A Historic Archaeology of
Nuu-chah-nulth Barkley Sound:
Material and Economic Change through the
Nineteenth Century

by

Ian Sellers

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Name: **Ian Sellers**

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Examining Committee: **Chair:** Dr. David Burley
Professor

Dr. Alan McMillan
Supervisor
Adjunct Professor

Dr. Ross Jamieson
Supervisor
Assistant Professor

Robert Muckle
External Examiner
Department of Anthropology
Capilano University

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Abstract

During the nineteenth century, the Nuu-chah-nulth of Barkley Sound on Vancouver Island were severely reduced by disease, transformed by political amalgamation, and constrained through reserve allocation. Trade waxed and waned in successive fur, logging, and fishing industries. Yet, through these episodic social and economic shifts, the Nuu-chah-nulth continued to use their traditional territories and resources in creative ways.

This thesis evaluates ethnohistorical descriptions of material change through an analysis of post-contact contexts at six village sites in Barkley Sound. Although the Nuu-chah-nulth were engaged in trade with Europeans from the 1780s onward, their material culture did not change dramatically until the last decades of the nineteenth century. The influx of glass, metal, and ceramic goods during this time represents new modes of engagement with non-indigenous economies, but the assemblage remained distinctly Nuu-chah-nulth, as it was reconstituted within sites defined over thousands of years of continuous occupation.

Keywords: Nuu-chah-nulth; Historical Archaeology; Barkley Sound; Colonialism; Material Culture; Political Economy

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TPQ   Terminus Post Quem

FCR   Fire Cracked Rock

1.   Introduction and Theoretical Background

Barkley Sound, a large but sheltered embayment east of Ucluelet and northwest of Bamfield on western Vancouver Island (Figure 1.1), is the traditional territory of several Nuu-chah-nulth First Nations. The area hosts dozens of major post-contact village sites, sitting atop metres-deep shell middens that have accumulated over a span of at least 6,000 years. These sites are scattered throughout the islands of the Broken and Deer Groups and along the shoreline of the sound, covering a territory rich in marine and terrestrial resources and steeped in a shared history of social, environmental, and technological change.
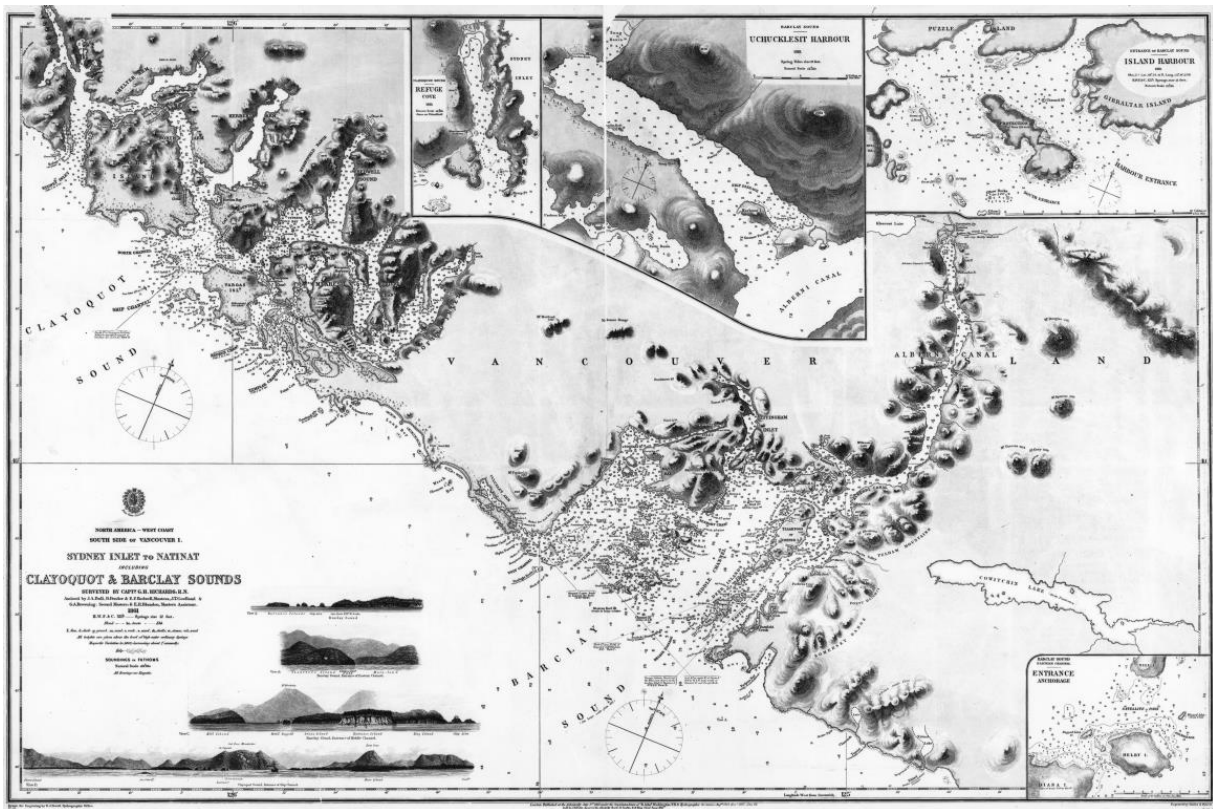
Figure 1.1   Barkley and Clayoquot Sounds 1861

