

Culture Contact at Kimsquit in long-term Regional Context

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Introduction

Scholars of colonial encounters have long advocated the use of archaeology to provide a long-term perspective on culture contact that would help to place Native responses into broad temporal and cultural contexts. However, the nature of the archaeological record is such that contact period sites often lack sufficient temporal depth to accomplish this goal. Instead excavation provides only glimpses of phases of the contact process and its effects on limited aspects of aboriginal life that are difficult to place in a broader context. In this paper, I examine the archaeological and ethno-historic records of the Kimsquit locality, where Hobler investigated a series of sites extending from prehistory through the entire contact period. When considered in regional context these data provide a long-term perspective on cultural change and continuity. From this perspective, I attempt to isolate some of the ways in which material culture and architecture were used to express a sense of cultural identity unique to Kimsquit throughout the contact period.

Central Coast Research and Culture Contact Studies

The Kimsquit area is located at the head of Dean Channel, and includes the mouths of the Dean and Kimsquit Rivers (Figure 16:1). Historically it is home to the Kimsquit division of the Bella Coola (Nuxalk) Nation. Hobler conducted fieldwork there from 1968-1972 during the early stages of his Central Coast archaeology project. The goals of the project have been reviewed in detail elsewhere (Hobler 1970, 1983, 1990). For the purposes of this paper, I wish to stress the importance of the project's broad geographic and temporal cov-

erage for contextualizing local cultural changes and continuities experienced by people at Kimsquit through the contact period.

The Central Coast project can be characterized as long-range in vision and organic in nature. It continued to evolve in order to undertake new avenues of investigation as data came to light, and yet was conceived and continued under a unifying and un-compromised variant of the direct historic approach. The direct historic approach was intended as a holistic course of research, utilizing ethnographic, archaeological, historic and environmental information, and was to be comprehensive in its temporal and geographic coverage. In practice, however, most scholars limited themselves to defining sequences of temporal changes and inadequately integrated historic and prehistoric data sets (Johnson 1999; Lightfoot 1995). One of the flaws was a significant under-investigation of the contact period itself. Hobler's project averted many such short-comings by diligently gathering and synthesizing information on the development of historically known cultures within a single culture area from all of the major geographic zones present (fjords, outer coast, river valley and subalpine), and treating time in a fluid manner, which down-plays culture historical classifications of phases in favour of broader shifts in cultural behaviour (Hobler 1990:298). Most importantly for this paper, the historic period was investigated directly, as part of a temporal continuum, in all of its archaeological manifestations: material culture, architecture, regional settlement pattern, domestic village sites, European trading posts, regional settlement pattern, rock art, wooden monuments and mortuary contexts (Hobler 1986).

While this project spanned the major paradigm and fashion shifts of archaeology in the 1960s-1990s, scholars of culture contact cur-

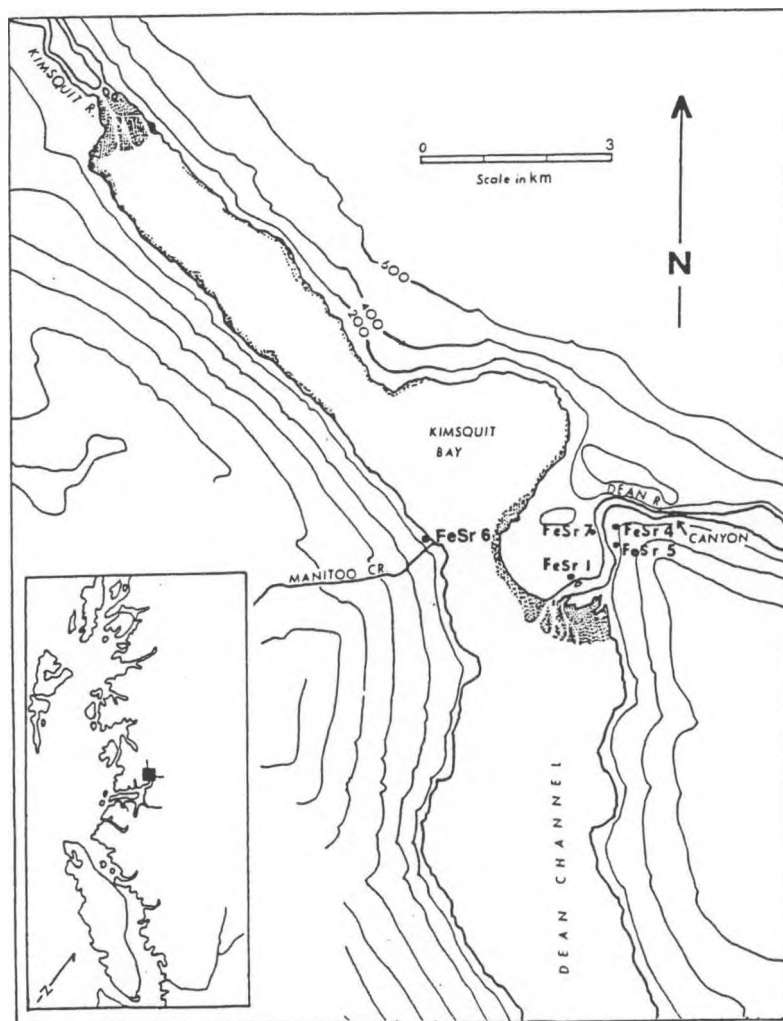


Figure 16:1. Map of Kimsquit Sites Discussed in Text.

rently advocate such a comprehensive treatment and stress the need for a long-term, multi-contextual perspective (Lightfoot 1995; Lightfoot et al. 1998; Kirch 1992; Trigger 1989:331). Among the benefits of a long-term perspective in culture contact situations are a professed breakdown of the barriers between history, ethnohistory and prehistory, leading to a more humanistic treatment of the past (Lightfoot 1995:211); an understanding of change for all parties in contact as part of established patterns, rather than as sets of disruptions (Wolf 1982); and contribution to a more responsible use of ethnographic analogy. While Hobler has nowhere described his research in precisely these terms, his body of work has provided the material for a long-term perspective on the Central Coast, including culture contact at Kimsquit.

Archaeological Research at Kimsquit

Consistent with the larger Central Coast project, Hobler sought information on all of the temporal periods and archaeological contexts represented at Kimsquit. Thirteen sites were recorded below the canyon of the Dean River and on the channel, including villages, petroglyphs, cultural depressions and a cemetery. Investigations were limited to mapping and surface inventory at most of the sites -including a village of semi-subterranean houses at the mouth of Manitoo creek, FeSr 6, Nuxwilst (Figure 16:1). Four habitation sites near the mouth of the Dean River saw substantial excavations, providing a record of material culture and architectural changes extending in an unbroken sequence from the 18th to 20th centuries AD, and intermittently back perhaps to 7000 BC.

Specifically, FeSr 5, Axeti, is a hilltop site, 22 m above the river and 1.5 km upstream from the fjord, with a probably protohistoric house platform, and a thin shell midden with a mixed assemblage of protohistoric to late prehistoric material culture and Early Period

microblades, cobble tools and a lanceolate biface. There was probably a hiatus of several thousand years between these components.

