# THE MIDDEN

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## A Gift from the Ancestors

## Fireweed Clothing

## The Historic Songhees Village
## Victoria, BC

# THE MIDDEN

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Jacob Earnshaw
asbc.president@gmail.com

**Membership**
Nicole Westre
asbc.membership@gmail.com

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA meetings in Victoria featuring illustrated lectures are now generally held on the third Tuesday of each month from September to June at 7:30 P.M. at the University of Victoria, Cornett Building, 3800 Finnerty Road, Victoria, BC. Details on lectures are often listed on the *Conferences & Events* page (back cover). New members and visitors are welcome. Admission is free.

# THE MIDDEN

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Fall/Winter 2016


*In this issue*



***Cover***

Waterlogged leather shoe found in cistern on the Old Songhees Reserve DcRu-25:873.

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Subscription forms and membership application forms are available on our website (http://asbc.bc.ca).

# From the Editor

This issue of The Midden is arriving just in time for you to curl up with a warm beverage and a blanket, and to reflect on this year in BC archaeology. Everyone has been running at full steam, and though the holidays may bring a brief respite, archaeological work proceeds at a steady pace.

The holidays are also an excellent opportunity to check out The Midden archive online, if you haven't already done so. UVic has been kind enough to host the archive, which goes a long way to making the content available to the broadest audience possible. Check it out: https://journals.uvic.ca/index.php/midden

In this issue, we bring you two articles that focus on plant material: Natasha Lyons et. al., discuss red elderberry use in Tsleil-Waututh territory, while Grant Keddie discusses the use of fireweed in textile production in Snuneymuxw territory. Tom Bown's beautifully illustrated article about finds from the Old Songhees Reserve draws our attention to historic material, which can tell us so much about changing attitudes to material culture. Historic material, sadly, doesn't receive the same level of concern as do pre-1846 collections. In the future, the issue of historic collections will be dealt with on many fronts, from the ASBC to the newly formed Heritage Repository Association of BC. We also have an article by Roy Carlson, from the Midden Archives, and a mystery object from EbSh-81. Rich Hutchings news article captures some of the major stories of the past year.

The spring/summer 2017 issue will focus on recent CMT work across the province, and the fall/winter issue will be a more diverse collection. We are always collecting submissions! If you're interested in contributing to The Midden, please send articles, letters, photos, and comments to the editor.

Lastly, be sure to check out the events page. The early part of 2017 is packed with archaeological events, in and around Victoria and Vancouver. There are many chances to rub elbows with other BC archaeologists, professionally and socially. I hear the 2017 Canadian Archaeology Party (March 31st) will be even more legendary than the last!

Genevieve Hill
Midden Editor

# The ASBC Pages

## President's Letter

This year marks the 50th anniversary for the Archaeological Society of British Columbia. There were few bells and whistles to mark this milestone other than the usual Society Christmas party a few weeks ago and occasional drinks following monthly lectures. This milestone is better characterized by the work involved to continue our Society into the next half century! Here are some of the projects we have been working on:

As mentioned in the last issue we crossed our "t's" and dotted our "i's" with the CRA and are patiently awaiting their verdict on our reapplication for charitable status. This delay has slowed us down for a number of financial reasons, but

we have gotten through the year just the same and are optimistic about the future. Bureaucracy…

Our membership steadily increased over the course of 2016 with numbers reaching about 90 by early December. Our goal for 2017 is to at least double our membership in order to reach a base income from memberships to help sustain the many varied costs of operating the society and producing The Midden.

This year representatives from the ASBC were present at the CAAs in Whitehorse and the BC Archaeology Forum in Vancouver. Next spring we are planning to have a larger presence at the Society of American Archaeology conference in Vancouver. The ASBC will be sharing a table with the BC Association of Professional Archaeologists to help cut costs. The Society is also helping SFU Professor Dana Lepofsky to organize a social event for the Canadian Archaeology community during the conference. We managed to raise money from universities and consulting companies throughout the province, as well as several regional Canadian archaeological societiesto ensure this event is a success . Besides having lots of fun dancing, our goal is to raise a decent amount of money for an SAA scholarship for First Nations students enrolled in archaeology programs.

With many thanks to the efforts of one of our past Presidents, Craig Rust, the www.asbc.bc.ca website is back up and running. Membership applications and membership renewals can now be completed online! There is also a link to the UVic Libraries page hosting The Midden archive (www.uvic.ca/midden). Back issues are mostly all digitized and searchable in this online database. The pre-1984 issues are currently being digitized and will soon also be available online. In next spring's issue of The Midden we are experimenting with a thematic issue. The first of this ongoing series will focus on Culturally Modified Tree research in BC. We encourage guest editors to take on future themed issues to educate ASBC members and the public about important archaeological topics in the province. We are very keen to hear from anyone interested in suggesting future themes or who would like to be a guest editor. It is our goal to grow and diversify The Midden to better reflect the renaissance of archaeological work taking place in this province. Countless projects are filling in knowledge gaps about BC's history - in many cases substantiating First Nations oral histories, clarifying written historical narratives, and shedding light on long-term human landscape dwelling.

Last fall was a busy lecture series.. Morley Eldridge (Millennia Research) spoke about bracelets, mountain goats and household archaeology in Prince Rupert Harbour, and Duncan McLaren presented his intertidal research on the Central Coast. We had two lectures in November: the first was Cam Robertson's (Golder Associates) experience of archeological assessments in Melanesia; Susan Crockford followed up with a focused presentation on the mountain goat remains found in Prince Rupert Harbour. Next spring's lecture series is already filling up with talks from Travis Crowell of SFU, our own Callum Abbott of UVic and Eric Guiry of UBC.

Our September AGM re-elected much of the same executive as last year. We released the wonderful Jenny Cohen from our clutches and gained another member at large, graduate student Jacob Salmen-Hartley from the UVic Anthropology Department.

We are still very much committed to organizing some community archaeology projects in the next year or so, which we get regular questions about. The majority of these requests come from new archaeologists looking for work experience. Hosting archaeological investigations in the field will be one of our main goals for 2017.

A big thanks to our membership for their support of the Society in the work that we do and to the tireless work of the executive committee: Genevieve Hill (The Midden representative), Ian Sellers (Vice President), Tom Bown (Financial Secretary), Nicole Westre (Membership Secretary), Callum Abbott (Recording Secretary), Colton Vogelaar (Member at Large), Shauna Kirby (Member at Large), and Jacob Salmen-Hartley (Member at Large/Financial and The Midden assistant).

Thanks,
Jacob Earnshaw
ASBC President

# A GIFT FROM THE ANCESTORS: THE LEGACY OF RED ELDERBERRY USE IN A TSLEIL-WAUTUTH PLANT PROCESSING AREA

*by Natasha Lyons, Morgan Ritchie, Chelsey Geralda Armstrong and Dana Lepofsky*

Legacy is defined as something handed down from the past, like a gift, object, idea, or heritage of an ancestor. The idea of legacy is perhaps most often used in connection with the achievements of an individual, but the concept has been adapted to many other contexts. For instance, ecologists increasingly recognize the prevalence of "land-use legacies"—where past land-use has influenced contemporary ecological patterns and processes (Foster et al 2003). We can also identify legacies of land use passed on from earlier eras in archaeological contexts. In this paper, we consider the legacy of red elderberry (Sambucus racemosa) use at two archaeological sites in Tseil-waututh territory, in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. The formation of many contemporary landscapes is the result of both ecological factors and the legacy of lives lived on the land. Worldwide, we know that almost all ecosystems have been in some way altered by ancient and on-going human actions (Ellis 2015; Isendahl and Stump 2015; Szabó 2014).

Landscapes that are intentionally managed for long-term human needs will often be simultaneously healthy and ecologically resilient (Baleé 2006:76). Certain positive changes in biotic composition—such as increased biodiversity—may not be perceived by managers or encoded in their traditional knowledge systems (Codding et al. 2014). However, it has been shown that the legacy of ancient management practices on native species result in a myriad of ecosystems that persist today (Fairhead and Leach 2009; Frausin et al. 2014; Ford and Nigh 2015). Some transformations, such as land clearance and large earthworks, tend to result in high species turnover, while secondary landscape transformations, such as pruning, weeding, and aerating the soil, tend to produce intermediate disturbances and partial species turnover (see Balée 2013). These secondary transformations increase the presence, productivity and, in this case, the persistence of desirable food plants like red elderberry.

Ancient resource managers in the Pacific Northwest are known to have encouraged, cultivated, and created the growing conditions for economic berry resources to grow within what would have been intensively managed landscapes (cf. Lepofsky and Lertzman 2008; Turner and Loewen 1998). The shrub layer surrounding residential and extended use sites was often tended through the secondary types of landscape transformations described above--annual pruning, harvesting, burning, and digging (Turner and Peacock 2005; Turner 1999). People also affected these sites in many inadvertent ways. Plant processing sites were originally chosen for the natural abundance of a given resource that people chose to harvest, perhaps creating an annual relationship with that plant and that place. The very act of establishing an annual base camp would involve clearing the site of some shrubs and trees, whereas living and working at the camp would have produced soils rich in human and food waste. The resultant open ecosystem, with organic-rich soils, were ideal growing sites for many culturally valued berry plants, including red elderberry.

