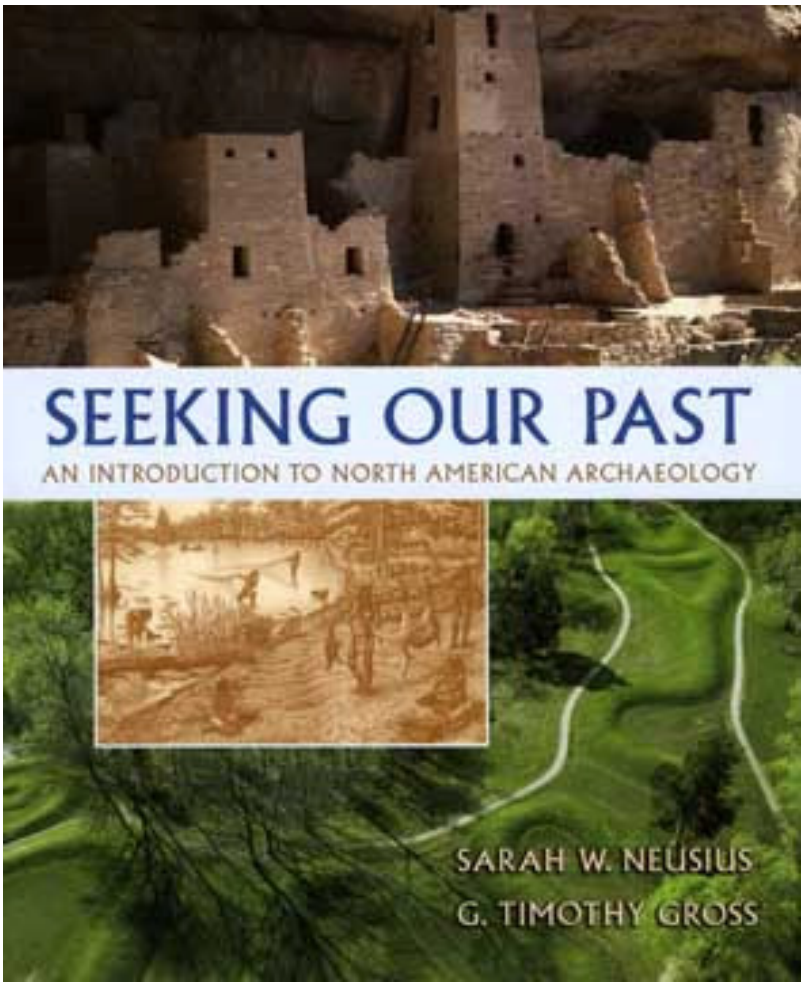

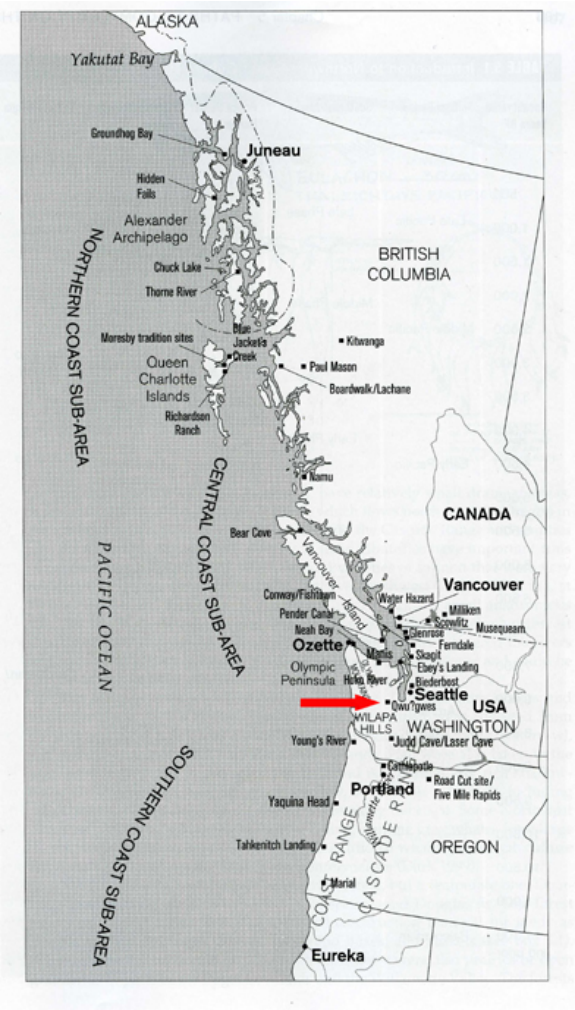

Book cover, © 2007, and map showing the location of Qwu?qwes

CASE STUDY

As we have made clear in a number of places, North American archaeologists increasingly work directly with Native Americans when sites and artifacts are discovered and investigated. The relationship has not always been easy, but with experience, cooperative efforts are increasingly productive. Along the Northwest Coast, the presence of wet sites with truly remarkable preservation provides archaeologists with a chance to study artifacts such as nets, baskets, and wooden implements that seldom are preserved. These sites also can give tribes a greater sense of their links with the past and become a focus of tribal heritage preservation efforts. Today many tribes have their own cultural resource management programs, staffed by archaeologists who conduct comprehensive CRM, and skilled tribal craftsmen often can recognize recovered artifacts[1] and share insights into their use that enrich everyone's understanding of past practices.

In this case study, a cultural resources director who also holds an appointment as **Tribal Historic Preservation Officer (THPO),** the tribe's CR specialist (archaeologist), and a college professor describe their collaboration. Based on a formal cooperative agreement between the tribe as a government and the college as a state entity, the authors have cooperated in the uncovering of a remarkable wet site and nearby fish trap. Each party gives us unique insights about the finds themselves and about the value of their collaboration. In order to keep different perspectives clear, personal narratives are italicized in this case study while coauthored sections are in roman type. As you read about what these researchers have found, pay attention to the contrasting perspectives each author brings to the investigations. What are the elements that have made this collaboration so successful?

ARCHAEOLOGICAL/ANTHROPOLOGICAL-NATIVE AMERICAN COORDINATION

An Example of Sharing the Research on the Northwest Coast of North America

Rhonda Foster, Larry Ross, and Dale R. Croes

The conflict, over who "owns" the past—scientists or tribes—does not need to happen. Both groups have equal legal and other claims to be involved. If scientific technical skills and tribal cultural expertise are shared, an equal partnership can be forged that produces the best all-around results. This case study, which exemplifies how the formalized, 50/50 sharing of the research has expanded both the scientific and