/o Dr. Chris Turnbull, Provincial Archaeologist, Province of New Brunswick, Fredericton, N.B. The reports are entitled Attrition of Coast Archaeological Resources in the Maritime Provinces of Canada; Part I and Part II.

Note: The author wishes to acknowledge that the operating expenses for the management study to date have been shared equally between the Council of Maritime Premiers and the National Museums of Canada. The author's salary during the Educational Leave was provided by the government of British Columbia.

Describing Artifacts, No. 16

(Part of a continuing series on artifact description, reproduced from the handbook for archaeological staff working on the National Inventory Project in B.C. The Midden extends thanks to Tom Loy of the Provincial Museum for permission to reprint.)

DESCRIBING SPECIFIC ARTIFACT TYPES: BARBED POINTS

Three attributes must be identified:

1. Barb Shape and total number (e.g. extended, triangular, 4):

   A. extended; triangular or beak

   B. enclosed; triangular or beak

2. Line Attachment:

   A. perforated,
      centre
      offset

   B. line-guard,
      tabular
      triangular
      bilateral
      unilateral
      perforated

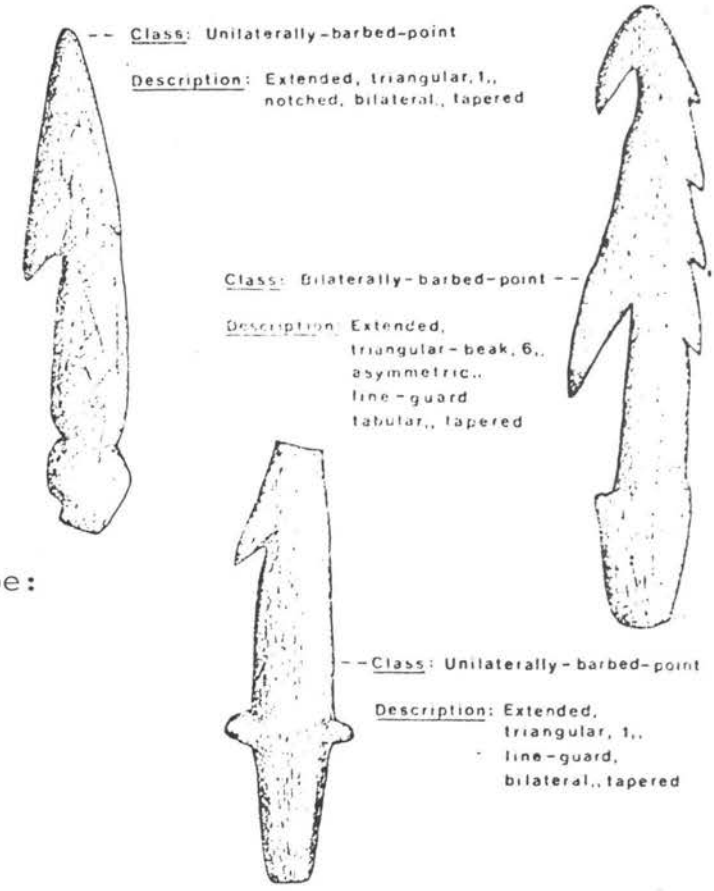
   C. noted,
      unilateral
      bilateral

3. Base (or tang) Shape:

   A. tapered

   B. double-tapered

   C. conical



With bilaterally-barbed points, barb symmetry must also be noted, as Symmetric or Asymmetric. Any unusual barb pattern will be remarked, e.g. 4 barbs one side, 2 on the other.

ARTIFACTS SOCIETY HITS JACKPOT

The Saanich Historical Artifacts Society has received a grant of $110,000.00 from the provincial lottery fund for a substantial building on its 23-acre property by the Pat Bay Highway. The group will erect a warehouse and workshops to house thousands of items it has accumulated in storage around the area.

This news may answer the question in many minds as people drove to the Schwartz Bay ferry terminal and saw the Society's huge sign--in the middle of an empty field.