Here we look at two ancient plant processing sites where red elderberry was a focal resource, DhRr-371 and DhRr-374, located within two kilometers of each other in contemporary Tsleil-waututh territory. Our question is: what is the relationship between ancient land-use practices on these sites and the modern elderberries growing on them? We unravel this question by examining the cultural and

natural processes influencing site formation and land use over the past two millennia, thinking about the behavior of red elderberries in different ecological circumstances, and the effect and persistence of ancient land-use practices on modern vegetation patterns and processes.

respective shell midden deposits date to 300 and 400 cal BP. The midden deposits were interspersed with at least two horizontal surfaces distinguished by the presence of hearth features and interpreted as the floors of a small habitation structure

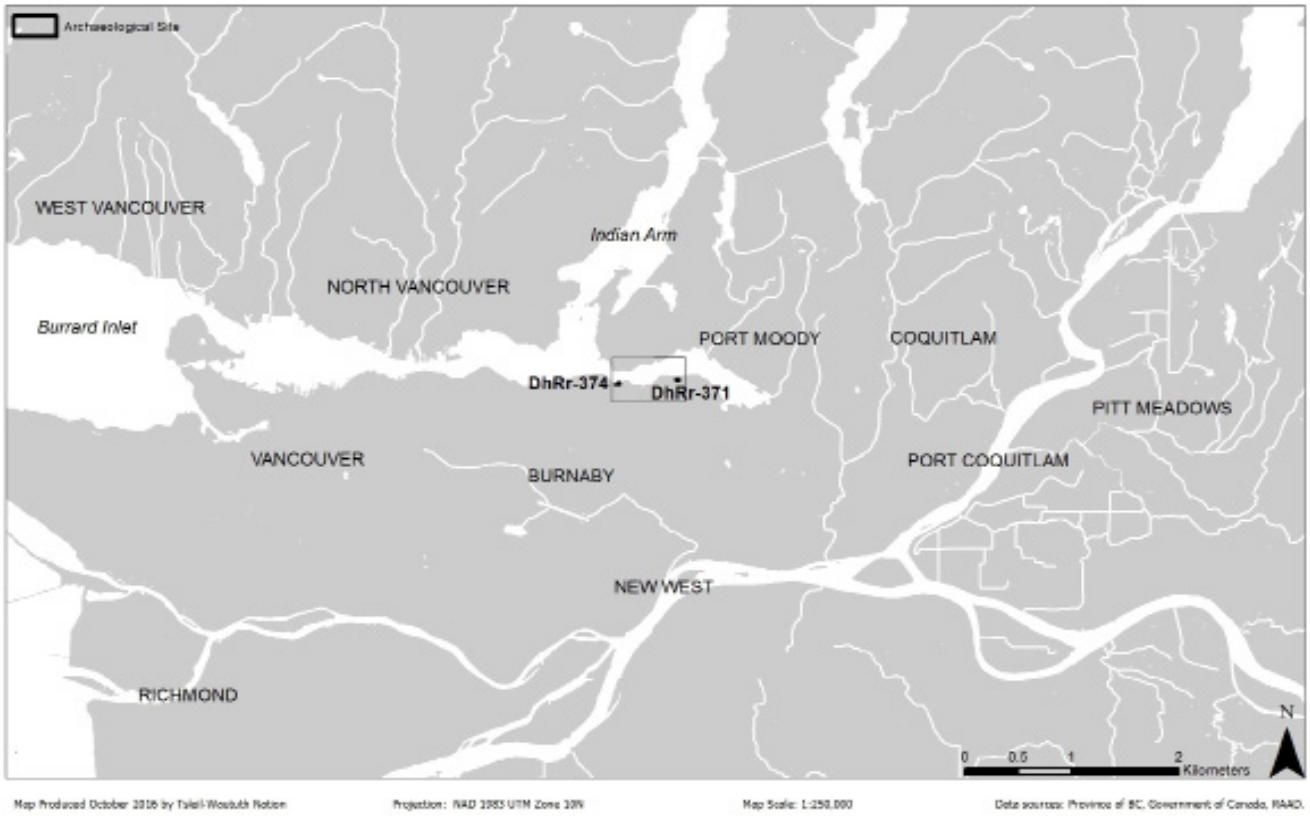


Figure 1. Regional Map showing sites DhRr-371 and DhRr-374 in Burrard Inlet (Credit: Morgan Ritchie)

Sites DhRr-371 and DhRr-374 are located in Burrard Inlet (Figure 1). DhRr-371 is interpreted as a multi-component base camp with an intensive plant processing area that contains multiple overlapping dish-shaped features filled with fire-altered rock and charcoal interspersed with occupation surfaces (Lepofsky 1992). This site was occupied from approximately 1700 to 2100 years ago, based on a set of eight radiocarbon dates (Ham and Yip 1992:192). DhRr-374 is a small stratified site consisting of four discrete cultural layers, whose use spanned from 2,500 to 300 years ago (Ritchie et al 2016). The earliest layers, which appear to represent plant processing activities, are shell-free deposits consisting of charcoal and fire cracked rock. These layers date to 2,500 and 2,100 cal BP, respectively. Another, later set of occupations focus on shell harvesting and processing; and these

Red elderberries thrive in moist open forests and clearings, and are known as an edge species (Figure 2; Pojar and MacKinnon 1994:70). Different circumstances will affect its growth. When the canopy closes significantly, as in mature coniferous forests, the lack of light reduces its ability to grow. Likewise, native bushes may be outcompeted by aggressive introduced species like Japanese knotweed. In Table 1, we present an inventory of plants growing on the two archaeological sites today. These sites are found within a dry variant of the Coastal Western Hemlock Zone (CWHdm) (Meidinger and Pojar 1991:98). The contemporary landscape around DhRr-371 is a primarily deciduous forest of 50-90 year old trees. About 100m northwest of DhRr-371 is a massive north-facing slope filled almost exclusively with red elderber-

**Table 1**. Inventory of present plant species at two Tseil-waututh red elderberry processing sites

| Plant species | Latin name | DhRr-371[a] | DhRr-374 | Status & Ebot Use |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Arrow-leaved groundsel | *Senecio triangularis* | | x | |
| Balsam poplar | *Populus balsamifera* | x | x | T |
| Beaked hazelnut | *Corylus cornuta* | | x | T, F |
| Big leaf maple | *Acer macrophyllum* | x | x | T |
| Bindweed, morning glory | *Convolvulus arvensis* | **X** | x | I |
| Bitter cherry | *Prunus emarginata* | | x | F, T |
| Black huckleberry | *Vaccinium membranaceum* | x | | F |
| Blackcap | *Rubus leucodermis* | x | x | F, M |
| Bunch berry | *Cornus canadensis* | x | | F |
| Cow-parsnip | *Heracleum lanatum* | | x | F |
| Douglas fir | *Pseudotsuga menziesii* | x | x | T |
| English ivy | *Hedera helix* | x | x | I |
| False lily of the valley | *Maianthemum dilatatum* | x | | F |
| False solomon's seal | *Smilacina racemosa* | | x | |
| Falsebox | *Paxistima myrsinites* | x | | |
| Goat's beard | *Aruncus dioicus* | x | | M |
| Hardhack | *Spirea douglasii* | x | x | T |
| Herb-Robert, wild geranium | *Geranium robertianum* | x | | |
| Himalayan blackberry | *Rubus discolor* | **X** | | I |
| Indian hellebore | *Veratrum viride* | | x | M |
| Indian plum | *Oemleria ceraciformis* | x | **X** | F |
| Large leaf sandwort | *Moehringia macrophylla* | | **X** | |
| Large-leaved avens | *Geum macrophyllum* | x | x | M |
| Licorice fern | *Polypodium glycyrrhiza* | x | x | M |
| Mountain ash | *Sorbus sitechensis* | x | | |
| Nootka rose | *Rosa nutkana* | **X** | x | F, M |
| Oak fern | *Gymnocarpium dryopteris* | x | x | |
| Pacific bleeding heart | *Dicentra formosa* | x | | |
| Pacific crabapple | *Malus fusca* | | **X** | F, T |
| Pacific ninebark | *Physocarpus capitatus* | x | | |
| Pacific starflower | *Triantalis latifolia* | | x | |
| Pathfinder | *Adenocaulon bicolor* | x | x | |
| Policeman's helmet | *Impatiens glandulifera* | x | x | I |
| Purple vetch | *Vicia americana* | | x | I |
| Red alder | *Alnus rubra* | x | | T |
| Red elderberry | *Sambucus racemosa* | **X** | x | F, M |
| Red huckleberry | *Vaccinium parvifolium* | x | x | F |
| Red raspberry | *Rubus idaeus* | | x | F, M |
| Salal | *Gaultheria shallon* | **X** | x | F |
| Salmonberry | *Rubus spectabilis* | x | x | F, M |
| Sarsparilla | *Aralia naudicaulis* | | **X** | M |
| Snowberry | *Symphoricarpos albus* | x | | |
| Spiny wood fern | *Dryopteris expansa* | x | | F |
| Thimbleberry | *Rubus parviflorus* | x | x | F, M |
| Vine maple | *Acer circinatum* | **X** | x | T |
| Water parsley | *Oenanthe sarmentosa* | | x | |
| Western swordfern | *Polystichum munitum* | **X** | x | T |
| White birch, paper birch | *Betula papyrifera* | x | x | T |

a. All plant taxa were recorded by presence. X refers to species richness composing >15% of total site coverage, where x refers to <15% coverage.

b. All plant taxa are native species unless noted as invasive (I). Ethnobotanical uses include plant foods (F), technologies (T), and medicines (M). Sources: Turner 1995, 1998.

Figure 2. Red elderberry (Credit: Chelsey Geralda Armstrong)

ries, thriving for a 20-30m radius. Other edible plants include salal and several raspberry species. At DhRr-374, 2-3 red elderberry bushes are growing atop of the small habitation structure alongside a wide variety of native trees, shrubs and herbs. Many of these resources—such as Pacific crabapple and beaked hazelnut—provided important edible plant foods. Outside of the features, non-native vegetation is dominant. While red elderberries are seldom eaten by Northwest Coast First Nations people today, they were widely consumed in the past. Red elderberry is the most common and abundant economic plant in archaeobotanical assemblages in the Pacific Northwest, partly because of its ease and desirability for preservation, and partly because the mildly toxic seeds must be spit out during consumption (Lepofsky and Lyons 2013; Losey et al 2003; Martindale and Jurakic 2004). Red elderberries grow in large clusters that were cut down in mid-summer and steamed en masse, wrapped in layers of vegetation, within processing pits. These berries were processed by steaming overnight and then dried into cakes over a fire (Turner 1995:68). Elderberries were often consumed with cakes of sweeter berries, such as salal or huckleberry. The cakes were stored for winter fare, and were re-hydrated by soaking them in water, and then consumed with grease (Turner 1995:67-8).