cultural outcomes in the Pacific Northwest, is from both tribal and scientific archaeological points of view. We describe how the Squaxin Island Tribe and South Puget Sound Community College arrived at a formal cooperative agreement that helped set the stage for developing (1) a tribal cultural resources department, (2) the first full-scale investigation in the region of a site that contains a wet (waterlogged) component, (3) outreach CRM training through online classes at the community college, and (4) interpretation of the site for the public at the tribe's new museum. Working together, respecting each other's needs, archaeologists and tribes can create the scientific and cultural results they both require.

(Cultural Resources Department-CRD) *More than a decade ago, the Elders of Squaxin Island Tribe determined the importance of protecting our cultural resources and recording our history so that we could both teach our history to our people and correct the inaccuracies that were written about us by scientific professionals. The outcome was to create a cultural resources department that would allow us to manage our cultural sites within our traditional area and to build a tribal museum. The main goal of the tribe was for staff in the Cultural Resources Department (CRD) to obtain the skills necessary to manage cultural sites. Not only did we learn the skills required in archaeology, we were gifted with an archaeologist with whom we could build a trust relationship. Later we hired our own archaeologist. In the tribe's opinion this was rare.*

What we came to realize while learning archaeology is that large portions of our culture were not being addressed by any professional archaeologist. It always amazed the tribe that the outside world viewed our past as dead and long gone, and ignored our traditional cultural properties. Archaeologists have often ignored tribes during their quest to make a "big find," and when they did, they portrayed themselves to the public as the experts about the cultures of the peoples who inhabited those sites. In Native societies this is extremely rude and unimaginable. You must understand that there is very little trust by tribes of professional anthropologists and archaeologists who do not have the skills to work with tribes to conduct comprehensive cultural resource management. In addition, it is important for the tribe to manage their cultural resources themselves, as this strengthens the connection between us and our ancient past and our ancestors, and helps us to continue our culture into the future with our children.

