



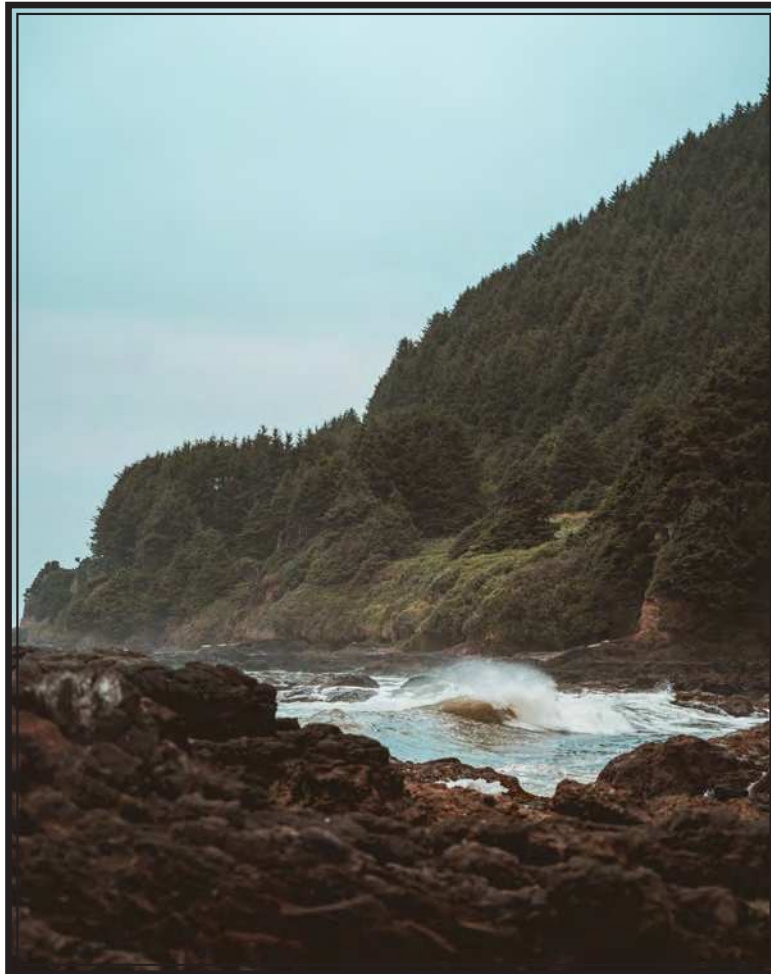
NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS 2023

JOURNAL OF NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGY

SPECIAL PUBLICATION #8

EDITED BY VICTORIA M. BOOZER AND DARBY C. STAPP

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NORTHWEST ANTHROPOLOGY



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Generationally-Linked Archaeology: The Use of Ancient Basketry (and Cordage) from Wet/Waterlogged Sites On the Northwest Coast to Show Cultural Ancestry and Identity

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Abstract

Through five decades of basketry and cordage research, I have tested style similarities in specific regions of the Northwest Coast. In recent work with Salishan Master Basketmaker Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder, we have coined our approach as *Generationally-Linked Archaeology*, defined and explained in our *JONA Memoir Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science* (Carriere and Croes 2018; Croes, Carriere, and Stapp 2018). Working from as far back as possible (deep time), and as additional wet sites have been reported, I have tested degrees of similarity of basketry and cordage attributes (modes) and types using Average-linkage Cluster, Cladistic, and Bayesian phylogenetic test time-calibrated analyses. These tests conducted over four decades continue to support the hypothesis and demonstrate stable cultural styles through time, especially with Ed's work (Salishan region) in contrast to those from the outside (Wakashan/Makah) West Coast sites for at least 3,000 years. Together we have experimentally replicated ancient wet site basketry in museums as old as 4,500 years, where Ed, supported by my statistical hypotheses, has learned from over 200 generations of his Salishan grandparents, compiling layers of weaves from 4,500-, 3,000-, 2,000-, and 1,000-year-old styles in a single basket he calls an Archaeology Basket—analogous to a Salishan 4+ millennia history book.

In July 2022, Carriere was awarded the Community Spirit Award by the First Peoples Fund, and in February 2023, Carriere received the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) National Heritage Fellowship, both in large part from his work with Northwest archaeological basketry. On the science side, Ed Carriere and I were awarded the March 2023 Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Award for Excellence in Archaeological Analysis, based on our *Generationally-Linked Archaeological* approach and demonstrating that the synergy of culture and science produces more conjointly. Because of these awards, our publisher, Northwest Anthropology, LLC, has issued a hard cover version of our book, now available on their Storefront and Amazon.

Keywords *Generationally-Linked Archaeology*, wet sites, Cultural Identity, Salishan, Salish Sea, Wakashan, Hoko River, Ozette Village, Biderbost, Water Hazard, Boundary Bay, Musqueam NE, Glenrose Cannery, fishing creel, Ed Carriere, Julia Jacobs, John Cook, Cultural Transmission, Cultural Evolution, Old-Man-House, clam basket, pack/burden basket, Kathleen Hawes, Thuja plicata, Washington Archaeological Society (WAS), average linkage cluster analysis, Cladistic analysis, Bayesian phylogenetic test, Archaeology Basket.

The following are PowerPoint slides (Slide 1, 2, 3, 4...) with captions as presented at the 76th Northwest Anthropological Conference held from April 12th to 15th, 2023, in Spokane, Washington.



Slide 1. Introduction: Hello I'm Dale Croes and I have worked my entire career developing what has become termed the *Generationally-Linked Archaeology* approach. Images from left-right: (1) I began this work at the Ozette Village wet site analyzing the basketry and cordage for my M.A. thesis and Ph.D. dissertation; I (at 23) am on the cover of recent *JONA Memoir 17* cleaning a basket at the site (photograph by Ruth Kirk; Croes 2019); (2) at 30 I'm excavating a 3,000-year-old burden basket at the Hoko wet site as tide comes in; (3) at 60 I'm helping to recover a large clam basket with the Squaxin Island Tribe at the *Qwu?gwes* wet site; (4) an acorn basket in an acorn leaching pit at the Sunken Village wet site, Portland, Oregon (Croes et al. 2009); (5) Ed Carriere (83) and I (70) on the cover of our book, *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science*, where the full approach is defined and explained through our work together (Carriere and Croes 2018); and (6) an Ozette whale harpoon rope on the cover of *JONA Memoir 21* (Croes 2021).



Slide 2. *Now a short quiz*—to demonstrate how sensitive basketry can be in terms of cultural identity from community to community in our Northwest Coast region, take a moment and see if you can identify the origin of the cultural community for each image.

