

Clocks, Lamps, Cups and Stuff: Nineteenth Century Ceramic Use Among the Heiltsuk

ALEX MAAS

Introduction

This study provides an analysis and interpretation of a 19th century ceramic assemblage from Fort McLoughlin-Old Bella Bella (FaTa 4), a Heiltsuk-European contact site on the outer Central Coast of British Columbia. Fort McLoughlin, a short lived Hudson's Bay Company fur trade post built in 1833 on Campbell Island in Lama Passage and abandoned ten years later in 1843, was the impetus for the coalescence of the Heiltsuk community known as Old Bella Bella. The community grew up around the fort and survived its abandonment by almost 60 years. European trade goods, including ceramics, were available through the Hudson Bay Company and other suppliers throughout the history of the community. Excavated in 1982 by Philip Hobler, the assemblage under examination is comprised of ceramics recovered from three separate components at Old Bella Bella: the fort compound, a traditional Heiltsuk house, and a later small single family Heiltsuk house (Hobler et al. 1983). The overall objective of this study is to use this assemblage as a database from which to examine inter-ethnic dynamics and the processes by which European goods were adopted and integrated into traditional Heiltsuk society.

The Central Coast, specifically that area of coastal British Columbia between Douglas Channel to the north and Rivers Inlet to the south is approximately 240 km in length (Figure 18:1). Archaeological interest in the area began with Drucker's surveys and excavations in the late 1930's. It has continued and intensified, particularly in the last two decades, with work done by researchers associated with Simon Fraser University and others (Drucker 1943, 1950; Apland 1974; Hill and Hill 1974; Carlson 1976; Hester 1978; Luebbers 1978; Pomeroy 1980; Hobler et al. 1983; Streich

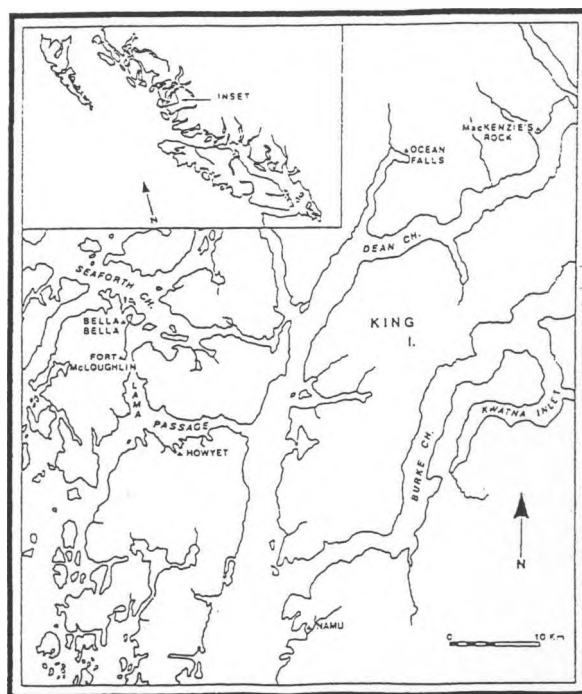


Figure 18:1. Excavated Central Coast Sites.

1983; and Cannon 1989). A number of these investigations have identified historic components and several have produced ceramic collections. Notable in this context are the excavations done by Carlson (1976) and Hobler et al. (1983, 1989) in the Bella Coola and Bella Bella regions and Prince's study of Hobler's excavation data from Kimsquit [this vol.]. Despite the body of work already accumulated, little research pertaining to the specific study of ceramics has been done for the Central Coast, and archaeological collections of ceramics from the area have remained largely unexamined. This study attempts to provide an initial contribution to such an analysis.

Of particular relevance to this study is the work of three researchers: Richard Lueger (1981), Louise Jackson (1991), and Yvonne Marshall (1993). With this work, a pattern for the incorporation of 19th century ceramics at

contact sites has begun to emerge and the potential of ceramics for archaeological interpretation is beginning to be recognized.

Lueger's (1981) study of the ceramic collection from the village of Yuquot on the west coast of Vancouver Island is based on excavations at Yuquot in 1966. Two distinct historic components were found. The first dates to the Spanish occupation of the site in 1789 when it had been abandoned by the Nuu-chah-nulth. This component included Mexican Majolica and coarse Hispano-Mexican earthenware. The second component, which is more similar to the Old Bella Bella collection, represented the Nuu-chah-nulth reoccupation subsequent to 1795 and consists in large part of late 19th and early 20th century tablewares from Britain and, to a lesser extent, other parts of Europe (Lueger 1981). Through ceramic analysis Lueger was able to confirm, archaeologically, the presence of the 18th century Spanish garrison, and show transitions in the domestic and social lives of Nuu-chah-nulth communities in the 19th and 20th centuries.

To the north in southwestern Alaska, Jackson (1991) reanalyzed ceramic collections from six sites excavated in the 1960s (Oswalt and Vanstone 1967; Townsend 1970; Oswalt 1980). The Alaskan ceramics are also late 19th and early 20th century wares. As stratigraphy was shallow at the Alaskan sites, the authors hoped to use British ceramics to establish a chronology and a settlement pattern. Further, they hoped to examine changes in First Nations technology.

At the time of the original investigation in the 1960s, comparative material for the identification of ceramic patterns had not yet been collected, and analysis of the sherds did not progress beyond initial classifications into ware types. Two decades later Jackson (1991) was able to identify the sherds according to a system of decorative types and pattern designs and to establish both a chronological and interpretive key to explain settlement patterns and cultural dynamics.

Yvonne Marshall (1993) made surface collections of ceramics from 17 Vancouver Island sites in the Mowachaht and Muchalaht areas, and established a ceramic chronology for the sites based upon 19th and 20th century decorative types. Her examination of vessel function also mirrored the interest in ceramic selection and use that was a part of the previous studies. As a direct result of this approach, these studies were able to examine cultural dynamics and lifestyles through the analysis of ceramic refuse.

The Problem

For the Heiltsuk the use of fur trade goods intensified with the establishment of Fort McLoughlin in 1834. However, it is unlikely that major changes in the Heiltsuk cultural system occurred during the fort's brief existence (Hobler 2000, Harkin 1988). Between abandonment of the fort in 1843 and the 1880s, access to European trade goods was via steamship and consequently more intermittent. The adoption and incorporation of domestic items of European material culture expanded in the 1880s with the opening of the salmon canneries, the subsequent transition to wage labour, and the arrival of Methodist missionaries at Old Bella Bella (Crosby 1914; Pierce 1933). Hobler (2000) has hypothesized a rapid replacement of much of Heiltsuk material culture with European items during this period. Further, the shift in economic and material relations, and the missionary presence, resulted in major changes to social, economic and religious aspects of Heiltsuk culture (Olson 1954, 1955). The majority of these changes took place in the 30 years between 1870 and 1900 (Drucker 1950; Olson 1955; Hobler et al. 1983). The initial incorporation of European goods into the Heiltsuk material culture inventory and later adjustments in the social, economic and religious spheres of Heiltsuk society are intertwined in complex ways.

This complexity is illustrated by the transition in Heiltsuk architectural styles (Hobler 1983; 1987). Within a few years of the establishment of the mission in 1880 the entire population moved from large communal residences to small European style single family homes. Tolmie's 1835 census showed some 25 or more people per household (Tolmie 1963: 306). By the early 20th century the average had become four per home (Large 1909: 8-10). While signs of culture change, such as the rapid appearance of European architectural styles, are apparent, the motivations for these changes are complex and their explanation may be more than archaeological investigation alone can decipher. They require an explanation that attempts to understand change in the full historical context. Having said this, it must be borne in mind that 19th century historic documents for the Central Coast carry their own biases and are influenced by European secular and religious attitudes (Crosby 1914). The archaeological record has the potential to balance this bias and to provide a kind of objectivity.

Archaeologists have often made reference to utility theory in offering explanations for the adoption of new items of material culture. The explorer and trader, John Meares (1967), notes trade in ceramics as early as 1789. And yet their function in the Heiltsuk material inventory could not have been primarily expedient. Why then were ceramics of interest from the earliest days of the Maritime fur trade? If practicality was not the prime motivation, perhaps ceramics have a potential to offer broader insights into the dynamics of Heiltsuk cultural change. In a recent archaeological study of Arikara contact relations, Daniel Rogers (1987:226) has suggested that:

Another means of monitoring the relationship between material change and social dynamics, in very particular instances, is to consider the role played by individual ethno-historically documented artifacts. Such an undertaking is different from the general category approaches cited above, in that it is applied under limited and very controlled circumstances. Furthermore, it is not an attempt to correlate material and social change at a general undifferentiated level. From an individual artifact class point of view it would, for instance, be useful to establish the link between items known to be of consistent worth, or that were in demand on the basis of cultural preference alone, with the observed archaeological usage of these objects.

Ceramics may be considered an example of an item of European material culture that was clearly "in demand on the basis of cultural preference alone" in the sense that European ceramics provided no apparent utilitarian improvement over indigenous equivalents. The Heiltsuk material inventory included a complete complement of wooden and stone cooking and eating utensils adapted to the specific requirements of Northwest Coast consumption customs (Drucker 1950). As I will show, particular kinds of European ceramic vessels were in demand because they had qualities that made them useful in a different way, a way which was nevertheless consistent with already existing Heiltsuk material culture categories. What these qualities were and how they fit into the larger ideological construction of Heiltsuk culture is a major theme of this study.

More specifically, Terry Klein (1991), in his examination of consumer behavior models for the study of ceramics at mid 19th century sites in the United States, has suggested that archaeologists often extrapolate from a given

ceramic assemblage to general statements on the social and economic status of the site occupants. His review of the models used to explain purchasing patterns suggests that many diverse and interrelated variables play a part. He (Klein 1991:88) states:

Given the heterogeneity of 19th century society, this jump from ceramic vessels to the behavior of social or economic groups has no solid basis

He recommends that the research be limited to "household specific contexts" as the most appropriate level at which to conduct this kind of analysis. By building on findings from a number of household studies, it may then be possible to draw broader conclusions regarding social or economic behavior (Klein 1991).

The ceramic assemblage from Old Bella Bella is well suited to such small-scale analysis. It is composed of vessels from two different kinds of Heiltsuk houses, and the Hudson's Bay Company fort compound, later the site of an independent trading post. Both of the latter served as a source of supply for the village. Therefore, following on from Klein's argument, I have attempted to explain the archaeological evidence by situating ceramic adoption and use in the larger 19th century Heiltsuk social and economic context.

This study is greatly facilitated by the use of local company requisitions and inventories. These supply much of the detailed information needed to interpret the archaeological record. Records are available for the trading posts at Old Bella Bella and Bella Coola in the late 1870s and early 1880s (Feak 1870; H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-82; Kennedy 1877; Charles 1883). This was an important transitional period during which salmon canneries were established and Methodist missionaries and government agents arrived in the community for the first time (Crosby 1914; Pierce 1933).

Objectives and Hypotheses

The words "adoption" and "use" reflect the objectives of this study. The word "adoption" raises a question about the progression of ceramic use as a gradual process over the course of several decades, and therefore implies a time-depth study. Much of current research in ceramics (Klein 1991, Jackson 1991), poses questions about the role ceramics played initially in First Nations-European trade and how ceramics came to be a part of the exchange process. For example, in Southwestern Alaska, Jackson (1991) has shown that

tea was the vehicle by which ceramics first came to be used in a First Nations-Russian trading context. In contrast Burley (1989:97) found that in the case of the Metis of the Northwestern Canadian Plains ceramic use originated "with an initial concern for female status and etiquette in Red River fur trade society" and ultimately functioned in the spheres of social organization and integration. It is important to ask how and why ceramics became an item of trade, what kind of selection process determined the items available through Hudson's Bay Company supplies and how this changed over time.

The second key word, "use" raises the question of the function or meaning of ceramics in their adopted context. Once something is known about which types of ceramics were, or were not, being selected, questions can be asked about their sphere of use in the overall pattern of Heiltsuk material culture. As a result, three objectives are identified for this study:

1. The description and analysis of the Old Bella Bella ceramic assemblage.
2. The establishment of a ceramic chronology with which to verify the integrity of the assemblage and test the proposed settlement sequence for the site.
3. The examination of the process of adoption and function of ceramics in Heiltsuk culture in the last half of the 19th century.

Historical Overview

The 1982 excavations at Old Bella Bella and Fort McLoughlin were conducted at the first major European trading centre on the Central Coast. Fort McLoughlin, built by the Hudson Bay Company in 1833, was one in a series of coastal forts established by the Company in the early decades of the century, in an attempt to better monopolize the Coastal trade, much of which was being lost to the Americans. There was no previous Heiltsuk settlement at the site (Tolmie 1963), nor did archaeological excavation discover any indication of a prehistoric component (Hobler et al. 1983).

The history of the town began when a process of nucleation by several of the Heiltsuk bands took place in Lama Passage at the beginning of the 19th century. This partly aggregated population moved to McLoughlin Bay shortly after the fort was built in 1833. William Fraser Tolmie (1963), trader and physician at Fort McLoughlin from 1833 to 1836

notes the initial appearance of Heiltsuk residences in his diary in the mid 1830s. The village consisted of a row of large traditional houses that had grown up along the beach front on either side of the fort where they can be seen in the earliest photographs of the town in the 1870s. Occupation of the site continued and developed over the rest of the century despite the abandonment of the fort in 1843

Historic records for the town are scant between fort abandonment in 1843, and 1880 when the mission was established. Excavation has shown that European trade goods began to enter the archaeological record in quantity once Fort McLoughlin was established. The fort's existence was short lived and abandonment took place only ten years after its inception. Trade was continued in the ensuing period via the Company's steamship "The Beaver", but in much diminished quantity. With the fort's closing the Heiltsuk's initial position of primacy in the Central Coast fur trade ended (Hilton 1990).