We conducted archaeobotanical analyses at both of the Tsleil-waututh processing sites. At DhRr-371, 24 samples representing 33 litres of sediment were selected from processing features (n=20) as well as occupation surfaces (n=4). Overall, 22 plant taxa rep-

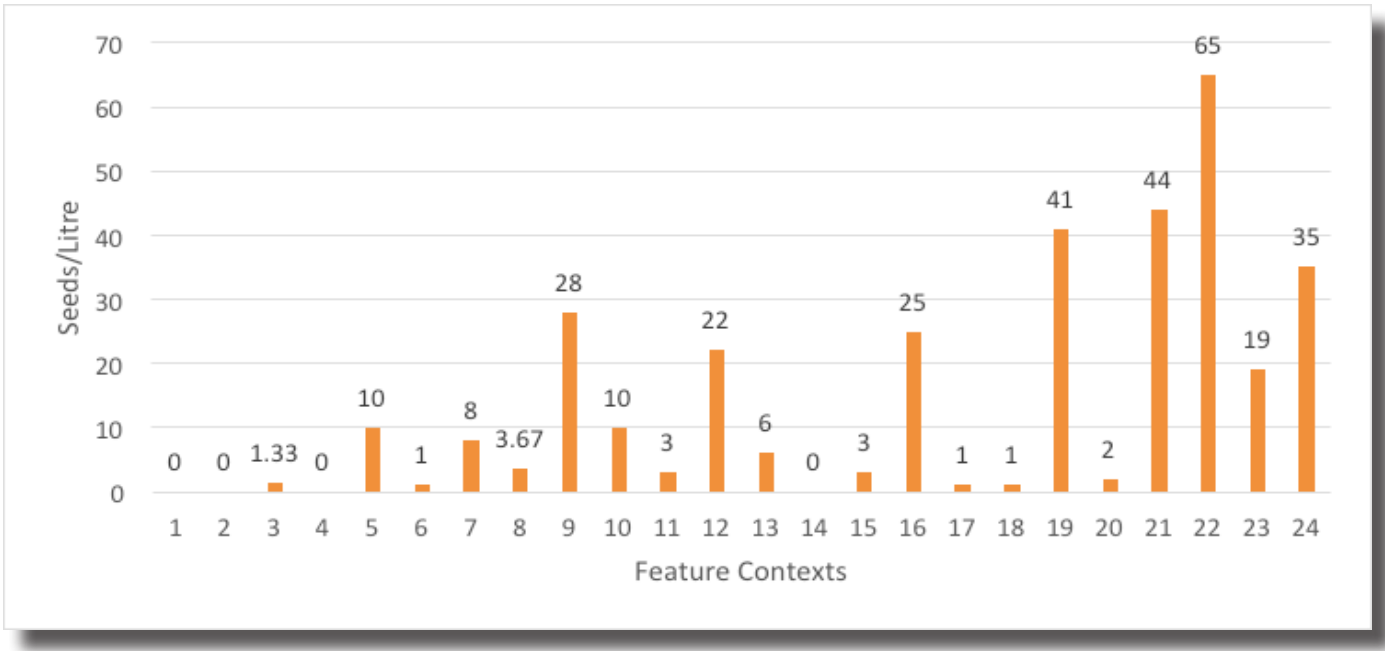


Figure 3. Density of Charred Red Elderberries across Feature and Floor Sampling Contexts at DhRr-371

resented by seeds and charcoal were recovered in the DhRr-371 assemblage. A variety of economic plants were identified, including an abundance of red elderberries (n=364), followed by thimbleberries (n=92) and salal (n=36) (Lepofsky 1992). At DhRr-374, a much smaller analysis of four samples representing six litres of sediment was examined in a sequence of discrete charcoal lenses in the midden (Lyons 2016). Four archaeological plant taxa from four plant families were identified, including, again, a majority of red elderberries (n=422 or >98% of the entire assemblage). Uncharred red elderberries were also tabulated in the DhRr-374 stratigraphic sequence that may be ancient seed rain. Seed rain is generally comprised of weedy species deposited by wind, birds, or other natural vectors on archaeological sites in modern or ancient times. We posit that uncharred elderberries at DhRr-374 were deposited during the time of occupation and were preserved in protected midden layers for the past several hundred years (cf. Lyons and Orchard 2007).

At DhRr-371, the majority (66%) of contexts produced few elderberry seeds (n<10/litre) (Figure 3). However, 8 contexts (33%) stand out has having an abundance of remains (n>20/litre), with a few producing a significant concentration. Red elderberries also have very high ubiquity at DhRr-371 (83.3% or 20 of 24 contexts). The ubiquity and relative abundance of red elderberries across pit features and occupation surfaces suggests that processing was a primary activity for the duration of this site's occupation.

At DhRr-374, we plot the density of charred against uncharred red elderberries through time (Figure 4). The bulk of fruit is concentrated in a single layer with very high density (409 elderberries/litre) suggesting that processing was occurring. This layer has a comparable date to the nearby DhRr-371 processing complex (ca. 2100 BP). The low densities of charred seeds both before and after this layer suggest more casual consumption of the fruit in these other occupation layers.

Uncharred elderberries were only recorded at DhRr-374. Generally, uncharred seeds are attributed to modern—and sometimes ancient--seed rain in archaeobotanical assemblages. Uncharred seeds are found in the final two samples at DhRr-374 (Figure 4), and are more abundant in the more recent layer. If the seeds are contemporaneous with the archaeological layers—which they well could be protected within midden—then some of these seeds are centuries old (Ødum 1965). The combination of both charred and uncharred red elderberry seeds through the stratigraphic sequence at DhRr-374 suggest that red elderberry bushes have been reproducing on this site for the past 2000 years.

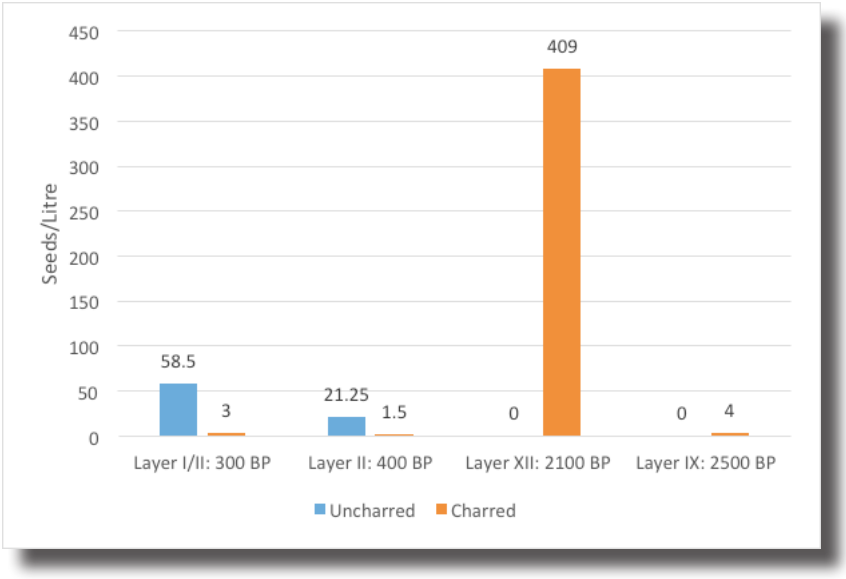


Figure 4. Density of Charred and Uncharred Red Elderberries through time at DhRr-374

**Discussion:**

We suggest that the red elderberry shrubs that continue to grow at two plant processing sites in Burrard Inlet today are a legacy of past land use practices. The relative abundance and ubiquity of charred red elderberry seeds at both sites suggests that site residents were both mass harvesting and processing this resource two thousand years ago. By 300 years ago, at DhRr-374, residents appear to have only been harvesting them for casual seasonal consumption while harvesting shellfish. The uncharred seeds in the most recent layers are

clearly a viable source of the red elderberry bushes. Today, red elderberries continue to thrive in a large patch at DhRr-371 while only a few bushes are growing at DhRr-374. The former site remains an open, deciduous forest. The latter site has greater encroachment of non-native species, which are outcompeting and crowding the native species so that they only remain growing on the ancient habitation feature itself.

The berry bushes, fruit trees, and other culturally valued plants growing on these sites today are partially there because they prefer open, nutrient-rich sites. What cultural factors enabled red elderberries to persist here for 2000 years? In a natural Coastal Western Hemlock ecosystem, conifers encroach in late growth forests and block the light of edge species like elderberry. It would therefore have been in the interest of site residents to keep the canopy open. We suggest that the canopy was incidentally cleared as part of camp life and perhaps more intentionally opened through annual burning, pruning, and other types of cultural practices that go hand in hand with the harvesting season. This level of management created reliable patches of resources within relatively stable ecosystems over great lengths of time.

Ethnobiologists, palaeoethnobotanists, First Nations historians and knowledge-bearers, and other specialists are increasingly re-discovering carefully cultivated landscapes across the Pacific Northwest that are the legacy of ancient land use practices (e.g., Armstrong et al 2016; Darby 2005; Hoffmann et al forthcoming; Lepofsky and Lertzman 2008; Mack and McClure 2002; Norton 1979). Many plant distributions that we see across our region are a product of First Nations forestry and landscape management practices layered with the land-based outcomes of logging, plowing, dyking, and industrialization brought by settler populations (Foster et al 2003). This small case study shows how ancient people played an active role in creating the rich diversity and abundance of culturally important plant species we see in many modern environments. As archaeologists, it gives us pause to think about the factors involved in creating modern plant distributions and how they relate to historical and ancient plant use activities. Red elderberries found on two thousand year old Tseil-waututh plant processing sites can be considered a kind of "gift from the ancestors" that allow us to re-create the long and rich relationship between people and plants in this region.

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## Author Bios:

Natasha Lyons owns and operates Ursus Heritage Consulting with her husband Ian Cameron. She is Adjunct Faculty in the Department of Archaeology and Simon Fraser University, where she found all these fine collaborators.

Morgan Ritchie is a professional consulting archaeologist working with Tsleil-Waututh Nation. He has conducted heritage studies in their territory for the past several years which have explored the long and complex relationships between the "People of the Inlet" and their traditional lands and resources.

Chelsey Geralda Armstrong is an archaeologist and ethnobiologist in the Ph.D. program at SFU. She studies human-landscape interactions in the past and how those dynamics relate to present goals of socially just environmental conservation.

Dana Lepofsky is a professor of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University. She is the proud past and present supervisor of all her co-authors.

# Fireweed Clothing: Evidence of Its Use by the Snuneymuxw First Nation of Vancouver Island

*by Grant Keddie*

*Curator of Archaeology, Royal B.C. Museum*

Small fragments of woven material were found along with other items in a burial cave site (DhRx-28) on Gabriola Island in 1971. The Burial remains and associated artifacts were brought to the (then) Provincial Museum to protect the material that was being removed by unknown persons.