Answers (images from left to right): (1) Master Weaver Pat Courtney Gold's basket has distinct designs of the Wasco/Warm Springs Tribes along the Columbia River; (2) these cedar bark based baskets, with canoe and whale designs, are distinct Makah baskets; (3) this spruce root fine twined basket with geometric designs is from the northern Tlingit community; (4) this burden basket with open wrap twine (bird-cage weave), distinct corners and vertical tumpline loops is seen for 3,000 years from the West Coast Hoko, Ozette, and Makah communities; (5) the row of wool dog designs on the top edge, and the distinct side symbolism, is Skokomish Tribe in style; and (6) the hallmark split cedar limb and root clam baskets are being shown by Ed Carriere in his home studio. Recognize how distinct each communities' style is and how this is the case for millennia of archaeologically basketry as well (below).

Next, I showed an actual example of the basket illustrated in the upper left of the next slide and asked what it is called or named. After a short pause someone yelled *fishing creel*, and I pointed out, that if you are of any Euro-American descent, this is a very distinctive (and an unusual formed) basket of your heritage.



Slide 3. I had the pleasure of being an apprentice for two summers with John Cook, an Austrian Master Basketmaker, living in Elk River, Idaho (Carriere and Croes 2018:53–54). He was trained as a young man in Austria to become a willow wicker basketmaker specializing in agricultural baskets. In searching for the origins of the European *fishing creel*, I found it is a Middle English term seen ~750 years ago, approximately 38 generations back. Also, its distinct image is seen in a woodcut printed cover of a 1662 fishing book, or 18 generations back. (Lower left) I am shown working with John, measuring a top loop for my basket at 27 years old. When working with European basket making everything is carefully measured with tapes, etc., and each step is verbally explained in detail by the teachers. In Northwest Coast basket making one mostly judges the measurements while making the basket and most learning is by observation, not being verbally explained. If you do something wrong, the teacher takes the basket from you, undoes the mistake, and redoes the work correctly while the student observes, and when the teacher feels you must have seen the correct way, they give the basket back and you can resume.

Generationally-Linked Archaeology: Linking the current cultural Artisans and the archaeological evidence through the generations following the process of **cultural transmission from deep time to the present and vis-a-versa.**

Culture = Shared Ideas (Ideational)

Cultural Transmission: Transmitting shared ideas through time and space; “thread” of knowledge;

Cultural Evolution: How ideas are reflected in learning to make material culture (artifacts) through time and space, not intrinsic/related to concept of progress

Julia Jacobs and Ed Carriere are “a bridge back”; wet site archaeology “a bridge from past forward” “*the subsequent rebirth must lodge its roots, its structure, its pattern, in the [wet site] soil of the past to receive nourishment for a new cycle of creation, evolution and, again, decay*” (Joan Vastokas 1976)

Slide 4. These are general definitions and explanations underpinning *Generationally-Linked Archaeology*. As mentioned, the whole approach is outlined and detailed in *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry* (Carriere and Croes 2018) and *The SAA Archaeological Record* (Croes, Carriere, and Stapp 2018).



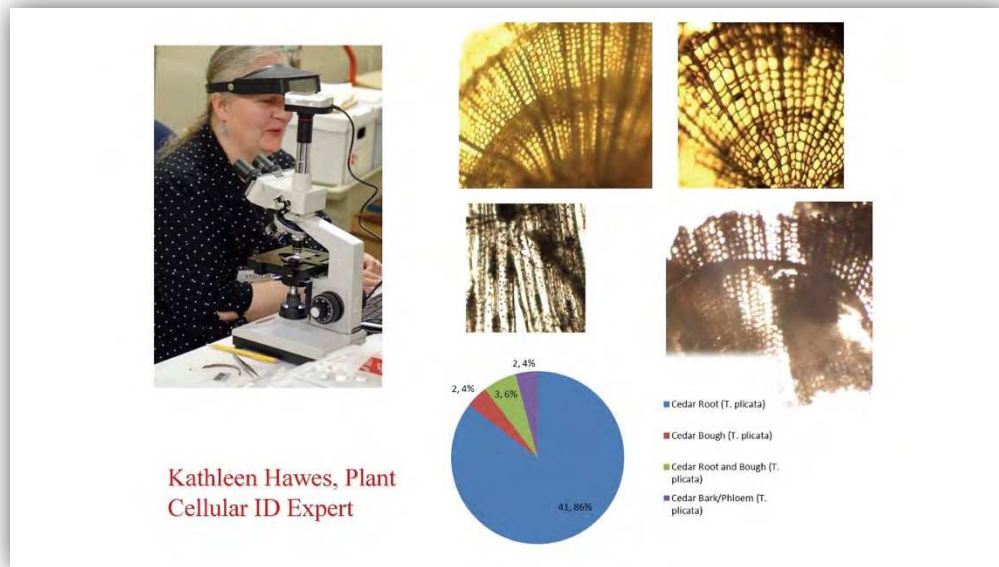
Slide 5. We are very fortunate that Ed Carriere was raised from infancy by his Great Grandmother Julia Jacobs, who was born in 1874. She moved with her family from the large cedar plank house, Old-Man-House, in her late teens to the allotment that Ed currently lives on. Ed is shown with his hallmark split cedar limb/root clam basket that he learned to make from Julia when he was 14 and used it to collect clams with his family to make spending-money. It's worth pointing out that he made his first clam baskets to use, and later ones were made to sell as examples of early clam basket, mostly to non-Indians.



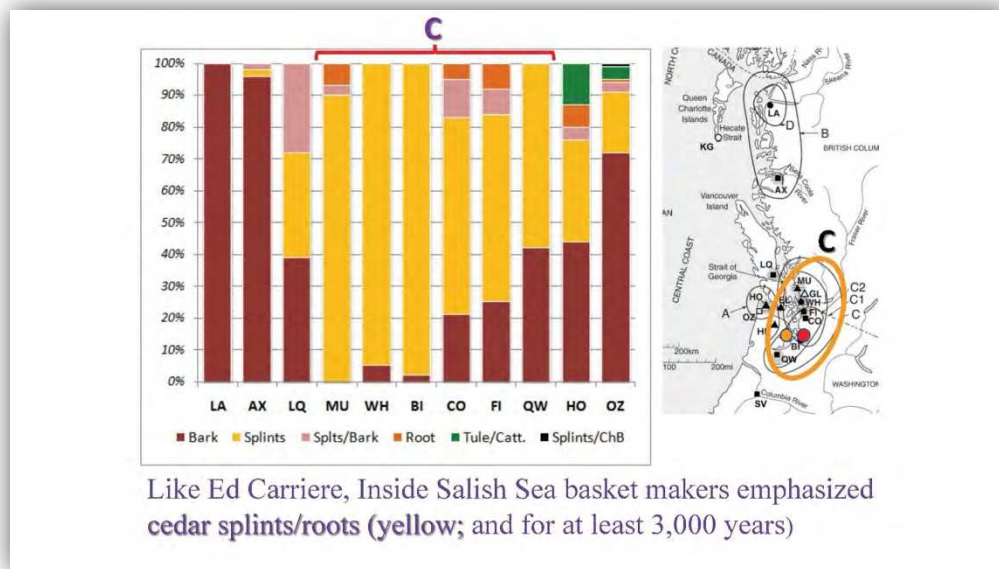
Slide 6. Early photographs of Coast Salish clam baskets like Ed learned from Julia. Upper left: an 1870 photograph comparing Nuu-chah-nulth/Makah woman (left) with a Salish woman (right). Note the Salish woman's clam basket with a tumpline. Lower right: an Edward Curtis picture, probably of Princess Angeline (Chief Seattle/Sealth's daughter) collecting mussels with classic clam baskets in ~1898. Julia Jacobs was raised in Old-Man-House where the Seattle/Sealth family resided as well.