In 1866 Morris Moss, an independent trader, opened a small trading post on the site of the original Fort McLoughlin and was supplied with goods for trade by the Hudson's Bay Company (Hobler 2000). Four years later the Company reasserted their claim by taking over Moss' business through their trading store at Bella Coola. This situation continued until the Hudson's Bay Company sold both the Bella Bella and Bella Coola stores to John Clayton, a former employee, in the 1880s (Charles 1883; Kopas 1970).

By 1877 the Heiltsuk had made the transition to a cash economy. In that year the Hudson's Bay Company ceased to engage in any form of exchange except that done with cash, credit, or furs at the trading posts in Bella Bella and Bella Coola. Previously the Company had accepted their own blankets in trade for other goods at the posts (Charles 1877). As the fur market was by now in decline, the new company policy encouraged wage employment as the means to the necessary cash to purchase goods at the trading posts. By 1880 the post requisitions for Bella Bella note a dramatic increase in the sale of household items and building materials (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). A salmon cannery opened in Rivers Inlet in 1883 employing both men and women and by the 1890s almost the entire Heiltsuk population was so employed (Crosby 1883). Throughout this period, the missionary log-book makes ongoing reference to the desertion of the village during the canning season (Bella Bella Mission Journal 1880-1924).

In 1880, a Methodist mission was established in the village. The missionary logbook records that the Reverends Crosby and Tate along with Mrs. Tate arrived accompanied by a large load of milled lumber in September of 1880 (Bella Bella Mission Journal 1880-1924). Immediate construction of a mission house was begun and was soon followed by various other European style buildings. Construction soon included more than 30 small frame houses and eventually a full sized church (Figure 18:3). By the end of the 1890s further expansion had been thwarted because large portions of the southern half of the bay, on which much of the original Heiltsuk settlement had grown up, was owned by the operator of the trading post, John Clayton. At this point, the whole village, was abandoned. In a short time residents moved 2 km up Lama Passage to the new town site of Waglisla.

Following a smallpox epidemic in 1862-1863, the Heiltsuk population was reduced from 1300, estimated by Tolmie in 1835 (1963: 320), to 300 individuals by the 1890s (Large 1968: 5). Previous epidemics in the late 18th century and early decades of the 19th century had already taken their toll and the 1835 figure cannot be considered representative of the pre-contact Heiltsuk population (Boyd 1990:137). Shortly after the epidemic began in 1868, Thomas Crosby, head of the Methodist missionary effort in British Columbia, traveled the Pacific Coast administering smallpox vaccines. It was during this trip that he first understood the need that could be filled by medical missionaries (Crosby 1914).

These facts in combination inclined some Central Coast communities to look to Europeans for "both a cause and a cure" (Harkin 1988: 201) and set the stage for the beginning of missionary programs on the North Pacific Coast. By the early 1870s, events had culminated in what the Methodists referred to as an "evangelist revival" (Crosby 1914) that began in Victoria and spread to many First Nations communities in all parts of British Columbia over the next two decades. By 1880, after some hesitation on the part of the Heiltsuk, Crosby had assigned the Reverend Tate and his wife to establish the Bella Bella mission at the invitation of the Chiefs (Pierce 1933). By the early 1890s the Bella Bella Mission had become a centre for Methodist missionary activity on the Central Coast.

As with other parts of the Coast, a new social mobility arose due to access to cash and created opportunities for ceremonial display and social advancement (Codere 1961). This

was largely because the devastation of smallpox and other epidemics resulted in a shortage of appropriate inheritors for traditional chiefly positions. For the first time, by the early 20th century, women among the related Oowekeno had been given certain ceremonial roles not normally allowed to them because there were no men to inherit the right (Stevenson n.d.:88). The disruption in social organization was further reflected in the restructuring of household living arrangements and the move to single family residences.

Agnes Knight, a young unmarried missionary woman, arrived in Bella Bella from the relatively pastoral reaches of Southern Ontario in 1885 on her way to Port Simpson to take up her new position as Matron at the "Crosby Home for Native Girls". In her *Reminiscences* she notes that, in her estimation, Bella Bella was one of the "prettiest Indian villages on the Coast" because (Knight n.d. 10):

The huge old houses in which they lived in the old heathen days had even then been replaced by neat cottages and a wide wooden sidewalk which made it quite pleasant to go visiting from house to house. In some of the heathen villages one has to go through mud or clamber over a rocky beach to get about at all.

A dramatic decline in the Heiltsuk population during the 1860s and 1870s was followed by a fundamental change from communal to nuclear living. An average of 25 persons per household was reduced to four persons per household (Tolmie 1963: 306, Large 1909: 8-10). Although the missionaries encouraged this transition, it was made possible by the population decline and the advent of new material relations. Traditionally the larger family lineage had been solely responsible for the organization of production and consumption. With the opening of the salmon cannery and new social mobility brought about by access to wage employment, single families were in a position to establish independent households.

In 1881, barely a year after the Reverend Tate's arrival, the Heiltsuk Chief Hae'mzit took the opportunity of a visit by superintendent of Indian Affairs, I.W. Powell, to request that a saw mill be built so that they might cut the lumber for new houses (Canada 1882 in Harkin 1988: 295). For the Methodists, saw mills were integral to their campaign for acculturation. It was with some satisfaction that Crosby (1914:75) wrote of the changes brought about by the successful establishment of the nearby mill:

The saw mill that had been built started a new state of things in that once heathen village. A great number of families now began, out of their small savings, to put up little "Christian" homes, of three or four rooms each, and thus got out of the old heathen lodges or community houses, where four or five families had often been herded together. This entailed much work in preparing plans for houses and streets. This continued for some years until the village began to show a quietly civilized appearance. Finally every heathen house was removed and nearly every family, by their own industry, had a nice, little, separate home. In later years a much better class of house was built, and we could say we had a Christian village.

These changes had broad ramifications for Heiltsuk material culture, including the adoption and use of a variety of European household items, including ceramics.

Archaeological Research

The excavations at Old Bella Bella were a joint project of the Heiltsuk Band and Simon Fraser University. Band members were involved at all stages of the project including the planning and later field work. The Heiltsuk Cultural Education Centre provided much of the organizational support and invaluable access to their well documented archival files. The Band Council gave official support to the project in the form of permission to excavate. During early discussions with the committee of Elders the archaeologists asked about their reasons for wanting the site excavated. In response, one of the older women joked that they were interested in the kinds of china patterns their ancestors had used (Hobler pers. com. 1994).

Site Description

The 1982 excavation of Old Bella Bella was intended to explore each aspect of the 19th century occupation. The original site extended about 600 meters along the beach front and comprised roughly 50,000 sq. m. in size. The excavated area represented approximately 1% of the total remains. Excavations were carried out in three areas of the site. The goal of the excavators was to examine each area for architectural remains and material culture (Hobler, Pyszczyk, Horsfall, Streich 1982). The excavated structural remains include the palisade and structures of Fort McLoughlin (Units 1 through 18), one of the traditional Heiltsuk houses (Units 31-49), and one of the

small single family Heiltsuk residences built of milled lumber (Units 50-61) (Figure 18:2). Units 19 through 30 were intended to test the projected areas of the church, school, and mission house. The field work produced quantities of ceramics (Table 18:1). Ceramic assemblages from the communal Heiltsuk household and the later nuclear family household are indicative of ceramic use in two very different types of households. The nature of these household changes, particularly with reference to changing architectural styles and population demographics has been explored respectively by Hobler (2000) and Harkin (1988).

In Hobler's analysis archival photographs, dating from the 1870s, were used to infer the origins of the settlement at Old Bella Bella (2000). One can see that the village had extended from the river on the south end of McLoughlin Bay northward along the beach some two thirds of the way to the north end of the bay. Hobler suggested that the gap in the distribution of the traditional long houses in the 1870s photographs represents the beach

Table 18:1. Excavation Areas.

| Type of Feature | Excavation Unit | Ceramics recovered |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Fort structures and Palisade | 1 through 18 | N=152 |
| Traditional House | 31 through 49 | n=58 |
| Frame House | 50 through 61 | n=272 |
| Trading Store | Surface Collection | n=40 |

frontage from the original Fort that had been abandoned some 30 years at the time. The large clearing located approximately in the middle of the photograph shows the location of the original fort compound. The excavators postulated that the small store built in 1866 had been situated in the middle of the original fort compound. By this time no indication of any remaining fort structures could be seen in the photographs. Hobler's analysis of the archival photographs confirms the rapid shift in settlement pattern and house types after 1880. In less than two decades traditional houses were almost completely replaced by small frame built houses. By the end of the century the community had outgrown the site and the decision was made to relocate the community 2 kilometers up Lama Passage to the present day site of Waglisla.

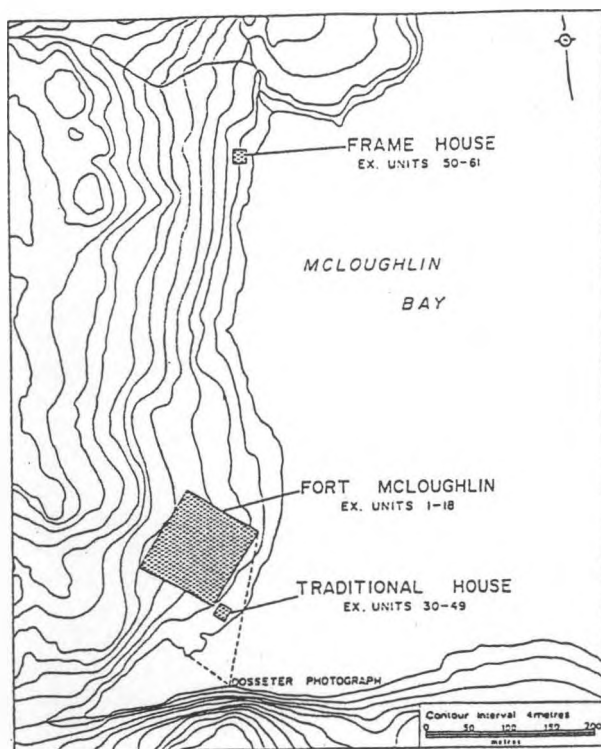


Figure 18:2. Excavated areas, FaTa 4. From Hobler et al. 1983.

The Traditional House

The location of the traditional house was determined using a technique that employed an enlarged archival photograph fixed to a plane table that had been set up over the spot from which the photograph had originally been taken (Hobler et al. 1983). The excavated house is likely the second one on the left of the fence surrounding the store (Figure 18:3). Surface clearing revealed several superimposed shallow drifts cut into a slope at the back of the house. These indicate attempts to level the site and may indicate a sequence of structures or modifications to the original house. Local informants state that no long-houses remained in this area of the site by the 1890s. A variety of surface features indicated a brief 20th century occupation unrelated to the large plank house. The general area of the house was numbered unit 30 for the cataloguing of surface finds. Excavated units were numbered 31 to 48, for a total of 18 units, which produced 3321 artifacts.

Several utilized obsidian flakes were likely made during the historic occupation. Quantities of window and bottle glass as well as glass beads, iron nails and miscellaneous iron fragments, copper (ornaments and construction materials), brass (ammunition), ceramics (vessels and pipe fragments), hide (shoes), flint (gun parts), and animal and plant fibres were recovered.



Figure 18:3. Photograph of Old Bella Bella, early 1880s by Dossetter (B.C.P.A. B-3570).

The Frame House

Most of the frame houses were built on the upper and lower terraces above the beach at the north end of the bay. Much of the area was logged in the 1970s and large portions of the residential remains were destroyed. An undisturbed area was located on an upper terrace 175 to 300 M north of the site datum. The remains of at least three houses were identified by standing and fallen floor support posts, fallen beams, rock features and artifacts found on the surface and in the littermat. The most complete of these three was designated unit 91. Surface clearing revealed the remains of a brick chimney, scattered brick, and a rock wall. However, it proved more difficult than anticipated to define the exact boundaries of the house due to missing posts and the ambiguity of a number of the architectural features. Houses tended not to be built directly on the ground due to the uneven and rocky nature of the terrain in this area of the site. Instead floors were supported by pilings. This was a distinct break from the Heiltsuk pattern of ground level houses with earthen floors. Excavation units were numbered 50 through 60 and produced a total of 2085 artifacts. The surface collection produced 74 artifacts.

Fort McLoughlin

Excavations in the area of the fort focused on identifying architectural remains with the goal of defining the original boundaries of the compound and fort palisade. Little is known about construction techniques for coastal forts and the excavators hoped to determine how the demands of a coastal terrain and availability of different sizes and kinds of timber affected construction methods relative to those of interior forts. A grid coordinate system was established for the fort area with a permanent datum (00 m) marked by a buried metal bar at 10.92 m above the tide level and tied to two permanent landmarks. Both landmarks were marked by metal bolts. All excavation units, numbered 1 through 18, were dug in 10 cm levels, and all matrix was screened through quarter inch mesh screen. Total artifacts for this area numbered 2434.

Surface features include a large row of rocks extending across the southern section of the area thought to represent support for the fort's southern palisade wall. Three long test units were excavated in the east and north, as well as in the south areas of the grounds, in an effort to locate fort boundaries in these areas.