 (Captain Richards 1861, Royal Hydrographic Survey. Library and Archives Canada NMC-187327)

Europeans began investigating and charting the waters of western Vancouver Island in the late eighteenth century, scouting the region for potential trade, settlement, and scientific

discovery. This contact marked one of many important shifts in social and material life for the Nuu-chah-nulth in their occupation of Barkley Sound. However, the era of contact and colonialism saw particularly drastic upheavals. During the nineteenth century, the Nuu-chah-nulth were severely reduced by disease, transformed by political amalgamation, and constrained through reserve allocation. Trade with Europeans waxed and waned in extremes with the successive fur, dogfish oil, sealing, logging, and fishing industries. Yet, throughout this episodic change, the Nuu-chah-nulth maintained a strong presence in the Sound, and they continue to use their traditional territories and resources in creative ways.

For the past 75 years, Barkley Sound has been of particular interest to the social sciences. Major ethnographic works by Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh (1955) and Philip Drucker (1951) provided influential case studies in early North American cultural and linguistic anthropological theory. In historical discourse, the region is known for its important, if slightly peripheral, relationship to Nootka Sound and the Maritime Fur Trade. Archaeological excavations started in 1991, when Alan McMillan and Denis St. Claire began their multi-decade collaborative project with the Toquaht, Tseshaht, and Huu-ay-aht Nations (McMillan and St. Claire 1991).[1]

Although ethnohistoric research has been an important component in all of these projects, the period from the earliest European presence on the coast to the 1930s is only generally recorded. For the most part, the intricacies of trade in the contact period remain poorly understood. This project gathers the contact-period archaeological assemblage of six sites in Barkley Sound to bring this turbulent period to the fore, and attempts to explain the complicated economic transitions made by the Nuu-chah-nulth in the last 225 years through material culture. By cataloguing incoming European goods and tracking material change across this period, I can illuminate broader shifts in the social landscape not afforded by other styles of research. A project that focuses on the stuff of colonialism in this way can clarify notions of political economy such as episodic change, cultural hybridity, and structural integrity.

The data for this research come from excavations during Alan McMillan and Denis St. Claire's Barkley Sound Archaeological Project. During survey and excavations at a number of sites across the Sound, McMillan and St. Claire revealed post-contact deposits at five major

[1] The Pacific Rim Survey lead by Richard Inglis and James Haggarty during the 1980s included Barkley Sound, but it did not include excavation.

village sites and one outer coast lookout site. Using the historic components found at these sites, I track the significant stylistic and functional changes in material economy during more than two hundred years of post-contact occupation, in view of the continuous history of stylistic change in Barkley Sound material culture.

Chapter 1 provides a theoretical overview of the concept of acculturation in the field of anthropology and on the Northwest Coast. Chapter 2 introduces the six sites and the projects that contributed to the assemblage. Chapter 3 explores the major categories of material found across these six sites, followed by a discussion of important excavated contexts at each site in Chapter 4. The last chapter merges this data into a historical outline of economic change through the contact period and returns to a discussion of acculturation through the archaeological data from Barkley Sound.