Slide 7. (Left) Ed with Julia at 14 when he learned to make clam baskets—she provided this “thread of knowledge” to the deep past; (right) examples of several clam baskets Ed made for sale at art festivals. From sales records we calculate that Ed has made over 600 clam baskets in his life so far.



Slide 8. In working with the 2,000-year-old ancient Biderbost wet site baskets, both for analysis and our replications, Kathleen Hawes conducts cellular analysis to identify not only the plant used, but the part of the plant (root, limb, bark). The pie chart shows that 86% of the Biderbost pack baskets were western red cedar root (microscope slides on right) versus limbs/boughs (on left). Another 10% are a combination of cedar roots and limbs or just cedar limbs. Cedar bark (4%) is rare.



Slide 9. The bar graph shows the basketry materials emphasized at major Northwest Coast wet sites. Encircled area C is the inside Salish Sea, with a marked emphasis on splints, split cedar roots and/or limbs (yellow in bar graph). Ed’s home is shown with orange-yellow dot and the Biderbost site is the red dot. In *Generationally-Linked Archaeology* we show the statistical connections between the baskets Ed replicated from Biderbost to the other sites for 3,000 years in the inside Salish Sea and hypothesize that these are his Salishan communities’ ancestors.



Slide 10. The site Ed and I analyzed and produced replications of 2,000-year-old basketry, was the first wet site excavated on the coast and was conducted by the *Washington Archaeological Society* (WAS). They used some hydraulic techniques to recover the most common pack baskets made with split cedar root in a checker plaited body (upper two right photographs) and some made with fine open twining (lower right photograph).



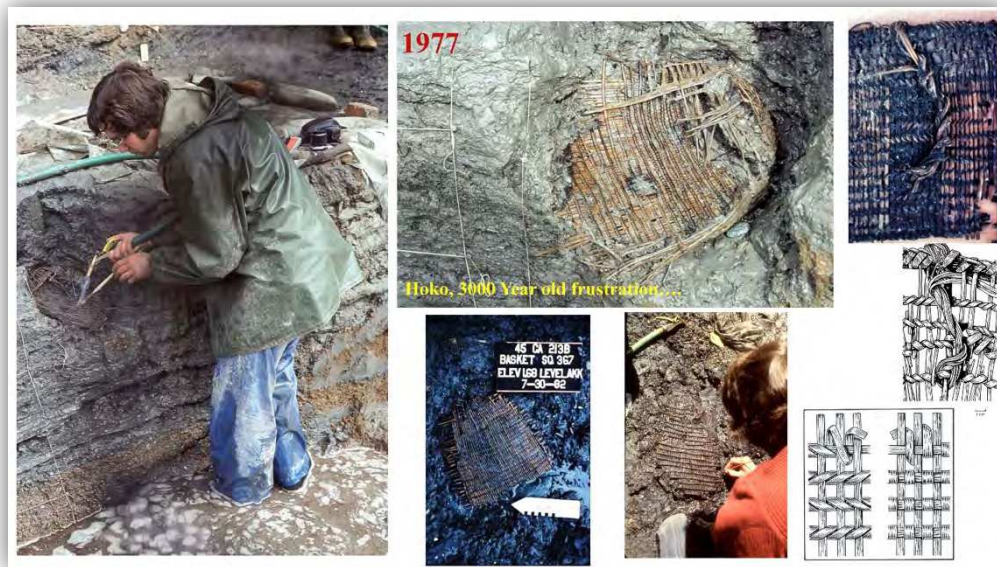
Slide 11. The Biderbost collection is at the U.W. Burke Museum, and Laura Philips, Archaeology Department, shows Ed the baskets as he begins replicating the lower center open twined basket following her request. The lower right original basket is shown in the ground, *in situ*, in the lower right slide (10) above and with Ed's split cedar root replica; in dimensions, this small basket has a complete base, height, and rim with handle, so Ed's replica is exact. The large fine open twine pack basket is made on a Styrofoam form; at Ozette bentwood boxes were used as forms for making the most common twill weave food storage baskets (Croes 2019:236–248). The 2,000+ year-old pack basket bottoms in the inside Salish Sea were typically of twill 3/3 weave (upper right).



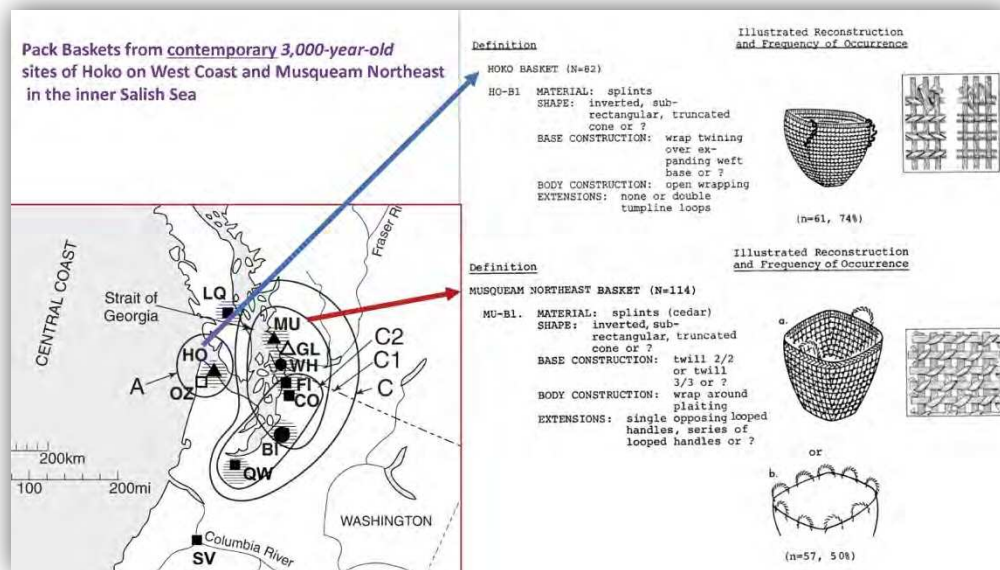
Slide 12. The Biderbost fine open twine pack basket with handles placed down on reinforcement rows (lower left) is replicated by Ed (upper left). The most common “rough and tumble” checker plaited pack baskets, with handles down on reinforcement rows is shown *in situ* at the Biderbost site (upper center), at the Burke (lower right) and in my replication in splint cedar roots (upper right). I was carefully guided by Ed in my replication and greatly benefited from learning Makah basket making in Neah Bay classes at their school from Master Weavers, and sisters, Isabell Ides and Lena McGee Claplanahoo (Carriere and Croes 2018:48–52). The Makah leadership believed (rightly so) that I could not fully understand the ancient Ozette basketry unless I learned from their Masters.



