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Introduction

Rattlesnake Island is the largest Island in Clear Lake encompassing ~56 acres and located in the eastern arm of Clear Lake. It lies ~800 feet off shore of the Sulphur Bank Rancheria, present-day home to the Elem Indian Colony. The island contains 6 recorded archaeological sites ranging in age from ~5,000 years old to the recent historic period. The largest of the 6 recorded sites is CA-LAK-89/H, which represents the ethno-historic village of Elem. All 6 sites contain prehistoric artifacts and features and many contain historic materials that represent the Mexican period (1834-1849), Overseas Chinese period (1850-1900), and recent historical events that have shaped the Elem people.

Rattlesnake Island is recognized by the Elem Community of Southeastern Pomo as their place of origin as well as their political and religious center.

At the time of the most recent archaeological and historical inspection (1978-81) the cultural sites on the island retained integrity with many original rock alignments and house depressions noted. Rock and brick foundations were found with associated historic cultural materials. The fact that the district is located on an island, coupled with its close proximity to the contemporary mainland location of the Elem Indian Colony have served to protect the cultural resources it contains.



A. Environmental Setting

Today, Rattlesnake Island is a low-lying island covering ~56 acres located in the eastern arm of Clear Lake. The island's foundation consists of north-south trending basaltic and cinder volcanic flows related to the Clear Lake volcanic sequence. Shoreline vegetation consists of predominantly tule, willow, and

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cottonwood. Upland areas are vegetated with blackberry, wild grape, elderberry, oaks (coast, valley and blue), California bay, poison oak, squaw brush, and a host of other plants (Walters 1979). The island's close proximity to the Elem Indian Colony reservation provides easy access for the Elem community. The Elem community has worked to preserve the cultural and natural features of the island by monitoring and restricting non-Indian human use. Over the years this has included placing "No Trespassing" signs around the Island's shoreline and regular patrols of the area.

B. Periods of Use

11,000+ B.P. (years before present) Habitation

During a 20-year study of Lake County prehistoric sites, Dr. John Parker was able to identify the location of the first permanent human habitation in the Clear Lake Basin. The earliest archaeological sites are dated in excess of 11,000 years and indicate that a wave of people (most likely Hokan speakers) entered the Clear Lake Basin by way of the Cache Creek drainage from California's Central Valley (Parker 1994:198).

Research indicates that this small group of people settled along the shoreline of the eastern and southern arms of Clear Lake and utilized stone resources from the Borax Lake obsidian flow. Archaeological evidence suggests that, once established, there was little or no change in the size or location of this community until ~6,000 years ago. At this time, population growth caused these people to spread throughout the Clear Lake shoreline (Parker 1994:208).

It is likely that Rattlesnake Island was used by these first settlers between 11,000 and 6,000 years ago.

6,000 B.P. to the Historic Period

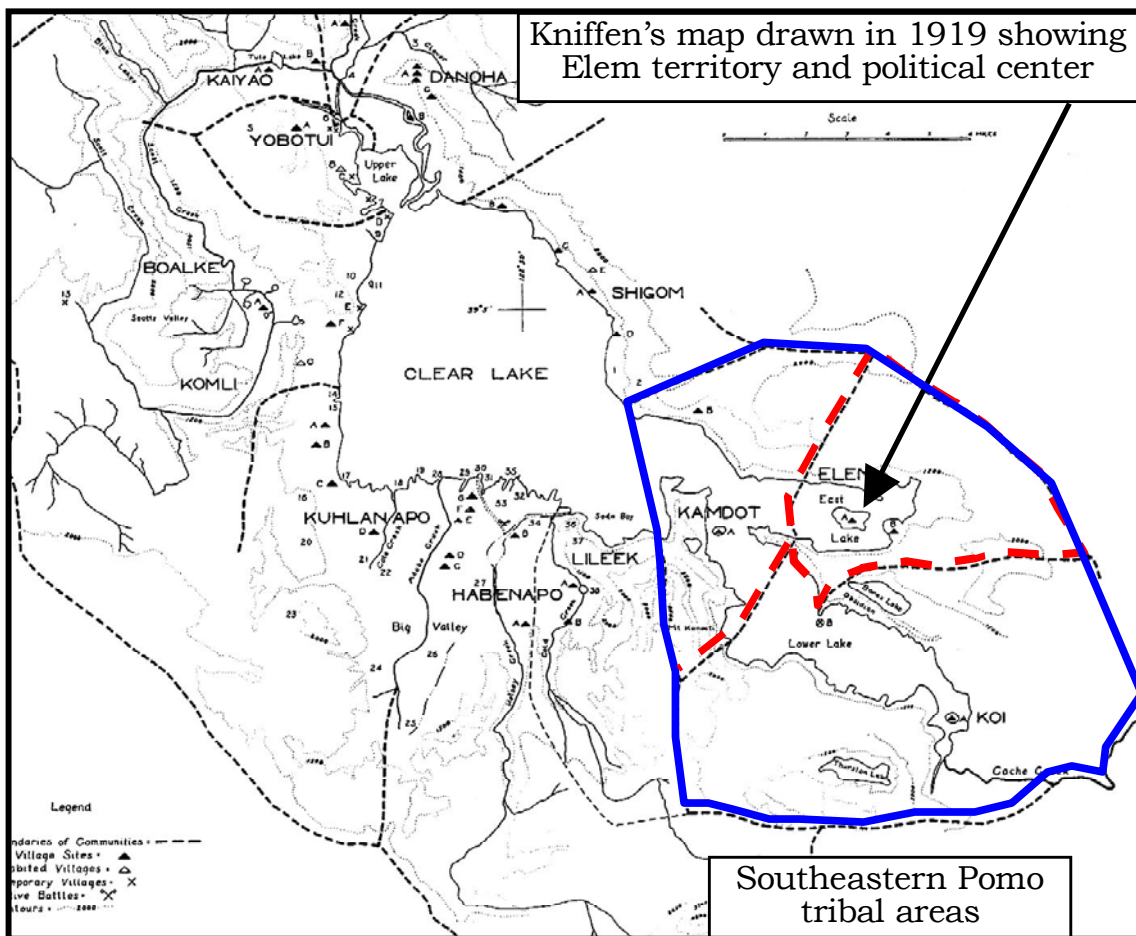
As only limited archaeological excavation and analysis has taken place on one of Rattlesnake Island's 6 prehistoric sites, it is impossible to outline the complete prehistory of the archaeological district. Based on the diagnostic "lozenge-shape" points discovered by Harrington during his 1942 excavation, it is likely that the island has been used and occupied by the Southeastern Pomo for at least 5,000 years (Harrington 1948:128).