In addition to the small fragments of unidentified woven material (Figure 1), artifacts found in the cave include bracelets of copper and brass, shell pendants, a stone bead, a wire wound Chinese made green glass bead, a woven rattle head, and bark matting. This assemblage of material suggests the woven material likely dated to around the late 18th to early 19th century.

In 2001, the Snuneymuxw First Nation and the Royal B.C. Museum held discussions for the repatriation of their ancestral remains from a number of archaeologi-


**Figure 1:** Cloth made from the woven seed plume of the Fireweed plant (DhRx-28:13; accession 71-233). (Grant Keddie photo).

cal sites, as well as 460 boxes of soil samples and faunal material - mostly from the Departure Bay and Duke Point sites. A ceremony was held at the RBCM and at the final re-burial ceremony at Nanaimo on October 20, 2001.

During the repatriation process, C-tasi:a - Geraldine Manson, of the Snuneymuxw First Nation, brought a group of elders to the RBCM, to examine the artifacts to be reburied. The elders held discussions among themselves and agreed that they would allow for small fragments of woven material to be kept for future examination to determine what they were made of.
I examined this cloth fragment under a 200X power microscope with the intent of trying to find hair samples that could be identified as either from dog or mountain goat (Figure 2). The latter are well known to have been used in making several types of blankets. But there were no examples of hair to be found.

What I did find was a mass of tiny plant-like fibres and many tiny seeds. Using our Museum's comparative plant and seed collection, I was able to identify the seeds as those of the common fireweed plant, *Epilobium angustifolium*.

I surmised that the fibres must be from the plume (the fluff) of the fireweed plant. This proved to be the case even though they were of different thicknesses. It turns out that the fibre thickness varies with the amount of water that the plant has during its active growing stage (Dale 1989).

What is significant about this find is that this cloth fragment is the first and only example of clothing made entirely out of the plume of the fireweed and not just a mixture with other raw material in the clothing construction.

**The Early Ethnographic Accounts**

It is important to see if statements about plant use in the ethnographic literature are coming from First Nation advisors who have personal experience with the use of fireweed or just statements by writers repeating

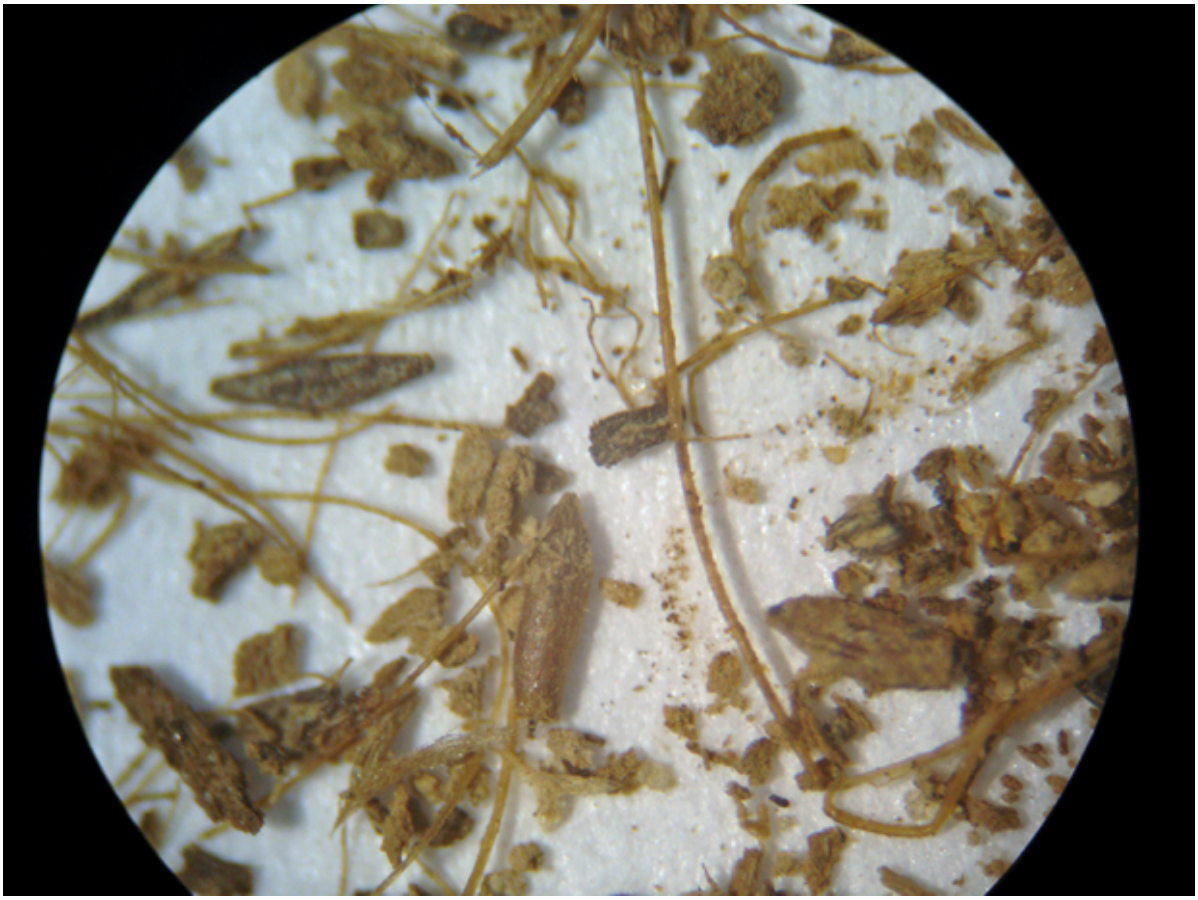

**Figure 2:** Microscopic view of seed and plume fibres found in the piece of woven cloth (100X). (Grant Keddie photo).

the information that previous ethnographers received.

Myron Eells collected information in the 1870s and 1880s from First Nation advisors who would be knowledgeable about traditional practices, based on their personal observations, from the early 1800s. In speaking about Puget Sound in general and specifically including the Squaxin, Klallam, Skokomish and Twana, Eells notes that: "Fireweed (*Epilobium*). The cotton-like down from the seed was formerly used in making blankets" (Eells 1985:52). Eells indicates that there are three kinds of blankets: "One was made of dog's hair, geese or duck down, and the cotton from the fireweed. These were twisted into strings and woven together" (Eells 1985:122).

Edward Curtis, recorded from his First Nation advisors (some of whom were born as early as the 1832 to 1850 period) that the Klallam on the Olympic Peninsula and North Strait Salish speakers on the south end of Vancouver Island "used on special occasions a robe woven from a mixture of down with the hair of goats and dogs and with certain vegetal products. The down of ducks, geese, and gulls, the hair of dogs and mountain goats, and sometimes the cottony fibre of dead fireweed blooms and cattail spikes, were taken in varying proportions and thoroughly mixed by beating and

**Figure 3:** Epilobium angustifolium seeds and plume from RBCM herbarium collection (400X). (Grant Keddie photo).

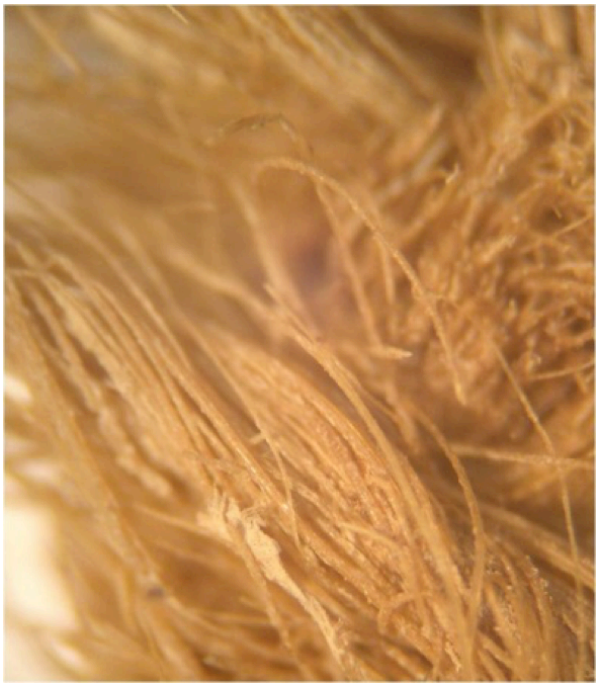

**Figure 4:** Microscopic View of masses of seed plume fibres in the piece of woven cloth (200X). (Grant Keddie photo).

stirring vigorously with a paddle. The resultant fibre was then twisted into loose, fluffy strands, ready for the weaving" (Curtis 1913:44).

Curtis's statements are confirmed by Erna Gunther's Quileute and Cowlitz First Nation advisors, in 1924-25, who had never seen a woman weaving a mountain goat blanket, but: "Much more common were blankets made of the fireweed cotton mixed with feathers of seagulls or ducks". These were pounded together and spun using a spindle whorl (Gunther 1927:221).

## Conclusion

It is fascinating to see the ingenuity of the Snuneymuxw First Nation in producing a quality cloth with the very fine seed plume of the fireweed by itself. It is likely that this practice was more wide-spread than previously believed. Seed life (can be stored, short shelf-life, long shelf-life). The seed hairs (plume) respond to humidity. As humidity increases, the plume diameter decreases, resulting in a reduced loft. This increases the chance that seeds are deposited in places with moisture adequate for germination (Shebitz 2003).

**Figure 5:** Fireweed plants (Grant Keddie photo)

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# The Historic Songhees Village, Victoria, British Columbia: 50 years of Historic Archeology at DcRu-25 and DcRu-123

*by Tom Bown*

January 31, 1966 was the date the first recorded historic artifact was recovered from the Old Songhees Village (DcRu-25 and DcRu-123). This simple TD style kaolin clay pipe would be the first of over 6,000 historic artifacts to be recovered over the next fifty years, from close to twenty-five locations within the boundaries of the original village that existed, between 1844 and 1911, on the western side of Victoria Harbour. Without the continued support of the Royal British Columbia Museum (RBCM), volunteers, and the Archaeological Society of B.C., most, if not all of this collection would have been lost or destroyed. The following is a very brief overview that only touches on some of the history of the site and includes a number of selected artifacts.