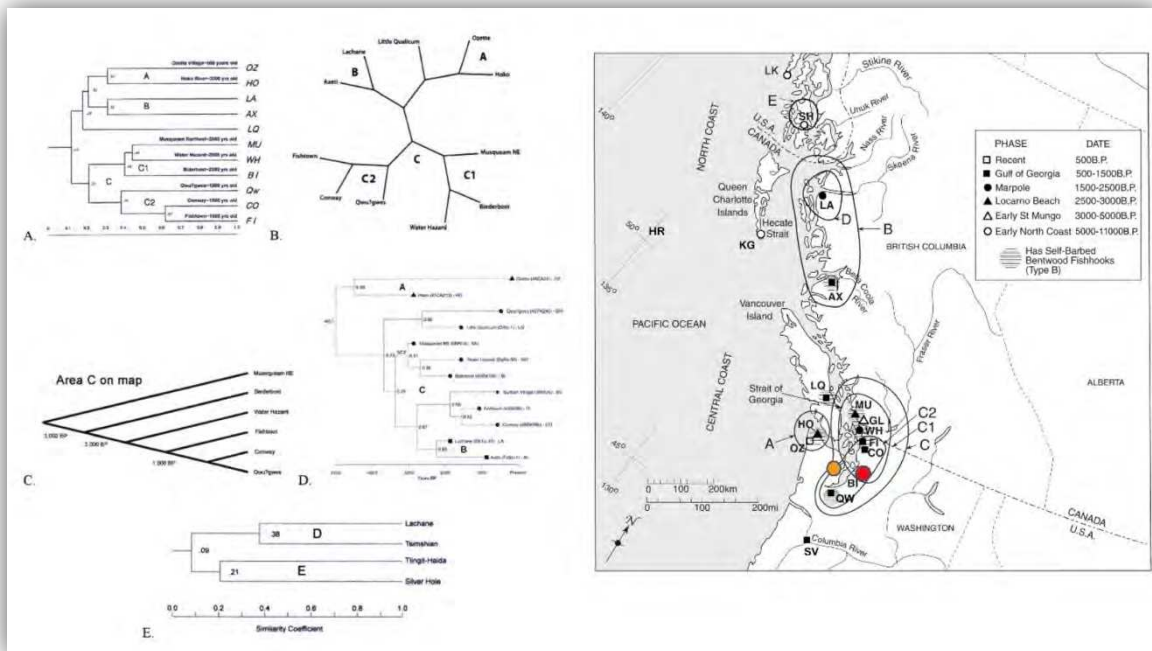
Slide 13. Beyond the call of duty... Victoria Boozer, *our Journal of Northwest Anthropology* Production and Design Editor, models my replica of a checker plaited, cedar root Biderbost pack basket with tumpline strap at the Northwest Anthropological Conference presentation. Thank you for all you do for us at *JONA*, Victoria!



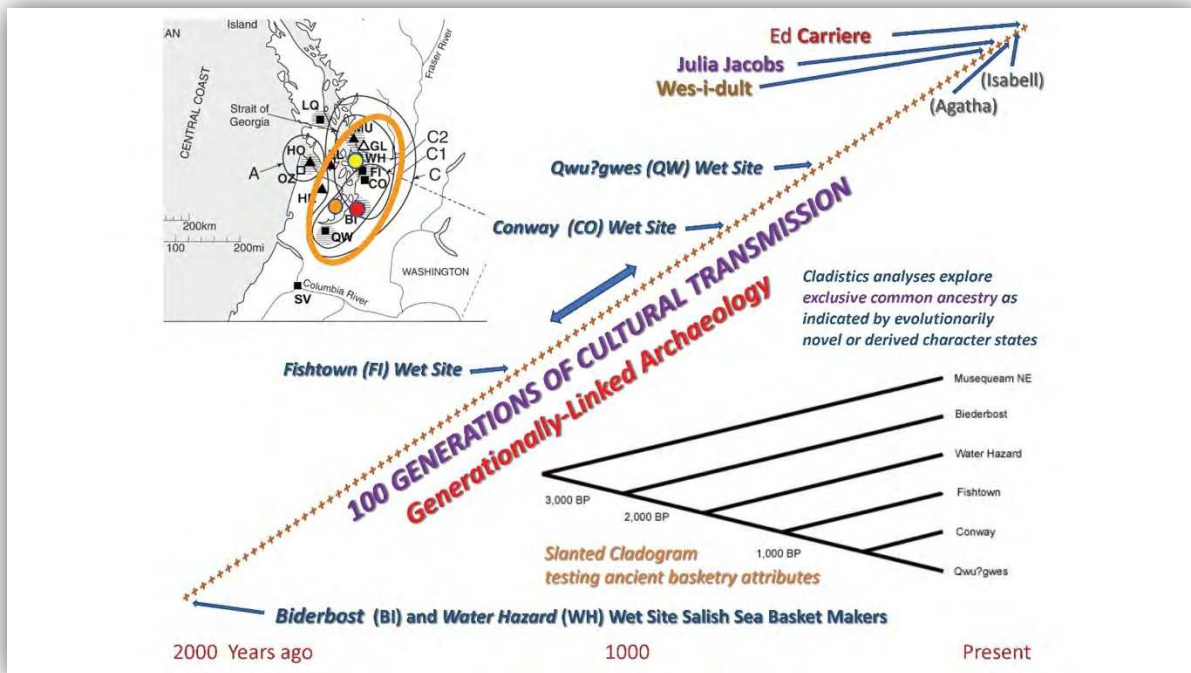
Slide 14. (Left) I'm shown fighting the tide and hydraulically excavating a very different style of burden basket from the 3,000-year-old Hoko River wet site with the common open wrap twined (bird-cage) body weave and vertical tumpline loops on the distinct corners (Croes 1995).



Slide 15. Though both these wet sites are 3,000 years old, contemporaneous, one can see a very distinct style of pack basket found on the West Coast (n=61, 74% of the baskets) versus the inside Salish Sea (n=57, 50% of the baskets). Similar to Slide 2 above, these two regions have culturally distinct styles of pack baskets, that are likely emblematic of West Coast and inside Salish Sea pack baskets 3,000 years ago. I would say that a person 3,000 years ago wearing a West Coast burden basket would be identified as from the West Coast or to have obtained a basket full of something from the west coast and visa-versa with the inside Salish Sea pack basket.