The southern back corner of the fort was most easily discerned because it had been dug and probably blasted into the hillside. A clear double ditch gives evidence of the front half of the north side palisade. The southwest area of the compound was investigated for evidence of the west wall. This area was also defined by a row of rocks and surface depressions extending at right angles to the southern rock feature. This was the location of the later 1866 trading store and many surface features and artifacts were evident in the area. Surface collections were made but excavations in this area were not done as the original fort occupation was the primary focus of investigation.

Within the fort compound the soil matrix was composed of 60 % angular medium sized gravel mixed with soil and organic material. This differed distinctly from the natural stratigraphy outside of the fort compound, indicating that gravel had been imported likely for the purpose of leveling the building site. Two types of stratigraphy were evident in excavated units within the compound. Within units near the stone wall feature (4, 5, 8, 10, 11) artifacts were found in the top 10-15 cm of the matrix. Units further away from the wall (6, 7, 9) produced cultural remains throughout the entire 30-35 cm depth of the gravel matrix indicating disturbance. Excavators postulated that later plowing for gardens in these areas had mixed artifacts throughout the matrix and destroyed much of the structural evidence of the original fort.

Ceramic Collection and Analysis

The collection consists of 522 sherds. After cataloguing, sherds were sorted by unit number and excavation area. Each sherd is described by decorative style, vessel type, paste, and where identifiable, pattern name. This facilitated computer sorting by area and vessel type. As sherds were cross mended, a record was made of all the catalogue numbers related to each vessel, and a number was then assigned to each vessel. After cross mending, 99 individual vessels were identified.

In general the ceramics range in fabric from a coarse buff coloured earthenware to high-fired stoneware and highly decorated semi-vitrified ware. The most common fabric found across the site as a whole was white transfer printed earthenware (Figure 18:4). Stonewares consisted primarily of high fired utilitarian vessels, crocks and jars, all of which are classified as crockery. Semi-vitrified ceramics tend to be high fired ironstone which

was a Staffordshire innovation and response to competition from the French porcelain market in the 19th century. A small number of Asian and other unidentified sherds were present.

The data from the collection and their archaeological context are supplemented by Hudson's Bay Company inventories available for the seven years between 1876 and 1882 (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). This analysis is further supported by archival and historical records to provide a broad picture of ceramic adoption and use in Heiltsuk material culture.

The ceramic collection from Old Bella Bella is analyzed first from the point of view of its technical and stylistic attributes and then from the perspective of the distribution of these traits over the various parts of the site. In

building a methodology to interpret this research, I started with the larger question of why ceramics were initially adopted into Heiltsuk culture. Traditionally the Heiltsuk produced no ceramic vessels. Cooking was done in wooden and bark containers with the aid of heated rocks. Carved wooden dishes, many very elaborate in design, were used for eating and drinking. Thus, this study must ask what kinds of ceramics were initially selected, and when and how these ceramics became a part of Heiltsuk material culture. Specifically, how was the function of European ceramics distinct from indigenous equivalents, and how or did they replace traditional Heiltsuk cooking and eating utensils?

A preliminary analysis of the collection indicated that vessels associated with each of the three excavated areas: the fort compound, the traditional house, and the frame house, showed different patterns of ceramic distribution (Belokrinicev 1982). Since each of these areas of the site represent different times and activities I hypothesized that further analysis might shed light on Heiltsuk-European trade relations and socio-functional motivations as they pertained to ceramic use. To this end, a more detailed examination of the collection based on decorative style and vessel function was conducted. My chronology uses a combination of decorative types and specific pattern identifications. (This was important for the purposes of ensuring that results of the vessel form analysis for each component of the site were representative of those components.) Combined with an examination of the historical documentation, this allowed for a reconstruction of the events relating to the use of the various parts of the site and to the adoption and use of European ceramics by the Heiltsuk during the latter part of the 19th century.

A perennial question concerns the integrity of the site and the possibility of mixing (Hobler et al. 1983). Could refuse from one area have made its way to other parts of the site during occupation or afterward? This problem is

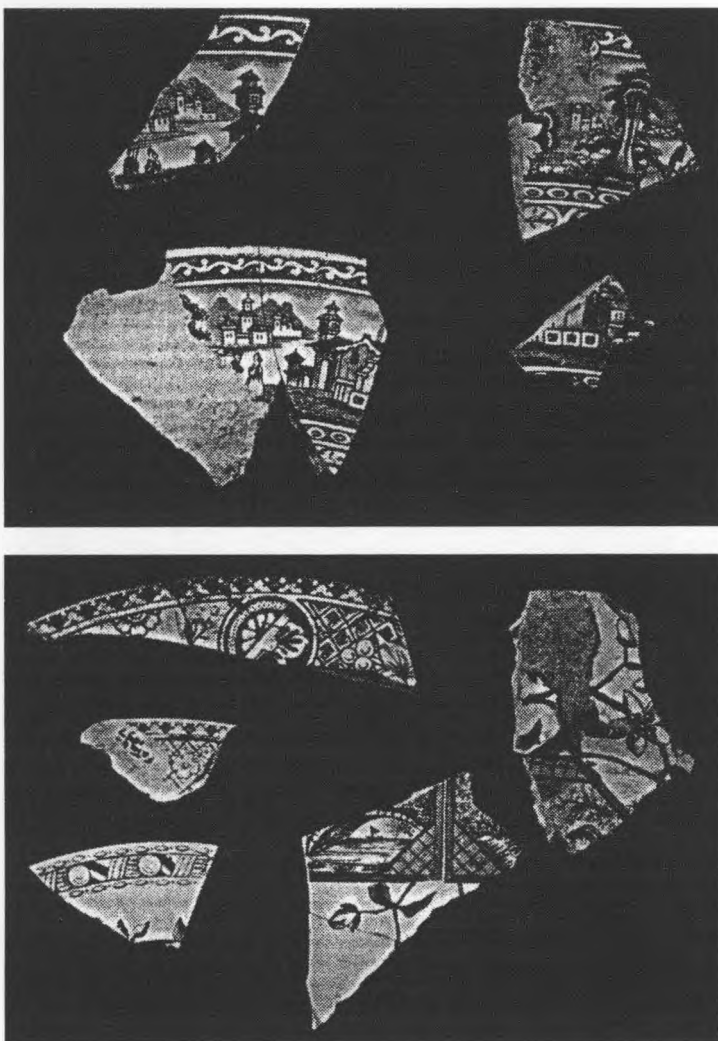


Figure 18:4. White Transfer Printed Earthenware patterns popular in the last half of the 19th century. Above, "Italy" made by Charles Meigh & Sons. And below, "Sitka" (top left) made by Thomas Hughes.

particularly a concern within the fort compound where there was occupation during the initial fort period (1833 to 1843) and in the later trading post period (1866-1899). Stratigraphy is shallow and some units within the fort compound show signs of disturbance, the probable result of small scale gardening. In some cases the excavators were able to distinguish between the earlier and later occupations on the basis of stratigraphy and surface features, particularly in those units known from historic photographs to have been in close proximity to the trading post. In other units this was not possible. For this reason, the ceramic sample from both the fort occupation and the later trading post are analyzed together as a single assemblage and viewed primarily as the source of supply for the other two components.

As a measure of possible mixing, particular attention is paid to the distribution of cross mends across the site. With one exception, sherds belonging to the same vessel were recovered in the same unit or in adjacent units within the same component. This suggests that vessels were likely recovered from the location in which they were last used or that pieces of a broken vessel were discarded together. If assemblage integrity had been compromised by disturbance, more cross mends from disparate parts of the site might be expected. A further benefit of the cross matching process is that it allows for analysis to take place on the level of whole vessels. Thus many of the graphs and charts present figures based on numbers of whole vessels. There are 99 vessels across the three components including 40 for the fort component, 30 for the traditional house, and 29 for the frame house.

Decorative Types and Chronology

The first stage of analysis involved the inventory and classification of all excavated and surface assemblages during the 1982 field season. While a preliminary analysis of ware type was undertaken in 1982 (Belokrinicev 1982) revisions were required in order to answer questions specific to the present study. A classification based on decorative type was chosen, rather than ware type as has been common practice in historical archaeology.

Surface decoration is often a sensitive temporal marker allowing vessels to be assigned to general time periods reflecting production dates, regional availability, and market demand. This information was used to assign relative dates to the site assemblages, allowing

for verification of the sequence of building construction at the site. Eight different decorative types were defined for the site. These include: Transfer Printed Wares, Undecorated Plain White Wares, Plain Coloured Wares, Moulded Wares, Sponge Stamped Wares, Multi-Banded Wares, Hand Painted Wares and Decal Printed Wares.

Transfer Printed earthenwares and Plain White wares are by far the largest categories across the site as a whole (Figure 18:5). Plain white wares include vessels variously labeled "Royal Ironstone", "stone china", "white granite", as well as other unmarked white earthenware. "Ironstone" and "Stone China" are trade names belonging to improved semi-vitreous earthenwares produced by Mason, and Spode/Copeland, respectively in the early decades of the 19th century. However, variations of these ware types, produced by many different pottery firms, developed in the second half of the century and a range of terms was used to describe them. Plain White wares continued to be popular into the 20th century. Miller uses the general term "white granite" to distinguish these later plain white and moulded wares from the decorated stone china ware of the early part of the century (Miller 1991:5). Requisitions for plain white and transfer printed cups, basins and bowls appear in relatively equal numbers on the order forms from the Bella Bella trading post in the late 1870s into the 1880s (H.B. Co. B.B. 1876-1882).

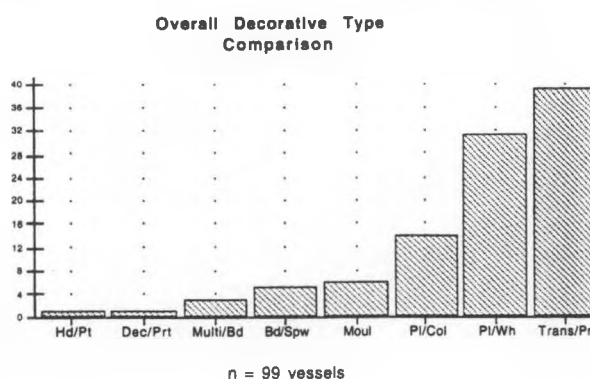


Figure 18:5. Fata 4 Old Bella-Bella overall site distribution for decorative types, count-based on whole vessels.

Underglaze Transfer Printed earthenware was recovered from all three components. The dominant pattern colours were blue and brown with smaller amounts of green, red and black. Japanese influenced designs in subdued greens

and browns became popular beginning in the 1870s through the end of the century (Majewski 1994:5). A high proportion of transfer printed ware from the fort units are indicative of these later styles sold from the trading post after the 1870s. Several brown transfer print vessels in the Japanesque style have also been recovered from the units associated with the frame house.

Plain Coloured wares are the next largest category, and consist primarily of stoneware vessels including crocks, jars, and other vessels relating to food storage. These wares are not temporally specific, and are found in relatively equal proportions across the site.

The Moulded category incorporates a relatively small number of white and coloured tableware with raised decoration. The Wheat pattern, consisting of a border of intertwined shafts of grain, was typical of this category. It first became available in the 1850s and was prolific by the 1880s (Sussman 1985:7).

A very small number of Sponge Stamped and Multi-Banded vessels were recovered in units associated with the trading store and the traditional house. These styles became available in Canada in the 1840s and 1850s and continued to be popular into the 1920s (Collard 1967:133; Miller 1991:6). While expected, given their temporal range, none were recovered from the frame house. Both decorative styles were popular at other late 19th century Northwest Coast contact sites (Leuger 1981; Jackson 1991; Marshall 1993).

Finally, Decal ware was an overglaze transfer print decoration in production after the 1890s (Lueger 1981). This category is represented by one vessel found in association with the frame house.

In combination with pattern identification, decorative style comparisons between the three components have been useful in establishing time frames for each ceramic sample. They permit a percentage breakdown of the assemblage, to be classified according to decorative type, for each component of the site (Table 18:2, Figure 18:6, Table 18:3).

Excavation units associated with the fort and later trading post have produced a higher proportion of Transfer Printed ceramics over either house type. One of these vessels has been dated to the period 1830-1850 and another to post 1873 (Table 18:3). The predominance of transfer print vessels may be a reflection of the role of the fort as a source of supply for the village. Excavation units likely associated with the later trading post have pro-

duced ceramic dates which postdate the fort and span the period 1860 to the 1890s, the transition period between the two house types.

The traditional house has produced a broad range of decorative types and one pattern date, spanning the period 1825 to 1899. The majority of ceramics found in this component are Transfer Printed and Plain White wares, examples of Plain Coloured, Sponge Stamped, Multi banded, and Moulded wares were also present. The frame house component has produced the largest proportion of Plain White wares reflecting the wide availability of serviceable White Granite in the second half of the 19th century. It was the only component to produce examples of Decal ware, a decorative type in production after the 1890s, and examples of the Wheat Pattern.

In general, the dominant decorative types between the two houses were transfer printed and plain white wares respectively. The earlier traditional house produced relatively equal numbers of both types; in contrast, the frame house showed a marked increase of plain white over transfer printed wares. As both decorative types appear on the inventories and were thus available during the period 1876-1882, this may be indicative of the increased utilitarian use of the more economical white wares.