FeSr 4, Nutsqwalt, is a large village of 23 rectangular house-pit depressions, 500 metres upstream from FeSr 5, whose assemblage of artifacts and thin cultural deposits seem to represent a brief occupation sometime between AD 1770-1830 (Prince 1992, 2002). FeSr 7, Nutal, is a small village, directly across from Axeti, with what were probably cobble variants of house mounds documented in the Bella Coola Valley, and more substantial shell midden deposits (Hobler 1972:95). The artifact assemblage here includes a large amount of worked copper and manufactured European items, which I place at AD 1780-1850. FeSr 1, Anutlitx, is a large village including the remains of cedar planked houses, milled lumber



Figure 16:2. Interior of Planked Post-and-Beam House, FeSr 1, 1970. (Photo: P.M. Hobler).

cabins and shallow midden deposits (Hobler 1970, 1972; Prince 1992). One traditional house was still standing at the time of Hobler's excavations (Figure 16:2). The material culture here is primarily manufactured European items and there is a variety of written, cartographic and photographic documentation from the 19th and early 20th centuries for this village (Prince 1992, 2002; Figures 16:3 and 16:4). The other sites are not referred to outside of oral tradition (McIlwraith 1948 I:15). Based on these data, I place the occupation of FeSr 1 at AD 1850-1927.

Indigenous Technology at Kimsquit

Indigenous material culture and architecture are well represented at Kimsquit sites from late prehistoric to early historic contexts. When compared to other Central Coast sites (Figure 16:5), and the early component at FeSr 5, they contribute to a long-term perspective on cultural development and European contact. At FeSr 5, FeSr 4 and FeSr 7 stone tools (excluding debitage) comprise 89.4 %, 98 % and 49.4 % of the excavated assemblages respec-

tively (Table 16:1). In contrast to several other Central Coast sites (FaSu 2, FaSu 1, FaSu 19), bone tools are rare at Kimsquit, probably as a result of poor preservation due to the lack of dense shell midden (Hobler 1990; Prince 1992). The Kimsquit assemblages also have a narrow range of tool types with ground stone adzes and hammerstone grinders being ubiquitous - as is typical of late prehistoric fjord zone sites of the Central Coast (Hobler 1990).

But Kimsquit is also different from other fjord zone sites in several regards. After ground stone (pecked and ground and polished), the most frequent stone artifacts in the Kimsquit assemblages are flaked - mainly cobble spall and chopper tools, bifaces, re-touched and utilized flakes. Waste flakes also occur in moderate numbers at the three early Kimsquit sites (Table 16:2). The majority of the debitage at each site is greenstone flakes lacking ground facets. At FeSr 4, large portions of these are small (15-25 mm maximum dimension) and may represent greenstone adze maintenance or the final stages of their manufacture before grinding (Prince 1992:152). At FeSr 5 and FeSr 7, the majority of the debitage is 25-60 mm in maximum di-



Figure 16:3. The Village of Anutlitx (FeSr 1) as it Appeared in the Early 1900s in a Photograph by Indian Agent Ivor Foughner.

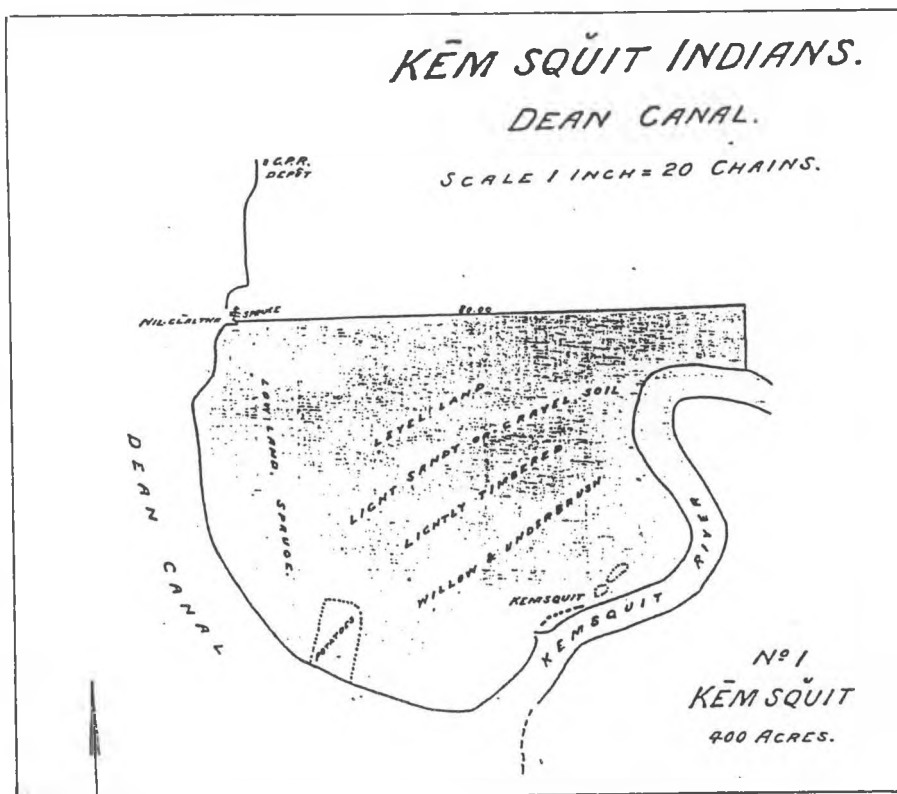


Figure 16:4. Map of the Kimsquit Reserve Showing the Row of Houses at the Village of Anutlitx (FeSr 1) as drawn by Reserves Commissioner O'Reilly in 1882.

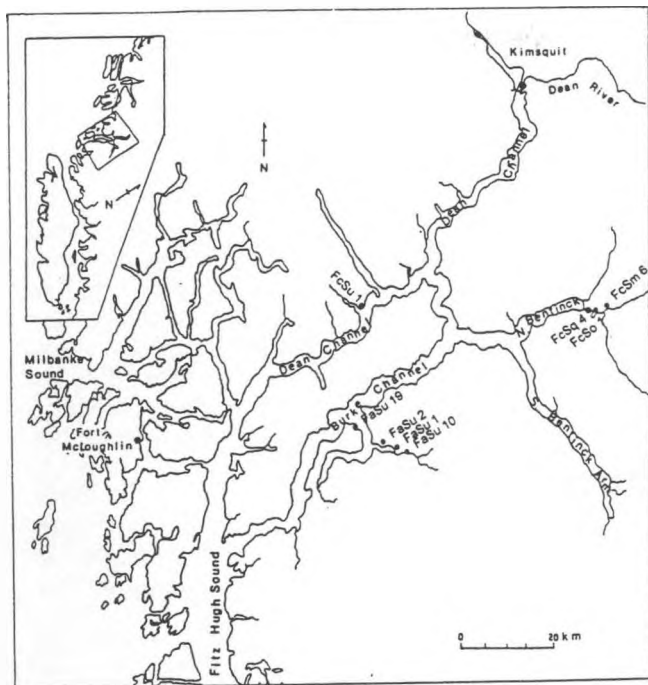


Figure 16:5. Map of Central Coast of British Columbia showing Bella Coola Valley and Kwatna Inlet Sites discussed in Text.