Slide 16. Following my original hypothesis of regional basketry and cordage style continuity in different parts of the Northwest Coast, as presented in my 1977 Ph.D. dissertation, I have continued to test this hypothesis with new wet site excavations and with different statistical tests. Above are some of those tests comparing the outcomes, and they continued to support my hypotheses for regions of continuity as shown on the Northwest Coast map (on right): A. Average linkage cluster analysis dendrogram (after 40 years of data collection) representing links in Northwest Coast wet site basketry attributes (modes); note how West Coast links (A) and inside Salish Sea links (C) are completely separated (Croes 2019:144); B. A Cladistic unrooted cladogram representing tests derived from Northwest Coast basketry types; note how west coast branches (A) and inside Salish Sea branches (C) are polar opposites (Croes et al. 2005:146–147); C. A Cladistic test produces a slanted cladogram from only inner Salish Sea wet sites (Cluster C of the unrooted cladogram (B)), and arranges in distinct temporal ordering, even though site dates are not considered as part of the testing (see map; Carriere and Croes 2018:133–136; Croes 2019:192); D. Bayesian phylogenetic test time-calibrated maximum clade credibility tree based on 66 cordage subtypes from 12 wet sites—incorporating chronological data; note how cordage data sort out similar to basketry tests (to see this Bayesian tree clearer, see Slide 28, below; Croes 2021:86–87); E. Average linkage cluster analysis of North Coast basketry attributes (modes) from (1) Lachane wet site, (2) historic Tsimshian museum collections, (3) historic Tlingit-Haida museum collections, and (4) the Silver Hole wet site basket; note how the two cultural areas separate for at least 2,000 years (Croes 1989, 2001, 2019:395). Map: Northwest Coast wet sites distributions showing major areas of basketry and cordage style continuity and where Ed Carriere lives (orange dot) and where the Biderbost site is located (red dot). Site key: LK=Lanaak (49XPA78), SH=Silver Hole (49CCRG433), LA=Lachane (GbTo-33), KG=Kilgii Gwaay (1325T), AX=Axeti (FaSu-1), LQ=Little Qualicum (DiSc-1), MU=Musqueam NE (DhRt-4), GL=Glenrose Cannery (Dg Rr6), WH=Water Hazard (DgRs-30), FI=Fishtown (45SK99), CO=Conway (45SK59b), BI=Biderbost (45SN100), QW= *Qwu?gwās* (45TN240), SV=Sunken Village (35MU4), HO=Hoko (45CA213), and OZ=Ozette (45CA24). Map adapted from original by Susan Matson.



Slide 17. Chart illustrating *Generationally-Linked Archaeology*, where the + signs represent the generations from Ed back through his teacher and great-grandmother Julia Jacobs (his mother Isabell and grandmother Agatha showed no interest in basketry so in parentheses) Julia’s mom, Wes-i-dult; and with other generations before her and statistically back through data from wet sites in the inner Salish Sea, eventually leading to the Biderbost and Water Hazard 2,000-year-old archaeological wet sites evidence. Ed works from the present back through these 100 + generations. I work from the deep past upward with wet site basketry data, statistically showing stylistic continuity through 3,000 years of generations, as shown by the results of my slanted cladogram using cladistics tests (below right) and my generated map of regional basketry continuity areas (above left). The red dot is Biderbost (BI), the yellow dot is Water Hazard (WH), and the orange dot is where Ed lives today in the inside Salish Sea—his traditional territory. Note that there is about the same distance between Biderbost and Water Hazard, with very similar basketry, as between Biderbost and the distinct basketry from West Coast sites of Hoko and Ozette.



Slide 18. Following our work analyzing and replicating 2,000-year-old Biderbost basketry, Ed and I visited the University of British Columbia (UBC) Museum of Anthropology to observe the same age baskets and older wet site baskets from the Fraser River Delta in British Columbia, Canada. (Left) We presented our work with the Biderbost basketry at a brown bag talk with museum and local indigenous cultural leaders. (Right) Ed is observing a 2,000-year-old Water Hazard basket similar to those from Biderbost.



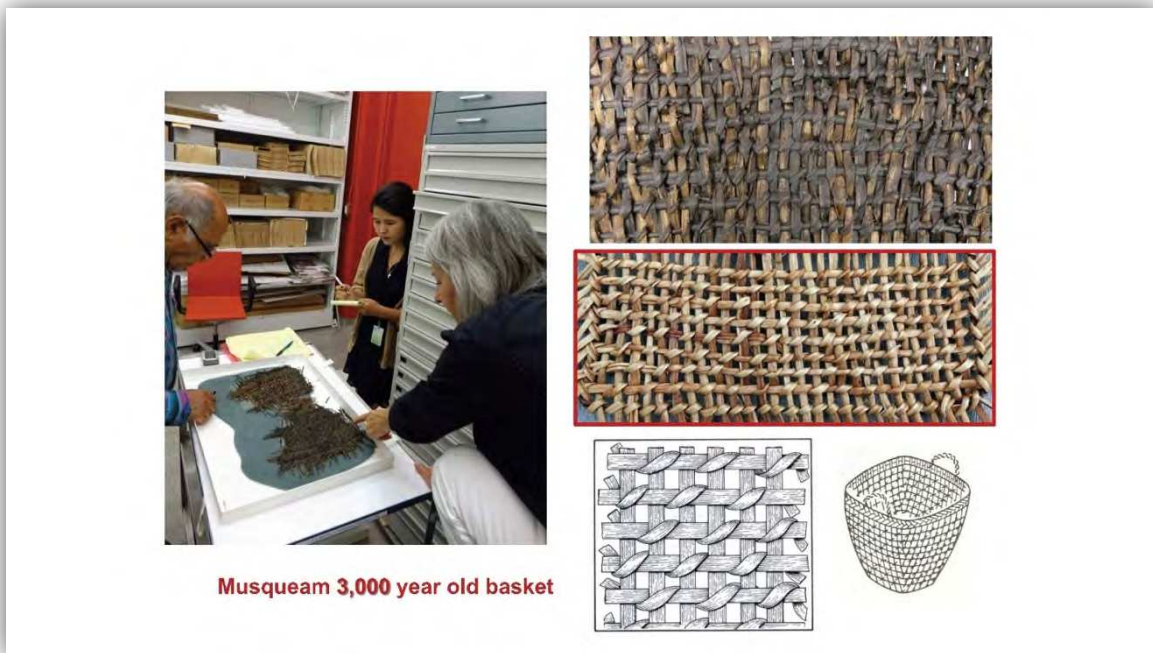
Slide 19. Ed observes an open twined Water Hazard pack basket with handles down on reinforcement rows and identical rim constructions as seen at Biderbost.