Pattern Design Identification

A second typology was constructed using pattern design identification. Once designs and their corresponding dates were established, these were correlated with the components at the site. The historical records indicate a site chronology in which the establishment of Fort McLoughlin in 1833 preceded the Heiltsuk settlement by one or two years. Hobler (2000) has shown that the traditional Heiltsuk houses co-existed with, and outlasted the fort by three or more decades, and were themselves gradually replaced by the frame built residences of the post 1880s missionary period. Ceramics from each component have produced dates consistent with these time frames (Table 18:3).

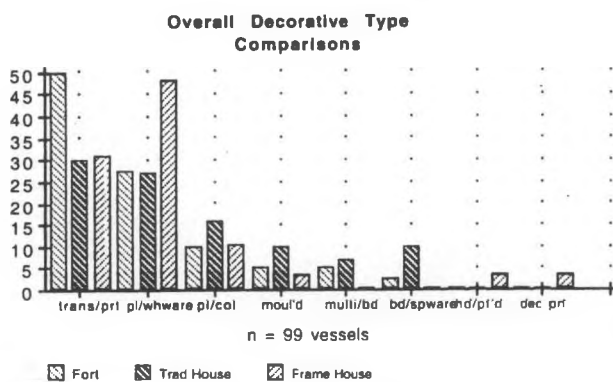
Decorative type analysis has supported the chronological integrity of the three ceramic components within the site and shown them to be consistent with the historically documented stages of building construction over the course of the 19th century at Old Bella Bella.

Vessel Form and Function

A third stage of analysis involved an examination of vessel form and function for each component. This provides information

Table 18:2. Decorative type percentages from each component with number of vessels in parentheses.

| | Fort McLoughlin Compound | Traditional House | Frame House |
|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | n=40 vessels | n=30 vessels | n=29 vessels |
| Transfer Print | 50 (20) | 30 (9) | 31 (9) |
| Plain White ware | 27 (11) | 27 (8) | 47 (14) |
| Plain Coloured | 10 (4) | 16 (5) | 10 (3) |
| Multi-Banded | 5 (2) | 7 (2) | 0 |
| Moulded | 5 (2) | 10 (3) | 4 (1) |
| Sponge Stamped | 3 (1) | 10 (3) | 0 |
| Decal Print | 0 | 0 | 4 (1) |
| Hand Painted | 0 | 0 | 4 (1) |

**Figure 18:6. Percentage Breakdowns for Individual Site Components, numbers represent whole vessel counts.**

about the type of vessels being selected, the context in which they were being used at the site and changes over time. Vessel function is inferred by examining each reconstructed vessel and placing it into one of nine vessel categories, including: 1) Washbasins; 2) Bowls; 3) Crocks, Jars, Bottles and Jugs; 4) Cups; 5) Saucers; 6) Plates; 7) Soup plates; 8) Serving and Ornamental dishes and; 9) Unidentified. The distribution of vessel forms by site area can then be tallied (Figure 18:7, Table 18:4, Figure 18:8).

The distribution of vessel forms by site component is discussed below. In the traditional and frame houses cups and saucers by far predominate and bowls of different sizes are found in quantity. Initially small and medium sized bowls and wash basins were separated into two categories, but historical evidence indicates the wash basins served the same function as the smaller bowls in that they were used for serving food rather than for

washing (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). Dinner and soup plates increased and outnumbered bowls and basins in the frame house over the traditional house. This difference may indicate the incorporation of European food stuffs which, unlike the liquid based stews of the Heiltsuk, were more easily consumed from flat vessels. The predominance of these vessel forms is consistent with findings from other ceramic studies at contact sites in North America (Lueger 1988; Burley 1989; Jackson 1991; Marshall 1993). Historical evidence further indicates that cup and saucer sets had become an item of exchange in the potlatch.

The Fort Grounds (Units 1 through 18 and Surface Collection)

The units associated with the fort have produced a large proportion of basins, bowls, and crocks - such as might be used for the storage and preparation of food. As well, a good cross section of tea and tableware with similar numbers of plates, cups, and saucers and a slightly smaller number of serving dishes were found. Most are of a strong but inexpensive earthenware. Where stoneware vessels are associated with the fort units, they are the high-fired utilitarian items, relating to food processing and storage. Of the eight categories of vessel types identified at the site, each was well represented within the fort sample giving the impression of an assemblage with all the expected elements of European ceramic usage (Figure 18:10). The high percentage of unidentified vessels in this component is likely indicative of disturbance in many of the units associated with the fort compound. This would be expected of an area that is known, from the photographic records, to have been plowed for gardens attached to the trading post. As previously noted, excavations of the site indicated

Table 18:3. Patterns and Decorative Types by Location and Date.

| | Fort McLoughlin 1833-1843 | Traditional House 1830s-1870s | Trading Post 1860s-1890s | Frame House 1880-1890s | Maker or Possible Supplier* |
|--------------------------|------------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1780-20th Century | <i>Blue Willow</i> | <i>Blue Willow</i> | <i>Blue Willow</i> | | <i>Various</i> |
| 1825-50 | | Broseley | | | R. Elliot* |
| 1830-50 | Foliage | | | | R. Elliot* |
| 1840-70s | Flow Bl Willow | | | | Various |
| 1840-1920 | Multibd'd Ware | Multibd'd Ware | Multibd'd Ware | | Various |
| 1848-20 th C. | | Ruins | | | W.T. Copeland |
| 1850-1900 | | | Pattern #3 Unident'd (Sussman) | | W Boucher* |
| 1850-1920 | | Sponge Stamped Ware | Sponge Stamped Ware | | Various Scot & Eng Pottery firms |
| Post 1873 | | | Hawthorne | | W.T. Copeland |
| 1851 1861 | | | | Italv | Charles Meigh & S. |
| 1860 1894 | | | | Sitka | Thomas Hughes |
| 1860-1900 | | | | Wheat | Boucher or Fairbairns* |
| Post 1890s | | | | Decal | Various |

* Suppliers as distinguished from manufacturers (Sussman 1978).

Table 18:4. Percentage Breakdown of Vessel Types For Each Component vessel counts are provided in brackets.

| Vessel types | Fort McLoughlin Compound | Traditional House | Frame House |
|--------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| | <u>40 vessels</u> | <u>30 vessels</u> | <u>29 vessels</u> |
| Unidentified | 20.0 (8) | 3.3 (1) | 10.5 (3) |
| Bowl | 15.0 (6) | 20.0 (6) | 6.9 (2) |
| Basin | 10.0 (4) | 0 (0) | 6.9 (2) |
| Saucer | 12.5 (5) | 26.7 (8) | 24.1 (7) |
| Plate | 12.5 (5) | 6.7 (2) | 13.8 (4) |
| Cup | 10.0 (4) | 23.3 (7) | 27.6 (8) |
| Crock | 10.0 (4) | 13.3 (4) | 3.4 (1) |
| Serving /Orn | 7.5 (3) | 6.7 (2) | 3.4 (1) |
| Soup plate | 2.5 (1) | 0 (0) | 3.4 (1) |

that several of the units, in areas near the trading post, showed signs of disturbance while others thought to be associated with the original fort occupation did not (Hobler et al. 1983).

The Traditional House (Units 31 through 49)

Cups, saucers and small bowls dominate the ceramic assemblage of the traditional house. The traditional house component in general presented the impression of a much more selective use of European tableware over the fort component, with fewer vessel forms present (Figure 18:10). As suggested earlier, this may be indicative of the adoption of ceramics into established Heiltsuk artifact categories. Small

and large ceramic bowls were appropriate for the liquid based stews typical of Heiltsuk dietary patterns and would have been most similar to the traditional wooden bowls already in use. Supporting evidence for the incorporation of European ceramics into pre-existing First Nations artifact categories is found in Southwestern Alaska, where Jackson (1989) has noted that cups and saucers had been incorporated as grave goods in the mortuary complex of Native Alaskans by the 1880s where they served as status and prestige items. Utilitarian crockery made up a fourth category perhaps indicating the introduction of European dry goods and a growing need for vessels which could be used to store or process them.

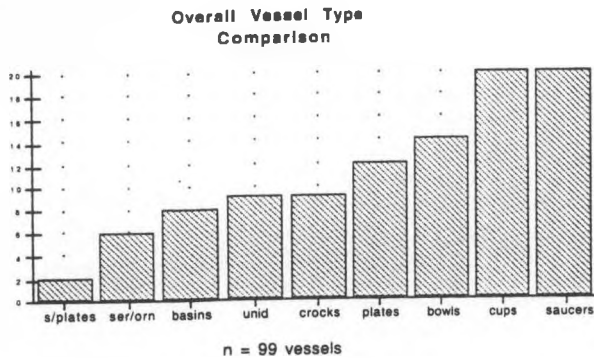


Figure 18:7. Fata 4 Old Bella Bella Vessel Form Distribution, (numbers=whole vessels).

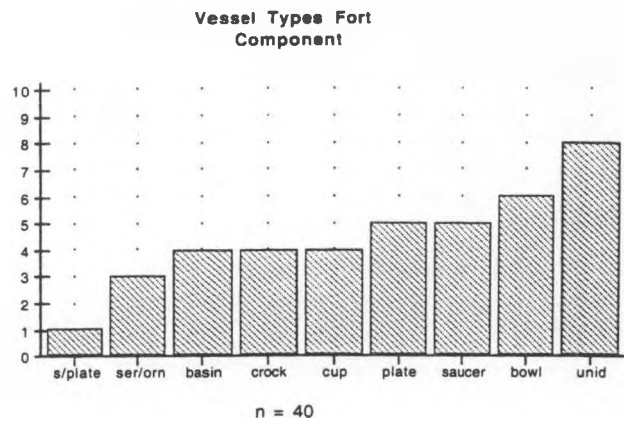


Figure 18:9. Vessel distribution, fort component, (numbers=whole vessels).

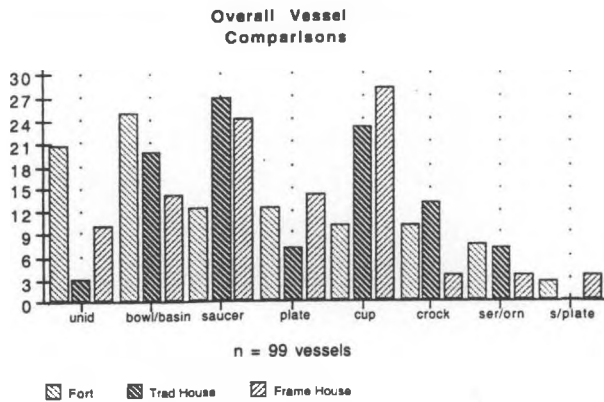


Figure 18:8. Fata 4 Old Bella Bella. Comparison of Vessel Types from each Component, (numbers=whole vessels).

No large basins were recovered in the traditional house, although the Hudson's Bay Company records for the period 1876 to 1882 clearly indicate that washbasins and serving bowls were being ordered almost exclusively during this period (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). The Frame House (Units 50 through 60 and Surface Collection)

The high usage of specific kinds of table wares, namely cups and saucers and bowls, seen in the artifact assemblage of the traditional house, is repeated in units associated with the frame built house (Figure 18:11). However, there was greater variety in vessel type with all forms represented by at least one vessel. Significantly, dinner plates were the third largest category while tableware in general far out numbered utilitarian crockery. In fact the percentage of vessels pertaining to practical functions such as storage was the lowest for this sample. Given the increased use of European foods such as flour, sugar potatoes and grains as indicated in the historic in

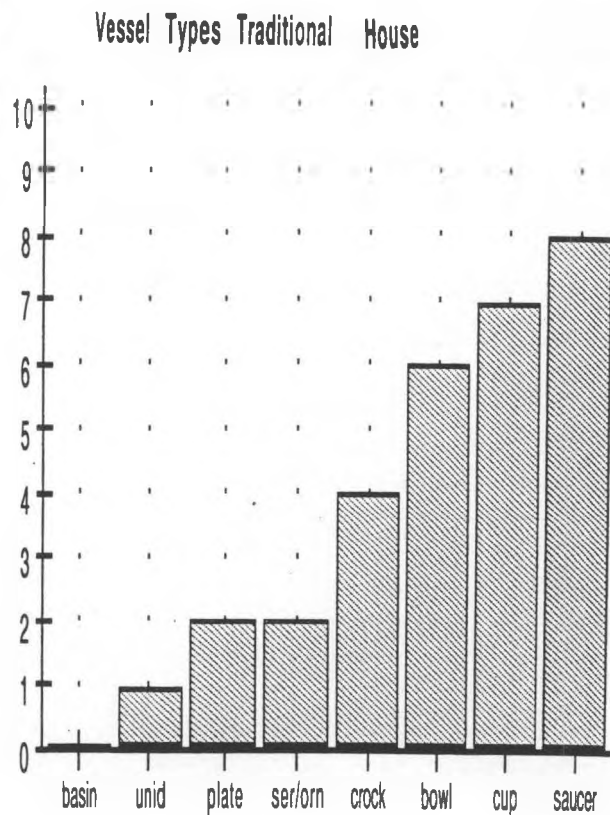


Figure 18:10. Vessel distribution, traditional house, (numbers=whole vessels).

ventories (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882) of the later trading store, this percentage might have been predicted to be higher, however, it may be that traditional Heiltsuk storage containers such as wooden boxes were being used for this purpose.