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Prehistoric material recovered by Harrington from CA-LAK-89/H also included pestles, small triangular side and corner notched points, dietary bone and shell, shell beads and pendants, bone awls, stone scrapers, abrading stones, grooved stones, drills, and both raw and processed marine clam shell used in shell bead making (Harrington 1948:128). These materials taken together indicate use of the Island during the past 1,000 years.



Ethnographic Data

The Southeastern Pomo controlled the entire southern and eastern arms of Clear Lake. This area consisted of three distinct tribal territories whose principal villages were located on Islands. The southern-most group were called the ?oi (Koi). Their community center was located on present-day Indian

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Island. The western-most group was called ʔamdot (Kamdot) with their political center on present-day Buckingham (a.k.a. Anderson) Island. The Eastern-most group was ʔlem (Elem).

Stephen Powers visited the area in 1871 and writes of the Elem community:

“Their principal, and formerly only, abode was on an island on the east side of Clear Lake. In their language *hösch’-la* signifies “island”... In their pride and haughtiness, they insist on an indigenous origin for themselves... They burn the dead, and always if possible on their native island. W.C. Goldsmith described a funeral he once witnessed, where a squaw was conducted from the mainland where she had died, across the lake by night, followed by a long procession of boats in single file, carrying torchlights, and filled with mourning women, chanting and wailing as the cortege moved with noiseless paddles across the water.” (Powers 1877:216)

Barrett lists the village of:

“e’lem on the southern slope of Rattlesnake or Sulphur Bank Island at the eastern end of East Lake. This is a low island, covering about thirty-five acres, with its northern slope well wooded and its southern entirely open. This village was formerly the largest in the Southeastern dialectic area and was only abandoned about thirty-five or forty years ago, when its inhabitants removed to the adjacent mainland, where they now live.” (Barrett 1908:208)

Harrington’s excavations also discovered historic materials representing the middle and late 1800’s including:

“human bones, charred, partly charred, and unburned. It was a cremation pit. In the bottom, under the bones, was the lower part of a broken pestle; on the northeast side of the pit, where lay the remains of a human skull, were numerous beads of stone and shell, many crumbling from exposure to heat; also a badly corroded iron axe-head of the Spanish “round eye” type.” (Harrington 1948:130)

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These materials indicate the Elem Community use of Rattlesnake Island during the Protohistoric and historic period. It is possible that the “Spanish round-eye” axe head represents a relic from the Vallejo Massacre.

1843

The 1843 location of the village of Elem on Rattlesnake Island is documented in the 1877 account of the Vallejo Massacre from Juan Bojorges who had been a member of Vallejo’s troupe. See detailed account in Section 8, pg. 12.

1854 and 1868

A historic archaeological inspection of the Island in 1981 was conducted by Dr. Adrian Praetzellis (1981). Background research by Praetzellis discovered the earliest mapped reference to the Island by E.D. Richardson of the U.S. Government’s General Land Office (BLM 1854). Richardson’s notes call the island “Indian Island” and indicate 5 “Indian dwellings” on the island. In 1868, I.N. Chapman was the first Deputy Surveyor to survey the island. In his commentary he notes:

“There is an Indian village of some dozen huts along the southern shore. These Indians keep some horses on the island; they also cultivate a garden spot of a few acres (BLM 1868:4).”