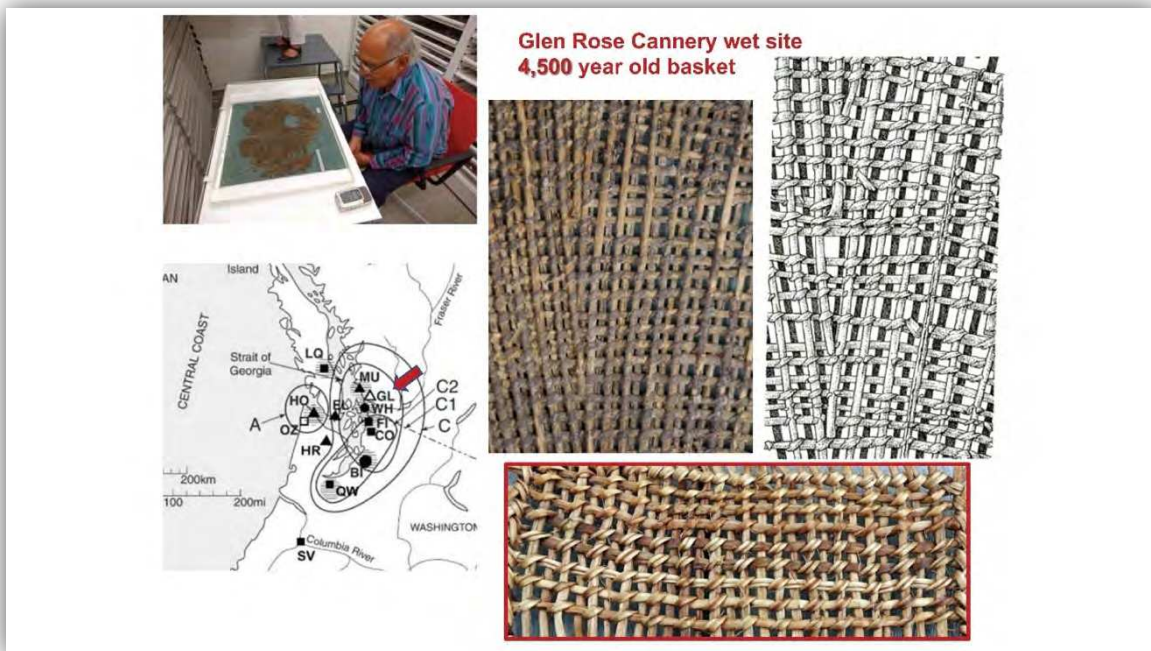
Slide 20. Later Ed and I visited the recent excavations of another Fraser Delta 2,000-year-old wet site, Boundary Bay (red dot), and again were shown similar styles as we saw at Biderbost and Water Hazard. Hartley Odwak, Project Director (2nd from left), and crew show Ed a large checker plaited pack basket from the site.



Slide 21. Tia Williams, Archaeology Coordinator, Tsawwassen First Nation, on the right observes with a fellow Indigenous archaeologist the large Boundary Bay pack basket (upper left). The lower row of baskets shows (left) a Boundary Bay checker plaited pack basket with handles down on reinforcement rows, and common twill 3/3 base (center), a Biderbost checker plaited pack basket with similar handles down on reinforcement rows, (right) my replication of a Biderbost, and, in fact, Boundary Bay pack basket.



Slide 22. Ed observing a 3,000-year-old Musqueam NE wet site pack basket with a distinct wrap around plaiting body weave. Later Ed replicated a sample of this weave (center right) to show at our presentations.



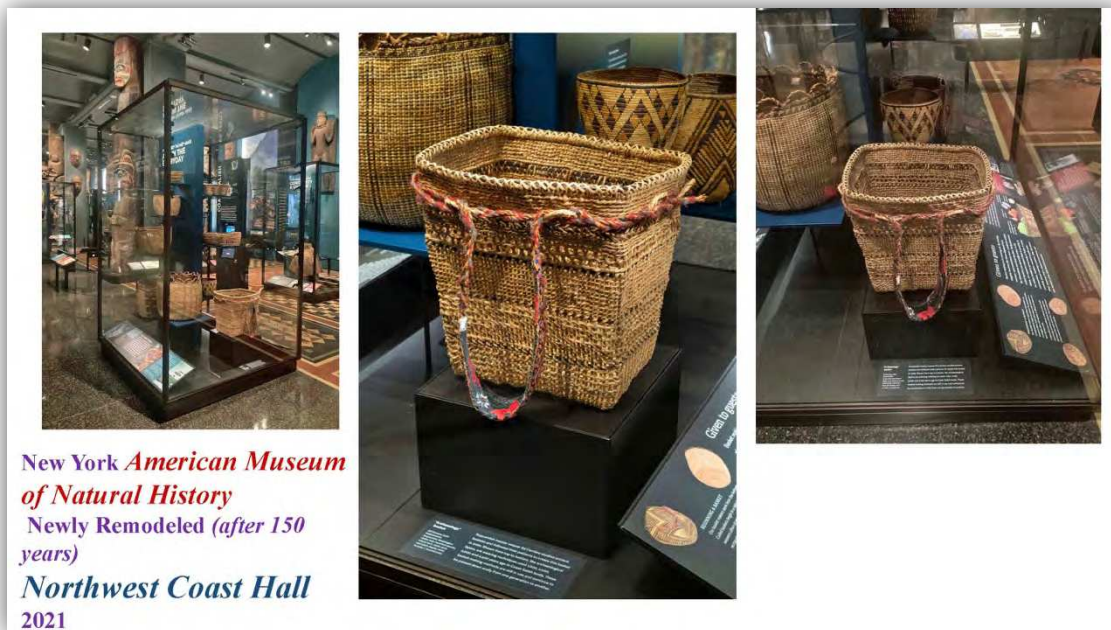
Slide 23. Ed also observed the oldest Fraser Delta pack basket to date, the 4,500-year-old Glenrose Cannery wet site example and made a sample of this slightly different dual-warp wrapped body weave (below right).