mension and may represent the production of flakes for expedient purposes, rather than primary adze reduction (Prince 1992). The moderate importance of flaked stone technology in the three early components at Kimsquit stands in marked contrast to late prehistoric assemblages from Kwatna Inlet, where flaked stone is rare, and late prehistoric and early historic components in the Bella Coola valley, like Nusqalst (FcSo 1) and Qwliutl (FcSm 6), where flaked stone is by far the most abundant material (Hobler and Bedard 1989, 1990, 1992). The abundance of flaked stone in the Bella Coola Valley sites probably reflects their inland location and economic orientation towards salmon and terrestrial game for which flaked stone cutting and processing tools are well suited, and their proximity to interior sources of obsidian and local greenstone (Hobler and Bedard 1989). The intermediate character of the Kimsquit sites in terms of flaked stone may reflect their geographic position between fjord and river valley, an economic adaptation to both zones, and their position in trade between the interior and coast. Both of these points coloured the degree, nature and timing of Kimsquit's involvement in European trade and colonization later, and so continued to contribute to its unique cultural

character. Obsidian at Kimsquit, for instance, was obtained from Anaheim peak before and after European contact, which is accessible by grease trails up the Dean River. This material was used for microblades in the early component at FeSr 5 and continued to be used in small quantities at FeSr 4 and FeSr 7. The source of greenstone is uncertain, perhaps Mt Nusqalst in the Bella Coola Valley, or a local source in Dean Channel. At any rate, the use of these materials reflects not only a continuance in preference for lithic materials, but also in the direction of physical or social-economic contacts for people at Kimsquit - to the Interior and Coast - a factor that continued to be important when European materials, became the dominant items exchanging hands. The Dean and Kimsquit Rivers were both routes of communication to the Carrier people historically, with whom the Kimsquit exchanged salmon and marine resources for furs (Bouchard et al. 1988), and these corridors also brought a small amount of attention from Euro-Canadians, who explored them as possible railway routes (Smith 1874, 1877; Horetzky 1877).

Another characteristic of the Kimsquit stone tool assemblage is the recycling of greenstone adze material. Greenstone is brittle and prone to splinter during adzing. Items recycled from fractured greenstone adzes at Axeti and Nutsqwalt include ground stone projectile points, a knife and utilized flakes (Figure 16:6). Recycling adze fragments is not unique to Kimsquit, occurring also at Qwliutl and Nusqalst, but it does provide an important precedent for the conservation of raw materials seen later in the use of copper and iron.

There are also distinctions apparent in the tool types within the ground stone category that set Kimsquit apart from its inner coast neighbours. Circular stones, one of the defining characteristics of the contemporaneous Kwatna Phase sites (AD 1400- Contact) (Carlson 1983d) in Lower Dean Channel (FcSu 1) and Kwatna Inlet (FaSu 1, FaSu 2 and FaSu 19) are absent at Kimsquit (Table 16:3). This may mean that a different form of tool was used for the same practices, be they net sinkers or spindle whorls, or that the associated activities (netting fish in the channel, or weaving) were not as important. Most curious are differences in hammerstone grinder form at Kimsquit. Hammerstone grinders are ubiquitous in fjord zone sites, and common in Bella Coola Valley sites as well, but their function is

equivocal. These are loaf-shaped cobble implements, made of hard igneous rock, typically with one heavily ground, flat surface, a square butt and light pecking, or heavy battering at

one, or both ends. They may have functioned as combination grinding and hammer implements (Carlson 1970:4), used in wood working activities - an interpretation I favour given their association with adzes.

Table 16:1. Stone Tool Types and Frequencies at Excavated Kimsquit Sites.

Artifact Type	FeSr 1		FeSr 7		FeSr 4		FeSr 5	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Chipped Stone								
Pebble Choppers			1	.6	1	.7	5	3.7
Chipped Stone Adze					1	.7		
Cortex Spall Tools			6	3.7			2	1.5
Utilized Flakes			3	1.8			4	2.9
Retouched Flakes			1	.6	3	2.1		
Bipolar Objects					9	6.2	5	3.7
Projectile Points			3	1.8	3	2.1	3	2.2
Drill					1	.7		
Microblades							7	5.1
Cores			2	1.2	1	.7	1	.7
Miscellaneous					2	1.4	1	.7
Sub-Total			16	9.7	21	14.6	28	20.5
Pecked & Ground Stone								
Abraders			1	.6	15	10.4	8	5.9
Hammerstones			5	3.1	7	4.9	6	4.4
Hammerstone Grinders			24	14.7	2	1.4	4	2.9
Edge Trim. Grinders			19	11.6	1	.7	30	22
Half Edge Trim. Grinders			8	4.9			8	5.9
Hand Mauls			2	1.2	2	1.4	1	.7
Miscellaneous			4	2.4	4	2.8	1	.7
Sub-Total			63	38.5	31	21.6	58	42.5
Polished Stone								
Adze Blades & Frags			2	.2	85	59	32	23.5
Knife					1	.7		
Projectile Points							3	2.2
Hand Maul					1	.7		
Miscellaneous	1	2			2	1.4	1	.7
Sub-Total	1	2	2	1.2	89	61.8	36	26.4
Total	1	.2	81	49.4	141	98	122	89.4

McIlwraith's (1948 II:380) ethnographic informants, however, reported that they were throwing pieces, used in what must have been a very popular game. Regardless of the function of hammerstone grinders, Kimsquit sites appear distinct in having a high frequency of edge trimmed or half-edge trimmed variants, with flaking, or battering along one or both of the lateral edges (Figure 16:7). This characteristic is consistent at the Kimsquit sites up to the mid-19th century. Whether a matter of stylistic preference or function, I argue it represents a separate way of doing things at Kimsquit, analogous to the modification of commonly used and widespread materials in later contexts.

The indigenous architecture recorded by Hobler at Kimsquit also shows important distinctions over time, most notably in the construction of rectangular semi-subterranean house villages at FeSr 4 and FeSr 6. Since the rectangular house pit depressions at FeSr 4 date from the late 18th to early 19th century, it is likely that those at FeSr 6 fall in this time range, or slightly earlier. McIlwraith's informants claimed both were occupied "at the time of Mackenzie's visit" [1793] (McIlwraith 1948 I:15-16). This form of architecture is poorly understood, because it does not meet ethnographic expectations and is not widely represented archaeologically. A single rectangular house-pit depression was recorded by Smith (1925) somewhere in Bella Coola, and 2 others in Kwatna Bay at FaSu 2 and FaSu 10 by Carlson (1971). These depres-

Table 16:2. Frequency of Debitage at Excavated Kimsquit Sites.

Site	Basalt	Green-stone	Quartzite	Obsidian	Andesite	Quartz	Other	Total
FeSr 7	1	53	6	6	3		1	70
FeSr 5	5	22	5	12	1	1	2	48
FeSr 4	2	54			1	1		58
Total	8	129	11	18	5	2	3	176

sions are smaller in plan than those at Kimsquit and significantly deeper. The Kimsquit depressions seem to represent small rectangular houses with semi-subterranean floors, and with walls probably abutting, or just above the earthen bank of the pit (Figures 16:8, 16:9; Prince 1992:104-105). They do not appear to be sunken hearth pits within a larger planked house, which is the more familiar form of Northwest Coast architecture. Two house pits were double pits; a ridge of earth divided them into separate areas (Prince 1992:107-109).

The semi-subterranean architectural form seems to have been replaced by above ground house forms in the 19th century. Hobler recorded late 18th and early 19th century mounds at Nusqalst (FcSo 1) that probably were the bases of large cedar-planked houses whose corners were supported by pilings with their hearths resting on the mound surface (Hobler and Bedard 1989). This is one of the local forms of architecture described by Mackenzie. (1967:284). Vancouver (1984 III:929-936) also noted houses perched on pilings during his reconnaissance of the Central Coast channels. The archaeology of the late 19th century village of Snxlhh (FcSq 4) in Bella Coola more clearly indicates the house platform style of architecture (Hobler and Bedard 1990). The earth and stone mounds at FeSr 7 were probably an early 19th century variant of house platforms at Kimsquit, that was not recognized as such during Hobler's initial investigations. However, mounds of earth and midden are also evident below some of the late 19th century houses at FeSr 1 (Hobler 1970:79). To this architectural style, small, ground level milled lumber cabins were slowly and sporadically added (Figure 16:10).