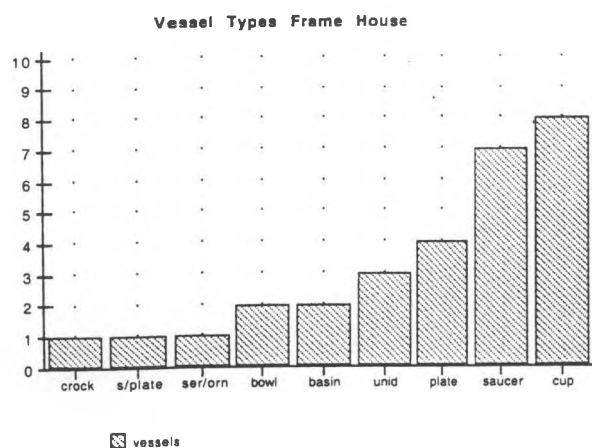


Figure 18:11. Vessel distribution frame house component, numbers=whole vessels.

Archival Evidence of Ceramics

Correspondence between the operators of the Bella Bella and Bella Coola posts, as well as a series of Hudson's Bay Company requisitions, invoices and year-end inventories are available for study. These cover the transition period 1876 to 1882 directly before and after the arrival of the Methodist missionaries (Table 18:5). It should be noted here that the figures in Table 18:5 for the years 1879, 1880, 1881 and 1882 were taken from year end inventories, while, figures for the years 1876, 1877 and 1878 were compiled from requisition lists for goods ordered from Victoria twice per year, there being no inventories available for these years. In general these records indicate a marked increase in the diversity of vessel forms after 1880. Further, there is the appearance for the first time of particular vessel types not in use before, as well as the disappearance of other vessel types which had previously been popular.

During the late 1870s directly prior to the Methodist arrival, bowls - specifically large transfer printed washbasins - were in high demand as well as a selection of large serving bowls in varying sizes. An examination of on-going correspondence between Hudson's Bay Company outfitter Charles Jones at the Bella Bella store with his superior James Kennedy at the Bella Coola store some 150 km. away, confirms the initial popularity of these colourful transfer printed washbasins. Sending Jones instructions for the winter stock order of 1877 Kennedy advises him that "Cheap white blankets will be much in demand, altho others are not much in demand", and "wash hand bowls of different sizes sell well" (Kennedy 1877).

Washbasins and larger bowls were the only forms consistently ordered until 1880 and these by the dozen. Further, as the decade closed an increase in variety can be discerned in the diversity of sizes and decorative types being requisitioned from the Hudson's Bay Company storehouses in Victoria (Table 18:5). Interestingly, there was also an initial order in February 1876 for two dozen sets of cups and saucers and half a dozen soup plates and jugs. The jugs were of different sizes but most of them were too small to have been used in combination with the washbasins. It may be that these latter items - cups, saucers, plates and jugs - were not yet in demand. After their initial appearance on the requisition lists they do not reappear until the year end inventory of 1880, after the arrival of the Methodist missionaries at Old Bella Bella.

By the early 1880s, a much expanded variety of vessel types was being ordered in quantity. Cups and saucers, a selection of jugs in different sizes and soup plates reappear, and dinner plates appear for the first time. As new items were appearing others were disappearing. The large washbasins, by this time arriving in all colours and sizes, were replaced with a greater selection of smaller individual sized bowls including a large order for six dozen "small glass bowls" in 1881, the year after the mission opened. By 1882 the year end inventories show no washbasins of any kind in stock. By contrast, quantities of cups, saucers, small bowls, jugs, soup plates, and dinner plates can be found.

An 1897 notation in the diary of Caroline Tate (1870-1933:102) the wife of the Reverend Tate, a Methodist missionary at Bella Bella in the late 1880s, confirmed the trend we see in the earlier inventory records and suggested that cups and saucers had become an item of exchange at potlatches.

We are told that in some houses there are as many as two hundred cups and saucers that they have received at potlatches.

These findings are consistent with other Northwest Coast ceramics studies. In an analysis of surface finds recovered during survey work in Nootka Sound (Marshall 1991:139) reported that initially, bowls were the most common vessel form with cups making up a significant second category. Over time, this pattern reverses itself and cups become more prolific than bowls. In his ceramic study of the Nuuchahnulth reoccupation at Yuquot Lueger (1981:160) has said:

Table 18:5. Ceramic inventories for the period 1876 to 1882 from Hudson's Bay Company records for the trading post in Bella Bella (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882.

| | 1876 | 1877 | 1878 | 1879 | 1880 | 1881 | 1882 |
|----------------|---------|------|------|------|---------|---------|--------|
| Washbasins L | 27 | 22 | 12 | 28 | 2 | 3 | |
| Washbasins M | | | | 14 | 1 | | |
| Washbasins M | | | | 11 | | | |
| Washbasins S | | | | 5 | 2 | | |
| Chamber pots | | 6 | | 5 | 2 | 2 | |
| Cups/Saucers | 24 sets | | | | 30 sets | 22 sets | 4 sets |
| Bowls L 2 qt | | | 4 | | | | 13 |
| Bowls M 1 1/2 | | | 4 | | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Bowls M 1 qt | 27 | 10 | 4 | | 2 | | |
| Bowls S 3 pt | | | | | 3 | 5 | |
| Mess bowls L | | | | | | | 8 |
| Mess bowls M | | | | | | 12 | |
| Mess bowls M | | | | | | 12 | |
| Mess bowls S | | | | | | | 20 |
| Sm glass bowls | | | | | | 72 | |
| Mess jugs 1 qt | 2 | | | | | | |
| Mess jugs 3 pt | 2 | | | | | | 1 |
| Mess jugs 1 pt | 2 | | | | | 2 | 2 |
| Dinner plates | | | | | | 8 | 8 |
| Soup plates | 6 | | | | | 6 | 6 |

as for forms, small bowls and cups were by far the most common ceramic objects recovered from excavations

That ceramics had made inroads among those items of European manufacture desired by the Heiltsuk from the earliest days of the maritime fur trade is evidenced by an entry in John Meares (1967: 368) journal of 1789 relating to the trade of:

coats, jackets, trowsers, pots, kettles, frying pans, wash hand basins, and whatever articles of a similar nature could be procured, either from the officers or the men.

However, their function in the Heiltsuk food production and consumption complex was not necessarily the one Europeans had intended, at least not initially.

It would seem from an examination of the Hudson's Bay Company inventories (Table 18:5) that large coloured earthenware washbasins, the largest kind of ceramic bowl form available, were among the first items of ceramic manufacture to enter Heiltsuk material culture. It has been suggested here that large ceramic bowl forms were consistent with the communal usage of traditional Heiltsuk serving dishes, and thus desirable. Lueger has

made a similar suggestion with regard to washbasins recovered from Yuquot (1981:163). Subsequently, with the move to single family dwellings in the latter part of the century the record indicates a transition to a greater diversity of ceramic vessel types and ones designed for individual use. Over time washbasins and large bowl forms gave way to smaller ceramic vessel forms and increased numbers of cups and saucers. Historic records (Blackman 1976; Tate 1897) indicate that cups and saucers had been incorporated into the Heiltsuk potlatch complex by the 1880s.

Summary

This ceramic analysis accomplishes several related goals. Initially, the historically documented sequence of building construction at the site was verified using decorative types and pattern identification. The ceramic assemblage was correlated with the approximate dates for each component and was found to be representative of them. Evidence of patterning was then sought in decorative styles and vessel forms. This aspect of the analysis showed a differential pattern of distribution in vessel and decorative types between the fort component and the two house types. Both houses pro-

duced similar types of ceramics - primarily cups, saucers, and bowls with minor variations in frequency and diversity of vessel form within each component. However, plain white wares superseded transfer printed wares in the frame house, possibly reflecting the later increase in cheaper wares for everyday use as distinct from the more expensive decorated potlatch items. Overall, the most obvious pattern was the much more selective use of particular types of vessels in the two Heiltsuk components over the broader range of vessel forms represented in the fort compound.

Archival evidence in the form of Hudson's Bay Company inventories and correspondence, diaries etc., has been used to expand our understanding of the archaeological evidence. It has been particularly useful in formulating explanations for the ceramic distribution patterns in the two Heiltsuk houses. References to tea cups, given as gifts at potlatches, indicated that these forms, so numerous in both Heiltsuk assemblages, had taken on a cultural function beyond their expected European meaning. In the case of washbasins the archaeological evidence helps to clarify the historical documentation. While washbasins are not especially common in the archaeological record of the two Heiltsuk houses, their consistent appearance on year end inventories requires explanation. When their function was considered in the context of a general preponderance of bowl forms in the archaeological record, their role as communal serving dishes becomes apparent. Therefore in this study the combined use of both types of evidence has been invaluable in arriving at a fuller analysis of the ceramic assemblage.

Dating with Spode-Copeland Transfer Printed Ceramics

Transfer-printing technology, as used by Spode-Copeland, was first developed in the mid-eighteenth century. The dating system used for Spode-Copeland ceramics consists of a date range during which ceramics bearing the pattern were manufactured. It begins with "the date the pattern was introduced and ends with the latest date for which there is evidence that the pattern was considered usable by the factory" (Sussman 1979:10) Sussman notes that patterns were not used continually throughout this range, and that the copper transfer print plates were commonly re-etched, reintroduced sometimes after a long hiatus of non-use, and occasionally re-registered.

Spode-Copeland produced tens of thousands of patterns, each one registered with a

number in their factory pattern books (Sussman 1979). The beginning date for the range is established from the number assigned to each pattern's first appearance in the pattern books. Using dated watermarks in the pattern books, supplemented by other evidence, Whiter (1970) has produced a dating sequence for the first pattern series which included 10,000 patterns and ended in 1852. At that time a second series, the "D" series was introduced, the first 300 numbers of which were devoted to old patterns with slight changes. When this series reached 10,000, a third series which distinguished bone china patterns from earthenwares was begun in 1874. This series carried well into the 20th century.

The following discussion lists pattern and decorative styles and their distributions at the site. It emphasizes those patterns and types that have been most useful in building the site chronology.

Blue Willow 1720s-20th Century (Figures 18:15 and 18:16)

Sherds belonging to two vessels in the blue willow pattern were recovered from the fort compound, a saucer from units 6, 7, 9, 11, and 14 and a cup from unit 10. Two more vessels in this pattern were recovered from the units associated with the traditional Heiltsuk house. This pattern was produced by Staffordshire potteries throughout the 18th to 20th centuries. The only excavated examples that have been identified at a Hudson's Bay Company fort were manufactured by Copeland and Garrett between 1833 and 1847 and were found at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River (Ross 1976). As Fort Vancouver, first occupied in 1829, was the nearest administrative centre for Fort McLoughlin it is plausible that ceramics in this pattern were arriving at Fort McLoughlin during the period of the fort's occupation.

Late Blue Willow 19th century (Figure 18:15)

Numerous sherds (FaTa 4 -245, -246a, -259, -260, -636, -884, and -962, vessel no. 20) in this well known pattern, all belong to a saucer and were found in units 6, 7, 9, 11, and 14. These units, although within the fort compound, have produced ceramics with later dates than the period of fort occupation. They are likely associated with the small store built within the fort compound after 1866. They are the same units which produced the Hawthorn pattern below dated after 1873. This version of blue willow is the later of two versions of the pattern produced by Spode-Copeland from the late 18th through to the 20th century.

Flow Blue Willow 1840-70 (Figure 18:18)

A rim fragment belonging to a cup (FaTa 4-0472 vessel no. 30), exhibits a crude version of the blue willow pattern on both sides. The pattern details run into each other giving the appearance of a flow blue effect. This vessel was not manufactured by Spode-Copeland as the ware type is coarse and the pattern of too poor a quality. The technique was produced by the introduction of chlorides during the firing process. Vessels of this type were most popular in Canada during the 1840s and 1850s (Collard 1967: 118). The sherd was recovered in unit 10 in association with what is likely the northern section of the fort palisade. The date of this pattern's popularity in Canada would put this vessel in the correct time period for association with the fort occupation or shortly thereafter.

Broseley 1825-1850 (Figure 18:16)

This large sherd belongs to a fluted cup (FaTa 4 -1498 vessel no.76). It came from unit 47. A common pattern, Broseley was manufactured by a number of Staffordshire potteries other than Spode-Copeland and this example is one of the non-Copeland versions, possibly supplied by Robert Elliot (Sussman 1978). It is similar to the Blue Willow pattern with its Chinese scene but is most often found in a lighter blue. Later in the century the pattern appeared in dark blue as well. Except for those examples manufactured by Spode-Copeland, ceramics in this pattern can be dated 1825 to 1850 (Sussman 1978). This vessel is representative of many of tea cups found in association with the traditional Heiltsuk house.

Foliage 1830-1850 (Not illustrated)

This small sherd (FaTa 4-0746, vessel no. 43) was found in unit 18 along with numerous other ceramics and fur trade artifacts in a shallow midden in the southwest corner of the fort compound. The midden immediately to the west of a line of rocks, is associated with two shallow surface depressions. The area from which this item was recovered is thought by the excavators to be contemporaneous with the original fort occupation. The sherd is too small to identify to vessel type.

Sussman lists this pattern as one of the non-Copeland patterns occasionally found at Hudson's Bay Company posts (1978) where it dates to the period 1830 - 1850. This period of non-Copeland supply has been sourced to the London china merchant Robert Elliot (Sussman 1978). Where this pattern has been identified on Hudson Bay Company sites, in-

cluding the present example, it is only found in light blue (Sussman 1978). The introduction of new colours by the Staffordshire potteries began in the 1830s, following the ubiquitous cobalt blue (Collard 1967). Transfer printed vessels in brown, pink, lavender, green, orange, grey, and light blue were immediately popular in British North America.