(Dale Croes) As *a wet site archaeologist on the Northwest Coast of North America, I typically have worked in partnership on projects with Native Americans. Initially, I worked with the Makah Tribe as a graduate student at the Ozette Village wet site, and later I directed the Hoko River wet site (Croes 1995, 1999). However, no formal cooperative agreement was signed between Washington State University, where I went to graduate school, and the Makah government for those projects. The formal cooperative agreement [with the Squaxin Island Tribe] creates the foundation for the relationship between tribes and archaeologists on two main levels. First, it sets an immediate foundation for trust that rapidly promotes the sharing of scientific technical training and cultural expertise of the tribe—expertise that is particularly important for well-preserved wet site work. Second, with the president of my state institution and the chairman of the tribe's government signing, we can point to the agreement to justify taking the time needed (as part of our regular duties) to work together as a 50/50 team on important projects. In this case, our agreement led to the discovery of the wet site on Mud Bay and to the follow-up scientific and cultural interpretation of the ancient nets, baskets, fish traps, and woodworking tools found there (see full agreement published in Foster and Croes 2002).*

We worked together to initiate the first ever field course in archaeology (Anthropology 280) at South Puget Sound Community College. A local property owner, long-time Washington secretary of state Ralph Munro, had urged Croes to visit his beach on the southern tip of Puget Sound near Olympia, to look at a shell midden site and see what it might represent. A record search at the State Historic Preservation Office revealed that this site had never been recorded. The decision was made to conduct a summer field class at the site as a training tool for students. Normally, the tribe neither condones nor encourages excavations, and it was never the tribe's intent to be involved with one. However, shortly after the start of the summer testing program we found something that led the tribe to reconsider its position about excavating at that location. The find was a twisted cedar bough rope fragment, discovered in a wet portion of the site. The students had been using a screw auger (3 in., 7.6 cm), driven to a depth of 20 cm (7.87 in.), every 5 meters (15 ft) across a 5 by 5 meter gridded site area.

A test square measuring 1 by 1 meter (3.3 x 3.3 ft) was dug in 5 cm (2.5 in.) increment levels in this area to explore the deposits. The water table was reached at a depth of 50 cm. While using a fine stream of water to uncover delicate wood and fiber, Croes noticed that a small section of two-strand cedar bark string was being exposed. He called to Foster, who was screening, that a string was being found, and he privately hoped more

would be there. The string quickly turned into a large section of preserved gill net. Croes knew it was certainly a wet archaeological site, and Foster knew it was a gift from the ancestors! As the cedar bark gill net was discovered (Figure 5.24), the tribe, recognizing that this gift could be lost forever if not protected, decided to support the decision to excavate.

(CRD): Guided by the Creator and through our ancient ancestors, we were gifted with irreplaceable artifacts used hundreds of years ago. Our link, our culture, and our future were all incorporated at this site we now called Qwu?gwes (Quot-Qwass), which means "a place to come together, share, and gather" in Lushootseed, our traditional Salish language.

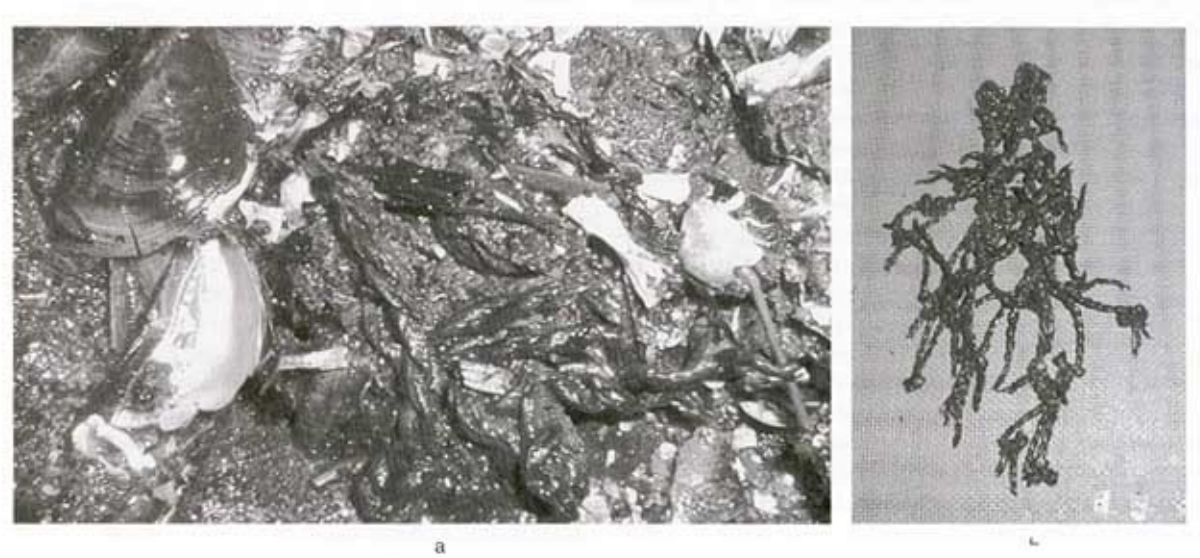

FIGURE 5.24 (a) Cedar bark gill net as first exposed in midden. (b) Section of the net after cleaning in the lab for preservation.