What accounts for the shifts in architectural style? Nuxalk oral traditions (Boas 1898:64, 79, 87, 123) make reference to underground houses in the Bella Coola valley, which sound like interior pit houses and may be evidenced by shallow, circular pit houses (FcSm 5 and FcSm 6) investigated by Hobler near the forks of the Atnarko and Talchako rivers (Hobler

and Bedard 1992). One of the houses at FcSm 6 dates to AD 1170±80 (Hobler and Bedard 1992:40). There are also references to sunken rectangular winter lodges among the Nuxalk (Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:327). It could be that the semi-subterranean houses at FeSr 4 and FeSr 6 simply represent winter residence, but this does not explain why this style of house is neither present after the early 1800s, nor common in Nuxalk territory beyond Kimsquit. It could also be that these sites represent a blending of cultural traditions unique to Kimsquit - that is a combination of semi-subterranean lodges and rectangular planked house architecture. Kimsquit, situated at the end of a long inland arm of the coast, is a likely place for such a meeting of cultural traditions. McIlwraith's oral traditions and myths indicate that Kimsquit in general and Nuxwilst (FeSr 6) in particular were multi-ethnic communities, Nuxalk and Heiltsuk, with strong connections to the interior (1948 I:15-18, 21-22). Further, the residents of Nuxwilst are said to have been given the rectangular, semi-subterranean house style by an ancestor figure (McIlwraith 1948 I:341), and that this community eventually fissioned with one branch, called the Istamx, migrating to the lower Dean Channel and joining the Heiltsuk (Olson 1955:321). It is tempting to speculate that one or the other components of the community began their migration in the interior, or otherwise borrowed a variant of interior architecture, and that the cessation of semi-subterranean architecture represents the splitting of the community. The switch to elevated house forms could also have been a practical adaptation to periodic flooding and river channel changes. Some of the houses at FeSr 4 are truncated by a dry river channel, which may account for the brief occupation of the site (Hobler 1972:92; Prince 1992:100). Hobler (1989) has documented an inner coast and river valley trend towards location of villages on backwater sloughs and the elevation of houses on stilts and mounds in the 18th

Table 16:3. Artifact Types Inner Coast Sites.

Artifact Type	Fe Sr 7	Fe Sr 4	Fe Sr 5	Fa Su 2	Fa Su 1	Fc Su 1
Chipped Stone						
Pebble Chopper	X	X	X			
Adze		X				
Cortex Spall	X		X			
Utilized Flake	X		X	X		
Retouched Flake	X	X		X		X
Bipolar Object		X	X			
Projectile Point	X	X	X	X		
Drill		X				
Core	X	X	X			X
Knife				X		
Pecked & Ground Stone						
Abrader	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hammerstone	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hammerstone Grinder	X	X	X	X	X	X
Edge Trimmed Grinder	X	X	X			
Half Edge Trim. Grinder	X		X			
Hand Maul	X	X	X	X	X	X
Circular Stone				X	X	X
Bark Shredder				X		
Grooved Sinker				X		
Anthropomorph				X		
Polished Stone						
Adze Blades & Fragments	X	X	X	X	X	X
Greenstone Knife		X				
Greenstone Point			X			
Ground Slate Point				X		
Ground Slate Knife				X		
Hand Maul		X				
Bone and Antler						
Wedge		X				
Bone Tube			X			X
Awl	X			X	X	X
Projectile Point	X		X	X	X	
Composite Harpoon Part				X	X	X
Scapula Point				X	X	
Spindle Whorl				X		
Bark Beater				X		
Ring				X		
Pendent				X	X	
Perforated Tooth				X		
Notched Tooth				X	X	
Ground Shell				X	X	

and 19th centuries, which may have afforded security from bears, invaders and especially high water.

Explaining the origins and function of the semi-subterranean architectural tradition at Kimsquit and the switch to elevated forms are subjects requiring further research. Regardless of the explanation preferred, I suggest that the architecture at Kimsquit represents both a separate cultural tradition and identity for Kimsquit, and a precedence for the borrowing and blending of traits in unique ways that continues through the contact period. In this sense, architecture is consistent with trends I have described in material culture and raw material - as variants of a broader Central Coast pattern.

European Contact

Being a remote location, direct European contact came late to Kimsquit and was sporadic until the late 19th century (Table 16:4). The first written record of encounters with the Nuxalk were left by Mackenzie who traveled overland to Bella Coola in 1793, and thence by canoe to Dean Channel, and Vancouver who circumnavigated King Island in 1792-93. Vancouver reached the head of Dean Channel in June, 1793 and observed some form of native settlement at the mouth of the Kimsquit River, but did not make a landing (Vancouver 1984 III:929). Both Vancouver and Mackenzie noted significant quantities of European metal and cloth among people on the Central Coast, which probably spread through native trade networks. I thus define the approximately 25-year interval prior to their accounts as a protohistoric period.

The interval from 1793-1833 was marked by frequent ship traffic to the Central Coast for trade and exploration. Fitzhugh and Milbanke Sounds were important ports of call (Howay 1973; Menzies 1923:102). Since Kimsquit was remote and difficult to reach by sail, European goods probably continued to arrive indirectly (Prince 2002:54). The land based fur trade began on the Central Coast in 1833 with the establishment of Fort McLoughlin at Bella Bella, to which the Kimsquit people came as visitors (Tolmie 1963:292, 303, 307). Fort McLoughlin continued to be the dominant place of contact until fur trading steam ships could reach remote villages directly, which resulted in the closure of the fort in 1843. Trade from steam ships operated in conjunction with smaller land based stores at Bella Bella and Bella Coola

Table 16:4. Modes of European Contact at Kimsquit.

Mode	Date AD
Indirect/Protohistoric	1770-1793
Maritime Fur Trade	
& Exploration	1793-1833
Fort McLoughlin	1833-1843
HBC Ships & Small Posts	1843-1910
Railway Surveys & Royal Navy	1870s
Indian Affairs	1870s-1920s
Missionaries	1880s-1920s
Fish Canneries	1900-1920s



Figure 16:6. Greenstone Adze Fragments recycled into Projectile Points from FeSr 5.