Using notes from a 1939 subdivision map indicating “old stone lodges”, Praetzellis was able to locate

“Chinese Brown Glazed Stoneware and White Improved Earthenware sherds, green embossed bottle glass, fragments of brick, and two iron axe heads” within a circular depression designated as a “house pit” on the LAK-89/H site map (U.S. Department of the Interior 1939).

Praetzellis indicates that:

“It is likely that these house pits are the “old stone lodges” referred to on the 1939 map, since the word “lodge” was at one time commonly used to indicate dwellings of traditional Indian design” (Praetzellis 1981:2).

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1872 Ghost Dance (?abqo)

Abe Halpern (1988) and Cora DuBois have researched the 1870's Ghost Dance movement that spread through Native American communities throughout the west. They have discovered that word of the Ghost Dance religion came to the Southeastern Pomo from the Patwin. The belief held that the world was going to come to an end and that a very big and deep dance house should be built to stay in during that time. Elem was one of the few centers designated for this ceremony (Dubois 1939).

1970 Indian Land Claims Protest

During the late 1960's many Indian families took over Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay in an attempt to reclaim land that had been taken from them by the U.S. Government. Several Elem families joined this peaceful protest (Johnson 1994). Following the Alcatraz demonstration, many of the Elem families moved back to and lived on Rattlesnake Island as a second peaceful protest to bring attention to the many unratified treaties and unrecognized land claims. During his inspection, Praetzellis identified "The remains of several camps, occupied by Elem affiliated Indians for more than two years around 1970".

C. Identity of Persons, Ethnic Groups, or Archaeological Cultures

Linguistic Affiliation

Linguistic evidence has determined that the Southeastern Pomo community (that occupied Rattlesnake Island) was part of the greater Pre-Hokan language-speaking group that occupied most of North America during the last Ice Age (Moratto 1984:551). Researchers have long suspected that Hokan was the oldest language in the New World (Shipley 1978:81) and have recently established that the Hokan language family "is the oldest linguistic relationship among Western North American languages that can be established by normal comparative linguistic methods (Golla 2004)."

Further research into the Southeastern Pomo language and prehistory has discovered that the Southeastern Pomo served as the origin of the Pomoan language and culture that ultimately spread westward to the coast, northward

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to Fort Bragg, and south to Sebastopol (Whistler 1980:13, Golla 2004, Oswald 1962).

Archaeological Cultures

Paleo-Indian Period: Early pre-Hokan speaking people first appeared in the eastern arm of Clear Lake and around the Borax Lake obsidian flow sometime before 11,000 years ago. Paleo-Indian artifacts discovered in the area by Chester C. Post were brought to the attention of the archaeological profession in 1938. The group or pattern of artifacts left by these early people is referred to as the Post Pattern (Fredrickson 1973:185). Harrington's excavations of the Borax Lake site in 1942 and



Clovis style point from Borax Lake

the reanalysis of his materials by Meighan and Haynes (1970) have confirmed their antiquity. These materials consisted of fluted and concave base Clovis and Folsom style points known to have been produced between 9,000 and 12,000 B.P. (years before present). It is likely that remains from this time period exist on Rattlesnake Island.

Lower Archaic Period (8,000 – 6,000 B.P.): At the end of the Ice Age, these early Hokan speaking people settled permanently in the eastern and southern arms of Clear Lake creating the early Southeastern Pomo culture. This culture is represented archaeologically by the Borax Lake Pattern and the Lower Archaic Period as identified by Fredrickson (1973:129) and others.

Characteristic tools include the large concave based and square stemmed

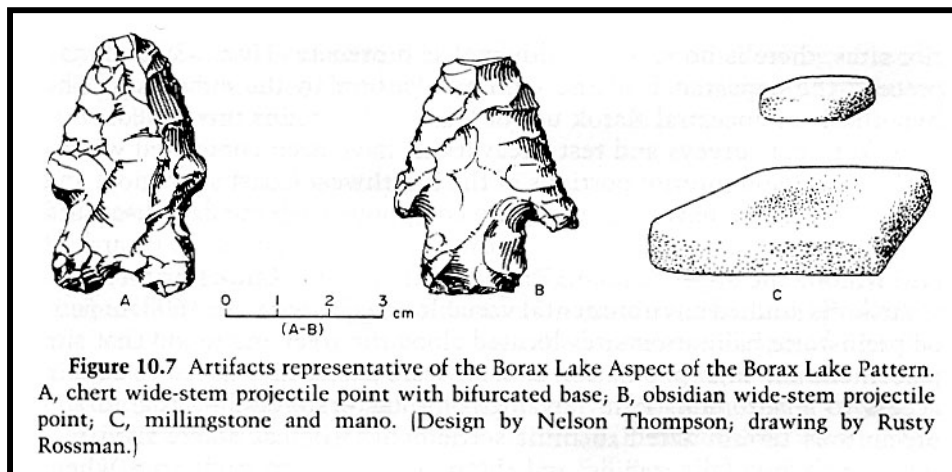


Figure 10.7 Artifacts representative of the Borax Lake Aspect of the Borax Lake Pattern. A, chert wide-stem projectile point with bifurcated base; B, obsidian wide-stem projectile point; C, millingstone and mano. (Design by Nelson Thompson; drawing by Rusty Rossman.)