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A.S.B.C. DIARY

Regular monthly meetings of the Society are held from September to June on the second Wednesday of the month in the Centennial Museum auditorium at 8 p.m.

May 9 Dr. David Pokotylo, U.B.C. - Hat Creek Survey Project.

June 13 Annual General Meeting with Provincial Archaeologist Bjorn Simonsen speaking on the archaeology of the east and west coasts of Canada.

EARTHWATCH - 1979

This non-profit organization conducts research studies in science, the arts and humanities in all parts of the world, but of particular interest to our members are the programmes devoted to archaeology which encompass marine sites in Florida, and historic and prehistoric excavations in California, the Eastern States, French Polynesia, Africa, Guatemala, Peru, the U.K., Europe and Israel, and many more. Amateurs are welcome. Costs are shared by the participants. For full details on all the expeditions offered, contact Nick Russell at 324-5335.

STRATHCONA PARK LODGE and OUTDOOR EDUCATION CENTRE

Closer to home, on Vancouver Island, with a wide variety of programmes to suit every interest from hiking, canoeing, sailing, studies of Native culture to folk music and health and preventive medicine. Hilary Stewart at 731-7871 has complete catalogues of this year's activities.

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MORE MUSEUMS OFTEN MISSED

A Logging Museum has been set up at Shannon Falls, four miles north of Britannia Beach, which might be of interest to anyone taking a summer drive up that way.

And at the same time, you can take in the B.C. Museum of Mining at Britannia. Reports welcome from anyone who visits these.

B. C.'s FIRST ARCHAEOLOGIST: CHARLES HILL-TOUT

by Don Bunyan

This is the second of The Midden's profiles of people prominent in B. C. archaeology, past and present.

For someone keenly interested in the past, Charles Hill-Tout seems to have been oddly careless about recording his own biographical details. He was born somewhere in the west of England in 1858 or 1859, perhaps on September 28 (Buckley 1914, p. 1194). But we do know he studied theology before becoming an evolutionist, farmer, teacher, school principal, ethnologist, archaeologist, lumberman, landlord and grand old man of Vancouver culture. Though he never graduated from a university he was, at one time or another, a member of the executive of the School of American Research, Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, president of the Canadian Department of the American Institute of Archaeology, organizing secretary for the ethnographic survey of Canada instituted by the British Association for the Advancement of Science, president of the Art Historical and Scientific Association of Vancouver, president of the Vancouver Museum and Art Gallery Association, and honorary president of the Happier Old Age Club. Charles Hill-Tout, F.R.S.C., F.R.A.I., was B.C.'s first resident archaeologist.

Only in B.C., one might think, could someone with no academic qualifications be the generally admired and respected "Professor," and president of just about everything cultural. However, Hill-Tour's work was highly regarded internationally. He was also a Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Heraldic Institute of France made him an honorary corresponding member and awarded him a gold medal. T.H. Huxley corresponded with him, and Sir James Frazer and Andrew Lang, amongst others, made use of his observations. Though later neglected by American anthropologists and Canadians of the American school (Barbeau 1945, p.91), he was honoured overseas as well as at home.

Hill-Tout, although he made no deep mystery of his past, seems to have preserved a somewhat decorous reticence, so that the accounts of it differ. From interviews with his eldest son recorded in an unpublished M.A. thesis by Judith Banks (1970) one learns that Hill-Tout was orphaned at the age of seven--a fact which does not appear in any of the published accounts but is consistent with them. He received early education at a private school in Oxford and later--possibly--at Weston-super-Mare. Later still he was educated by Anglican monks, the Cowley Fathers, first at Cardiff and then at Cowley St. John near Oxford. He studied theology, possibly at Oxford but more likely at Lincoln with some attendance at lectures in Oxford.