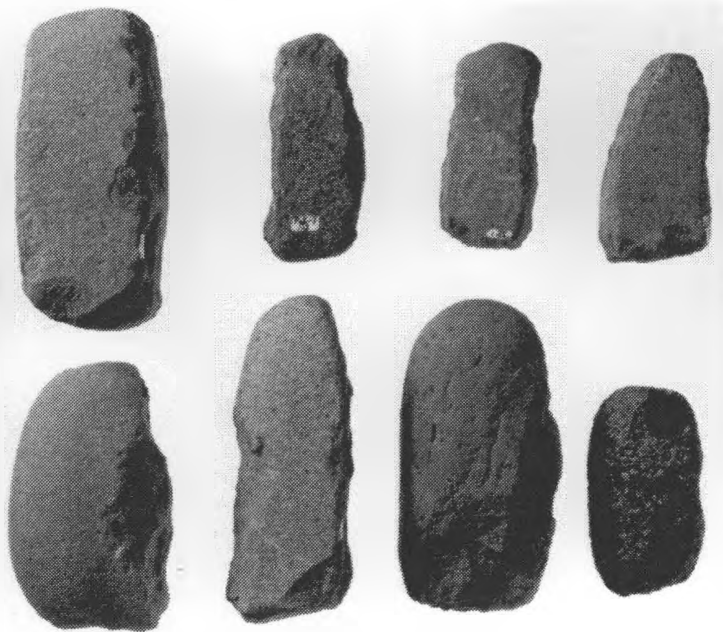


Figure 16:7. Edge Trimmed Grinders (Top Row) and Half-Edge Trimmed Grinders (Bottom Row) From FeSr 7.

until the 1910s (Hobler and Bedard 1990; Prince 1992:46). In the 1870s various government agencies, including the Canadian Pacific Railway, Royal Navy and Indian Affairs began a series of more intensive, but unsustainable contacts at Kimsquit with the intentions of pacification, assimilation and exploration for the purposes of developing aboriginal lands and administering to local populations (Prince 1992:48, 2002:54). Attempts at missionizing began in the 1880s from bases at Bella Coola and Bella Bella, and from the Methodist steamship *Glad Tidings* (Prince 2002:55; Kennedy and Bouchard 1990:337). Development eventually came to Kimsquit around 1900 in the form of two fish canneries rather than Euro-Canadian colonies (Hobler 1972:89). These ceased operation in the 1920s (Prince 1992:63; Pacific Fisherman Yearbook 1929:55-56).

Throughout the late 18th to mid 19th centuries, the presence of Europeans on the Central Coast did not present much of an intrusion to the Kimsquit people. The intention of fur traders was to conduct commerce, rather than to instill change (Fisher 1977). The Kimsquit people were involved in this commerce indirectly during the maritime fur trade, then at their own prerogative through trips to the land based fur trade posts. This is not to say that no changes occurred in aboriginal culture. The possible fission of Kimsquit communities at FeSr 4 and FeSr 6, and the oral traditions of the Istamx migrations are roughly coincident with the earliest European presence on the Central Coast. Throughout the Central Coast region, Hobler (1992) also noted a trend towards abandonment of the inner channel zone and suggests there may have been gravitation towards the outer coast to access trade. Coast wide epidemics of small pox have also been proposed for as early as the 1770s, with a well documented epidemic 1836-38 that may have reduced Bella Coola speaking populations by as much as 46% (Boyd 1990:137, 141). These events would surely have had significant consequences for regional balances of power and territorial and social boundaries, which have yet to be researched. The point I wish to make here is that whatever changes did occur were of aboriginal prerogative. To judge from the sparse European observations of Kimsquit

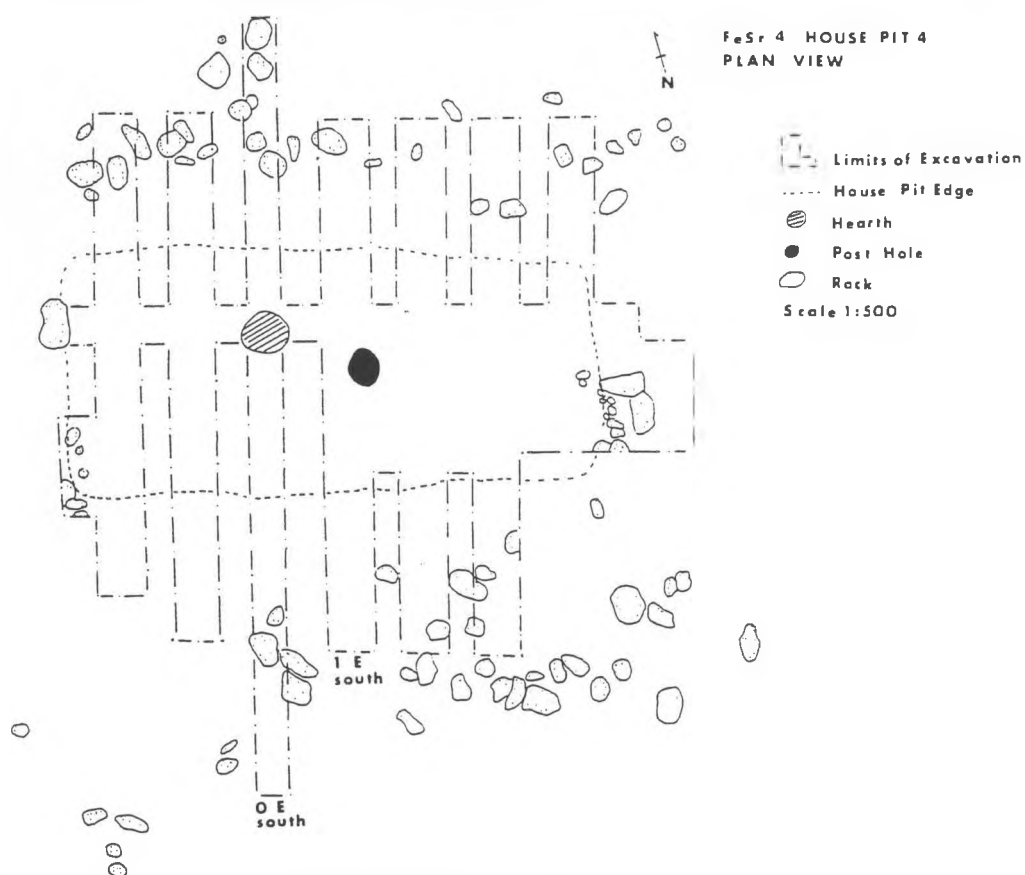


Figure 16:8 Planview of House-Pit 4, FeSr 4.



Figure 16:9. House-Pit 4, FeSr 4, Prior to Excavation. Photo: P.M. Hobler.