**Figure 1**: This photo shows an 1874 potlach in the village where large quantities of goods would be given away. Many of these items would add to the archaeological record.

Attributed to Albert Maynard, RBCM PN6810. Brian Cunningham private collection.

The historic village represents a very complex archaeological record. Throughout DcRu-25, the boundaries of which capture most of the original village, artifacts from the period were almost entirely of European, or, in some cases, Asian manufacture. Isolated finds of traditional style artifacts of stone and bone were occasionally found. The exception was at the western edge of the village at Lime Bay (DcRu-123). The point that extended out between Lime and Mud Bay was originally salvage excavated by Grant Keddie in 1983 (Keddie 1983). The results showed a fortified site that dated between1,200 and 600 years BP. During the historic period, this area became the cemetery for the village and most of the individuals interred there were moved to the new reserve after 1911 (Old Victoria Cemetery Society 2016). Also, during the historic period, visiting Haida set up temporary camps in the area of Mud Bay. Subsequent to 1911, industrial development covered large areas of both DcRu-25 and DcRu-123.

Once the Hudson Bay Company selected Victoria as the site of a new fort that would essentially replace Fort Vancouver, life for the local Songhees and Esquimalt people would be transformed in a matter of months. They suddenly found themselves living next to a main port on an expanding global marine highway that was delivering goods and people from all parts of the world. In addition, their First Nations neighbors were also arriving in large numbers and camping in and around the Songhees village to trade for newly

**Figure 2:** This photo, taken in 1907 or 1908, and shows the Marine Hospital at the back. Compared to the previous photo, the village has transformed from traditional style plank houses to more European style construction. The addition of the hospital and other enterprises as well as the transformation of construction styles greatly add to the overall archaeological complexity.
Attributed to Richard Maynard (RBCM PNX520).

arriving goods. This, however, was not with out challenges, as many previous rivals came into close contact in a competitive environment.

Initial opportunities for the resident Songhees would include providing traditional foods, and, some evidence suggests, clean drinking water for the newcomers and visiting First Nations. This, however would quickly change. The influx of goods and people also brought new industries, which were established in and around the village. Within a few decades, a hospital, ship building and repair facility, railroad, school and numerous smaller ventures within the boundaries of the village would add to the archaeological record (Keddie 2003).

By the time of the 1858 gold rush, a cash economy had been well established. This provided people living in the village, as well as many other First Nations along the coast, a new opportunity to accumulate wealth and purchase goods. In many cases, for visiting First Nations, the village would be the first contact with an expanding global trade. From here, new goods, technologies, ideas, and resulting cultural changes fanned out to the rest of the British Columbia coast.

In 1911, the village was purchased by the government and the Songhees moved to their present day location on Esquimalt Harbour (Gregson 1970). Industry moved in, transforming the landscape and occupying the site for the next half century. Starting in the 1970's, industrial activities began to shut down one by one, until nothing remained by the mid 1980's. What remained was mostly a concrete covered wasteland where few people expected any remaining archaeological deposits or additional artifacts would be found.

Starting around 1987, site preparation commenced for a massive planned residential and hotel development on the site. Volunteers including Grant Keddie, Curator of Archaeology at the RBCM, kept watch and very soon small pockets of cultural material from the original village began to emerge. Mostly surface collections were made with notes on the location and

**Figure 3:** Photo of a woman and her daughters displaying bottled products likely for sale, 1910-1912. Many of the containers found on site may have been brought there for commercial purposes and don't necessarily represent consumption
(RBCM PN8834).

the deposit itself. Artifacts and notes for each locale were turned over to the RBCM (see Figure 7 for locales). Most of the deposits were found beneath industrial overburden and tended to be highly compacted and seldom more than 10-15 cm thick. They typically contained brown soil with shells, faunal remains, and highly fractured glass and pottery fragments. A few exceptions were found, including a well, at least two cisterns, and one trash pit. By observing changes in soil colour, several historic burials were also located before they were destroyed. For well over a decade, haphazard collections had been made from close to twenty locales but no formal historic archaeology had been conducted. This was primarily because the site was considered to date to the post-1846 period and therefore had no legal protection under the *Heritage Conservation Act*. This meant the developers had no obligation to protect the heritage of the site. It also meant pot hunters had free reign and an organized group calling themselves the National Urban Archaeology Society conducted digs, claiming they had permission from the developers. No reports or artifacts were ever submitted to the RBCM by the NUAS.

Fortunately this changed in 2005. During the first phase of site preparation for the Shutters Spa and Residences project, a single artifact, determined to be pre-1846, triggered a formal archeological assessment. I. R. Wilson Consultants Ltd. conducted the assessment which turned into one of the largest historic archaeology salvage projects in B.C. (Wilson et al 2005). There were many significant finds from this excavation including normally perishable artifacts recovered from a water filled cistern. Formal salvage projects have since included: 95 Esquimalt Road, in 2011, by Stantec Consulting Ltd (Bond 2011), and most recently, in 2016, ongoing salvage work as part of the Johnson Street bridge project (in preparation).

**Figure 4:** View (1990) of what would have been Mud Bay looking east from DcRu-123. At the far top left, some of the concrete retaining walls that were once part of the tank farm and huge piles of contaminated soil are visible. This is on top of the Shutters site, which 15 years later, would produce one of the richest and diverse collections from the Songhees village.

(Photo: Tom Bown 1990)

**Figure 5:** Photo from 1990, looking west towards DcRu-123 from what would later become the Shutters building site. Although the area appears to be totally destroyed, significant archaeological finds were yet to be made. (Photo: Tom Bown 1990)

**Figure 6:** Part of the future Shutters site in 1989. Often outcrops of bedrock such as that shown on the right preserved archaeological material.

(Photo: Tom Bown 1989)

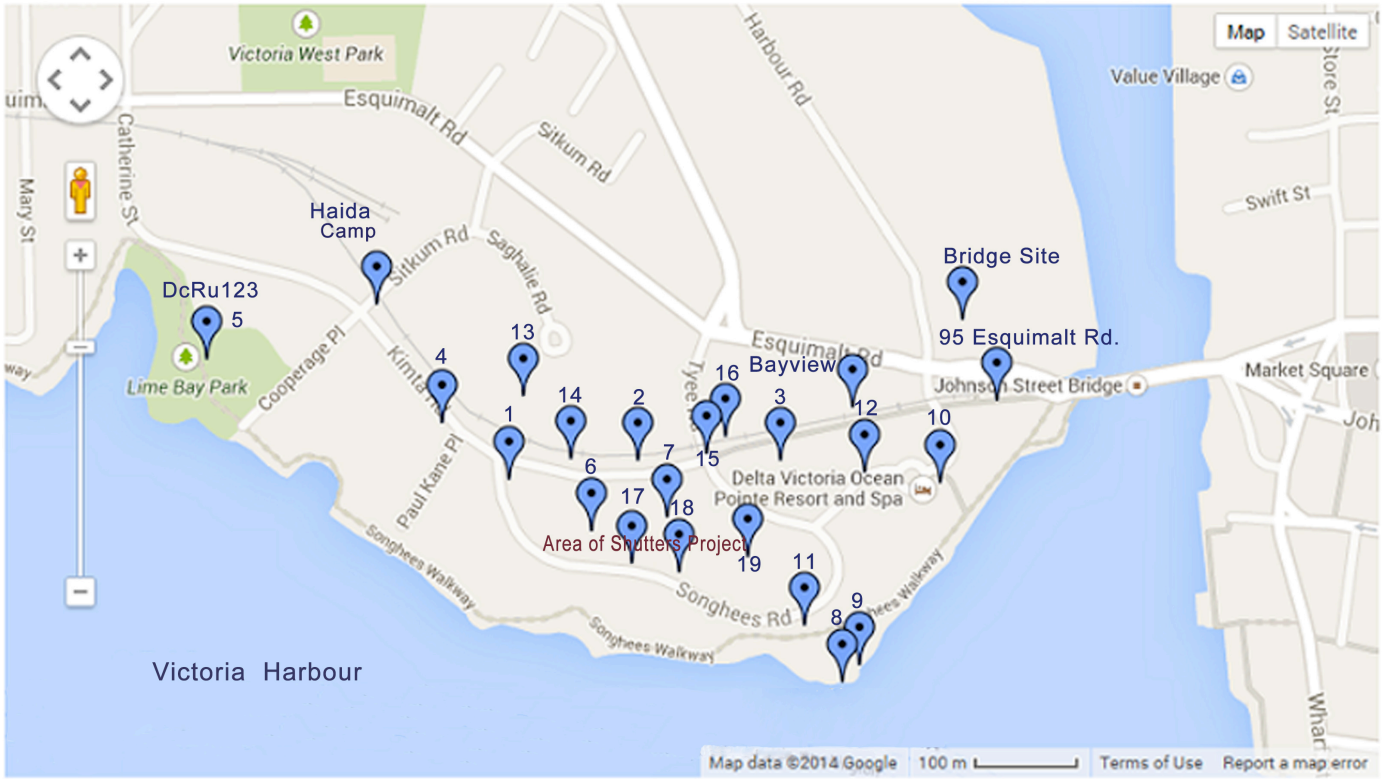


**Figure 7:** Map showing the collection sites from the old Songhees Village. Starting in the 1980's, each collection locale was numbered or given a location name. All artifacts collected at locale 5 have since been included with DcRu-123 which had a pre-1846 component. The lack of collection sites near the water corresponds to the areas filled during the industrial phase. Also of note, locales 6,7,17,18 and 19 were collection sites within the area of the Shutters site but predated that project by up to a decade.

## Selected Artifacts Recovered

Although 6,000 artifacts represents an impressive collection, it comprises only a small fraction of the archaeological potential the village site had to offer. Although the reports from the Shutters Project and 95 Esquimalt Road offer considerable artifact interpretation, much more work can be done on the remaining collection. What follows are just a few examples from the collection. All of the following photos were taken by the author.

**Traditional objects:** Artifacts fashioned in a pre-contact style were not common. Some appear to be made using steel tools but overall the lack of bone and stone tools suggests they were quickly replaced with superior trade goods.