We began co-managing the investigations of this ancient but unrecorded Squaxin Island Tribe shell midden and possible village on Mud Bay. The testing demonstrated that the site complex was much larger than anticipated. It was a shell midden 100 meters (330 ft) long, and it included a possible living area where plank longhouses may have stood, a freshwater spring, an activity/food-processing area next to the housing, and a waterlogged, buried, intertidal shell midden area in front of the freshwater spring.

(Croes): *Almost anyone could recognize that we had found a fiber net, but through the cultural expertise of the tribal members, we learned what the net was made of, how it had been made, and how it had operated as a salmon gill net. We also learned how and why it probably had come to be located in this intertidal area—through the ambition of an overenthused youth.*

With careful hydraulic excavation—using water and fine-adjust hose nozzles—we were able to recover approximately 18 square meters (60 ft^2) of cedar bark gill net, which was placed in a polyethylene glycol preservation solution and taken to the lab at the college for conservation.

The need for our team to become officially organized for this and other efforts to preserve cultural material, protect cultural sites, and train cultural resource technicians rapidly expanded. Under the guidance of the CRD, we formulated our cooperative agreement so that we had a formal understanding between our governments, signed by the heads of each entity, which clarified our responsibilities to each other's programs. Therefore, our state community college institution of higher education, our state archaeological regulatory institution (the Office of Archaeology and Historic Preservation), and the Tribal Council were brought together to sign the agreement on May 31, 2000 (Foster and Croes 2002). The State Historic Preservation Officer, the president of South Puget Sound Community College, and the chairman of the Squaxin Island Tribe gave speeches on forming the team and looking forward to a partnership that allowed for true comprehensive cultural resource management well beyond Mud Bay, to cover the tribe's entire traditional area. Then these leaders signed the cooperative agreement clearly outlining our responsibilities as tribal and state representatives. We believe this is the first such formal agreement in the country, and that it could serve as a model for others (Foster and Croes 2002). Now, whenever we have a need to cooperate on a project, we can point to this agreement to justify our working together, and the regulatory agency, the State Historic Preservation Officer, has a commitment to come to our aid if needed. Our agreement does not guarantee smooth coordination, but it does provide a formal commitment to be available to work together on mutually beneficial projects.

EXAMPLES OF SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL APPROACHES AT THE QWU7GWES WET SITE

To demonstrate the results of sharing the research between the college and the tribe, as well as the value in general of wet site explorations on the Northwest Coast to the tribes of the region we will present the scientific approach to the analysis of fiber and wood artifacts from the site complex followed by the CRD's cultural approach to the analysis of the same artifacts. This shows the contrast and benefit of an equal partnership and ownership of research. This arrangement is particularly beneficial for studying waterlogged areas at shell midden sites, which contain the 90 to 95 percent of the ancient Northwest Coast material culture lacking in other sites (see also Foster and Croes 2004). We will briefly discuss the cedar bark gill net, the upbay fish trap area, and the woven basketry.

The Gill Net

(Croes): *Once we began finding the fiber net, we were faced with the task of archaeologically recovering and preserving a sizable section of it. The tribal weavers immediately recognized the fiber to be from the inner bark of the western red cedar* (Thuja plicata), *and Foster, as a fisherperson, observed the web size and identified the probable function as a gill net for small salmon species (see her discussion below).*

I will follow through a common scientific descriptive and comparative analysis of the Qwu?gwes net. The identification of [the artifact] as a net was primarily through visual inspection, where a series of knots was established to create a web with consistent sized openings. Like all other reported Northwest Coast wet site ancient nets, the Qwu?gwes net is made of string gauge cordage tied into a net ivith square knots (sometimes called reef knots and I or, if collapsed, lark's head knots; Figure 5.24). The square knot is a no-slip knot, and therefore very practical for nets. Also, square knots in western nets are typically said to be tied by hand, without using a netting needle (Ashley 1944, 64-65). The cordage was twisted using two strands, and most of the cordage's single elements were twisted to the left (L, or clockwise) and plied together with a right-directed twist (R, or counterclockwise). This forms a Z lay. Z lay is also the main type recorded for twisted 2+-strand cordage at most other Northwest Coast wet sites.

Nets have been found at many other presently reported Northwest Coast wet sites. The oldest net so far dates to approximately 5000 years old (^{14}C dating) from the Lanaak wet site (49 XPA 78) on southern Baranof Island, southeastern Alaska (Bernick 1999). Therefore, netting is a very ancient technology along the Northwest Coast.