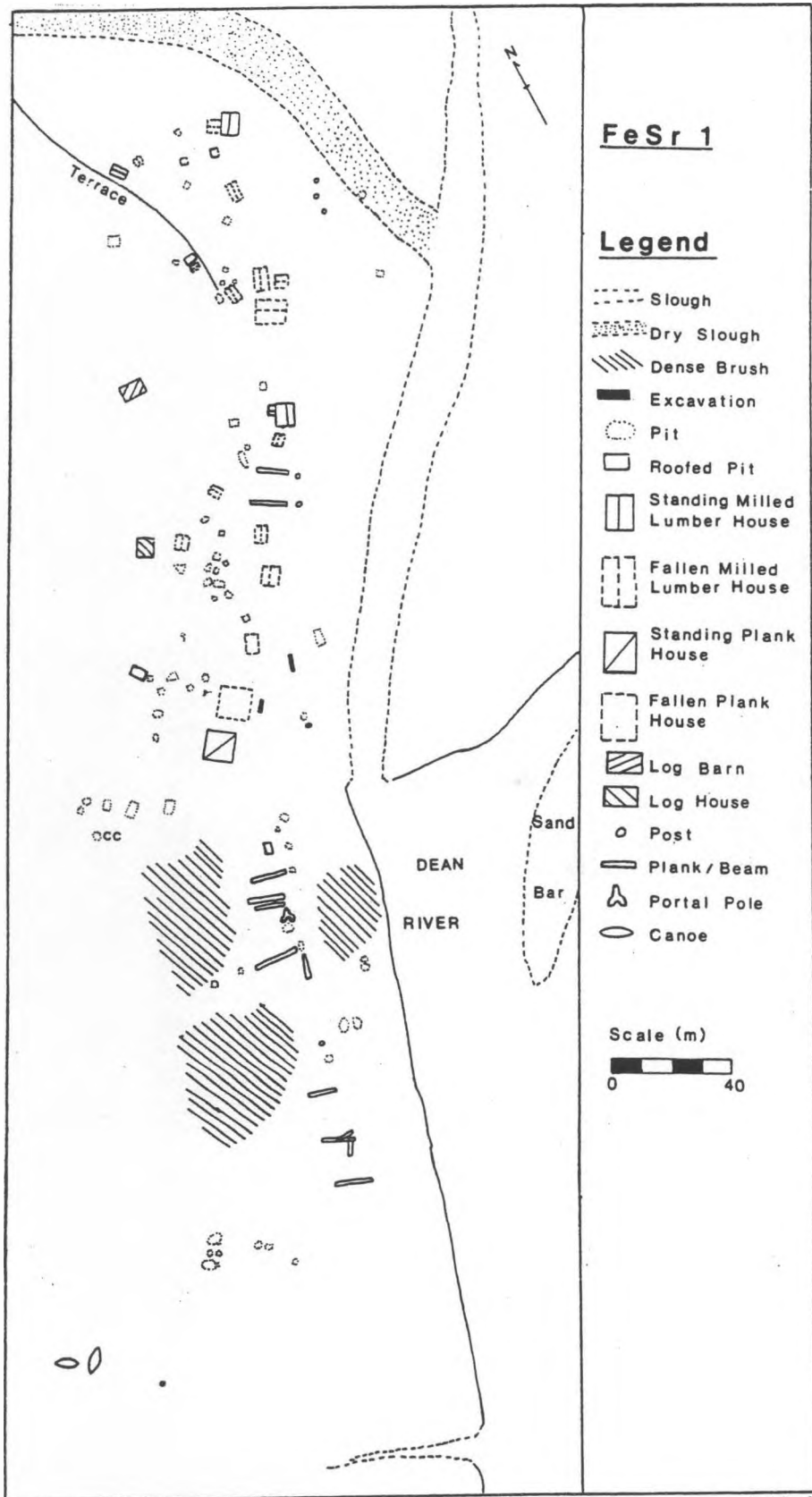


Figure 16:10. Map of FeSr 1.

they regarded the newcomers with caution and conservatism. Vancouver (1984 III:928-929) observed people at Kimsquit and nearby Skowquiltz, but was unable to coax them near. Kimsquit visitors at Fort McLoughlin in the 1830s seem to have been businesslike, and spent more time socializing with the Heiltsuk and other aboriginal groups than the Europeans (Tolmie 1963:307; Prince 1992:41-42). They probably regarded the European post as an opportunity to acquire new sources of wealth and to interact with their neighbours. Once Kimsquit was visited directly by steamship fur traders they are vividly described as a very conservative community. Fur trader Compton, who visited Kimsquit between 1859-62 by steam ship, described them as "most uncivilized", and their village as being "in a more filthy condition than that of any Indians I have ever met with" (1869:12). He further characterized all Bella Coola speakers as backwards, for instance wearing traditional clothing or only a blanket, and depending on hunting and gathering (1869:28-29). Soon after Compton made his observations, Native people on the Central Coast again suffered from a small pox epidemic (1862-63). Bella Coola populations may have been reduced by as much as 58 % (Boyd 1990:142). This event has been suggested to have ushered in a series of significant cultural "losses" in terms of traditions, knowledge and practices throughout aboriginal British Columbia (Fisher 1977). At Kimsquit, a reordering of settlement and population occurred, with the Kimsquit River (Satskwmx) local group abandoning their village on the Kimsquit River, and amalgamating with the Dean River Kimsquit (Sutslimx) at Anutlitx, but the two groups retained their respective lines of descent and rights to territories (McIlwraith 1948 I:18).

The Kimsquit continued to be regarded as reclusive, backwards and occasionally volatile throughout the 1870s-1920s (Smith 1874:42, 66; Canada 1900:267, 1903:262, 1904:298, 1915:98; Vancouver Daily World, Sept 13, 1913; Bella Coola Courier, May 26, 1917). The government made an attempt to stem this situation as early as 1877 when the Royal Navy shelled Anutlitx, based on allegations of piracy and murder (Harris 1877a, 1877b; Powell 1882), but in effect to demonstrate the consequences of nonconformity (Gough 1984). Despite this, and a growing economic dependence on wage labour at local fish canneries in the early 1900s, the European records indicate that until its eventual abandonment in the 1920s due to a dwindling population, Kimsquit exercised an unusual degree of autonomy. They refused a resident missionary (Canada 1900:263, 1903:262, 1904:298, 1905:271, 1915:88), declined western medicine (Edwards 1980:10; Canada 1897:88), and continued to potlatch (McIlwraith 1948 I:340). The Kimsquit also made bold requests of Indian agents including compensation for the shelling (Canada 1882:142; Powell 1882), the adoption of children to bolster their population (even specifying preferred race) (Canada 1901:271), and additional reserve lands (Canada 1916 I:255). At the same time they clung to traditional housing and residence patterns (Canada 1912:203; Figures 16:2, 16:3).

The Kimsquit seem to have been particularly assertive in their attitude towards Christianity. All indications are that Christianity was rejected outright until at least 1908. Censuses state they were all "pagans". From 1909-1912, they were suddenly enumerated as all Methodists; in 1913, they were once again listed as pagans, and from 1917-1924, the numbers suggest a gradual conversion (Prince 1992:60). The 1909-1912 censuses may simply be wrong, especially since the Reverend William Henry Pierce (1933:48) of the Bella Coola Mission reported that the Kimsquit never accepted Christianity. However, Reverend Thomas Crosby (1914:194) stated in his memoirs that at "Kimsquit, up the North Bentinck Arm, we have another little church". Although he placed it in the wrong location, he must have been referring to Kimsquit because he described the mission at Bella Coola, at the head of North Bentinck Arm in the previous paragraph. The McKenna-McBride reserves commission lists a church among the public buildings at Kimsquit in 1913 (Canada 1916 I:228), supporting Crosby's statement.

Perhaps the church operated from 1909-13, after which the congregation backslid. Bolt (1992) has described the Coast Tsimshian experiments with Crosby's Methodist mission, in the hope of being seen on equal footing with Euro-Canadian society, while milking new opportunities to protect their cultural identity. When these goals were not realized, Methodism was abandoned. A similar experiment with Methodism may have occurred at Kimsquit. Even if the adoption of Christianity were not such a calculated maneuver, it need not imply a complete conversion of faith. McIlwraith (1948 II:521) found that many "Christian" Nuxalk merely considered the Christian God as another being to enhance the Native pantheon. I have argued that this syncretism of religion occurred at Kimsquit and extended to the mortuary complex where Christian symbolism was incorporated alongside indigenous potlatch and clan images and long-held beliefs in the afterlife, and is thus consistent with the theme of cultural survival (Prince 2002). Even in abandoning their last village, the Kimsquit maintained a sense of identity by joining their kinsmen in Bella Coola, and exercising their rights to the Kimsquit and Dean rivers through trap lines (Bouchard et al. 1988:10) and eventually the establishment of a traditional cultural rediscovery camp.