Objects of European origin were by far the most numerous at this site, and glass was the most common material. Bottle fragments were ubiquitous throughout the entire village. As the last half of the 19th century saw numerous advances in bottle manufacture, this provided an approximate date for some of the locales. All of the earlier deposits had large volumes of fragmented unembossed dark olive or "black glass" bottles. Dated deposits at Fort Vancouver show this style of bottle was virtually absent from the record by 1876 (Chance & Chance 1974). The vast quantity of fragments found has lead to the suggestion these bottles were being actively salvaged from town and potentially being reused to bottle clean drinking water.


**Figure 8**: Inscribed beaver tooth gaming piece. DcRu-25:5765.


**Figure 9**: Bone point likely produced using a metal file. DcRu-25:5766.


**Figure 10**: Typical pre-contact style sandstone abrader. DcRu-25:145.

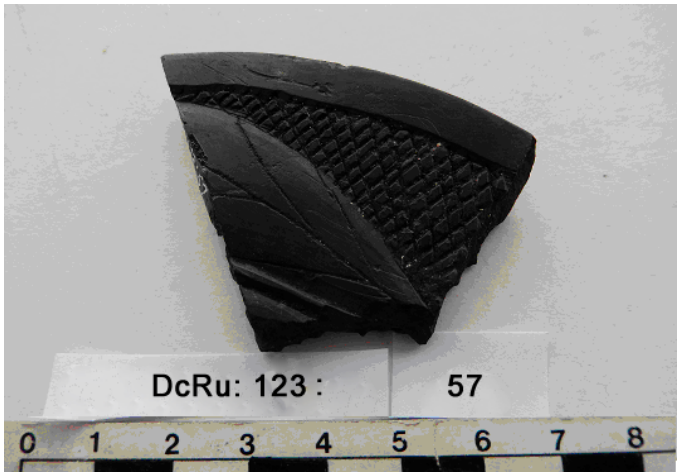


**Figure 11**: (above) Fragment, possibly of a carved argillite plate. This was found at Lime Bay, near the site of the Haida camp. Fragments of argillite were found throughout the village. This indicates raw argillite was being brought to Victoria, then carved at the village. DcRu-123:57.

**Figure 12**: (left) An example of an intact 1860's style dark olive "black glass" bottle. Earlier examples of whole bottles from the village site were rare, suggesting most were reused until broken and discarded.
DcRu-25:211.

**Figure 13**: (right) In general, bottles with embossed information tended to be less common. One exception was this 1860's style Dr. J. Hostetter's Stomach Bitters bottle. Although typically sold as a medicinal, the product contained 46% alcohol. During the American Civil War it was sold in vast quantities to troops who were otherwise on restricted use of alcohol (Clark et al. 2008 and Ketchum 1975).
DcRu-25:154.


***Ceramics were recovered at almost every location.***


**Figure 14**: (left) Blue transferware ceramics tended to be among the most popular, with many of these depicting European scenes. Floral patterns were also popular.
DcRu-25:405.

**Figure 15**: (right) Scottish style spongeware was also a popular item.
DcRu-25:542.


**Figure 16**: Chinese pottery was not an uncommon find. This leads to the question, how much interaction did the Chinese and First Nations communities have?
DcRu-25:534.


**Figure 18**: Blue facetted beads were found throughout the entire village site.
DcRu-25:450.


**Figure 20**: Remains of a child's glass marble likely German manufacture.
DcRu-25:5740.

***Personal items include a wide variety of objects from buttons to china dolls.***

**Figure 17**: Civil War era Union patriotic badge "Hail Columbia".
Identified by the staff at Alexandria Archaeology Museum in Virginia.
DcRu-25:5758.


**Figure 19**: Children's toys were found on the site, such as this partial doll's head.
The majority were found at locale 16.
DcRu-25:499.


**Figure 21:** This Scottish stemmed kaolin clay pipe was the first artifact recorded on January 31, 1966, with John Sendey credited as the finder. The pipe is stamped "T" with a missing "D" that denotes the pipe style. The makers name is not legible, but on the opposite side it is stamped Glasgow. Originally listed as DcRu-25:1, it was later designated as DcRu-123:19.

***Perishable objects would typically make up most of the original archaeological record but seldom remain. The Shutters development site had a rare discovery of a cistern filled with preserved waterlogged artifacts. The following photos are from the Shutters report (Wilson et al. 2005).***


**Figure 22:** Pipes for tobacco were a common find. This example has a talon holding the bowl. DcRu-25:5812.


**Figure 23a:**

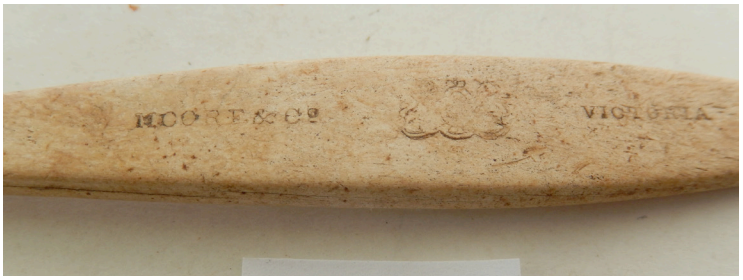


**Figure 23b:** Personal hygiene items were also found. This carved bone handle for a tooth brush is stamped "Moore & Co Victoria" with a Royal crest. This company dates to about the time of the gold rush. Without the stamp, a piece of worked bone such as this could be mistaken as a traditional or even pre-contact object
DcRu-25:462.


**Figure 24**: (above) Bentwood box recovered from the Shutters site DcRu-25:824.


**Figure 25:** (above) Carved cedar spoon recovered from the Shutters site.

**Figure 26:** (below) An illustration by Brian Seymour of a northern style halibut hook recovered from the Shutters site. (with specific permission of the illustrator)

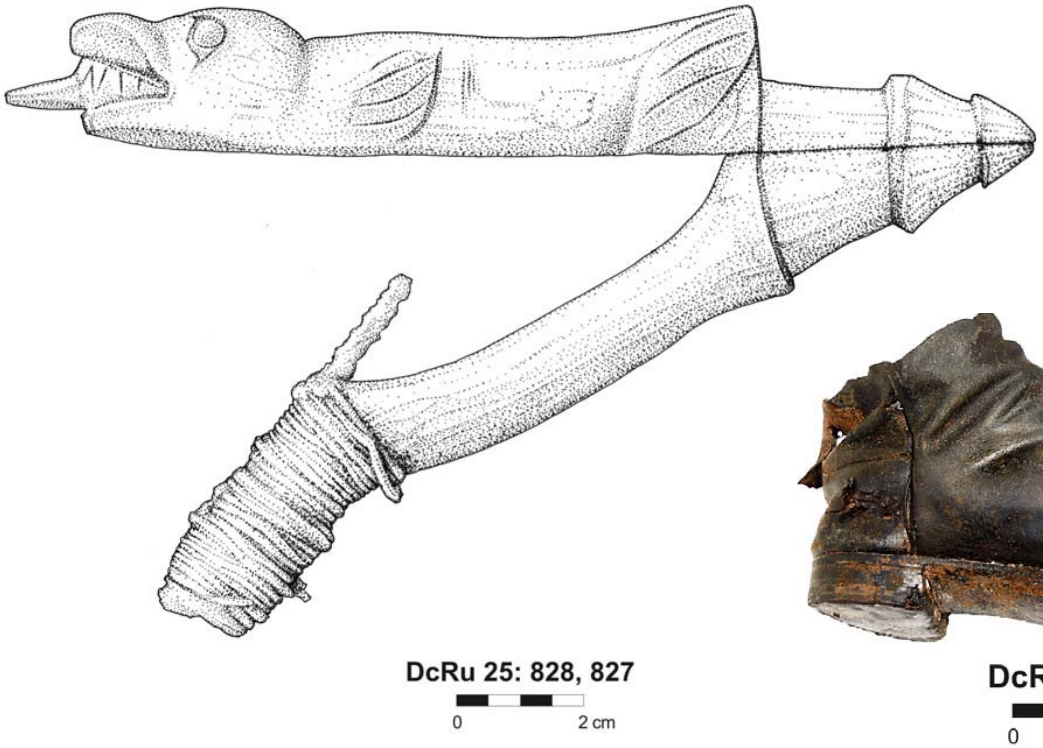


**Figure 27:** (below) Although shoe fragments were found throughout the entire village, the cistern on the Shutters site produced a remarkable collection of 260 shoes or fragments. DcRu-25:873.

**Conclusion:**

Although many artifacts have been saved and some formal archaeology conducted, the real loss to the old village site came in the 1980's and 1990's when sections of intact deposits were being destroyed by development on an almost weekly basis. The ability to access and carefully excavate intact deposits from the first decade or so of the village, especially before the 1858 gold rush could have added much to the historic record.

The collection, however, does offer some insights and, with further analysis, could offer a more comprehensive understanding of post-contact life in the village. In addition, there are many comparisons that could be made with archaeological results from Fort Vancouver and other historic First Nations sites along the coast.

Redevelopment of the original Songhees Village site continues and will likely do so for decades yet. Although the likelihood of finding intact deposits has been reduced, there still remains the possibility, along with isolated finds. Hopefully any future activities will be carefully monitored but it will still rely on the goodwill of land owners, developers an even local governments who are not obligated to mitigate the impact on historic sites post-dating 1846.

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# Carlson Recollects
# Backdrop to the 25 Years of the A.S.B.C.

*By Roy Carlson*

*A summary of this account was given as part of the 25th anniversary celebration on November 16, 1991.*

The 25th anniversary party seems an appropriate time to talk about those events which led up to the formation of the Society in 1966.

From 1946 to 1966 archaeological research and teaching in B.C. were largely the work of one individual, Dr. C.E. Borden. Even with him it was a part-time vocation grafted onto his full-time occupation as a Professor of German. I had the privilege of working for him as a field research assistant in 1952, 1954, 1959, and for several short periods in between.

Dr. Borden taught the archaeology courses in the Anthropology/ Sociology Department at U.B.C. and undertook archaeological research in the province both because he was fascinated by prehistoric research, and because he could see it had to be done before the archaeological record was destroyed by modern expansion. But it was clear that U.B.C. had no intention of expanding archaeology beyond what Dr. Borden could teach and do in his spare time. Whereas many universities followed the American tradition of an integrated discipline which incorporated socio-cultural anthropology, prehistoric archaeology, physical anthropology, and ethno-linguistics, Dr. Harry Hawthorne, head of the U.B.C. Anthropology/ Sociology Department, followed the British anthropological tradition with its interest in the present and the future, and corresponding disinterest in the past.