All ancient Northwest Coast wet site nets are of string gauge cordage and tied with square knots. Other characteristics vary widely, from materials used to number of elements used in making the net strings to size of mesh. The uses also vary from smaller mesh dip nets to larger web gill nets.

(CRD): *The net was made from cedar bark and measured as a 5-inch (13 cm) stretch mesh, which was measured in three separate locations the day of the discovery while it was still wet. In our traditional area this type of gill net was used to fish for the smaller species such as coho, blueback, and steelhead. It is important to have a gill net in addition to a fish trap, as gill nets allow a fisherman to go where the salmon are. There are several ways to fish using this gill net including using it with a landline, drifting, and to round-house or beach-seine a school of salmon.*

When we started removing the gill net in layers, it was immediately evident to me that there was something out of the ordinary. Hundreds of salmon jaws were still in the net. No fisherperson in their right mind would leave salmon in a gill net, even today. For one person to hand-make a cedar gill net would take over 8 months. Salmon left in the net would rot the net out very rapidly. Something had happened that was not usual. The possibilities are:

1. *A major disaster took place which covered up the gill net or caused our ancestors to leave in a hurry*
2. *The net was being used and got caught on a snag underwater, which would require the fisherman to cut the net, leaving a portion of the net underwater and unreachable*
3. *It is normal for a young person to ask an elder if there is any abandoned gill net nobody wants that they could use for practice. Some young person, although he or she had participated in many fishings, might have been overwhelmed by catching more salmon than anticipated, and lost or broken the net. Most fishermen could read a run, determine the amount of net to let out, and harvest only what the family could process, but I have witnessed teenagers get in over their heads, sink a boat, sink a net, and lose a lot of equipment.*

The Fish Trap

(Croes): *On the other side of the point from the Qwu?gwes site at the mouth of a stream is a well- preserved, waterlogged, cedar stake, intertidal fish trap. To properly record this large structure, which consisted of over 440 stakes crossing in two perpendicular directions across the cove, we needed to do extensive mapping. We all agreed that we needed a detailed map of each stake's location and elevation before we sampled any stakes. To do this, I made arrangements for the college survey class to map the entire area, including the possible ancient village and shell midden/ waterlogged site areas, and the fish trap. For this complex mapping task, the students used Professor Michael Martin's CADDjSurvey program and the Hewlett Packard 48 Total Station, with a programmed Survey GX Card. The objective was to compile a complete set of generated maps that chart, categorize, classify, and visually document the entire area (Figure 5.25).*

The resulting fish trap maps show the contour of the inlet, the shoreline, and the position of each of the visible fish trap stakes. Fish trap A contains the positions of 108 visible stakes, and fish trap B contains the positions of 332 *visible stakes across the channel of the inlet.*

With these maps completed, we decided that students would remove a fish trap stake every 5 meters and replace that stake with a visibly mapped and labeled modern stake. These sampled stakes would be placed in conservation. The recovered stakes were photographed (with stake map number) before excavation, excavated and cleaned, photographed in position, removed, measured, and photographed on all sides before being taken to the lab. Now stabilized, they are displayed in the new Squaxin museum.

Removal of the stakes allowed us to see how the stakes were manufactured. Each stake is a split cedar post approximately 10 x 10 cm (4 x 4 in.) in cross section, and the bases are sharpened for placement. Some of the stakes' points were cut with a metal axe, as seen through the sharp angled cuts. These are thought to be possibly later, post-Contact period, replacement stakes. In the central "door" area, where there are double rows of stakes and the remnants of split plank that slid between these rows, we found stakes that appeared to be adze cut—less sharp angled, followed by splitting off sections of wood (Figure 5.25). To determine whether this was an ancient structure, we submitted a sample from the outer ring of an adzed stake for radiocarbon dating. This sample returned constructed pre-Contact (Figure 5.25).

(CRD): *Herding schools of salmon takes talent, so the fish traps were used in conjunction with one another. The side trap was used first, as it is very similar to a natural back eddy, whose slower water the salmon love to rest and pool up together in. The trap's door would be opened to catch as many chum and/or chinook salmon as needed or was possible. Once the side trap was full, or held the amount of salmon needed, the door to the side trap would be shut. Then the door to the main fish trap would be opened to allow the remainder of the school to go upstream or be caught.*

Numerous stone choppers have been found at these traps. They are perfect to use on chum salmon, which to the Squaxin people are the strongest spirited salmon, as they are determined, independent, and they will not give up. Therefore, the nets for catching chum have to be replaced much sooner than any other gear. The cedar posts used to make the fish trap would last much longer than a net, and would be the ideal way to catch a chum. When the salmon are caught in the trap, the whole village would be excited. To the Squaxin Island people, this is the best time of year.