1.1. 'Acculturation' in Anthropology

Archaeology has long relied on generalized schemes of culture, economy and geography to efficiently distill and group patterns of human behaviour from the archaeological record. This categorization not only divides the past into internally homogenous units of interaction, but also creates definitional borderlands: places of murk and rule-testing exception. For historical archaeology, these sounding points are colonialism and culture contact, and they prove just as influential, complex, and ambiguous as any field's broad concepts. However, historical archaeology perhaps differs from other disciplines in its stubborn insistence on beginning research at the edges of its defining concepts. This is a daunting place to start—at a confusing meeting place of major cultural divisions, time periods, and material types, but this position allows a unique perspective on the utility of local-global, producer-consumer, centre-periphery, and colonizer-colonized schematics.

Over the past few decades of postmodern reflection, we have carefully critiqued world-systems relationships (Skocpol 1977; Wolf 1982), laid bare the flaws of the acculturative process (Ferguson 1997), bridged the divide between history and prehistory (Lightfoot 1995), and thoroughly questioned associations between ethnicity and artifacts (Upton 1996). However, the simplistic concepts of centre-periphery, historic-prehistoric, and Indigenous-European have generally withstood criticism and continue to allow for a rich dialogue, even if they remain primarily as targets. In Henrietta Moore's terms, the broad concepts that frame our research are

sites of "maintained ambiguity" (2004:74), merely sounding posts for continual criticism. These binaries cannot account for the complexity of social change in nineteenth-century Barkley Sound, but they provide a still-effective means of connecting regional case-studies to a broader set of examples grouped under the term "colonialism".

Historical archaeology on the Northwest Coast has primarily concerned itself with material post-dating contact between Europeans and First Nations (see Schuyler 1970). We recognize this division in the archaeological record primarily through the presence of European manufactures on archaeological sites. This is useful short-hand for site survey and rough dating, but the scheme has reinforced the divide between Indigenous and European along historic-prehistoric lines. As Stephen Silliman explored in his work with the Pequot (2005) and A.R. Kelly hinted at as early as 1939, archaeological survey on longstanding First Nations sites too often divides a site's history into arbitrary groupings of before and after contact. When taken *prima facie*, these divisions obscure our understanding of so-called 'change and continuity', a term that attempts of convey both stability and fluidity in cultural change.

Yet, the arrival of European materials represents a clear and contiguous boundary in the archaeological record for North America. These materials' cross-contextual appearance is a phenomenon of some broad significance. Arguably, this material division is important due to its sheer magnitude. In light of this, anthropologists have generally separated colonial episodes of culture contact from less lop-sided exchanges. Some acculturation studies have attempted to incorporate all instances of social interaction into singular frameworks, but with anthropology's own history bound up so tightly in a colonial past, the discussion more often than not turns back to cases of colonialism.

A short address in *American Anthropology* (Redfield et al. 1936) marked an early effort to define, in certain terms, what unifies the study of acculturation. Redford et al. delineated several continua of culture change, from open to oppressive and from individual to collective. Yet, for all its rigid language, their schematic is quite forgiving of variability and cautious in describing the cross-cultural applicability of 'acculturation'. In this regard, it is surprisingly similar to later postmodern struggles with structure and agency, where terms such as "entanglement" describe the interplay of regional politics and individual opportunity (e.g. Thomas 1996).

In defining the discipline, Redfield et al. (1936) are quite cautious, stating merely that "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups" (1936:149). Contact can be friendly or hostile, group or individual, forced or voluntary, full or partial, practical or ethical, fast or slow, peaceful or violent (1936:152). Yet, Redfield et al. funnel this variety in contact into only three possible results: acceptance, adaptation and reaction (1936:152). This simplified prediction from a number of causal factors distances this work from later portrayals of individual material experimentation and agency (e.g. Appadurai 1996). Still, Redfield et al. engage in the same theoretical binaries that continue to define contemporary discussions. This variety in experience can never be comprehensively summarized, and indeed, the basic definition hasn't expanded much since this review.