In 1882 he married Edith Mary Stewart at Lincoln, and at about this time Hill-Tout seems to have been converted from theology to anthropology. To quote the exquisite encomium by Alfred Buckley, "...like Emmanuel Kant of old, Mr. Hill-Tout was awakened from his dogmatic slumbers and the old story of shifting theological moorings was repeated in another young soul...once more the bondage of subscription to rigid dogmas became intolerable and once more a brave young spirit rebelled. Mr. Hill-Tout abandoned the idea of a clerical life and turned his thoughts to Canada." (Buckley 1914, p.1197) He studied Darwin's works, and emigrated.

In 1884, Hill-Tout with his wife and infant daughter reached Toronto. After a year or so, initially as a teacher and later as a successful farmer, in Ontario, he decided to return to England, but first visited Vancouver. He then decided to settle here but, before doing so, returned with his family to England. He stayed there two years, then came back to Vancouver in 1890. He became headmaster of Whetham College, at the corner of Granville and Georgia Streets, on the site now occupied by the Vancouver Centre. He afterwards founded and ran his own school for boys, Buckland College, located on Burrard Street.

In 1892 or 1893 he bought land near Abbotsford, and for some years farmed it during the summers. In 1900 he moved to this property, where he farmed, made railway ties, built and operated a sawmill, and built a shingle mill--which failed. At the end of the first world war he sold some of the land, divided the rest between two of his sons, bought an apartment block in Vancouver, and returned there to live. His first wife died in 1931, and in 1941 he remarried. On Friday, June 30, 1944, the news of his death in St. Paul's Hospital that morning competed for front-page space in the Vancouver Sun with news of the British advance on Caen, the Russian advance on Minsk, the buzz-bombs

falling on London--and in B.C., "Doukhobor Nudist Wins His Release." He was about 85.

STARTED ARCHAEOLOGY IN HIS FORTIES

He began the work for which he is remembered in 1892, visiting the native peoples of the Lower Mainland and studying their languages, customs, legends and beliefs. At about the same time, the discovery of skeletons and artifacts during the cutting of Eburne Road in Marpole was brought to his attention, and he investigated the site, which he named the "Great Fraser Midden" (now designated DhRs 1, otherwise the Fraser Arms Hotel). His account of the site, the finds and his conclusions from them formed the subject of his first monograph, published in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada (Hill-Tout 1895), with an addendum by Franz Boas about one of the skulls.

In the following years, he published a number of ethnological and archaeological articles and a few longer works, which brought him international fame. Those of archaeological interest are listed in Fladmark's bibliography of B.C. archaeology (Fladmark 1970). Later, in the 1920s and 1930s, he became more concerned with arousing popular interest in Indian culture and prehistory, giving public lectures, writing articles for the press and working for the preservation of sites. His tendency for theorizing, which Boas and other American anthropologists considered a weakness even in his early work, reached its peak in a book published in 1925, grandly titled, Man and His Ancestors in the Light of Organic Evolution.

It is high time that someone published a full biography of this intriguing individual. In her M.A. thesis, Judith Banks compared the lives and works of Hill-Tout and James A. Teit, attempting to explain why Hill-Tout's work now is neglected while Teit's is still highly regarded. In the attempt, she also tried to analyze Hill-Tout's character. In interviews with his son and with surviving friends, she built up a fascinating picture of a very complex person, a real Victorian "original." I do hope that someone--Ms. Banks herself, or someone authorized by her--will soon make use of this unpublished material for a long overdue study of one of Vancouver's most picturesque pioneers.

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Recent Additions to Society's Library

Archaeological Survey of Alberta:

Occasional Paper No. 7, 1978. Studies in Archaeology. Highway 1A Coal Creek Alberta, Michael McIntyre

Occasional Paper Nos. 8 and 9. Tipi Rings in Southern Alberta: The Lazy Dog Site, J. Michael Twigg. The Alkali Creek Sites, Gary Adams.

Occasional Paper No. 10. Cypress Hills Ethnohistory and Ecology, Robson Bonnichsen and Stuart J. Baldwin.

Occasional Paper No. 11. The Elk Point Burial, Stuart J. Baldwin.

Washington Archaeological Society:

Occasional Paper No. 6, 1978. A Cultural Resource Overview of Chelan, Okanogan and Douglas Counties, North Central Washington, R. Lee Lyman.