Post-Contact Trends in Material Culture

In the material assemblages of the sites associated with European contact we see over time a decrease in the numbers of stone and bone artifacts, and increase in manufactured European items (Table 16:5). There is an emphasis on the recycling of metals in the early and middle stages of the contact process, especially at FeSr 7. I have argued that this pattern represents a gradual introduction of European trade goods in the late 18th to mid 19th centuries, with the selection of items occurring without pressure, and their reworking into ornaments and tools being governed by their fit with indigenous cultural categories (Prince 1992). Most of the objects of Euro-American material and Native manufacture (Table 16:6) have functional equivalents in stone or bone that have been found at Kimsquit or the Kwatna sites such as bone and shell pendants and rings for copper ornaments, bone for iron awls, ground and chipped stone projectile points for iron, bone and antler wedges and stone adzes for iron chisels, retouched and utilized flakes for copper blades and utilized scrap, and

debitage for metal scrap. There are few similarities in style or form between artifacts made of metal and those made of indigenous material, but as discussed below, there are strong functional similarities, which extend to the selection of items entirely of Euro-American manufacture as well.

To a certain extent, there is also a continuance of artifact manufacturing technology, with a transference to new material (sheet metal). Where recognizable, the most common method of reducing metal to a manageable size was by folding it back and forth until it broke (Table 16:7). Cutting with metal sheers occurred less frequently, and sawing is evident on only one item in a late context from FeSr 1. These methods are more likely to have been employed by Native craftsmen than by European metal smiths. The most common methods of shaping a piece of metal into its final artifact form included sharpening edges by abrasion; drilling or punching holes for suspension or attachment to another surface; rolling sheet metal into tubes; or a combination of the above methods (Table 16:8). A variation on the rolled copper technique was to fold over and flatten the edge of a sheet to produce a strong edge. Folding and flattening could be repeated to produce rod like strands that were annealed, as in examples from Nusqualst (Hobler and Bedard 1989). A nose ring from FeSr 4 may have been manufactured in this manner (Figure 16:11).

There are precedents for the metal working technology employed at Kimsquit. Cold hammering and annealing of native copper is known to have occurred on the Northwest Coast, so these methods and the material may not have been entirely foreign to the Kimsquit. More obvious resemblances to indigenous manufacture, however, are in the production of sharp edges by abrasion, as was practised on ground stone and bone, and perforating by

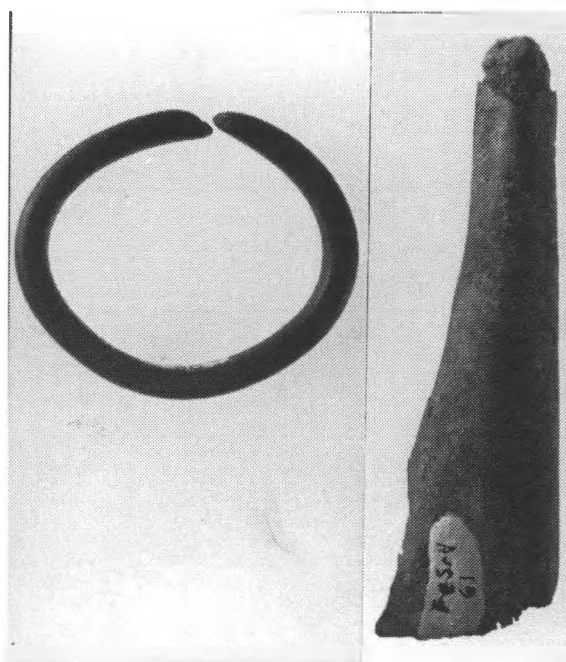


Figure 16:11. Nose Ring and Rolled Cone of Copper from FeSr 4.

punching, as was likely performed on hide, to judge from the incidence on the Central Coast of bone awls. Perhaps the greatest similarity between Native metal working and indigenous technology was the expedient manner in which usable pieces of sheet metal were produced, and the high frequencies of expedient flakes and adze fragments represented in the early components. This can be thought of as part of a process of recycling materials, also represented in the early assemblages. The samples from FeSr 5 and FeSr 4 are very small, but the sample from FeSr 7, includes a large amount of unutilized scrap, most of which is very small pieces of copper (averaging 2.81 x 2.32 cm), which were probably recycled several times

Table 16:5. Proportions of Major Artifact Classes in Excavated Kimsquit Sites.

Artifact Class	FeSr 1		FeSr 7		FeSr 4		FeSr 5	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Euro-American Manufacture	392	95.4	14	8.6			2	1.5
Euro Material Native Made	15	3.6	63	38.7	2	1.4	5	3.7
Local Material Native Made	4	1	86	52.8	142	98.6	129	94.8
Total	411	100	163	100.1	144	100	136	100

Table 16:6. Artifacts of Euro-American Material and Native Manufacture at excavated Kimsquit Sites.

Artifact Type	FeSr 1		FeSr 7		FeSr 4		FeSr 5	
	f	%	f	%	f	%	f	%
Ornaments								
Tinkling Cones	4	1	1	.6	1	.7		
Perforated Thimble			2	1.2				
Rod Armour			1	.6				
Wire Bead			1	.6				
Nose Ring					1	.7		
Finger Rings			2	1.2				
Spirals/ Hoops	2	.5						
Rolled Copper			3	1.8				
Incised Copper			1	.6				
Utilitarian								
Hooked Objects	2	.5						
Metal Patches	4	1						
Awl							1	.7
Projectile Point			1	.6				
Chisel			1	.6				
Formalized Blade			2	1.2				
Unformalized Blade			3	1.8				
Copper Rod							1	.7
Utilized Scrap			1	.6				
Unidentified								
Perforated Copper			2	1.2				
Shaped Objects			2	1.2				
Rolled & Folded Copper							2	1.5
Unutilized Scrap	3	.7	40	24.5			1	.7
Total	15	3.7	63	38.3	2	1.4	5	3.6

before being discarded or lost. I suggest these heavily used pieces of metal are analogous to the recycled and utilized greenstone adze flakes at the earlier sites.

The only significant technological replacement during these early to middle stages of culture contact would seem to have been reworked copper implements for stone adzes in the FeSr 7 assemblage, and this does not occur until metals were in seeming permanent supply from Fort McLoughlin and steam ships. These patterns are typical of situations of indirect and sporadic European contact (Bradley 1987; Vanstone and Townsend 1970; Rogers 1990). One of the interesting things about Kimsquit is that this phase in the material response to contact persisted so long. This is undoubtedly a function of the remote location of Kimsquit and a need to curate and recycle goods that were probably harder to attain than it was for their neighbours. It is also consistent with the selective attitude of the Kimsquit towards Europeans and a tendency to maintain established categories of material culture and the associated cultural activities, such as wood working, hunting and personal adornment and prestige.

By contrast, the archaeological assemblage of the late 19th and early 20th centuries at FeSr 1 shows a near total replacement of indigenous material culture by items entirely of Euro-American manufacture (Table 16:5). Some archaeological studies conclude that the adoption of Euro-American artifact forms without modification implies a higher degree of acculturative change, involving the adoption of new activities (Bradley 1987; White 1974). It has been noted, however, that Euro-American manufactured items can be put to uses contrary to what they were designed for, without modification, but totally consistent with Native values and practices (Wike 1951:95; Banta and Hinsley 1986:122; Prince 2002). Therefore, archaeologists need to carefully establish the contexts of exchange and use of Euro-American goods before interpreting their presence as indicating drastic change (Rogers 1990). In the case of FeSr 1, the sudden abundance of Euro-American goods corresponds to an increase in their availability in the late 19th century, with the opening of the Hudson's Bay Company store at Bella Coola, and then of fish cannery stores locally. Many of the items were probably adopted for their convenience over local manufacturing, their functional efficiency and perhaps as a matter of fashion. Many indigenous technological skills were lost (i.e. flint knapping) or fell into de-

Table 16:7. Methods of Reduction of locally made Metal Artifacts.