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points and milling equipment (mano and metate). Throughout this period a small and stable population inhabited the Rattlesnake Island and Anderson Marsh areas of Clear Lake. There is no evidence of permanent human use of other areas in the Clear Lake Basin (Parker 1994:200-207). The artifact assemblage suggests a generalized local hunting and collecting economy. There is no evidence of trade or exchange with outside areas. Figures are taken from Moratto 1984.

Middle Archaic Period (6,000 – 3,500 B.P.): This period is represented at Rattlesnake Island by materials recovered by Harrington (1948). The addition of the mortar and pestle to the prehistoric tool-kit along with the lozenge-shaped dart point (presumably an indication that the dart and atlatl are in use) suggest changes in the subsistence economy. During this period, population growth in the Southeastern Pomo area was dramatic and expansion of people out of this area occurred until the entire Clear Lake shoreline was settled. Large permanent villages were in use around the lakeshore from 6,000 B.P. to the historic period (Parker 1994:208). As population growth continued, by 5,000 B.P. the Clear Lake people were using the upland resource areas as well. The first archaeological evidence indicating the establishment of group territorial boundaries can be seen in sites in the Rattlesnake Island and Anderson Marsh arms of the lake. The first shell beads appear during this period as do exotic trade items. This suggests the beginnings of a money

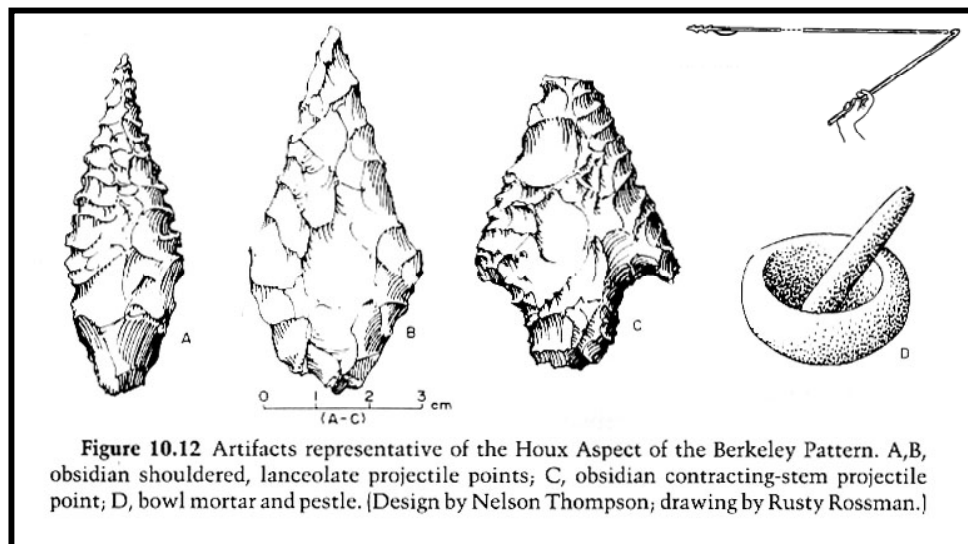


Figure 10.12 Artifacts representative of the Houx Aspect of the Berkeley Pattern. A,B, obsidian shouldered, lanceolate projectile points; C, obsidian contracting-stem projectile point; D, bowl mortar and pestle. [Design by Nelson Thompson, drawing by Rusty Rossman.]

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economy and supports the concept of well-established village or community territorial boundaries.

Upper Archaic Period (3,500 – 1,000 B.P.): This period is also represented at Rattlesnake Island by materials recovered by Harrington (1948). The Elem community was clearly established by this time with the Political and Religious center located on Rattlesnake Island. The locations of major village sites around the Clear Lake shoreline do not change from 3,500 B.P. to the time of European arrival. Each major community is separated from the next by a fixed shoreline distance of about 12km (Parker 1994:213). Population growth in the Clear Lake Basin during the previous period caused a major export of people and cultural influence from Clear Lake to surrounding areas at the beginning of this period (Parker 1994:279). This corresponds to linguistic research that indicates expansion of Pomo culture throughout Sonoma and Mendocino counties.

The mano and metate were gradually phased out as acorn processing became more important and a dietary staple. The shell bead money economy was in full swing and clamshell was being imported from the coast and manufactured into beads along the shores of Clear Lake (Parker 1980).