Although Redfield et al.'s (see also Siegel 1955) compilations represent a watershed moment in the focused study of colonial social change, this style of research was not particularly well-regarded in the anthropological circles of the early twentieth century (Ferguson 1997:157). Its applied and political nature did not fit with the contemporary concern for cultural preservation and "traditional" social organization (e.g. Malinowski's famous work (1922) on prestige economies in the South Pacific). Similarly, Franz Boas' approach and the synchronic style of North American relativism was not geared towards the study of contemporary economic change, nor was it welcoming to cross-cultural comparisons.

When acculturation gained attention in archaeology, it did so in direct contrast to claims of evolutionary, isolating accounts of cultural change (see Bennet 1943:212). Its introduction came amid tension between conflicting culture-historical and functionalist accounts of social change— difficulties with idealized types and effective generalization. As Bennet presciently states, "The curious worship of taxonomy from a terminological standpoint will give way to a more casual use of the method as a tool, and not as a goal in itself" (1943:218). This prediction fits well with Moore's (2004) notion of concept metaphors. Yet, Bennet's critique did not dramatically alter the course of acculturation theory. Later work such as Willey and Philips (1955) followed along the course set by Redfield et al. (1936), simplifying the outcomes of cultural contact to similar schemes of acceptance, hybridity, and rejection. This polarized format continues to have a strong influence in archaeology, and has lingered around the otherwise detailed and nuanced discussions of contact for quite some time, manifesting in conclusions of cultural loss and gain for Indigenous persons.

An archaeology of colonialism, as distinct from an archaeology of broader culture-contact and acculturation, did not become popular until decades later. When historical archaeology developed into a coherent discipline in the 1970s, it did not immediately engage in the study of acculturation. An archaeological perspective on the recent past was a novel concept, and early debate revolved around whether so-called Indigenous materials should be included in the endeavor at all.

Robert Schuyler (1970) and Charles Orser (1996) have argued that historical archaeology, although spottily practiced since the 1930s, achieved its current form by way of Hume (1969) Harrington (1952) and Fontana (1965). These definitional forays were varied, with Fontana accepting Indigenous sites as part of the disciplinary mandate and Harrington arguing for a strictly non-Indigenous scope of research (Rubertone 2000:429). Borrowing from these sources, Schuyler defined historical archaeology as "the study of the material manifestation of the expansion of European culture into the non-European world" (1970:84). These niche-carving debates centred the discipline on issues of colonialism, but typified the split between colonizer-colonized in North America and established the terminological difficulties we face today.

Before these theoretical discussions, there was little recognition of the broader theoretical value of an archaeology of the recent past. At first, there was a distinct atheoretical isolation, a data-focused, "not-ready-yet hypothesis" (Schuyler 1970:88; see also Orser 1996:5). This perspective has never faded completely, but the discipline has since grown in confidence. Through the structure-functionalism of Deetz (1974) and Glassie (1969), the behaviouralism of Schiffer (1976), and the processualism of Stanley South (1977), the study of colonial acculturation gained complexity and nuance. Debates between anthropological and historical forms of data collection were slowly resolved, and the discipline developed to include both cross-cultural and particularist forms of research (Deagan 1982). In doing so, historical archaeology began to recognize its unique ability to present alternatives to written colonial histories of the acculturative process.

Cultural anthropologists in the second half of the twentieth century engaged more directly with the processes of modernization, which was something previously considered outside of the scope of anthropology and more in line with political theory (Rogers 1975). Neo-evolutionary theorists such as White (2009[1959]) reacted to Boasian, isolationist relativism by moving research on acculturation back within a regular, directional scheme of progress. Thus,

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addressing technological innovation, White states that modern manufactures tend "to flow downhill, so to speak, i.e., from higher to lower levels" (2009[1959]:17). Wolf (1966) explores similar diffusive, Marxist, and evolutionary themes in his research on the European peasant class, although his characterization of progress is more muted than White's. As he later prefaced his influential work, "cultural refashioning and culture change go forward continually under variable, but also highly determinate, circumstances" (1997[1966]:viii). Between evolutionary and Boasian conceptions of cultural change, Wolf tacked a line for acculturative research that allowed for variability in individual experience within overarching themes of power and ideology. Reminiscent of Siegel and Redfield et al., *Europe and the People Without History* (Wolf 1982) offered a new and stable platform for the resurgence of a broad, comparative anthropology of capitalism and colonialism, one without the rigid predictions of early acculturation studies.