Dipped or Multi-banded Wares 1840-60 (Figure 18:19)

Sherds from two vessels, recovered from units in the traditional house, are designated as multi-banded ware (FaTa 4-243, -619, -622, -649, -684, vessel no. 19 in units 6, 14, and 32) and (FaTa 4- 1461, vessel no. 75 in unit 46). Vessel no. 19 was the only vessel in the entire ceramic collection with sherds which were cross matched from units associated with more than one component: the fort compound and the traditional house.

Both are bowls which is typical as this is a decorative technique used primarily for utility wares. Dipped ceramics, which include multi-banded wares, is a term applied to various ware types all of which, were decorated with a coloured slip applied to the clay body before it was bisque fired. Most underglaze decoration was applied to the bisque fired body (Miller 1991:6). Other terms for some of these ware types include; banded, mocha, blue banded and variegated. Dipped or Dipt decoration was commonly limited to bowls, mugs and pitchers. They were the least expensive vessels of this type available in the latter part of the 19th century (Miller 1991). Banded decoration, was applied mechanically or by hand with a brush as the vessel was turned on a wheel and was particularly suited for hollow wares such as the bowls recovered here. Banding usually consisted of a series of thin bands on either side of wider bands. Especially popular after the 1840's were the blue banded and multi-banded wares. Blue banded wares continued to be produced into the 20th century (Miller 1991:6).

Examples of blue and multi-banded wares found among the vessels recovered from the traditional house and the fort compound can likely be attributed to the period after fort abandonment when traditional houses were likely still in use. Vessel no. 75 from unit 46 is an example of the blue banded utility bowls referred to above, many of which have been recovered from collections on the West Coast of Vancouver Island (Marshall 1993) and could be late 19th or early 20th century.



Figure 18:15. Examples of transfer printed soup Plate in the Japanesque pattern Sitka made by Thomas Hughes (upper left) and Saucers (right) from Old Bella Bella.

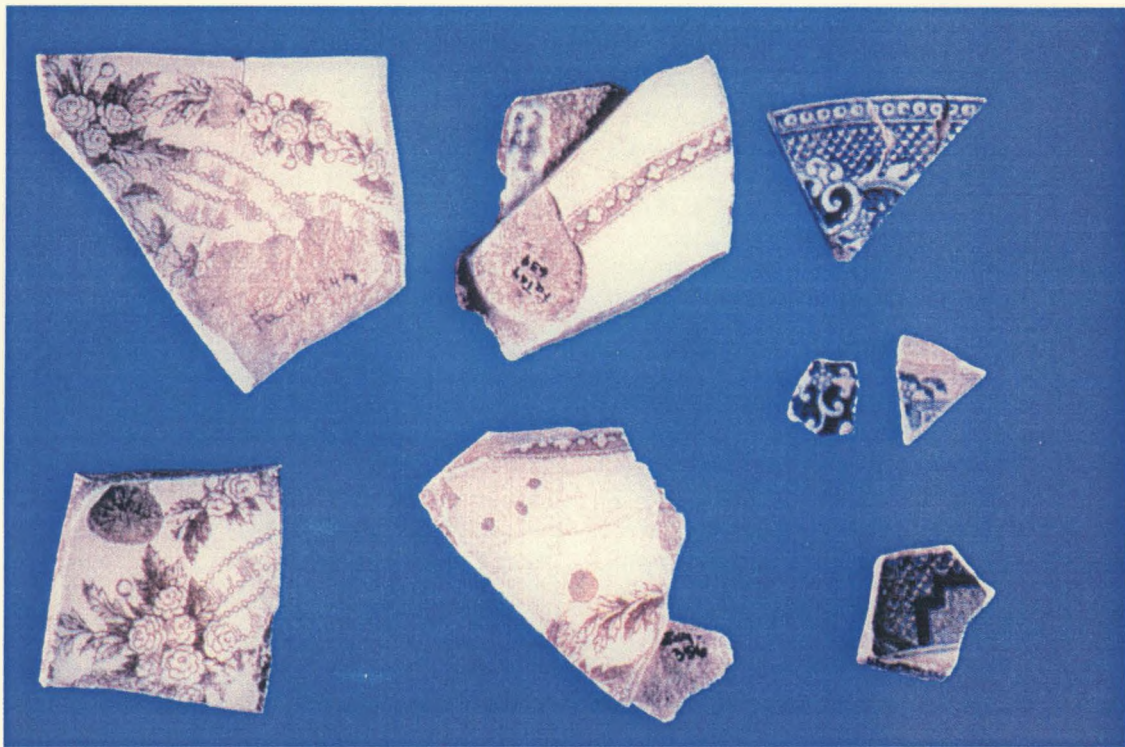


Figure 18:16. Examples of transfer printed Earthenwares from Old Bella Bella. Wash basin in Hawthorne pattern (Spode-Copeland, left) and saucer in Blue Willow pattern (right).

Multi-banded 1840-60 (Figure 18:19)

Two vessels, both bowls, are designated as multi-banded wares. They were recovered from units associated with the later trading store (FaTa 4-243, -619, -622, -649, -684, vessel no. 19 in units 6, 14, and 32), (FaTa 4-950a, vessel no. 53 in unit 11). All examples of blue and multi-banded wares from units associated with the fort compound can likely be attributed to the period after fort's abandonment when the trading store was in operation.

Ruins, Spode-Copeland 1848-20th century (Figure 18:19)

Several pieces of a deep bowl were found in this pattern (FaTa 4 -727, -761 and -1202, vessel no. 41) in units 33 and 34. This vessel is a medium sized serving bowl and is dark blue. Typically this Spode-Copeland pattern has a border of acorns and oak leaves framing central panels illustrating various scenes of ruins in rural settings. Also known as Melrose, it was registered in 1848 and was manufactured through to the 20th century.

Sussman's Unidentified No. 3 c 1850-1900 (Figure 18:18)

Sherds (FaTa 4-601b vessel no. 35) likely belonging to a bowl in an unidentified pattern are referred to as Unidentified No. 3. They were recovered from unit 15 at the northern end of the fort compound. The pattern has been found at Hudson's Bay sites identified in Sussman's study of non-Copeland ceramics (1978: 70). It is found only in dark flow blue with what appears to be a peacock motif. It can be dated to the latter half of the 19th century. While the manufacturer is unknown, it was likely supplied by William Boucher, a London china merchant who made annual shipments of ceramics to the Hudson's Bay Company from 1852 to 1877, concurrent with supplies sent by Copeland and Garrett (Sussman 1978).

Cut Sponge Stamped Ware 1850-1920 (Figures 18: 19, 18:20)

Three sponge stamped vessels were recovered, all in units associated with the traditional house. These are two cups (FaTa 4-0091 vessel number 7, and FaTa 4-1507, -1529 vessel number 79) and a bowl (FaTa 4-775, -794 vessel number 5) from units 40, 31, and 46 respectively.

My designation is a decorative type rather than a specific pattern. Sponge ware describes a style of brightly coloured decoration applied with a cut sponge which was often accompa-

nied by banding and hand painting. Sponge stamped wares without hand painting were more common after the introduction into Staffordshire potteries of cut sponges in the late 1840's (Turner 1923:149; Miller 1991:8). Initially used on tea wares, after this date, table and toilet wares were more commonly decorated in this manner. Although the forms available were the same as transfer printed vessels, the clay bodies tended to be of a heavier and coarser manufacture. Sponge stamped wares were among the least expensive decorated wares available during their period of popularity (Finlayson 1972:118; Miller 1991:8) and were apparently especially in demand for export purposes (Jewitt 1878: 564; Leuger 1981: 128).

Sponge stamped designs are usually small florets in symmetrical arrangements with rim banding in contrasting colours. Normally referred to as sponge or spatter ware, it is sometimes called Portneuf in Canada, after a Quebec village where it was mistakenly thought to have originated. It often has no maker's mark but was exported from England and particularly from Scotland to Canada between 1840 and 1920 (Lueger 1981: 128). Collard has stated that vessels decorated in this manner first arrived in Canada in the 1850's (Collard 1967: 133, 146), however, Finlayson (1972: 55) dates the peak of Scottish sponge stamped ware production at 1880 to 1910.

Wheat 1860-1900 (Not Illustrated)

The wheat pattern is found in the Old Bella Bella collection in the form of a small plate (FaTa 4-463, -470, vessel number 29) from unit 91, the general designation for the frame house. This pattern is an example of moulded ware consisting of a raised rim decoration of grain and sheaf-like grasses. It came into production after 1848 when the first raised grain pattern was registered; over the next four decades twenty more patterns were registered in similar designs (Sussman 1985). It was very popular in the last quarter of the 19th century, and Sussman suggests that most vessels in this pattern are datable to the 1860s and 1870s (1978). Sussman (1985) has further noted that this design is found only on the semi-vitrified white earthenware commonly known as white granite (ironstone).

Hawthorn, Copeland and Garrett ca 1873 (Figure 18:15)

The Hawthorn pattern appears in the form of a brown-transfer printed wash basin found

in the fort component (FaTa 4-242 etc., vessel number 18). Pieces of it were recovered from units 5, 6, 7, 11 and 14. These units are in close proximity to each other in the southwest section of the fort grounds and produced the highest number of ceramics found anywhere in the fort component. The soil matrix in units 6, 7 and 14 (all co-joining) suggests some disturbance. Structural wood found in units 5, 7 and 14, consist of a squared log that had been placed in a shallow trench in unconsolidated bedrock. This is probably a building sill timber similar to those used by the Hudson's Bay Company at interior forts.

Excavated pieces of the Hawthorne pattern manufactured by W. T. Copeland are found at Hudson's Bay sites and are date marked 1873. Date marks, as distinguished from makers marks, were introduced in 1870. Copeland (1990) states that the date indicates the year in which the pattern was first used and not the date of manufacture. No date range is given for this pattern. Supporting evidence for the authenticity of the 1873 date can be found in the absence of this pattern from Fort Vancouver II which dates 1829 to 1860. If 1873 can be accepted then the Hawthorn basin and the other vessels coming out of the top 20 cm of units 5, 6, 7, 11, and 14 must post date the fort building represented by the sill log in unit 7.

Decal, post 1890s (Not Illustrated).

Decal ware is a cheap late 19th and early 20th century innovation represented at Old Bella Bella by a single cup (FaTa 4-189 -206 -210 -329, vessel number 9) found in units associated with the trading store. It consists of an overglaze decoration, transfer printed on to white earthenware. The decoration has a tendency to rub off with wear and the pattern on the Old Bella Bella example is barely discernible. Lueger (1988) indicates that this decorative type dates primarily to the 20th century.

Makers Marks

Makers marks were not present or incomplete for most vessels recovered from Old Bella Bella. One complete and three partial marks were found. A Chinese mark (Figure 18:17) on a blue transfer printed rice bowl from the surface (FaTa 4-976, vessel number 95) confirms the Asian origins of some of the study ceramics. The mark consists of four Chinese characters that tentatively date the vessel 1911-1923 (Chen, per comm.). An assortment of Chinese ceramics were recovered from Old Bella Bella. These likely were acquired from Chinese cannery workers after the

salmon canneries opened in the 1880-1890s.

A very small underglaze blue curved line, probably a worker's identification mark, was found on the blue transfer printed saucer (FaTa 4-123 -etc., vessel number 10). Unobtrusive marks were often used by individual pottery workers to identify their own vessels, as one method of payment was by vessel. The potter was paid when the completed vessel was received by the factory in a condition free of defects (Godden 1971).

The words "AN" possibly from "England" are found on a brown transfer print dinner plate (FaTa 4-159 etc., vessel number 12). The pattern, a brown floral transfer print has not been identified. It does not appear to be a Copeland and Garrett design but is in the Japanesque style popular in the 1880s.

Finally, an uncollected bowl (unit 56, frame house) displayed a crest without a manufacturer's name. A photograph of this mark reads "Imperial Ironstone" with the lion and unicorn crest (Belokrinicev 1982). The maker's name is obscured, and as many similar crests exist, this mark could belong to any one of the many manufacturers using the royal arms during the 19th century.

Other Central Coast Sites

Three vessels (Figure 18:22) with unidentified patterns matching Old Bella Bella pieces, have been recovered from excavations at Snxlhh, FcSq 4, in the Bella Coola Valley (Hobler 1990). Another Central Coast site at Kimsquit (Prince 1993), has produced one complete makers mark which matches a Bella Coola piece (see below). Makers marks from Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) are illustrated here in the interests of future analyses of Central Coast ceramic collections (Figures. 18:22, 18:23)

Although no Copeland and Garrett marks have been found to date at any Central Coast site, several specific patterns, belonging to this manufacturer, have been recovered at Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) and Old Bella Bella. As well two vessels made by Mellor, Taylor & Co., one with the designation "Royal Ironstone China" (Prince 1992) from the Kimsquit excavations and one with the designation "Semi - Porcelain" from Snxlhh (Hobler 1990) are illustrated in Figure 18:24. This pottery, located in Burslem, Staffordshire produced hard wearing ironstone china ceramics for export and, to a lesser extent, the domestic market. Mellor, Taylor & Co. was in operation between 1881 and 1904 (Godden 1971).



Figure 18:17. Examples of brown and blue transfer print Earthenwares. A bowl in Ruins pattern (Spode-Copeland, top left), cup in Broseley pattern (non-Spode, top right), saucer in Blue Willow (non-Spode, bottom left) and saucer in Italy (top middle) from Old Bella Bella.



Figure 18:18. Example of Chinese Ceramics from Old Bella Bella.