The Emergent Period (1,000 B.P. to 200 B.P.) This period is represented by the prehistoric and proto-historic people that inhabited Rattlesnake Island. The materials recovered by Harrington (1948) from the ethnographic village of Elem (CA-LAK-89/H) have been used to define the Rattlesnake Aspect, which represents the late prehistoric and early historic period in the North Coast Ranges (Meighan 1955:32). Clement Meighan has used CA-LAK-89/H as the

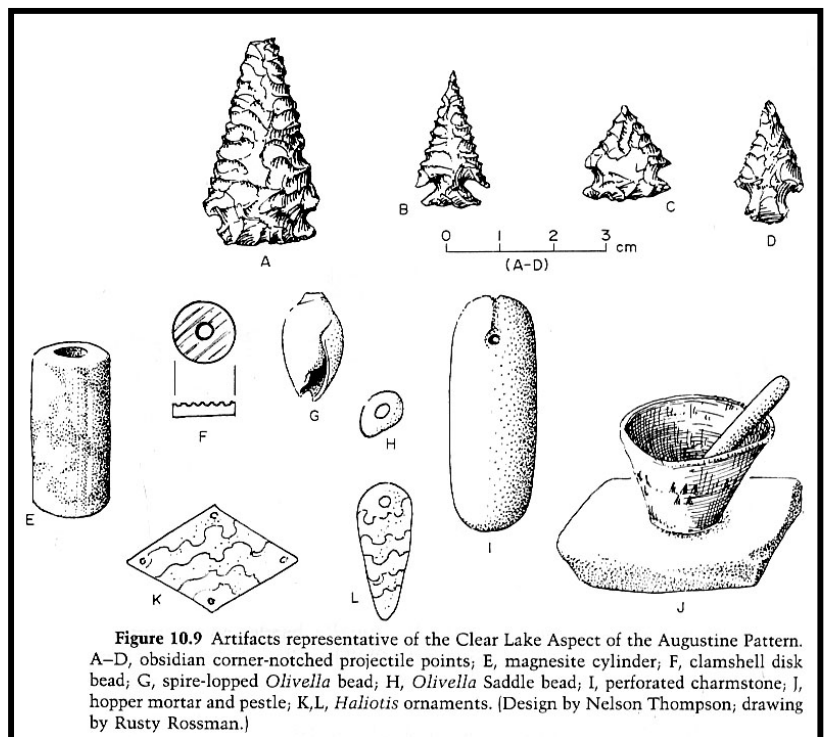


Figure 10.9 Artifacts representative of the Clear Lake Aspect of the Augustine Pattern. A–D, obsidian corner-notched projectile points; E, magnesite cylinder; F, clamshell disk bead; G, spire-topped *Olivella* bead; H, *Olivella* Saddle bead; I, perforated charmstone; J, hopper mortar and pestle; K,L, *Haliotis* ornaments. (Design by Nelson Thompson, drawing by Rusty Rossman.)

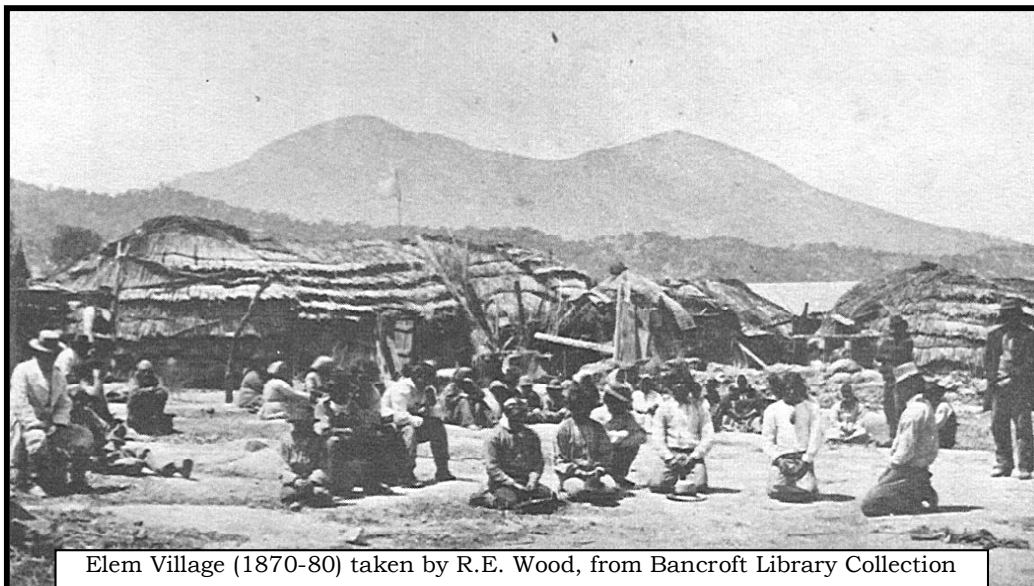
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“type site” for the “Clear Lake Complex”. The types of tools and materials from this site are identified all over the North Coast Ranges as the Rattlesnake Aspect or the Clear Lake Complex and represent those tools used by prehistoric people during the last 500 years prior to European contact. In fact, the small corner and side notched arrow points from this period are referred to as Rattlesnake Points.