Dr. Borden thus became the token archaeologist to help bridge the gap between different systems of organizing and teaching archaeology. In spite of these odds Borden undertook significant research, and inspired some students and research assistants (including myself) to continue in the discipline. With

Wilson Duff he worked out B.C.'s *Archaeological and Historic Sites Protection Act*.

In 1962 there was a faculty position vacant at U.B.C. so I wrote a letter of inquiry to Dr. Hawthorne and received a letter in return stating that they planned to expand socio-cultural anthropology, not archaeology. By 1964 there were only about five people working in archaeology in B.C., including those few students who were on their way to becoming professionals. None of these five were employed full time in archaeology.

In 1964 I wrote to P.D. McTaggart-Cowan who had been appointed President of the soon-to-be-completed Simon Fraser University and indicated my interest in B.C. archaeology. I inquired whether there would be a Department of Anthropology at S.F.U. He replied with a resounding ''yes.'' At an appointment with him in July of 1946, he advised me that on the advice of Dr. Hawthorne of U.B.C. plans had changed and, instead of archaeology, an interdisciplinary department of Political Science, Sociology and An-

thropology (P.S.A.) would be headed by the eminent British sociologist, T.B. Bottomore. It was clear that, at this point, there was no intention of establishing an archaeology program as part of the package.

Nevertheless, I sent my C.V. to Professor Bottomore, with a strong letter of reference from Dr. Borden. We arranged to meet in England in December of 1964 on my way to the Aswan Project in Sudan. Bottomore and I had a delightful lunch at the London School of Economics where he was a faculty member. We discussed the famous British archaeologist, V. Gordon Childe, who, like Bottomore, was a well-known and well-regarded Marxist theorist (probably the only archaeologist with whose works Bottomore was acquainted). Bottomore was persuaded that archaeology would be an ideal component of his P.S.A. Department, and hired me specifically to develop teaching and research programs in the archaeology and anthropology of the Pacific Northwest. Of the dozen people hired in 1965-66 as faculty of the social science department of this new B.C. university, only two, a sociologist and myself, had ever lived or done research in British Columbia.

Why was this the case? The main reason was the absence of qualified candidates. U.B.C. had never developed strong graduate programs in the social sciences, failing to anticipate the tremendous growth in post-secondary education and the need for qualified faculty in the 1960s. Dr. Borden and I once discussed this matter. He noted that Dr. Hawthorne didn't want graduate students because he didn't think he could find jobs for them! The first Ph.D.s from a B.C. university in anthropology (Graham Watson, 1967) and in archaeology (Fidel Masao, 1976) came from the graduate programs at Simon Fraser.

In the spring of 1965, from the University of Colorado where I was doing research, I designed the archaeology curriculum and drafted preliminary plans for the archaeology laboratory and a small teaching museum and mailed them to S.F.U. In September, after attending the opening of Simon Fraser University, I flew off to my research project in Africa. Shortly after my return in May, Hank Rosenthal of the U.B.C. Extension Department contacted me and asked if I would teach a short, non-credit course on B.C. archaeology. Despite the minuscule stipend offered, I nevertheless agreed because of my feeling of what archaeology is all about. To me, ***archaeology exists because people are interested in it; it enhances the quality of life and is little different in that respect from art, music or literature.*** Archaeologists are obligated to take their findings to the public. One of the best ways is through public education (better than newspapers who usually get things wrong).

The students in this class were energetic and enthusiastic. At the end of the course one of them, Alex Ennenberg, stood and asked, ''What now, Dr. Carlson?". I suggested that the students organize themselves into an archaeological society. I also told them that this society should be their own, and that the work of organizing and maintaining it would be up to them. Alex Ennenberg became the first president of the Archaeological Society of British Columbia, ably assisted by other members of the class—Gladys Groves, Sheila Neville, Bill and Betsey Lane, Harold Cliffe, Stephanie Bowes—and their spouses. They were soon joined by other energetic and interested folk such as Ron and Eileen Sutherland, and Hilary Stewart, and eventually by so many that it is impossible to recount them all here. Four years later, in 1970, the Archaeological Society of British Columbia awarded me an honourary life membership of which I shall always be proud.

Initially, Dr. Borden was not pleased with the idea of an organized body of amateurs involved in B.C. Archaeology. His vision of an archaeological society was a pick-up load of relic hunters armed with shovels and screens, looting sites and framing arrowheads over their fireplaces. When asked to speak to the Society shortly after its founding, his contribution was a lecture on the legal consequences of pot hunting. Borden soon discovered, however, that the archaeological interests of the members of this society were overwhelmingly intellectual, that they were strong boosters of scientific archaeology and heritage preservation, and that they were willing and able to lobby our government as part of these interests. Dr. Borden, fortunately, became very active in the Society and one of its most ardent supporters.

Archaeology has changed and expanded since those early days which led up to the formation of the Society. Instead of five part-time people, about 50 archaeologists now work almost exclusively in teaching, research and administration of B.C. archaeology. Both U.B.C. and S.F.U. now have strong programs in archaeology, and many of the colleges offer numerous archaeology courses. An entire branch of the government is devoted to protecting and administering provincial archaeological resources. Most archaeological field work is now done by archaeology consultants as part of salvage or land claims research. Native peoples have become actively involved. The first all-Native archaeological field school took place last summer as a joint endeavour of S.F.U. and the Shuswap band. These events are, however, parts of other stories—stories to be found in *The Midden*, a treasure trove of information on B.C. archaeology from 1968 onwards.

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Roy Carlson is the inspiration for the A.S.B.C. He teaches in the Department of Archaeology at Simon Fraser University where he was instrumental in instigating the program in 1965.

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This article originally appeared in *The Midden*, Vol.23, No.5, December 1991, p.1-2.

# EbSh-81 Crow Site Mystery Item

This item was found from 150- 160 cm DBS in excavation at a site on Quadra Island, BC. It is roughly 12mm long and 4 mm wide.

See page 35 for the answer.

# Year in Review—Archaeology and Heritage in the News, 2016

*By Richard M. Hutchings*

With 2016 in the rear-view mirror, it's a good time to pause and reflect on the year that was. For me, two stories stand out. First, I believe 2016 will be regarded as the year the world became aware of the scope and scale of the global heritage crisis, particularly as it relates to climate change impacts (Hutchings 2016; Kawaja 2016; Markham et al. 2016).

This awareness is timely because 2016 is set to be the hottest year on record and a new high for the third year in a row, meaning 16 of the 17 hottest years on record will have been this century (Carrington 2016a). This is of particular concern for coastal communities (Hutchings 2016) as sea level rise estimates doubled this year, a result of Antarctica's rapid meltdown. Previously expected to rise 1 metre by 2100, 2 metres by 2200, and 3 metres by 2300, global seas are now estimated to rise upwards of 2 metres by the end of this century (Carrington 2016b) and 3 to 5 metres by 2200. The loss of ice on Antarctica alone could cause seas to rise more than 15 metres (50 feet) by 2500 (Dennis and Mooney 2016).

The fear now is that climate change is escalating so fast it could be "game over" in terms of stabilizing global temperatures below "dangerous" levels (i.e., below 2C [3.6F] above pre-industrial levels by 2100) (Johnston 2016). While previous "business as usual" models—characterized by continued use of large amounts of fossil fuels—have meant the Earth's average temperature will rise by between 2.6C (4.7F) and 4.8C (8.6F) degrees above pre-industrial levels by 2100, new estimates suggest the actual range could be between 4.8C (8.6F) to 7.4C (13.3F) degrees by 2100 (Friedrich et al. 2016). As Ian Johnston (2016) writes,

> It is a vision of a future so apocalyptic that it is hard to even imagine. But, if leading scientists are right, planet Earth could be on course for global warming of more than seven degrees Celsius within a lifetime. And that, according to one of the world's most renowned climatologists, could be "game over"—particularly given the imminent presence of climate change denier Donald Trump in the White House.

Along with "Anthropocene" (Fassbinder 2016) and "President Trump" (King 2016), it appears we must also now add the term "runaway global warming" to the heritage lexicon.

The second story is important because it illustrates perfectly the problems inherent to archaeology and the modern heritage-industrial complex in which it is so deeply enmeshed, as well as how that system is connected to the climate crisis (Hutchings 2016). On August 9, Amnesty International (2016) called for a stop-work order on British Columbia's $8.8 billion plus Site C hydroelectric dam, saying the Peace River megaproject threatens the human rights of Indigenous peoples. As reported by Dirk Meissner (2016),

> The independent human-rights advocate [Amnesty International] released a report Tuesday calling on the federal and provincial governments to immediately suspend or rescind all construction approvals and permits related to the project in northeast B.C. The report, The Point of No Return, also says the project should only proceed on the basis of free, prior and informed consent of all affected Indigenous peoples. At least two area First Nations are challenging the project in court.

Presumably, this suspension includes all archaeological permits. For context, the year prior, in August 2015, Mark Hume (2016) described the situation this way in his aptly titled article "First Nations in northern B.C. worry Site C dam will obliterate their heritage":

> "There are lots of graves all over," [Gerry Attachie] said of the land that would be inundated by the planned reservoir. The threatened inunda-

> tion of graves and other culturally important sites has taken on a new sense of urgency with First Nations in the Peace River Valley since the government issued authorizations in July [2015] allowing BC Hydro to start construction of the massive project. … First Nations are divided on the project, with some signing impact benefit agreements with BC Hydro, while others launching court challenges to stop the dam. One point all parties agree on: if the valley is flooded, the cultural and historical loss will be unavoidable and significant.

Fast forward to the 2016 "Point of No Return" report, where Amnesty International is arguing the Site C consultation process has violated Canada's human rights obligations toward Indigenous peoples because:

- the province had put its own plans for the valley ahead of Indigenous peoples' preferred use of the land, even before the consultation began;
- the province failed to obtain the free, prior and informed consent required for a project of this magnitude; and
- the impacts on the rights and wellbeing of Indigenous peoples cannot be justified.

In violation of the "United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples" (UNDRIP 2008), the Amnesty International report finds "no indication on the public record that the province has ever seriously considered Indigenous peoples' own priorities for the Peace River Valley." Here are Amnesty's key recommendations to the provincial and federal governments.