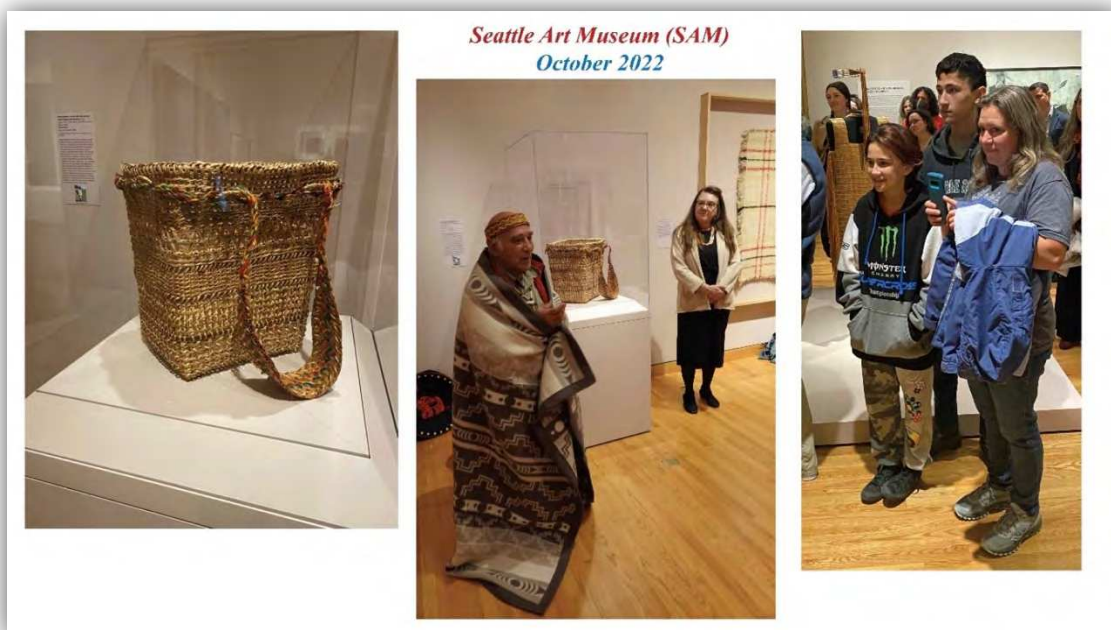
Slide 24. After viewing the 2,000-, 3,000- and 4,500-year-old baskets at the UBC Museum of Anthropology and making flat sample weaves from cedar root of the ancient baskets found in these different time periods, Ed decided to make a “book” from the examples of 225 grandparents’ generations of teachings from the inside Salish Sea by putting all these slightly different ancient styles of weave into one pack basket, his Archaeology Basket.



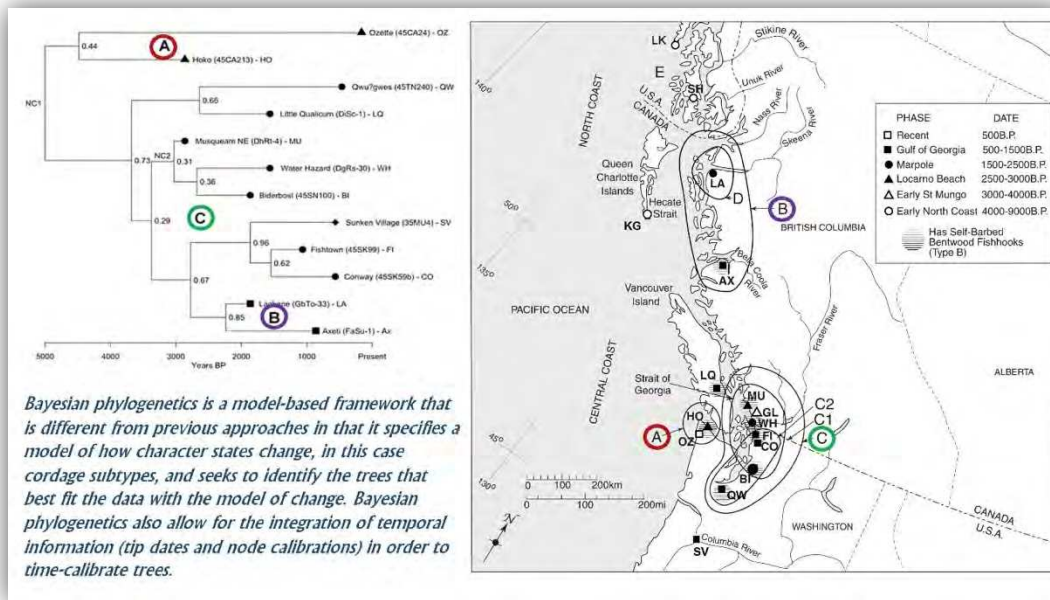
Slide 25. Ed perfected his Archaeology Basket, separating the different Salish weave style time-period layers with a row of cherry bark. Ed is using his tumpline to model this example, made for the American Museum of Natural History in New York and their newly remodeled (after 150 years) Northwest Coast Hall.



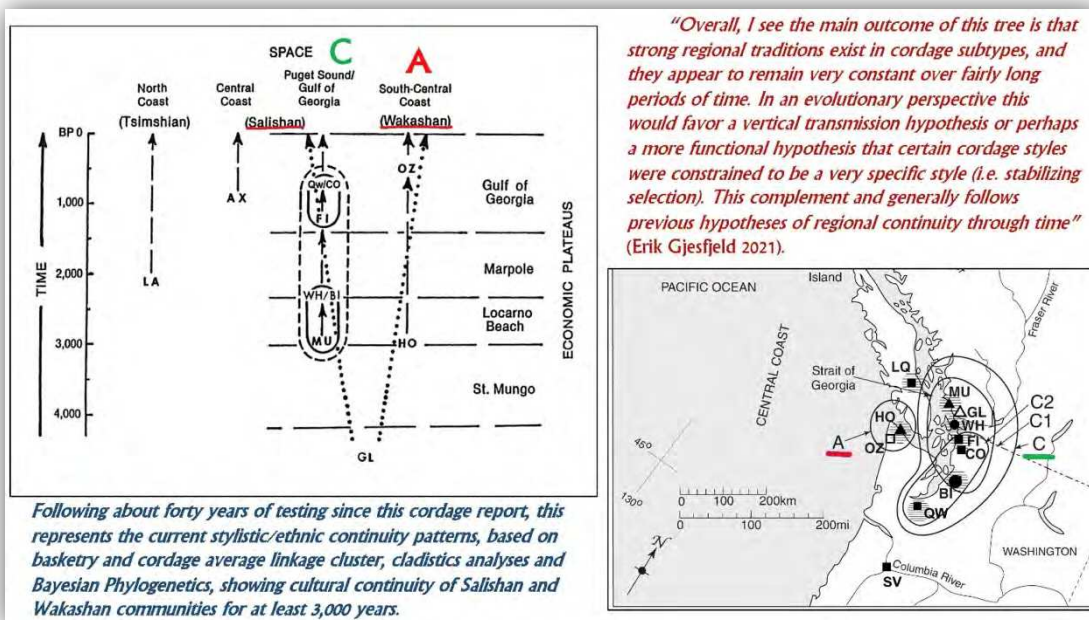
Slide 26. Ed's Archaeology Basket on display at the entrance of the newly remodeled Northwest Coast Hall; this hall was originally developed by Dr. Franz Boas, the "Father of American Anthropology," 150 years ago.