The Elem Community (1500-1900): The Native American community on Rattlesnake Island has been recognized by early explorers, linguists, and ethnographers for 150 years. There is evidence that Russians from Fort Ross and Salvador Vallejo visited Clear Lake in the 1820’s and 30’s. There is also an account of Hudson’s Bay Company trappers passing through the area in 1832-33 (Work 1945). The first published mention of the Southeastern Pomo village of Elem (?lem) seems to have been by Gibbs (1853:109). Gibbs accompanied Colonel Redick McKee (United States Indian Agent) through northwestern California during the summer and fall of 1851. During this expedition the chief of the How-ku-ma tribe (Southeastern Pomo village of Elem) participated in treaty negotiations with McKee. In 1871 and 1872, Stephen Powers traveled through California and studied the Native cultures. He visited Clear Lake and wrote about the Makh’el-chel (Southeastern Pomo) (Powers 1877:214). True anthropological studies of the Southeastern Pomo and the Elem community began with the fieldwork of Barrett during 1903, 1904, and 1906 funded by



Elem Village (1870-80) taken by R.E. Wood, from Bancroft Library Collection

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Pheobe Hearst (Barrett 1908:7). His work and that of Kroeber (1925), Gifford (1923, 1926), Kniffen (1939), Stewart (1943) and others have given us rare insight into the political, religious, and daily lifeways of this historic and prehistoric community.

In 1938, after interviewing three Elders of the Elem Community (78 year old Thomas Leon, 79 year old Fannie Elliott, and 59 year old Steven Kelsey), F.S. Slaugh, Office of Indian Affairs, United States Department of the Interior wrote to Roy Nash of the Sacramento Indian Agency. In his letter he discussed the Elem Community and Rattlesnake Island. It states:

“These people have lived right here on this rocky point of land and on the Island near adjacent for hundreds of years. They know no other place, there are no tales of places elsewhere. This place, tho of small value from an agricultural standpoint, is home to them, and the home of their fathers. Their dead are buried here from long ages back.”

“The testimonies that were taken here are enclosed, they speak for themselves. It is evident that these people did not know that a white man had filed on their lands and that the white man’s laws had given their land to another. In 1915 an attempt was made to oust these people from their home nest, they stuck fast and would not budge.”

“To the proposition of moving onto good land that could be farmed, if the Government could purchase same for them, they replied that they would not go.”

“On the island, which is adjacent to this point of land, are ruins of Lodges that must be hundreds of years old.”

“If there is any law in this fair country that can give to Indians a piece of land that they have lived on for hundreds of years, and from which they have never moved for any permanent location elsewhere, I recommend that that law be used to give these Sulphur Bank Indians their piece of land.”(Slaugh 1938)

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D. Physical Characteristics

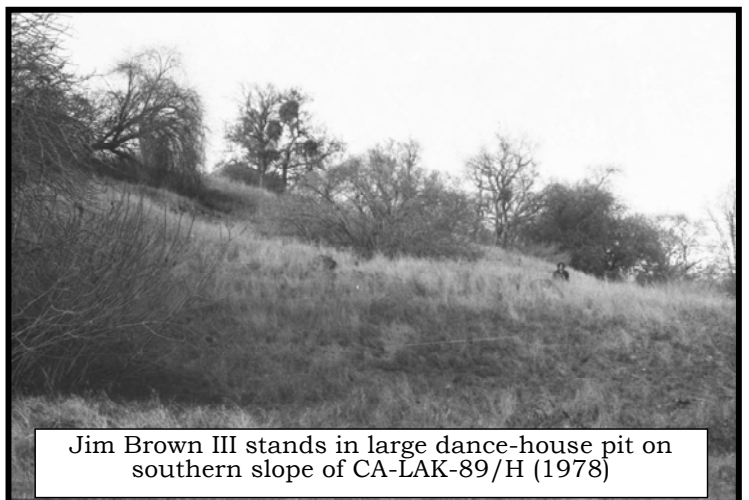
Rattlesnake Island as an archaeological district is a cohesive unit that consists of several prehistoric sites as well as the ethnographic village of Elem. In Elem culture, the island that made up the political and religious center was considered “communal” land. All community members were free to hunt, fish, and gather resources from the island. In addition, representatives of the extended families that made up the village community lived in the principal village located on the island. Gifford writes:

“Rattlesnake island, on which was located the village of Elem, was communal property, and any villager might help himself to the acorns or other products of the island; not so the mainland, however, which to the north, east, and south was claimed by Elem, but was not communal property. It was divided into nearly ninety named tracts, owned by the various families of Elem.” (Gifford 1923:81)

Although the whole Island should be considered an archaeological site, there are 6 areas of concentration of cultural material that have been recorded as separate sites.