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SYMBOLISM IN PREHISTORIC NORTHWEST COAST ART

By Dr. George Macdonald, National Museum of Man

Reprinted by permission
from Arch Notes, Nov/Dec. 78
Ontario Archaeological Society

The Coast is not as fortunate as the Arctic area where ethnographic and archaeological materials link in a continuous sequence that can be taken back at least to, say, the Thule and Dorset interface. Boas, who is the classic ethnographer of the coast, was responsible for focusing attention on the tightly-controlled use of signs in northwest coast art, particularly in his widely-read book Primitive Art. But, although he talks in terms of symbols, he is concerned mainly with the symbol level of reference. There is little concern in his works even to distinguish the use of crest art from non-crest art; nothing of the contextual use of these animal-like designs, for example.

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One of the interesting developments, in terms of symbolic interpretation within that area of research, is the new interest in material culture among students in that area. Dissertations and theses are available or soon to be so in almost every category of northwest coast material culture. In most cases, the study consists of an exhaustive inventory, which usually is the appendix to the thesis, with the analysis of the mythological and ritual context of the piece, usually concluding with symbolic interpretations of one kind or another. Other studies are more restricted. At best, such studies begin to show a very consistent pattern to northwest coast symbolism as expressed in the material culture. Stylistic variations between different tribes or regions are explained in terms of fairly formal definitions of inversions or of purposeful contrasts, in which surface features of an artifact - for instance, its decoration - are altered by the structuralist associations that remain the same. That is, the variations from tribe to tribe are seen sometimes to be straightforward contrast. They look entirely different, but if matched with mythological information, they can be seen to function in the same way. Ones that are visually different often have the same function and ones that have a different function are often brought together visually, so that there is a conscious effort over tribal boundaries to give distinctive character to a tribal pattern vis-a-vis that of their neighbours.

One of the most fascinating observations to emerge about northwest coast art is a lack of inherent scale in style, being due to the fact that scale is virtually always cosmic. Spoons, spindle whorls, houses, canoes, costumed dancers, etc., are always represented symbolically as the universe or as one of the fundamental principles of it. Hence, the human body and its decorations involve the universe symbolically, as does a dwelling. In fact, we come to a principle of a body-house cosmos kind of paradigm, which is well described in some of the Asian religions and which seems to have a lot of validity in terms of northwest coastal peoples. Archaeologically, we get some evidence of the time depth involved in this basic concept through

settlement pattern data and plans of structures where space is symbolically treated in accordance with this principle - that is, the placement of the house posts, hearths, activity areas within the structure and of the houses relative to each other.

Another concept of symbolic space in northwest coast archaeology concerns the hierarchies of space as symbolic of social hierarchies. Again, settlement pattern data provide a lead. There are many other hierarchies evident in northwest coast culture wherever classifications are applied.

Animals are appropriately arranged within their cosmic zones, as are others forms of being - that is, plants, minerals, etc. Ultimately, even the cosmic zones themselves have a hierarchical set of relationships. A classic example of animal hierarchies involves the killer whale as the chief of all beings of the sea, who are his subjects or slaves. Killer whale designs are inordinately popular in prehistoric times, as they were in the ethnographic period. There are surviving etchings on slate and other materials that go back to the time of Christ, in coastal archaeological sites. Since all animal species were viewed as being exactly like humans except for their appearance and habitat, they were viewed as having the same type of social organization with their own chiefs, commoners and slaves. The principles of tribal organization were thus considered to be universal, a concept that was expressed in symbolic terms in their art. Each species within a given environment had its chiefs, each stream had a chieftainess of the fish who controlled the runs of fish in the stream. The shaman could look down into the streams and see the schools of fish and they appeared to the shaman as villages full of people. On the other hand, to the bears in their dens up on the mountainside, tradition has it that the village of humans along the river appeared to them to be schools of fish. So we have a linking of imagery.