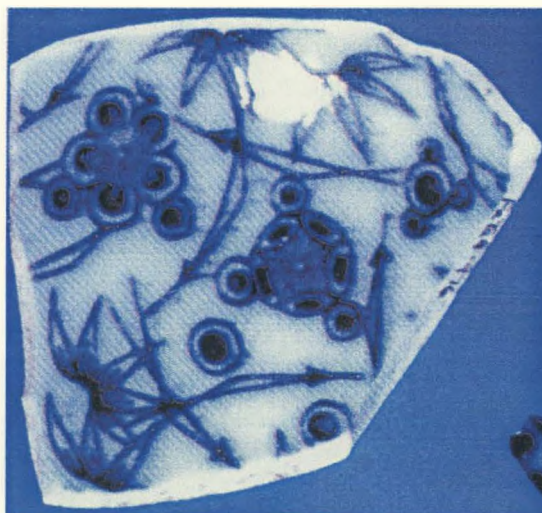


Figure 18:19. Reverse of Chinese Bowl at left.



Figure 18:20. Examples of Cut Sponge Stamped-Hand Painted Cup (right) and Multi-banded Bowl (left) from Old Bella Bella.



Figure 18:21. Cut Sponge Stamped soup Plate from a private Collection (Mason Davis) of "potlatch plates".

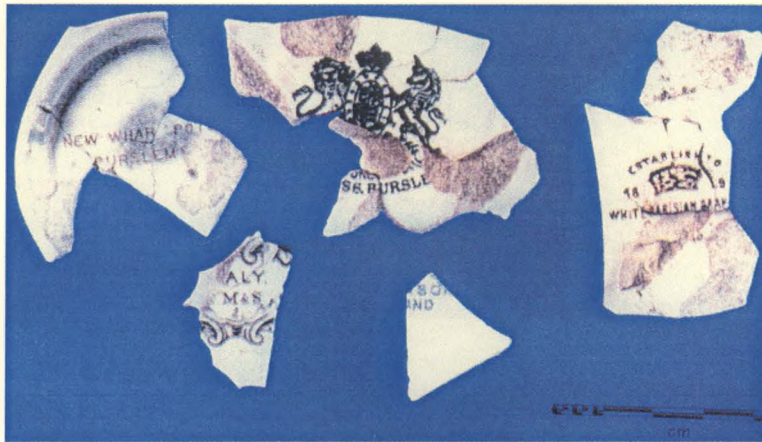


Figure 18:22. Makers Marks on Ceramics from Snxlhh (FcSq 4) at Bella Coola.

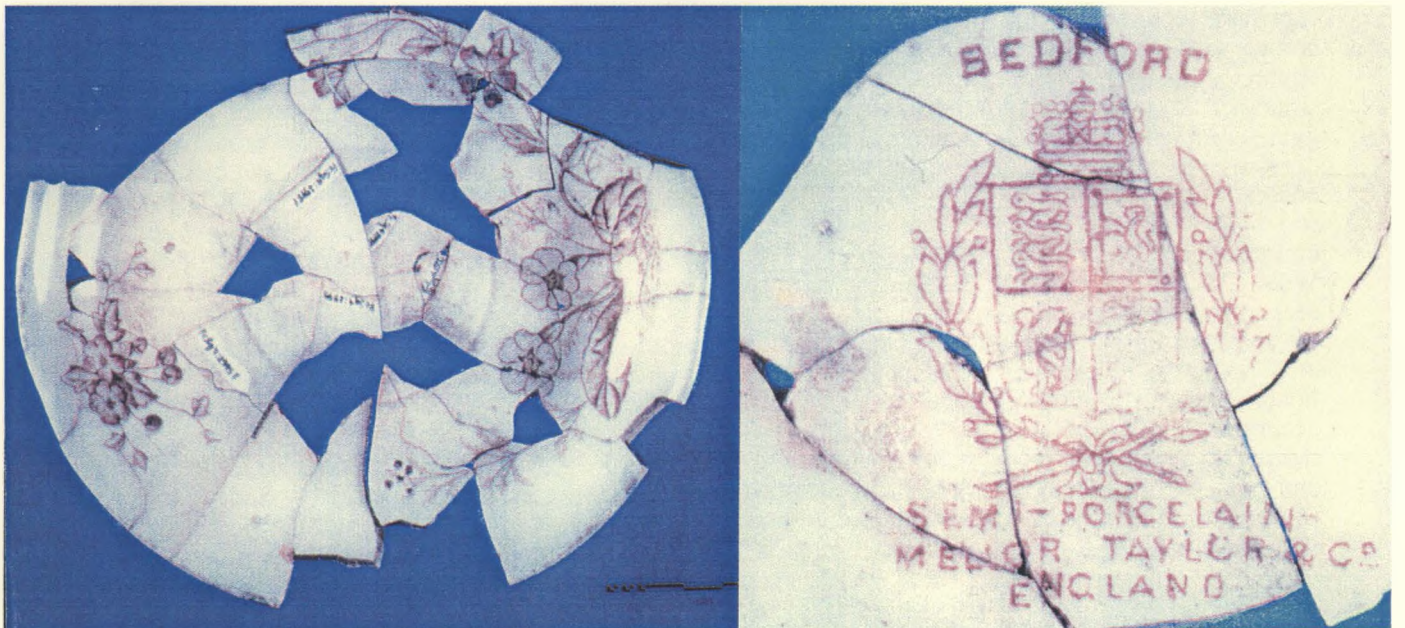


Figure 18:23. Reconstructed transfer print Plate from Snxlhh (FcSq 4) Bella Coola (left) with maker's Mark clearly defined on the reverse (right).

As Bella Bella, Bella Coola, and Kimsquit were all supplied by the Hudson's Bay Company trading posts at Bella Coola and Old Bella Bella (Charles 1883; Kopas 1976; Prince 1992) ceramic wares produced by the same Staffordshire manufacturers would be expected at all three sites. As further analysis is done of ceramic collections on the Central Coast, comparison between sites should prove a useful method of identifying ceramic patterns and manufacturers not identifiable on the basis of a single collection.

Discussion and Conclusions

Theories of Culture Change

Material culture, is the principal tangible means by which archaeologists examine the process of change within culture. In the present study of trade ceramics we must attempt to understand the processes of selection and adoption of new items and to view these in the larger context of 19th century Heiltsuk life.

The Process of Incorporation: Adaptive and Adaptive Strategies

The cultural mechanisms by which a First Nation community dealt with change prior to contact determined the ways in which it dealt with the European arrival. Michael Harkin (1988) has argued that the Heiltsuk attempted to incorporate and thereby control new concepts and technologies on their own terms. A complex dynamic was created when Heiltsuk strategies for change combined with European strategies for cultural interaction. Rogers argues that inter ethnic dynamics require an understanding of the "historic social interaction context" (1990:213), this involves an understanding of the motivations on the part of both cultures in the contact situation (Trigger 1978; Wolf 1982). The historical archaeologist must seek an inter-ethnic dynamic by examining the relationship between material change in the archaeological record and social change in the historical record. Contact relations are most accurately explained when the economics of the fur trade are seen in the context of the "social process of exchange" as it was perceived by First Nations, a process in which indigenous populations applied a culturally determined set of expectations about who "Euro-Americans were and how they might be expected to behave" (1990:214). This understanding allows for a consideration of the specific function that items of material culture may have in a social context. As stated by Rogers:

In many cases objects function in a social and symbolic way to define cultural categories by providing physical referents. To understand the process of adoption or exclusion of various kinds of goods requires considering the role objects play...In order for an object to be adopted as part of a material inventory it must make some kind of cultural sense (Rogers 1990:215).

Traditional Forms of Giving

Just as the social context of trade implied expectations of Europeans, so long established trade relations between aboriginal groups led to expectations of one another. Rogers notes that trade was tied to obligations and duties within the social context of aboriginal culture itself. And within this context, trade goods were valuable as a means to increased wealth and prestige (Rogers 1990:216). This interpretation is supported for the Central Coast of British Columbia, in the records of fur traders at Fort McLoughlin. They indicate that trade goods were viewed by the Heiltsuk as wealth items that could be displayed and given away at potlatches thereby increasing the status of the host (Dunn 1844; Work 1945).

Earlier studies of the Northwest Coast have suggested that the basic unit of social organization, the family lineage, acts as a corporate entity under the chief, who is in turn, the recipient of resources and goods for the purposes of redistribution (Wike 1951). In fact the Heiltsuk say of these relations; "a chief dies with nothing" reflecting the trustee relationship of a chief to the group (Harkin 1988:260). The form of this re-circulation of goods has been assumed to be the indigenous potlatch system. The potlatch is an anthropological construct; the Heiltsuk have no specific word for "potlatch", the closest term meaning simply "to invite" (Harkin 1988:262). The distribution of goods, however, is an integral part of life-cycle and rank-marking events.

Traditional forms of giving in Heiltsuk culture fell into two general categories, both marked and unmarked. The first of these Harkin defines as: "...any marked material giving, which is to say giving which is formally counted as by a hereditary counter using tally sticks. A precise mental record was kept of all such transactions. This requires a countable medium" (Harkin 1988: 262). Unmarked exchange took place outside of this sphere and was characterized by the exchange of subsistence and luxury items. European trade, and the eventual move to a cash economy, initiated new material relations which brought about the circulation of unrestricted objects and the in-

roduction of "a class of persons with whom unrestricted but marked exchange could possibly occur" (Harkin 1988: 269). Harkin has argued that the early maritime fur trade of the 1790s initiated this type of exchange.

Animal skins were traded for more particular manifestations of power. These trade items were particularized not in being named, but in being unique, rare or at least novel...Thus in the early maritime fur trade period there was a great demand for items of adornment (Harkin 1988:270). The ceremonial nature of this trade is seen most clearly in the use of these items of adornment in the *dlu'elae'xa*, one of the two series of the Winter Ceremonial. Thimbles reportedly received from Vancouver were sewn into a dancing apron worn in a *dlu'elae'xa* performance observed by Tolmie in 1834 (Tolmie 1963:295). The connection between a particularized other and a particularized object and sphere of exchange, in the context of the fur trade, can be seen in the *dlu'elae'xa* dancing apron. The thimbles sewn into it are particular thimbles given by a particular named being, Vancouver (Harkin 1988: 272-9).

The First Schooner

The Heiltsuk narrative quoted below provides an account of an occurrence of contact. It describes a culturally mediated response to European arrival and sheds some light on the initial position of trade goods in the Heiltsuk cultural context. The story of "The First Schooner", collected by M. Harkin in 1985 was, in fact, related to him as a two part narrative. The first part depicts the arrival of a European trading vessel in Heiltsuk waters. The narrator, Gordon Reid Sr., provides some insight, in metaphorical terms, into the importance of this event from the Heiltsuk point of view.

In the first part of the narrative, an old couple fishing on the beach are taken onto a newly arrived steamship and given European food and clothing and then set back into their canoe with sacks full of objects; "White people already had everything then -clocks, lamps, cups and stuff and so forth" (Harkin 1988: 72). When they get back to the beach, the people make them put their bark clothing back on before they are permitted to get out of their canoe. At first, the older couple are "paralyzed" at the sight of the ship and are sent back to the beach with unknown objects which are initially rejected by the people. Nevertheless, these objects ultimately represent the introduction of European trade goods into the Heiltsuk material inventory.

The Role of Ceramics in Gift Giving

The narrative makes specific mention of cups as one of the first trade goods. Certainly of the range of ceramic vessel forms available to the Heiltsuk in the 19th century, cups and saucer are by far the most common in the ceramic assemblage, making up roughly 50% of the vessels from both the traditional and the frame house components.

Ceramics further signify categories of meaning within the broader pattern of Heiltsuk culture. In the area of ceramic studies in historical archaeology, consumer behaviour theory, has been used to explain the adoption of new items of material culture. Material objects are understood to act as communicators of cultural categories which serve to structure the larger physical and cognitive world. Material culture as a whole becomes a corporeal framework upon which the categories of culture are seen (Douglas 1982).

Historical records indicate cups, saucers, soup plates and wash basins were given away in large numbers at potlatches during the latter part of the 19th century (C. S. Tate 1870-1933; Blackman 1977; Marshall 1993). The type of goods in high demand for distribution at potlatches, tended to be items of uniform quality that could be easily counted and therefore kept track of (Wike 1951:90). This is a criteria well matched by European ceramic vessels.

Blackman notes that Haida potlatch goods were selected because they were "mass produced, cheap, and available in quantity, Hudson's Bay blankets, washbowls, teapots, mirrors, platters, yard goods, and even furniture were ideally suitable as potlatch goods. Though the goods were alien, the attitude towards them was traditional. As potlatch wealth they were not utilitarian. 'they think low of you if you use what you receive,' Haida informants told me. The new potlatch wealth like the old was simply recycled "(Blackman 1976: 407).

Large collections of ceramics, including teawares, are found on the Coast even in the present day. In her biography of Florence Edenshaw Davidson Margaret Blackman describes her subject's modern kitchen: "The most eye catching feature of Nani's kitchen is the long bank of open shelves along one wall, which display some two hundred bone china cups and saucers (Blackman 1982:11).

Ethnographic Evidence of Adoptive and Adaptive Strategies

The initial tendency was to adopt those items of foreign manufacture which were most readily incorporated into pre-existing cultural

constructs. These were the constructs most closely associated with aboriginal artifact categories such as items of adornment and objects used in the ceremonial and potlatch complex. Archaeological evidence from the Central Coast demonstrates this point well.