FIGURE 5.25 (a) Mapping in the fishtrap stakes (b) Students removed a mapped stake and point to adze cut area at bottom—this stake was found by radiocarbon dating to be 470 years old.

THE BASKETRY

(Croes): So *far, three main types of basketry have been found at the Qwu?gwes site: (1) cedar bark checker-weave matting, (2) open-twined, small to large "pack" baskets of cedar splints, and* (3) *fine twill and checker-plaited ornamental basketry.*

(CRD): *Cedar splints open-weave baskets: When the tribe realized a portion of basket was exposed, and knew a basket would be excavated the following day, invitations were sent to "The People." In addition, other tribal groups were encouraged to be a part of bringing out the baskets. Tribal basket weavers were present to identify, interpret, and teach about the designs, materials, and weaving techniques (figure 5.26). To not be allowed to participate while so-called experts were studying and interpreting your culture would have been a violation to all humankind. This would have been*

disrespectful, and it was something to shy away from. Distrust prevents positive communication, and without communication how can anyone present a comprehensive theory, interpretation, or view of any culture?

FIGURE 5.26 (a) Sumiko Yashado helping to recover pack baskets with water excavation. (b) Tribal basket weavers Rhonda Foster (left), Lynn Foster (center), and Barbara Henry (right) discuss the composition of an ancient Squaxin basket.

The two baskets excavated that day were made of cedar splints (from roots or boughs). The design, although not complete, is a statement by the weaver, and sometimes explains which family is represented. These types of baskets are utilitarian, made to haul heavy items. We call them pack baskets. The handles were woven in a special way to handle heavy loads, and a strap could be used to tie to the handles if using it as a burden basket (Figure 5.27). Most clam baskets were built to hold at least 50 pounds [23 kg]. They needed handles such as the ones on these baskets, because the basket was lifted and moved many short distances while collecting oysters or clams.

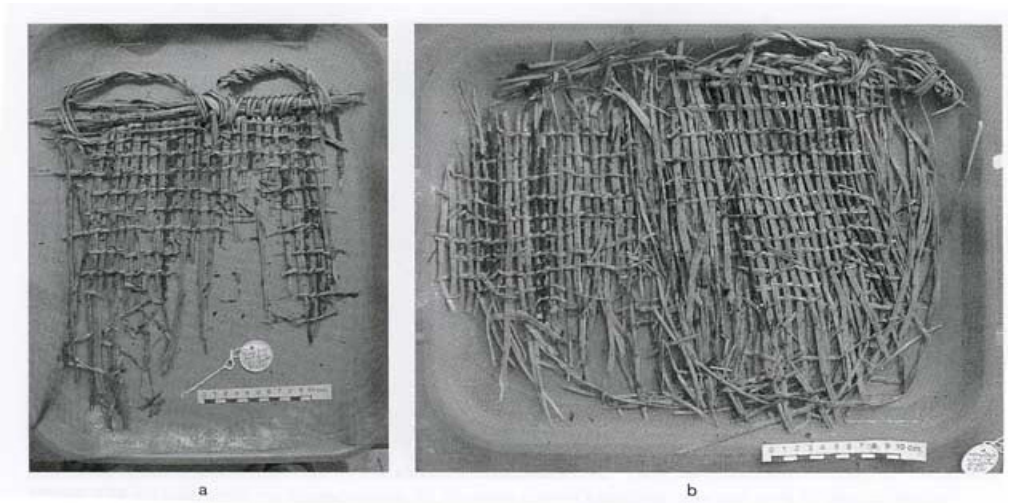

FIGURE 5.27 Two open-twined cedar pack baskets found one on top of the other. Note double loop handles and decoration applied by leaving bark on certain warp elements. The basket on the right is in full round.

Cedar bark checker and fine twill basketry: *Cedar was the main wood and fiber used to make tools, clothing, containers, etc. for "The People." The fragmented cedar bark weave could have once been either a mat or basket bottom. Whatever was made of the cedar bark strips, the process to thin and cut these small identical pieces took skill.*

(Croes): *With this growing basketry database, I conducted an initial and preliminary basketry attribute presence!absence comparative analysis with other ancient basketry collections from Northwest Coast wet sites to begin to see what degrees of similarity to them might be demonstrated by this new southern Puget Sound wet site. These "pack" baskets are distinctive because of the way they were constructed, with the distinct open twining, the looped rim, and especially the double-looped opposing two-strand cordage handles and elaborate topstitching (Figure 5.27). Qwu?gwes clustered*

with two other recent (within last 1000 years) Lushootseed language area wet sites, Fishtown and Conway; however these Lushootseed area sites are about 150 miles [240 km] north of Qwu?gwes on the Skagit River Delta. Though baskets do not speak, I am sure the weavers of these baskets shared an ancient tradition of Coast Salish Lushootseed teachings and learning in terms of basketry traditions.