Historical archaeology (see Mullins 2004) closely followed these progressive, Marxist concepts into the broad, global, economic anthropology that has presided over more recent decades. From Wolf and White, it was Wallerstein (1976) and, in turn, Appadurai (1996) who brought global exchange and colonialism into the center of anthropological research. This set up an anthropology of capitalism suitable for the interconnected trade and communication of the modern era. Appadurai primarily deals with economies of the late twentieth century, but his portrayal of chaotic and interconnected realms of cultural exchange impacts our understanding of earlier periods of colonialism. He defines a series of perspectives from which to view the tangled web of cultural change: ethnoscapes, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes and ideoscapes. These multiple viewpoints, he argues, provide suitable coverage for the small groups as they "deal with these new global realities" (1996:43). Overall, he portrays the process as generally oppressive, but highly dependent on context. However, the existence of a "global reality" threads these disparate tatters into one strangely patterned piece.

Nicholas Thomas' work (1996) uses a similar framework of overlapping, context dependent exchange to explain the variety of processes that composed colonial gift exchange in the Pacific. Dissatisfied with the conclusions of early acculturative models, Thomas contrasts fated transitions and general measures of oppression with the almost insurmountable variation of colonial experience. He emphasizes local determinants of social change in early colonialism without disregarding structural oppression. The arguments put forward by Thomas and Appadurai on the material of colonization paralleled an anthropological turn toward postmodernism that deeply affected the discipline as a whole, and we have yet to reconcile

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such scientific and comparative aspirations with the deep understandings afforded by more localized, restricted study. In the face of such polar tension, the concept of acculturation requires very careful application. Yet, when compared with Siegel (1955), both Wolf and Thomas define acculturation in political and economic terms, albeit ones of local specificity rather than ones dictated by capitalist universals of progress.

1.2. Episodic Change on the Northwest Coast

On the Northwest Coast, the debate on acculturation took a slightly different form. Here, discussions of colonial contact revolved around cultural fluorescence and degradation—positive and negative portrayals of First Nations' use of European manufactures (see Wike 1958, Duff 1965). In contrast, recent work by Martindale (2009), Clayton (2000), Raibmon (2005), Prince (1998) and others have avoided these terms in their descriptions of a multiscalar, highly variable colonialism on the coast. For all of this nuanced description, however, even the most recent literature relies upon a framework of episodic change laid out by the earliest acculturation theorists.

Discussions of acculturation in Northwest Coast First Nations predated the formalization of anthropology. The vanguard of European trade on the Northwest Coast brought with it well-formed notions of the acculturative process. Indigenous peoples, a category of persons that has its roots in the European notion of "primitive" (see Kuper 2000), were subject to entrenched historical understandings of Native North America that existed in Russian, American, Spanish and British popular belief. The journals of Cook (Beaglehole 1974), Vancouver (Roberts 2005 [1792]), and Moziño (1991 [1792]) are very anthropological in tone. As was the case long before and long after initial European-Indigenous contact, new social and economic relationships required close scrutiny and careful management. Changes in these relationships were often portrayed as acculturation by European groups.

The Maritime Fur Trade required careful, adaptive political negotiation, and First Nations and European groups adjusted trade relationships over prolonged cultural contact. As in the case of Nootka Sound, the famed point of contact and centre of the earliest fur trade, multiple nations and individuals converged in one diplomatic realm, resulting in complicated negotiations with geographically broad consequences. Trading centers such as Nootka were enmeshed within networks stretching along the coast and into the interior. Wants and needs of groups far

afield would drastically affect the nature of wealth and trade in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, and Europeans and First Nations peoples were appropriately attuned to the subtleties of changing markets.

As coastal trade gave way to permanent settlement, government administrators and Indian agents used unidirectional concepts of acculturation to justify trade and sovereignty claims. From the relatively sympathetic views of Gilbert Sproat and James Douglas, to the harsh and restrictive colonial policy of Joseph Trutch and others, government administrators viewed European to First Nations cultural change as both destructive and profitable. First Nations who had acquiesced to the European pressure to "civilize" were variably construed as pitiable vanquished and possible citizens. Sproat, in his *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (1868:279) puts forward, "Nobody molested them; they had ample sustenance and shelter for the support of life, yet the people decayed. The steady brightness of civilized life seemed to dim and extinguish the flickering light of savageism, as the rays of the sun put out a common fire." It is the capstone of a patronizing ethnography of the Nuu-chah-nulth that exposes the rationale and guilt of colonialism.