There are only scraps of evidence for such concepts expressed in the archaeological record, but I personally believe that a petroglyph recently discovered beneath a thick mantle of moss on a rock island in the middle of the first canyon on the Skeena River represents such an idea. Below the canyon, the river is too wide and turbulent to fish, but the harvest of fish begins at just about that canyon. The age of the petroglyph is unknown but its condition and the growth of moss suggest some considerable antiquity, certainly prehistoric.

The recent study of classes of ethnographic materials has revealed one very interesting concept that complements the above one: the idea of the chiefs of species commonly found throughout North America is extended even further on the northwest coast to include the more abstract concept of the chief of wealth, who is almost always a water being. Although the names vary among the tribes, the key feature of the chief of wealth is that he plays a direct role in the maintenance of social order among humans, as well as controlling their supply of food, and he even controls the kind of weather that prevails. The most important breach of social ethic - incest - brings cataclysmic retribution from this being in truly cosmic proportions: tidal waves, earthquakes, floods, landslides, volcanic eruptions. These are the things that are described in all the myths, things that result from improper marriage alliances. The core mythology of all the northwest coast tribes is preoccupied with endless variants of this basic myth; thence the endowment of great wealth on the one hand or terrible punishment on the other, by a chief of wealth type of being responding to the proper or improper observances.

This is very interesting, but how does it relate to archaeology? I think it can, usually, if we look at how and where the chief of wealth is represented and whether such occurrences can be detected archaeologically. The chief of wealth figure, according to actual informant information - mainly from the last century - is the one seen on the front of the storage chest, that big, bear-like figure whose facial proportions are huge. These were chests for the storage of wealth, and we have just such a box from the prehistoric site at Ozette in northern Washington state. The excavator in this case claims that the appropriate date for the piece is 500 years; I dispute that amount of age personally, believing that there is a very good chance this is a prehistoric piece. The chief of wealth also appears as a house-front rising from the sea in the myths; if a person out in a canoe sees a house-front rising out of the sea, he will be a very wealthy person for the rest of his life. It has also been identified independently by other individuals as the figure on dance blankets and shaman aprons and the elaborate Chilkat blankets, where it is flanked by two raven profiles and this symbolizes the first potlach that was ever given, where the chief of wealth invited raven to the potlach. We have also come to recognize the chief of wealth in the figure of a human being in full frontal position, rather than the highly-stylized animal-like one.

Since 95% of northwest coast material was made from highly-perishable organic materials, particularly wood and bark, it is not surprising that little of the elaborately-symbolic artifacts that characterize the ethnographic period have survived in the damp climate of the coast. There are a number of possible approaches which occur to me in response to this dilemma.

We could attempt to increase the meagre sample of artifacts which possess value for symbolic interpretation by selecting certain areas of sites and changing strategies of excavation; now, excavation is taking place on the traditional sheltered type of site. The other thing we could perhaps do is withhold attempts to deal with symbolic interpretations until such time as we have some real samples to deal with. Yet another approach is to locate organic material - for example, by excavating wet sites (referring to the permanently water-saturated site). And, finally, we could concentrate some attention on analyzing the very large numbers of ethnographic specimens - of which a very high proportion are ritual in nature and are therefore symbolically quite loaded - that are preserved in the museums of the world; this would create a framework within which prehistoric artifacts can be interpreted as they are recovered. Of course, there is a lot of very basic material culture in the collections of the world that has been sadly neglected in favour of the more ritual object; the utilitarian objects from the northwest coast need thorough study, since ethnographers (with virtually no exceptions) do not bother to do a descriptive analysis of the day-to-day activity materials of coastal peoples.

Although I have attempted all of these approaches to some degree, there are limitations inherent in each one of them. The first (that is, by excavating more) is limited by financial constraints. The second is limited by the fact that many times the manpower and finances are required to conserve the organic remains than is required to dig them up, and that becomes a bottleneck situation where conservation falls sadly behind excavation of wet sites. There is virtually a moratorium on the excavation of wet sites on the B.C. coast at this time because of the conservation problem.

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