In an archaeological study of the acculturative response to trade on the Central Coast, Hobler (1987) compared three groupings of sites in an early, middle and late historic time period for degree of acculturation based on presence, quantity and type of trade goods. The earliest sites produced items of aboriginal manufacture and trade copper reworked into objects that were most likely used in a ceremonial or ornamental context. The second grouping of artifacts from the middle period sites consisted primarily of glass which was more common than metal. The late site grouping, which included the excavations at Old Bella Bella, produced the highest proportion of nails and iron objects and, the lowest proportion of copper and brass ornaments. Hobler suggests, initially, the most desirable trade goods were the ones most easily manufactured into objects used in the ceremonial complex: copper reworked into collars, brass nose rings, and iron and copper tinklers (used on dancing costumes). On the other hand, trade goods with apparent utilitarian purpose, from the Euro-centric view point, were the last artifacts to be incorporated into the aboriginal material inventory (Hobler 1987).

A related study deals with data from Hobler's excavations at four Central Coast sites near Kimsquit (Prince 1992; Ch. 16, this vol.). For the three earliest sites the majority of trade goods had been reworked using aboriginal technology to reproduce aboriginal artifact categories in the new materials. The only example of a replacement of an aboriginal artifact category, prior to the onset of a cash economy was the use of iron adze blades in lieu of stone.

An example involving ceramics specifically is documented at archaeological sites on the West Coast of Vancouver Island and in the Bella Coola region. Here small pieces of European ceramic appear to have been intentionally reworked by flaking and grinding (Hobler 1994; MacMillan pers. comm. 1992). The shapes of these sherds suggest they functioned as inlays in wooden carvings replacing the traditional shell inlays.

On the east coast of North America, Miller and Hamell (1986: 316) have documented another example of an adaptive use of ceramics in the early historic period: "playing pieces

from the Plumstone Bowl or dice game made from white glazed majolica and delft fragments have been found at 17th century Seneca sites. Majolica and delft fragments have also been reworked into small circular gorgets and pendants, analogues of more traditional shell fragments. In all of these cases, the new materials were incorporated with similar traditional materials into a shared ceremonial context".

As the eastern fur trade continued into the 18th century, the ceremonial nature of the early trade was lost to the demands of European capitalism. Utilitarian items were more exclusively sought, and the trade in metal knives, hatchets, kettles, and cloth rose while the demand for glass beads dropped, reflecting the shift in trade goods with symbolic value to those with greater practical utility. The decreasing symbolic function of trade goods is perhaps further conveyed in the eventual prohibition by the Northern Iroquois of glass beads in their burials. (Shimony in Miller and Hamell 1986:327).

On the Northwest Coast, Duff (1964:57) has similarly suggested that European trade goods were seen initially in the same context as objects of aboriginal manufacture with spiritual and ceremonial significance. Harkin argues that the Heiltsuk soon attempted to normalize relations with Europeans by assigning them roles in the Heiltsuk cultural context as competitors (1988:102). Thus Europeans initially represented an unknown outside force which was then incorporated by way of setting up competitive, and therefore trading relations.

In summary it is proposed that the Heiltsuk incorporated new items of material culture by adapting their use to fit the Heiltsuk world view. The initial tendency was to adopt those items of foreign manufacture which were most readily incorporated into pre-existing cultural constructs. Further, these cultural constructs were the ones associated with Heiltsuk artifact categories including objects used in the ceremonial and potlatch complex. This may be especially the case for ceramic objects, items frequently having value in European culture as symbols of status. European perceptions were likely conveyed to the Heiltsuk in subtle ways, for example the context in which ceramics were used at Fort McLoughlin. The initial view of European trade goods as imbued with derivative symbolic meanings analogous to established Heiltsuk artifact categories dissipated in the face of changes to the "social process of exchange" (Rogers 1990:214).

With the transition in material and social relations and the shift to a cash economy Heiltsuk attitudes to the use of European goods, including ceramics, underwent changes. In the post 1880s period missionary women had a role in the further incorporation of domestic items of material culture.

Changes in Ceramic Use

European women played an integral part in the evangelizing efforts of Methodist missionaries on the Central Coast. Church doctrine held that in the model of a "good and well ordered Christian home" (Crosby 1914) one could find the essence of Methodist values. It fell within the realm of women's work to set this example.

Both in England and North America, the 19th century saw the culmination of a change in European family structure which had begun in the previous century with the separation of male and female roles into public and private spheres (Coonzt 1988). These changes had their roots in an earlier economic shift away from the family as a productive unit to male heads of households as primary wage earners outside the home (Woloch 1984). Growing industrialization led to increasing class stratification and the identification, particularly among the middle class, of women's roles within the private spheres of family and children. As a result, the place of women became more solely focused in the household and an elaboration of all things domestic followed. This phenomena found expression in the popular women's literature of the early 19th century and has been referred to by historians as the "cult of domesticity" (Coonzt 1988).

Recently the material expression of this aspect of 19th century women's roles has been explored in the context of ceramic studies (Shammas 1983; Wall 1987; Burley 1989; Klein 1991). Diana Wall (1987), in her study of the households of middle and upper class women in 19th century New York City, identifies an elaboration through time of ceramic vessels used in dining. This elaboration is seen in an increase in decoration, in the number of decorative styles available and in the relative cost in items of ceramic tableware. She has argued that this pattern is indicative of an increasing ritualization of dining behaviour in the mid 19th century. Thus she has been able to identify and trace archaeologically the increasing domestication of women's roles, a phenomena well documented in the historical records (Klein 1991).

The Victorian period, saw the appearance of separate dining rooms in homes, of

matched sets of china, increased attention to the regulation of table manners, table decoration, and social behaviour associated with dining, and in general, an elaboration in all aspects of consumption behaviour. Dining became a ritualized activity, designed to reinforce the growing middle class social order. "Architectural plan books of the period describe a good dining room as a space which reinforces the spiritual unity of the family" (Clark 1988, Klein 1991:80).

Methodist women were products of the Victorian era (C. S. Tate 1870, Knight 1885-7, Hendry 1882). Single Methodist women came to the Northwest Coast, often from Ontario, as teachers and nurses, or as matrons at the "Homes for Native Girls" established at Port Simpson and Victoria. After several years of work, the women usually married a missionary husband and, once married, were considered equal partners in their husbands' life work (C. M. Tate 1870; Crosby 1914). Many spent their lives working at missions up and down the Coast. Mrs. Crosby, wife of the Reverend Crosby, was considered a fine example:

Among the many agents who elevated the missionary undertaking in my estimation were the wives of the missionaries and the other women who were devoting their time, lives and talents to the uplifting of the Indians whom I visited; and no Christian woman in all my travels seemed more richly endowed and better suited for furnishing a lovely home and life model than your own beloved wife. In the Church and in the home, Mrs. Crosby was just such a wise, gentle, thoughtful, and apt woman as must ever exert a quiet and yet powerful influence in the hearts and homes of those who were permitted to come within her reach. (E. Odlum to T Crosby in 1910, in Crosby 1914: 400)

The missionaries were a part of the growing middle class population of English Canada. Consciously or unconsciously they conveyed the elements of this cultural code to the Heiltsuk. In the context of an increasing domestic emphasis, missionary women promoted the acceptance of Victorian refinements. Such rituals as the taking of tea, and proper dining with the use of the appropriate dinner service, were understood to be a necessary part of the creation of a "good Christian home". The act of dining was, in itself, an opportunity to reinforce spiritual values conveyed along with the use of the necessary items of European material culture through the institution of the Methodist "Homes for Native Girls". Here

domestic duties and housekeeping skills were the primary subject of curriculum and included the preparation and serving of food (Knight 1885-7).

As the 19th century saw an elaboration of European items relating to household functions, these goods became available for trade at the Bella Bella trading post. Hudson's Bay Company inventories barely a year after missionary arrival show an expansion in European goods of all kinds but particularly items associated with the construction and maintenance of homes. Ceramics availability increased after 1880. Items already available, such as cups and saucers, were ordered in larger numbers. There was also the appearance of new items: dinner plates, soup plates, and a diversified selection of individualized serving dishes including an order for six dozen small glass bowls (H.B.Co. B.B. 1876-1882). This trend is evident in the archaeological record of Old Bella Bella where greater diversity is found in the ceramic vessel forms of the later frame house over to the traditional house.

Many of these new practices promoted by missionary women were contrary to the consumption and feasting customs of Northwest Coast First Nations. Changes were not always accepted without resistance, Harkin notes the retention of communal dining spaces in the new houses built after 1898 following the move to Waglisla. He states:

There was a great need for public conformation of meaning, particularly with respect to liminal events such as marriage, death, or the taking of a name. Indeed, a name is considered even today to have been lost or forfeited if it is not maintained by making a distribution of goods. The floor plans of the houses built in the new village reflect this necessity; many houses, unique in design in other respects, had a large space like a public hall on the ground floor in which to hold such ceremonies. (1988: 300).

The communal nature of production and consumption patterns continued to structure many aspects of Heiltsuk life, this was particularly true for the women. The traditionally cooperative nature of food collecting and preservation activities continued. The missionaries complained that the women were more culturally conservative than the men because they persisted in these activities requiring pooled labour among households. (I. Large 1905). Nevertheless, the archaeological and historical records discussed above show a general trend

toward an increasingly individualized consumption pattern from the more traditional and communal one. This transition, found in the ceramic assemblage over time, is demonstrated in the adoption and use of items of European tableware, dinner plates, soup plates etc., and particularly in the shift toward the use of ceramic vessels designed for individual rather than communal consumption.

The transition from traditional to European style houses, with the accompanying shift from lineage to nuclear family living, infers dramatic changes in the social and economic structure of the Heiltsuk community. This then has implications for the changing pattern of Heiltsuk ceramic use. Missionary women promoted the increased use of ceramic tableware along with other domestic items of European material culture in developments which paralleled socio-economic changes in Heiltsuk society. The historical and archaeological record shows a move to European architectural styles which precipitated a transition to an increasingly individualized food preparation and consumption pattern in Heiltsuk society.

Concluding Remarks and Broader Patterns

A two part argument has been used to advance explanations for the ceramic distribution patterns found in the archaeological record at Old Bella Bella. The record shows that 19th century European ceramics were incorporated into Heiltsuk material culture. Further, selection took place with regard to the specific vessel and decorative forms considered desirable. Finally, the record indicates that a transition in vessel use took place over time.

In the early part of this chapter, the initial adoption of ceramics is examined in the context of theories of selection which relate to the incorporation of new items of material culture in general. It is then argued that ceramics were adopted into already established Heiltsuk artifact categories and their use incorporated into pre-existing cultural complexes. Ceramics, as luxury items, were desirable initially in the Heiltsuk ceremonial complex because they functioned in the same context as communal wooden serving dishes and as gifts at potlaches, and perhaps in pendants and carvings as analogues of traditional shell inlays.

Over time, in the face of changes in the social and material relations of late 19th century Heiltsuk society, ceramic use took on a new meaning. The transition in living arrangements, reflected in the shift in architectural styles, had ramifications for the adoption of all European material culture items of a domestic nature and ceramics were no exception.

The transition to single family living, was a fundamental change with implications for every other aspect of Heiltsuk life. The missionaries were a factor in this change. Methodists brought with them a different way of seeing the world, theirs was the new post-industrial religion. From their inception in Britain, Methodists had been well known for their opposition to local pre-industrial traditions, to everything in fact which was contrary to a morally disciplined and ordered life as they perceived it. Heiltsuk houses were the antithesis of missionary values and goals for acculturation. In his reminiscences Reverend Crosby outlines the duty of the missionary which included attention to the living conditions of his congregation:

There is no better teaching than the object lesson of a good and well ordered Christian home. If he is walking "in His steps," the teacher...should be willing to show how to build a nice little home, from the foundation to the last shingle on the roof.... he should make an effort to get them out of the wretched squalor and dirt of their old lodges and sweat houses into better homes. (Crosby 1914:73/74).

in their preference for "nice little separate homes" (Crosby 1914: 75), each one removed some distance from its neighbour, the Methodists were expressing in material terms the elements of a broader European world view. As a product and reflection of European culture Methodist values were often opposed to those of the Heiltsuk. The missionaries emphasized separation rather than incorporation, the individual rather than the group, hierarchical rather than egalitarian social and economic structures, and specialized rather than cooperative labour, among the fundamentals of a good Christian lifestyle.

By contrast, Heiltsuk traditional houses were reflective of a different world view. A traditional Heiltsuk house symbolized the founding of a lineage, and in the oral histories, of society itself. This is reflected in an organic building design with parallels to the human body (Boas 1928; Olson 1954, 1955). The corporate lineage was the traditional unit of economic production and consumption and therefore structured the fundamental subsistence strategies of village life itself. During the contact period, by incorporating the practices of wage labour and single family living, the Heiltsuk made changes to the economic and social patterns which organized their community and these were made manifest in the mate-

rial world of houses and the objects in them.

This study has discussed the adoption and use of ceramics in the context of material culture incorporation. Thus the passing comment of a Heiltsuk Elder in reference to the china patterns used by her 19th century predecessors, or the considerable collections of cups and saucers still to be found in some modern day First Nations kitchens are perhaps the most telling statements on the place of ceramics in Heiltsuk culture. In adapting the use of 19th century teawares and other European ceramics within indigenous cultural categories, the forbears of the present day Heiltsuk brought these items of European material culture into the Heiltsuk sphere of meaning and thereby made them their own.

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