In comparison to the typical Northwest Coast stone and bone artifacts, wet site basketry is a better signal of lines of ethnicity. They indicate who the people were who carefully passed on the complex family basketry traditions from generation to generation. We have seen these styles change, but still statistically relate in style through thousands of years in different major linguistic regions established along the Northwest Coast (Croes 1995). This signaling of ethnicity follows a process called phylogenesis, demonstrating an ethnic identity style passed exclusively through a cultural group from one generation of family to the next. In our traditionally Coast Salishan region, we have documented at least 3000 years of Salishan basketry phylogenesis different from other areas and demonstrating part of their deep-rooted heritage. Figure 5.28 is a phylogenetic branching chart through time, representing ancient Coast Salish wet sites including Qwu?gives. Few of us can point to specific evidence of at least 3000 years of our cultural identity. Now, with well-preserved wet site archaeology, several major Northwest Coast ethnic groups, including the Squaxin Island Tribe, whose oral history documents this, can point to scientific proof of at least 3000 years of their identity through basketry styles.

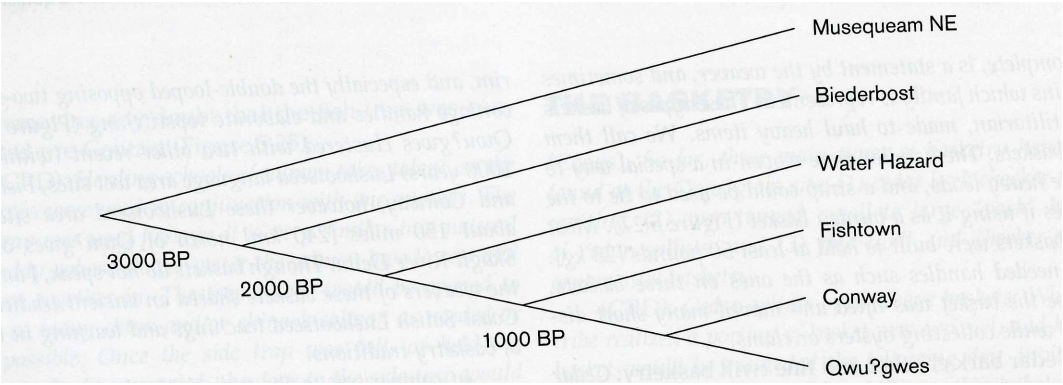

FIGURE 5.28 Slanted cladogram derived from Gulf of Georgia-Puget Sound wet site basketry attributes (modes) creating a phylogenesis tree of Coast Salish basketry styles and proposed ethnic linguistic interconnections for 3000 years (based on PAUP software) (see also Croes et al. 2005).

REVIEW OF QWU?GWES SITE EXPLORATIONS

(Croes): *We have provided a preliminary summary of three categories of wood and fiber artifacts from the Qwu?gwes wet site. I have considered these items from a "scientific" analysis approach and the tribe has provided the cultural knowledge passed down by multiple generations of its people. These approaches have proven to be complementary, and have provided everyone a much better understanding of the more complete material culture common to waterlogged sites.*

(CRD): All cultural sites are important to the Tribe. We now categorize them as archaeological or traditional cultural properties that include spiritual, burial, sacred, and gathering sites. It is important to stress that the tribe looks to these sites as a connection to our ancestors, who have instilled in us values that are different from modern societies. Very few people understand that the Native People who embrace the Earth, Creator, and all living things, are also the first natural scientists of the land, always striving to work with our surroundings, being a part of, not conqueror of, the things we hold as sacred and give "continuous thanks" for. The Squaxin Island Tribe embraces science (archaeology) as a base platform to build on, but recognizes the importance of including the people and their knowledge of their culture. When this happens, it is what the Cultural Resources Department calls comprehensive cultural resource management, which is much richer and more comprehensive than just basic archaeology.

(Croes): Wet sites are important to archaeological analysis, since they contain the vast majority of items once deposited in any Northwest Coast or other site. They also have been found dating to some of the earliest time periods known on the Northwest Coast—recent discoveries of ancient cordage, possible basketry and wooden wedges on the southern Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, Canada, date to over 9400 years old.