1. Immediately suspend or rescind all approvals and permits related to the construction of the Site C dam.
2. Publicly acknowledge that, given the seriousness of the harms identified in the environmental impact assessment, the project should proceed only on the basis of the free, prior and informed consent of affected Indigenous peoples.
3. Cooperate with the forthcoming national inquiry on missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls to ensure that it is able to properly examine the role of resource extraction in increased risk of violence to women in northern communities and make recommendations to reduce this risk.

This human rights violation, if true, implicates not just the province and the federal government but also the archaeologists who permitted the project. As many in the British Columbia archaeology community probably know someone who worked on the Site C project, it gives me pause to know that they may possibly be guilty of committing a human rights violation.

On August 10, CBC News (2016) reported "there will be no halt to construction work on its multi-billion dollar dam project," despite the Amnesty report. According to the CBC, "BC Hydro president and CEO Jessica McDonald says she feels the report has missed the mark. She says the Crown corporation has consulted widely and meaningfully with First Nations in the area since 2007, and that those talks are continuing as the project moves forward."

For historical perspective, in 1982 the Archaeological Society of British Columbia publicly opposed the construction of Site C (Figure 1), claiming the project constituted an existential threat to heritage (ASBC 1982).

For more on Site C archaeology, see the following:

- Archaeology News: The Site C Dam. *The Midden* 44(1):1-2.
- BC Heritage + BC Hydro = A Marriage of Convenience? *The Midden* 44(2):3.
- Site "C": A Dam Site Too Big Too Soon. *The Midden* 15(3):7-13.
- Society Opposes Hydro's Plan to Dam Peace River. *The Midden* 14(1):15.

Here's what else happened this year:

Archaeologist says 'guts churning' knowing land he cleared for GO Transit to bulldoze is Huron-Wendat burial site

- Kenneth Jackson | March 11
- http://aptn.ca/news/2016/03/11/archaeologist-

says-guts-churning-knowing-land-he-cleared-for-go-transit-to-bulldoze-is-huron-wendat-burial-site/

American history means white history
- David Lewis | May 18
- http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/05/18/american-history-means-white-history

Site C not subject to 'rigorous scrutiny,' fails First Nations, Royal Society of Canada warns Trudeau
- Judith Lavoie | May 24
- http://www.desmog.ca/2016/05/24/site-c-not-subject-rigorous-scrutiny-fails-first-nations-royal-society-canada-warns-trudeau

Province pushing U.S. museums and institutions to return B.C. First Nations 'treasures' to B.C.
- Richard Zussman | June 21
- http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/bc-first-nations-artifacts-1.3646204

Illegal Archeological digs in Kanehsatà:ke Kanien'kehá:ka: An open letter to the Prime Minister of Canada outlines violations, asks for intervention
- Ellen Gabriel | June 22
- http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca/story/illegal-archeological-digs-kanehsat%C3%A0ke-kanien%E2%80%99keh%C3%A1/36076

Archaeologist says returning First Nations heritage a big, expensive job; Archaeologist George Nicholas says call for return of items is good, but province needs to do more
- Liam Britten | June 23
- http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/first-nations-artifacts-1.3648570

'Just watch me': Challenging the 'origin story' of Native Americans
- Denise Ryan | July 3
- http://vancouversun.com/news/national/aboriginal-anthropologist

Splatsin elders defend burial ground
- Flux | June 5
- http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca/newsrelease/36081

THE SOCIETY AT WORK

SOCIETY OPPOSES HYDRO'S PLAN TO DAM PEACE RIVER

The Archaeological Society of B.C. presented an impassioned brief to the B.C. Utilities Commission in January, urging due consideration be given to the heritage potential of the upper Peace River valley, threatened by the proposed "Site C" dam.

The five-man Commission, holding hearings expected to last some four months, listened patiently to one of the shortest briefs they had ever received (one scant page, compared to some tomes of 500 pages), and a short oral presentation, made by executive member Nick Russell and president Shirley Veale.

Climate change threatens World Heritage sites, report says
- CBC News | May 26
- http://www.cbc.ca/news/technology/unesco-world-heritage-climate-change-threats-1.3600924

Fallacy of wilderness: There's no landscape on Earth untouched by humans, scientists say
- Chris Mooney and Brady Dennis | June 8
- http://news.nationalpost.com/news/world/fallacy-of-wilderness-theres-no-landscape-on-earth-untouched-by-humans-scientists-say

B.C. demands return of First Nations artifacts;

B.C. government broke law to expedite Site C dam construction, legal experts say

- Carol Linnitt | June 22
- http://www.desmog.ca/2016/06/22/exclusive-b-c-government-broke-law-expedite-site-c-dam-construction-legal-experts-say

Of Stones and Glass Houses: Christy Clark calls for Aboriginal heritage repatriation from U.S.; meanwhile Aboriginal heritage destruction in B.C. continues

- Marina La Salle and Richard Hutchings | July 6
- http://vancouver.mediacoop.ca/story/stones-and-glass-houses/36088

$500K earmarked for repairs and renos at Nunavut's cultural centres; 'We really have dire need of some renovation here,' says Nunatta Sunakkutaangit Museum's curator

- Sima Sahar Zerehi | July 8
- http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/nunavut-cultural-centres-upgrades-1.3668776

Amnesty International calls for halt to B.C.'s Site C dam

- Dirk Meissner | August 9
- http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/amnesty-international-call-for-halt-to-bcs-site-c-dam/article31327350/

At B.C.'s Site C dam, two visions of native rights clash

- Globe Editorial | August 10
- http://www.theglobeandmail.com/opinion/editorials/at-bcs-site-c-dam-two-visions-of-native-rights-clash/article31351250/

BC Hydro CEO refuses to halt Site C, despite Amnesty report

- The Canadian Press | August 10
- http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/site-c-peace-river-bc-hydro-indigenous-people-1.3714753

The death of the Bering Strait theory

- Alex Ewan | August 12
- http://indiancountrytodaymedianetwork.com/2016/08/12/death-bering-strait-theory-165452

The Anthropocene epoch: scientists declare dawn of human-influenced age

- Damian Carrington | August 29
- https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/aug/29/declare-anthropocene-epoch-experts-urge-geological-congress-human-impact-earth

Exclusive new photos: The B.C. Government's frantic push to get Site C Dam past 'point of no return.'

- Emma Gilchrist | October 18
- http://www.desmog.ca/2016/10/18/exclusive-photos-bc-government-frantic-push-site-c-dam-point-of-no-return

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2016b Sea levels set to 'rise far more rapidly than expected.' *The Guardian* March 30. Electronic document, https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2016/nov/14/2016-will-be-the-hottest-year-

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2016 Climate change may be escalating so fast it could be 'game over', scientists warn. *The Independent* November 9. Electronic document, https http://www.independent.co.uk/news/science/climate-change-game-over-global-warming-climate-sensitivity-seven-degrees-a7407881.html, accessed 14 November 2016.

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**Richard Hutchings** directs the Institute for Critical Heritage and Tourism and is Senior North American Representative for the World Archaeological Congress. His WAC-sponsored book *Maritime Heritage in Crisis: Indigenous Landscapes and Global Ecological Breakdown* is now available from Routledge.

**EbSh-81 CROW Site Mystery Item**
*The bud of a Populus trichocarpa, dried and wrinkled. Archaeologists involved in identifying: Rolf Mathewes, Dana Lepofsky, Becky Wigen, and Quentin Mackie.*

# Canadian Archaeology Party Invitation

Friday, March 31st. Vancouver Rowing Club

Dear Canadian Archaeologists,
Please join us for an evening of dancing, visiting, eating, imbibing, and fun with your Canadian Archaeology community on 31 March, 2017 in Vancouver.

Many of you will remember (or have heard of) the 2008 Canadian archaeology party in Vancouver, at the Rowing Club in Stanley Park [www.vancouverrowingclub.ca]. The party, sponsored by a mix of Canadian archaeology organizations took place to coincide with the SAA's. That event is now referred to as "legendary", "the best party of my life", "unforgettable".

With the SAA's in Vancouver in March 2017, we have decided that we all deserve another great Canadian Archaeology party.

Thanks to the CAA's, the ASBC, University Anthro/Archaeology departments and many Archy consultants who generously offered funds, we are can host another Canadian Archy party at the same time as the Vancouver SAA meetings. Event details are listed below,

We are, however, still in need of $800 more in donations, so if you or your company would like to support the event, please let us know.

Because of fire laws, space for the event is limited, and we are asking people to register below

We're hoping to start the evening with an open mic — so that our Canadian Archaeology musician community can entertain us! Email us if you're interested in performing.

See you on the dance floor in March,

Dana Lepofsky and the ASBC Executive

dlepofsk@sfu.ca asbc.victoria@gmail.com

## Event Details

When: 31 March, 7pm - 1 am
Where: Vancouver Rowing Club, Stanley Park, 450 Stanley Park Drive LINK
Time: ~7pm - 1am
What: Music, appetizers. Cash bar. Good friends.
Doors open 7pm 7:30 - 8:30: "open mic"
This will be followed by a great band who will rock us into the wee hours — 50 -70's rock and roll, blues, Motown, R & B, etc. You know…. The stuff to get us movin'!

**Registration**
All guests must register for this event. If you have a guest please forward them this link .
A waitlist will be created once we reach our 225 capacity so please register early.

# CONFERENCES AND EVENTS

**Joint Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America (AIA) and the Society for Classical Studies (SCS)**
*January 5–8, 2017*
*Toronto, Ontario*
*https://www.archaeological.org/meeting/about*

**Archaeology Branch Community of Practice**
*February 24th, 2017*
*Victoria, BC*

**British Columbia Association of Professional Archaeologist Annual General Meeting**
*February 25th, 2017*
*Victoria, BC*

**Heritage Repository Association of British Columbia Round-table Meeting**
*February 26th, 2017*
*Victoria, BC*

**Society for American Archaeology: 82nd Annual Meeting**
*March 29 - April 2, 2017*
*Vancouver, BC*
*http://saa.org/AbouttheSociety/AnnualMeeting/tabid/138/Default.aspx*
*To include your event or conference here, please contact the editor at asbc.midden@gmail.com*