CA-LAK-89/H (the ethnographic village of Elem)

This village site was originally recorded as an archaeological site by Harrington in 1943, revisited by Henry Maulden (Lake County Historian) in 1952, and most recently updated by Parker, Bramlett, and Walters in 1978. This site consists of a minimum of 25 house pits including one that measures 30 meters in diameter. Other cultural features include large midden areas, rock alignments, historic rock and brick features, the center pole to a historic dance house,



Jim Brown III stands in large dance-house pit on southern slope of CA-LAK-89/H (1978)

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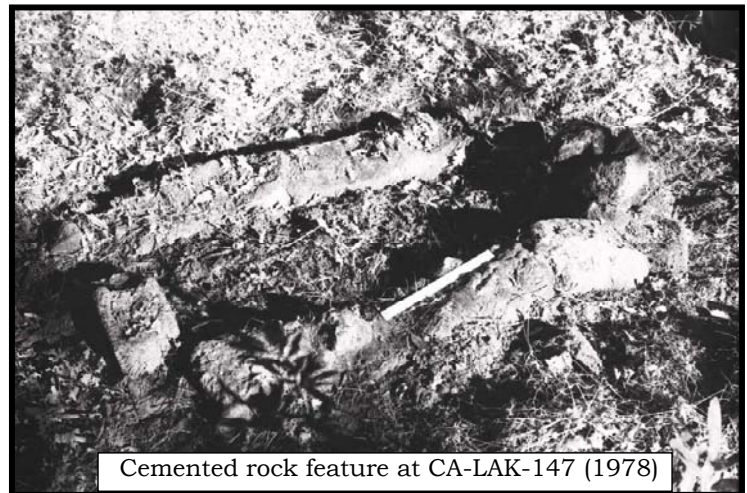
recent historic structures, and human burials. The site contains bedrock mortars and cup-shaped petroglyphs. The site is known as the proto-historic and ethnographic village of Elem and was considered the political and religious center of the Southeastern Pomo Elem tribe. The site is situated around and on top of the low hill that makes up the southern 1/3 of Rattlesnake Island (~10 acres).

CA-LAK-146

This site was originally recorded by Henry Maulden (Lake County Historian) in 1952, and most recently updated by Parker, Bramlett, and Walters in 1978. This site measures 80 x 100 meters and is located in the very center of Rattlesnake Island in and around a large fractured basalt outcrop. The site contains rock alignment features, including at least 5 square and circular areas cleared of rock, rock lined storage or fire pits, bedrock mortar and dark friable midden containing obsidian flakes and tools.

CA-LAK-147

This site was originally recorded by Henry Maulden (Lake County Historian) in 1952, and most recently updated by Parker, Bramlett, and Walters in 1978. This site measures 75 x 150 meters and is located on the northern end of the Island just east of its highest point. The site consists of a large midden area containing both historic and prehistoric cultural material, bedrock mortars, and at least 6 house pits, a stone foundation and cemented rock rectangle. Historic cans and bottles indicate more recent use during the 1930's, 40's, and 50's.



Cemented rock feature at CA-LAK-147 (1978)

CA-LAK-148

This site was originally recorded by Henry Maulden (Lake County Historian) in 1952. John Parker's inspection in 1978 failed to revisit this site due to heavy

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vegetation. Maulden reports the site as “In rocks on a knoll up from but joining the lakeshore.” He measures the site as covering an area of 240 x 100 feet but indicates that it “was very hard site to measure or observe on account of heavy growth.”

CA-LAK-1200

This site was originally recorded by Parker, Bramlett, and Walters in 1978. This site covered an area of 6 x 8 meters and consisted of an oval-shaped depression cleared of boulders in the middle of a basalt rock outcrop. The site was situated on the western point at the north end of Rattlesnake Island. The site contained burned bone, obsidian flakes and tools and hand-blown bottle glass.

CA-LAK-1201

This site was originally recorded by Parker, Bramlett, and Walters in 1978. This site was located at the farthest northwestern tip of Rattlesnake Island atop a basalt outcrop. The site consisted of midden covering an area of 20 x 35 meters. The midden contained obsidian flakes and tools, freshwater mussel shell, burned fish and mammal bone.

E. Likely Appearance of the Site During Occupation

During the proto-historic and prehistoric periods, the south end of the island contained a village of 150 to 200 people. This village consisted of ~30 dome-shaped tule-thatched houses along the lakeshore and extending up the slope of the low hill making up the southern portion of the island. In the center of these houses stood a large dance house measuring ~95 feet in diameter and large enough to seat the entire village. This was a semi-subterranean structure who's roof would have been earth covered with a smoke hole near the center. There is also mention of a smaller but substantial sweathouse. It is likely that one or more smaller groups of houses and/or covered work areas existed in the center and northern portions of the island. The shoreline closest to the mainland would have been the home to many beached tule boats and dugout canoes.

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Although the physical size of the island has not changed, its vegetation would have been substantially different during prehistoric habitation. Remnants of this prehistoric vegetation can be observed today by comparing trunk sizes of oak trees. In a natural (not human altered) environment, oaks would propagate, and die continually. In such a situation there should be a whole range of trees of various ages with a complete range of trunk sizes. The high premium that firewood has in a prehistoric village would have required the use of all loose wood, and most growing wood on the island and throughout the surrounding mainland hillsides. During prehistoric and early historic habitation the island would have been denuded of most vegetation with the exception of a few acorn-bearing oaks left for food and shade purposes. Remnants of the most recent of these (protohistoric) habitation periods can be seen in the trunk size of the largest of the living and dead oaks on the island (3 feet and larger in diameter). The next largest oak tree trunk sizes are 6" to 8" in diameter and represent those that have grown since the island was abandoned as a Protohistoric village. There are no intermediate trunk sizes.