Howay, in his influential and early academic account of the Maritime Fur Trade, counters the patronizing extreme of this administrative spectrum, describing early trade as "merely a looting of the coast" (1932:14). The subsequent salvage ethnographies of Drucker, Sapir and Boas echo Howay's interpretation and regard the influx of European goods as culturally destructive. These ethnographies approach this period indirectly, mainly as context for their historical ethnographies. Such work measures change in the historic period according to a scale of authenticity, where pre-contact "traditions" are eroding and in need of preservation. In this way, the pre-contact period was naturalized, and any shift away from it was portrayed as degradation or loss of cultural definition.

Wilson Duff, in his comprehensive *Indians of British Columbia: Volume One, Impact of the White Man* (1964), pushed back against Howay's interpretations. For Duff and later Blackman (1976), new trade contacts and material exchanges allowed for revitalization and a creative surge in First Nations power. The oscillation between enrichment and destruction is exemplified in Joyce Wike's (1958) pioneering essay on cultural fluorescence and degradation in British Columbia. This early and justifiably cautious statement on power relations in British Columbia colonial history urges specificity in the very broad and general claims of previous investigators. Still, even up to the 1970s, Robin Fisher introduced a model of acculturation in

British Columbia that, like Wilson Duff, emphasized the positive outcomes of early European-First Nations interaction.[2]

Despite several prominent claims of cultural fluorescence among First Nations on the Northwest Coast, most historical descriptions follow a particular chronology of economic dependence—a loss of control follows contact in spite of new trade developments for First Nations. There seems to be a common, if general, chronology that connects these individual cases of European and Indigenous interaction on the coast. Marxist conceptions of alienation and relations of production cannot adequately convey the breadth of oppression and exploration in this period, but the study of technological change illuminate why and how Nuu-chah-nulth material culture changed over the course of over two centuries of colonial interaction.

In a pivotal historical analysis of acculturation on the Northwest Coast, Fisher (see also Duff 1965) defines several stages of colonialism, each corresponding with a further shift from native to non-native economic control. The initial, culturally challenging encounters quickly regularized and developed into a local pattern of trade and interaction along the coast. From sporadic engagements with early maritime fur traders to more geographically predictable relationships with missions, trading posts, and industrial towns, First Nations peoples and Europeans acted and reacted through the 19th and 20th centuries. This stepwise economic dependence has been discussed explicitly by historians such as Lutz (1992) and others (Warburten et al. 1985), but anthropology has largely been silent on the matter.

Again, the struggle to seek patterning without falling into determinism lies at the core of this project. In order to contribute to an understanding of the broad effects of colonialism in British Columbia, we must compare a variety of locales. The development of a geographically broad and internally comparable dataset will help us understand the variable, individual nature of colonialism and nascent capitalism. By focusing on how material economy changed or did not change through these colonial "periods", we can critique coast-wide chronologies of economic change.

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[2] All of these descriptions of trade on the Northwest Coast emphasize reaction to Euro-canadian capitalism. Yet, it is important to recognize that capitalism was not merely an external force in British Columbia. Rather, it developed *in situ* with a significant First Nations component (see Knight 1996, Gibson 1992, Warburton et al. 1985, and Fisher 1977).

Most recently, Clayton (2000), Raibmon (2005), and Harris (2002) argue against the binary cultural fluorescence and degradation model, but imply a certain progression from economic freedom to restriction. Others, such as Lutz (2008), are explicit in tracking a shift from local to foreign control over labour and resources. Whether they are stated outright or not, shifts in economic power are central to all these works. These shifts fall well within the purview of archaeological research. In the vein of Joyce Wike (1958), we must be specific. Archaeological research on material change in First Nations settlements through the contact period can clarify the temporal and geographic particulars of trade at local and regional levels. Without small, comparable bodies of data, we will not be able to explore patterned variability along the coast in any meaningful way.