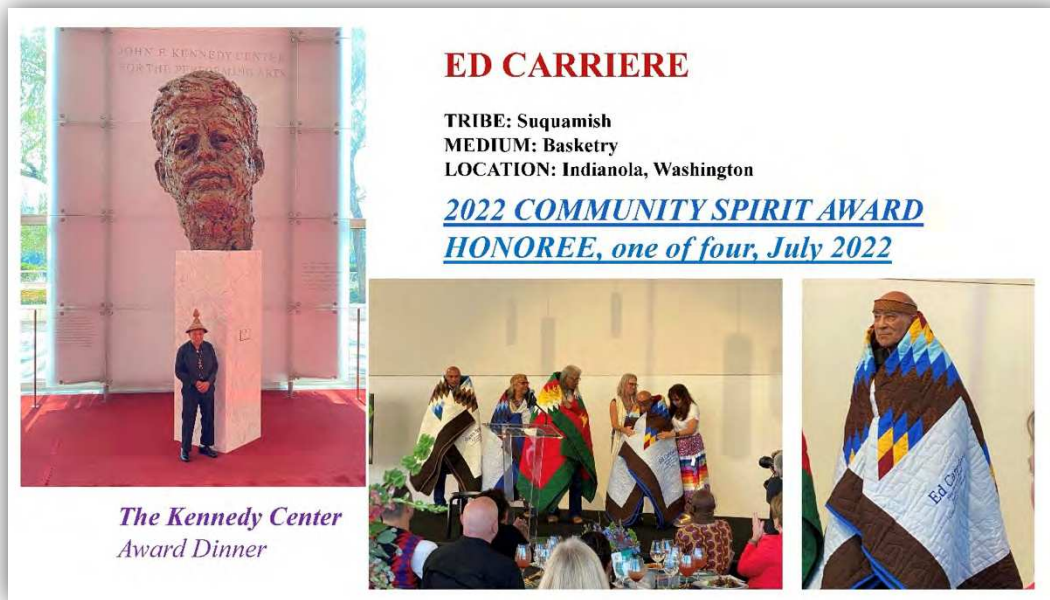
Slide 27. The Seattle Art Museum (SAM) purchased an Archaeology Basket from Ed and present him a blanket at the opening of the show. Dr. Barbara Brotherton, curator, blankets Ed. On the left witnessing are Ed's two Great Grandchildren, Cody and Lily, and their Mom, Ed's Granddaughter Jessie.



Slide 28. The recent Bayesian phylogenetic analysis of 66 wet site cordage subtypes showing a similar clustering of Northwest Coast wet sites as seen with more sensitive basketry artifacts (Croes 2021:86–87). Unlike other tests, Bayesian phylogenetics incorporates site temporal information.



Slide 29. A graphics of my 40 years of testing my hypothesis and supporting Northwest Coast regional basketry and cordage style continuity in at least three regions of the Northwest Coast. Dr. Erik Gjesfeld’s summarizes the Bayesian Phylogenetic analysis he ran on 66 cordage subtypes upholding my “vertical transmission hypothesis” (Croes 2021:86–87).



Slide 30. From our work together, Ed Carriere is awarded the First Peoples Fund 2022 Community Spirit Award at the Kennedy Center, Washington D.C. The awardee on the left is Shawn Brigman also from Washington State, a Spokane Tribe Canoe Builder.



Slide 31. Ed and I getting the 2023 Society for American Archaeology (SAA) Award for Excellence in Archaeological Analysis in developing the *Generationally-Linked Archaeology* approach. Ed also is receiving, in part from his work with archaeological basketry, the 2023 National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) National Heritage Fellowship in Washington D.C. in September 2023. On the right my granddaughter Liliko helps us by modeling one of Ed's Archaeology Baskets with tumpline at the SAA Portland, Oregon, meeting.



Slide 32. Thank you, thank you for attending and now reading this Northwest Anthropological Conference presentation. I hope I've demonstrated how the ongoing testing of the original 1977 dissertation hypothesis of basketry and cordage regional style continuity continues to be supported and upheld. Shown above is a powerful Ozette box front design superimposed on a striking Ozette sunset.

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank the *Journal of Northwest Anthropology (JONA)* co-editor Dr. Darby Stapp and his team for seeing the value of preserving and presenting the proceedings of the Northwest Anthropological Conference, with the first in-person gathering of our Anthropological community following the pandemic, held from April 12th to 15th, 2023, in Spokane, Washington. And Victoria Boozer, Production and Design, does a brilliant job in editing and re-organizing and compiling the numerous PowerPoint slides and captions, through her exceptional composition skills. She helped with revisions and commenting throughout, making this a far better presentation.

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About the Author

Dale R. Croes received his B.A. in anthropology from the University of Washington (UW). He did his Ph.D. dissertation research on basketry and cordage artifacts from the Ozette Village wet site (Croes 2019, 2021); conducted post-doctoral research with the Makah Tribal Nation at the Hoko River wet site (Croes 1995) and Hoko Rockshelter shell midden (Croes 2005); directed the first-ever archaeological excavations at the National Historic Landmark wet site of Sunken Village with the Confederated Tribes of Siletz Indians, Confederated Tribes of Grand Ronde, and the Confederated Tribes of the Warm Springs Indians (Croes et al. 2009); and co-directed excavations of the *Qwu?gwəs* wet and dry site with the Squaxin Island Tribe (Croes et al. 2013). As seen above, Croes is a Northwest wet archaeological site specialist who encourages others to pursue investigating these well-preserved archaeological sites, where approximately 90% of the ancient material culture is preserved (Croes 2023). In retirement he is working with Ed Carriere, Suquamish Elder and Master Basketmaker, and they together wrote *Re-Awakening Ancient Salish Sea Basketry, Fifty Years of Basketry Studies in Culture and Science, Memoir 15, Journal of Northwest Anthropology* (Carriere and Croes 2018). This book highlights their work analyzing and replicating 2,000-year-old Biderbost wet site basketry housed at the UW Burke Museum. They define this work as a new approach called *Generationally-Linked Archaeology* discussed in detail here (Croes et al. 2018). To review the above references and others by Dale Croes, please follow this link: <https://wsu.academia.edu/DaleCroes>. In large part from Ed Carriere's work in replicating archaeological baskets from Northwest museums, he was awarded a national Community Spirit Award (2022) from the Native American-based First Peoples Fund program: <https://www.firstpeoplesfund.org/2022-fellows>. Recently Carriere was awarded a National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) 2023 National Heritage Fellowship <<https://www.arts.gov/honors/heritage/ed-eugene-carriere-suquamish>>. And, on the science side, Croes and Carriere received the Society for American Archaeology (SAA) 2023 Award for Excellence in Archaeological Analysis. These awards demonstrate that the synergy of science and culture produces much more together than separately.