F. Current and Past Impacts

Past impacts to Rattlesnake Island and its cultural resources have been limited by two factors.

1. The area is an island, which naturally limits human impacts to only those people who have access to a boat. and
2. Its close proximity to the present-day Elem Indian Colony and their close cultural/historical ties to the island have prompted them to monitor and care for the island. This was accomplished during their use of the island for hunting, fishing, and growing traditional plants. In the past they have erected "no trespassing" signs along its shoreline and have actively run off non-Indian trespassers.

Within the past 20 years, "owners of record" of Rattlesnake Island have caused impacts to both the natural and cultural environment. Beginning in the 1980's, an owner placed goats on the island to do away with much of the under-story vegetation. These goats also ate the medicinal plants that had been planted and tended by members of the Elem Community (Johnson 1994). This owner also created a rock-lined ATV trail around much of the perimeter of

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the island that is reported in the most recent visit by an archaeologist to the Island.

“A rock lined off-road ATV or vehicle trail has been made around the majority of the island, extending around the lower reaches of CA-Lak-89/H and north through CA-Lak-146 and CA-Lak-147. An existing barn, fences and a second barn, in the process of being built, were observed at the southern limits of CA-Lak-146. A small flock of sheep has been placed on the island for vegetation maintenance and fire control.” (Evans 2004:12)

At the time of this writing, the current owner of record has applied for permits to develop two septic systems and build a single-family residence within the boundaries of CA-LAK-89/H. He has already damaged CA-LAK-89/H by using a backhoe to conduct percolation tests within the site:

“Percolation tests were conducted prior to the survey with a Lake County representative from the Health Services Department on site. Six test pits were excavated with the use of a backhoe and all but one had been backfilled prior to the survey. The soil within the open test pit was clearly midden. All percolation tests were conducted within the recorded boundaries of *CA-Lak-89/H* and were dug an average depth of four and a half feet.” (Evans 2004:13)

G. Previous Investigations

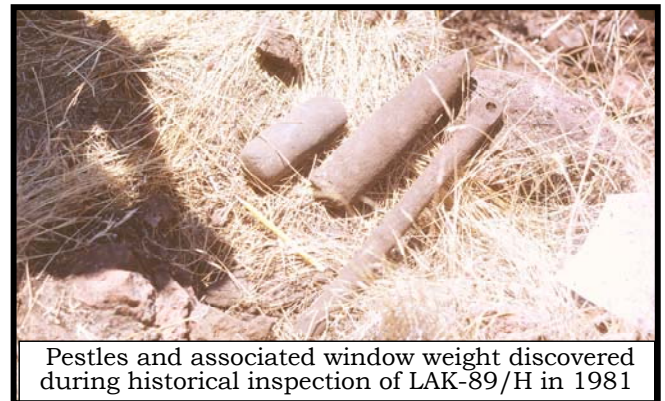
The first archaeologist to visit the Island was M.R. Harrington in 1942. To date his is the only archaeological excavation to take place on the island (Harrington 1948). His work on the Island was used to define the *Rattlesnake Aspect*, which represents the late prehistoric and early historic period in the North Coast Ranges (Meighan 1955:32). Meighan has used CA-LAK-89/H as the “type site” for the “Clear Lake Complex”. The types of tools and materials from this site are identified all over the North Coast Ranges as the Rattlesnake Aspect or the Clear Lake Complex. Harrington was forcefully asked to leave the Island by members of the Elem Community when they discovered that he was excavating human remains (Harrington 1948).

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The next archaeologist allowed on the Island was John Parker in 1978. Dr. Parker was invited by members of the Elem Community to survey and record the cultural resources that exist there. During this inspection, three of the four previously recorded archaeological sites on the Island were revisited and two new sites were recorded. Site CA-LAK-148 could not be relocated due to dense brush. At the request of the Elem Community, Dr. Parker returned to the island with historic archaeologist Dr. Adrian Praetzellis who examined some of the historical resources encountered earlier by Dr. Parker (Praetzellis 1981).



Pestles and associated window weight discovered during historical inspection of LAK-89/H in 1981

In June 2004, Archaeological Resource Service of Petaluma conducted a cultural resource evaluation of the Island for the current “owner of record” (Evans 2004). During this background record search and on-foot reconnaissance of the island, all 6 previously recorded archaeological sites were revisited and their physical appearance updated.

“All six existing archaeological sites were relocated and found to have similar conditions as those described in the site records prepared by John Parker and/or Allan Bramlett in 1978, except CA-Lak-89/H. At CA-Lak-89/H the historic shacks made of wood and brick, reported by the Indians to be locations of recent seasonal camps (Praetzellis 1981), had been removed along with the associated historic refuse that gives the site its “/H” designation.” (Evans 2004:12)

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