1.3. Historical Archaeology on the Northwest Coast

Historic archaeology on the Northwest Coast entered the debate on acculturation in earnest with the Yuquot Project in Nootka Sound (Folan and Dewhirst 1981). As a part of its wide-ranging mandate, this project explored Nuu-chah-nulth settlement on the site from 4300 BP to the late nineteenth century. With a strong emphasis on "change and continuity" (1979:5), Folan and Dewhirst engaged in a holistic research program that included a volume on materials excavated from colonial outposts and village sites in Nootka Sound. It marked an early landmark in the archaeology of colonialism as it affected First Nations. However, the results have yet to be fully analyzed, and those that have been (Lueger 1983; Folan and Dewhirst 1981) have followed a general description of continual cultural shifts away from traditional material culture. This research did not engage with questions of acculturation directly, and as is true of most historical archaeology in these nascent years (see Schuyler 1970), it existed primarily to clarify historical schema. The adoption of European technology, for this project, implied broader social change as documented by Fisher in *Contact and Conflict* (1977 in Folan and Dewhirst 1981:6).

Beyond the Yuquot project, most early historical archaeology on the Northwest Coast dealt primarily with fur trade posts and Euro-Canadian economic centres such as Fort Vancouver (Caywood 1955), Fort Langley, Fort McLaughlin (Hobler 1986), and Kamloops (Carlson 2006). Due to this work and similar research for the interior, we now have a broad understanding of the political and economic motivations of Hudson's Bay personnel who built and traded in Western Canada. Burley et al. (1996), in particular, follow closely the "mindset"

archaeology of James Deetz, examining material culture as it reflects a cohesive worldview. In this way, Burley et al. expose the changing dynamics of Euro-Canadian-First Nations trade from the perspective of fur traders, and comment, through faunal and artifactual evidence, on previous local histories that portray Dunne-za (Beaver) historic trade as minimally destructive. In direct contradiction, Burley et al. expose resource depletion, increasingly tense trade relationships, and outright violence in the fur trade on the Upper Peace river. Here again, as it has in historical and anthropological discourses, the tension between fluorescence and degradation shapes research in historical archaeology.

Research on First Nations sites continued, if to a lesser degree, alongside historical archaeologies of Euro-canadian settlement. Hobler's 1986 article, "Measures of the Acculturative Response to Trade on the Central Coast of British Columbia" is one of the only published, regional comparisons of Native historical archaeology in British Columbia. It separates eight excavated sites across the central coast, including Fort McLoughlin and Old Bella Bella, into distinct early, middle, and late periods based on material dates of manufacture, providing a good understanding of both geographic and temporal variability in the region. These sites were excavated with questions of First Nations/Euro-canadian economic exchange in mind. This comparative trade-store and village site material has been partially examined by Alexandra Maas (1994) and is currently being researched by Michelle Lynch, a graduate student at Simon Fraser University. This Central Coast collection is a potentially very important body of comparative data, and along with Yuquot, it serves as a comparative starting point for all historical archaeology for First Nations village sites on the Northwest Coast. However, any broader comparative analysis is still in its earliest stages. Alexandra Maas and Yvonne Marshall (1997) returned to this material in a comparative ceramic analysis including Yuquot, Bella Bella, and Inuit sites. Using the extensive data that exist for these sites, this research is beginning to discern cross-cultural similarities in ceramic adoption among First Nations. However, both Yuquot and the sites of the Central Coast are only partially analyzed, and still have much to contribute to a broader understanding of culture contact on the Northwest Coast.

While Hobler's research follows a discrete, functionalist definition of acculturation, recent work provides a more fluid depiction of colonialism on the Northwest Coast. This postmodern turn is exemplified in Lightfoot et al.'s multi-perspective work at Fort Ross (1998) and Silliman's (2001) "Archaeology of Culture Contact", which summarized decades of difficulty in balancing structure and agency in the archaeology of colonialism. Influenced by practice theorists Giddens (1984) and Bourdieu (1977), Silliman merges the scapes of Appadurai and the power

relationships of Siegel with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* (2001:196). In brief, the "durable dispositions" (Bourdieu 1977) that make up material and social change are bound as much by discursive political force as by inertial accumulation of habit, explaining the persistence of material culture through dramatic upheavals of colonialism.