For some time we have investigated Northwest Coast wet sites, but they have yet to be a central focus of Northwest Coast archaeology. More and more tribes have encouraged archaeologists to start moving their focus in this direction to best understand the rich heritage of this region. Possibly it will be the tribes' interests in the preservation of their material culture that will require archaeologists to shift their training into working with the native peoples to locate and properly investigate wet sites in any part of the Americas.

ADDITIONAL TRIBE-COLLEGE COOPERATIVE EFFORT FOCUSES

Several other equally important outcomes have resulted from the cooperative agreement. For a full detailing of these efforts, see Foster and Croes (2002, 2004). Such actions, which will contribute to the future of archaeology and comprehensive cultural resource management in our region and all of North America, include the following:

- The Squaxin Island Tribe Cultural Resources Department, established to co-manage all the cultural resources of interest to the tribe within the 2.5 million acres of the tribe's traditional area.
- College-based and accredited outreach training programs, developed and conducted online with tribes and agencies. Information about cultural resource technician training is available online at this website: http:// www.library.spscc.ctc.edu/crm/crm.htm.
- Ongoing archaeological field school training at South Puget Sound Community College (Anthropology 280,12 credits) and research at the Qwu?gwes cultural site complex (2000-2004).
- Opportunities for students from the community college to work with CRD, the Squaxin Island Museum Library and Research Center, and tribal members on various cultural resource management activities, giving students personal experience in working with a tribe and a better understanding from tribal members about their culture.
- Coordination with the new Squaxin Island Museum Library and Research Center (see http://www.squaxinisland.org/) in developing public outreach and exhibits.

Larry Ross, former civil engineer and environmental specialist with the state Department of Transportation and a former student of anthropology at South Puget Sound Community College and anthropology graduate of Washington State University, now works full-time as the cultural resource specialist for the CRD. He has participated in all aspects of the cooperative agreement and adds his personal perspective of his work with the Squaxin Island Tribe:

(Larry Ross): *During my time as a student at South Puget Sound Community College and later as an employee of the tribe, I have seen what an effective tool the cooperative agreement has been to provide a framework for cooperation. As a student, I got to know and work with tribal members during the summer field school I attended at Qwu?gwes. Tribal members and students learned archaeological skills, got to know each other, and shared the experience of discovery. We students were exposed to the culture we were studying through interaction with people from that culture. For example, as basketry and cordage fragments were found, tribal weavers who were there could identify the materials used, why those materials were chosen, how the item had been made, and its use. In some cases, such as with cedar bark cordage, they would demonstrate how to make it.*

The cooperative agreement continues to provide opportunities for tribal members to connect with their culture and to teach others about it. It also provides training that will help them and the tribe to more directly co-manage the cultural resources within their traditional area for the future. Students have opportunities to work with the CRD doing research, conducting field surveys, and hopefully, gaining a personal connection with tribes that will influence their later careers to be more than just about science.

CONCLUSION

We believe we have shown not only an example of how a tribe and a scientific anthropology unit can work in sharing research, but also a general direction in which American archaeology and anthropology is headed. With tribes participating in the responsibilities of managing the cultural resources in their traditional areas, anthropologists and archaeologists will more and more have to work directly with Native peoples in pursuing their own research interests. If the desire of each party is to protect the cultural resources and share the research, an effective way to formalize that goal together is to establish a formal cooperative agreement that is signed by the heads of each of the entities (not by the cultural resource manager of the tribe or an anthropologist at the college, but by their respective institutional heads). An agreement signed at that level can provide the best validation, authorization, justification, and foundation of trust to pursue these important cultural resource management goals as a formal team.

Our third cooperative agreement, extending our formal relationship, is expected to be signed in May 2006. For a full discussion of these efforts and a copy of the agreement, see Foster and Croes (2002).

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS

1. Who is sharing the research in the collaboration described here? What knowledge and skills do each of the parties bring to their work together?

2. The authors argue that having a formal agreement between the tribe and the college as a representative of the

state has been important to the successful collaboration. Do you agree that a less formal agreement between Foster and Croes as individuals would have been less effective? Why or why not?

3. Why are archaeologists so interested in wet sites like Qwu?gwes, and why is it important that they seek the cultural expertise of tribal members? Why would tribes want to participate in excavations at such sites?

4. What was learned by comparing attributes in the Qwu?gwes basketry with those in basketry from other sites along the Northwest Coast? What makes this information significant to archaeologists and also to the tribe?