Site	Folding	Cutting	Cutting & Folding	Sawing	Unid.	Total
FeSr 1	1	7	1	1	5	15
FeSr 7	14	6	3		40	63
FeSr 4					2	2
FeSr 5	3		1		1	5
Total	18	13	5	1	48	85

cline (i.e., carving and weaving) during this period throughout the Northwest Coast (Duff 1964:76), and the same is true of Kimsquit. But when we consider the functions of new items there may not have been as much economic and social change as it would seem (Table 16:9; Figure 16:12).

The bulk of the manufactured goods at FeSr 1 are associated with woodworking and construction, activities of long importance, if we consider adzes and hammerstone grinders in the same category. The new building tools, hardware and fasteners were also adapted to "traditional", non-European projects, such as plank houses and grave houses (Prince 2002). Much of the remaining Euro-American material is of ambiguous significance. Many domestic items, ceramic tableware for instance, were valued historically within the Northwest Coast prestige system, especially as potlatch gifts (Blackman 1976; Marshall and Mauss 1997), while in everyday life in the 1920s, ceramics functioned as communal dishes among the Nuxalk (McIlwraith 1948 II:528), analogous to wooden vessels. Medicine bottle glass also makes a large part of the domestic refuse. As noted, traditional medicine was not entirely abandoned in favour of western practices. The Kimsquit people may also have used patented medicines for other purposes; several Indian agents noted intemperance (Canada 1904, 1906, 1912). The only items in the hunting group are rifle cartridge cases, re-

placing Native made projectiles and making a traditional activity more efficient (the earlier muskets never fully did). The clothing-adornment category includes pieces of everyday work clothes, which probably came into common use in the late 1870s or 1880s because of their convenience and the efforts of Indian Agents, missionaries and cannery operators who wanted Natives to at least look White. More strictly ornamental items in this category include glass trade beads and a brass brooch, which were inexpensive items, but may have adorned ceremonial regalia or other prestigious articles.

The practice of refashioning metal goods into useful implements and ornaments also continued at Anutltx, although to a much lesser extent than at Nutal. The persistence of this activity represents some continuance of not only technologies developed earlier, but of the importance of recycling, finding expedient material solutions to problems (i.e. metal patches) and the creation of ornamentation. Notably, the three artifacts of local material at FeSr 1 include a bone gaming piece, an item equated with the survival of Native enthusiasm for gambling (McIlwraith 1948 II:379). These trends in late 19th-early 20th century material culture are thus consistent with written impressions of the Kimsquit' selective attitude towards the adoption of Euro-Canadian culture and persistence of indigenous practices.

Conclusions

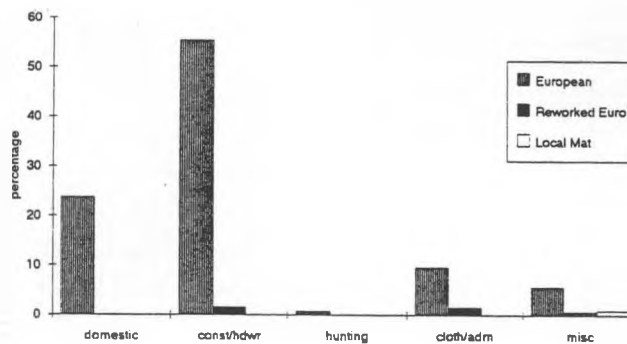
I have argued that the people of Kimsquit made a concerted effort to maintain a sense of cultural identity and coherency throughout the historic period. I think this is most strongly indicated in the written records of the late 1800s to 1920s, in the persistence of planked house architecture, and in the innovative incorporation of European elements within the mortuary complex (Prince 2002). The material excavated by Hobler also shows a gradual

Table 16:8. Methods of Shaping Locally Made Metal Artifacts

Site	Folding & Flattening	Rolling	Drilled Holes	Punched Holes	Abrading	Other	Ushaped	Total
FeSr 1		6		5		1	3	15
FeSr 7	2	7	1	3	5	3	42	63
FeSr 4		2						2
FeSr 5	3				1		1	5
Total	5	15	1	8	6	4	46	85

Table 16:9. Artifacts of Euro-American Manufacture at Excavated Kimsquit Sites

Artifact Type	FeSr 1		FeSr 7		FeSr 5	
	f	%	f	%	f	%
Domestic						
Bottle Glass	57	13.9				
Ceramics	33	8				
Spoons	3	0.7				
Clock Parts	2	0.5				
Woodstove	1	0.2				
Iron Cauldron			2	1.2		
Kerosene Lamp	2	0.5				
Construction-Hardware						
Cut Nails	188	45.7				
Wire Nails	21	5.1				
Wrought Nails	2	0.5				
Screws	2	0.5				
Tacks	5	1.2				
Axe Head	1	0.2				
Bail Fastener	1	0.2				
Saw Blade	1	0.2				
Flat Glass	1	0.2	5	3.1		
Lock Plate	1	0.2				
Key	1	0.2	1	0.6		
Door Knob	1	0.2				
Hinge	3	0.7				
Barrel Strap	1	0.2				
Hunting Group						
Cartridge Cases	3	0.7				
Gunflints			3	1.8	1	0.7
Butt Plate			1	0.6		
Clothing Adornment						
Buttons	20	4.9	2	1.2		
Beads	16	3.9			1	0.7
Boot Eye	1	0.2				
Brooch	1	0.2				
Safety Pin	1	0.2				
Buckle	1	0.2				
Miscellaneous	23	5.6				
Total	392	95.4	14	8.5	2	1.4

**Figure 16:12. Proportions of Artifacts by Functional Group Category at FeSr 1.**

and selective incorporation of Euro-Canadian material culture, proceeding through a phase of treating trade goods essentially as a raw material to be adapted to forms of Native design, and ending with the use of predominantly un-modified manufactured goods within indigenously meaningful contexts.

I have argued further that the cultural principles governing adoption, modification and manipulation of Euro-Canadian material culture were formed over the long-term. I attempted to isolate some of the continuities between clearly post-contact and earlier practices and attitudes to material expression at Kimsquit. This includes the recycling of lithics in late prehistory and of trade metals throughout contact, employing some of the same technological principles on both materials and using odd pieces for expedient purposes.

In many respects, Kimsquit always stood out from its neighbours, with a cultural identity that was deemed worth preserving, although with some redefinition, throughout the contact period. This trait is most notable in the emphasis on flaked stone technology, edge trimming of hammerstone grinders and construction of rectangular semi-subterranean houses before contact and during its early to middle stages. Arguably, such differences in material expression and the social and economic structures behind them both influenced the degree and nature of Euro-Canadian contact and are consistent with the Kimsquit people's response to the problems and opportunities it brought. Whether one agrees with my interpretations, the local and regional patterns I have discussed demonstrate one of the many values of Hobler's research. Without his detailed sampling and well grounded syntheses of the many geographic and temporal contexts of cultural remains throughout the Central Coast, we would not be able to isolate, compare and interpret long-term trends such as occur at Kimsquit.