This loose, multifocal exploration of ethnicity contributed to a discipline-wide rethinking of ethnicity in material culture. Archaeologists such as Andrew Martindale (2009) and Paul Prince (1997) have drawn on this practice-theory inspired framework of structure and agency in order to explore North Coast material change in the historic period. In Martindale's account of Tsimshian territory, this story has moved away from delineating stages of acculturation to examining individual episodes of power negotiation. In particular, his work details Legaix's rise to prominence as a power-broker in the late years of the fur trade among the Tsimshian (Martindale 2006). Yet, without comparison of these unique and complex events, we cannot effectively discount the possibility for wider coastal patterning.

Explanations of colonialism in British Columbia must now reconcile large-scale oppression, disease, and economic inequality with small-scale interaction, development of new trade contacts, and creative restructuring of political alliances. In Northwest Coast historical archaeology, Martindale (2009), Oliver (2010), and Prince (2002) all come to terms with this through practice theory, a model of oppression and opportunity as part of the same experimental engagement with the world. Martindale takes particular aim at the concept of history as merely a "backdrop for individual agency" (2009). Geographer Daniel Clayton (2000) has worked within a similar framework of entanglement for his historiography of Vancouver Island. Clayton takes a cartographic, post-colonial approach to Vancouver Island, heeding Appadurai's call to merge history and genealogy as well as accommodating both global and local perspectives (2000: 293). These models make an effort not to favour any one perspective, but instead accommodate local negotiation and multifocal structuration. They focus theories of acculturation on local context without ignoring the major, unifying elements of colonialism: violence, disease, and economic subjugation.

With this newly framed concept of colonialism, we are beginning to tease apart regional variability. However, localized research only indirectly comments on the underlying notion of cross-context periods of social and economic dependency. Alison Wylie has noted for the archaeology of capitalism, "If [it] is framed as a series of narrow case studies with no movement beyond concrete particularities, and no analysis of the encompassing processes and structural

conditions that give rise to these particularities, it cannot be expected to provide an understanding of these subjects" (1999:26). The notions of continual change and individual agency do not necessarily conflict with a period-based interpretation of colonialism on the Northwest coast, but they may underemphasize this underlying project. With the foundational concept of acculturation rent so effectively, what can we say of colonialism? The theme remains popular in archaeology, academia, and politics, and in order to engage with it meaningfully, we must find grounds for regional comparison.

As Bennet has exclaimed in the earliest explorations of acculturation in archaeology, "The violent reaction against taxonomy in certain quarters has been a result of the in-group losing sight of the operational utility of taxonomy and over-emphasizing its intriguing pseudo-orderliness" (1943:218). This is a debate that has followed archaeological study of culture contact, and will not cease to trouble the study of social interaction. In historical archaeology, however, we have the opportunity to counter one set of generalizations with another, and develop a mutually critical research strategy that combines the particular strengths of ethnographic, historical, and archaeological research. Barkley Sound offers a place from which to explore both the earliest contacts between Europeans and Indigenous peoples (see Rubertone 2000:433) and the long-term social and economic history of the Nuu-chah-nulth from a village perspective. As Rubertone states, "this appreciation of the prominent and active role of the landscape in sustaining community may offer the most persuasive argument against various forms of categorical thinking that have obscured the richness and complexities of Native American's lives in colonial America" (2000:437). Barkley Sound as a region offers such a platform from which to view the prevailing taxonomies of cultural change.

2. Sites and Survey Methods

2.1. Methods and Site Locations

The materials that comprise the study assemblage come from five village sites and one lookout site, spanning the northwestern edge of Barkley Sound (Figure 2.1; Table 2.1   Site Names and Affiliations).   A number of additional post-contact sites were surveyed during the Barkley Sound Archaeological Project, but I restrict my discussion here to Nuu-chah-nulth sites with historic components.   First, I introduce the region of Barkley Sound.   Second, I outline the contributing archaeological projects and study sites.   These chapters provide broader context to the next two chapters on material types (Chapter 3) and spatial variability (Chapter 4).

Figure 2.1   Study Assemblage Sites and Populated Areas

(Image Courtesy Google Earth 2013, GeoEye, DigitalGlobe 2013, Data from SIO, NOAA, U.S. Navy, NGA, GEBCO)

Table 2.1   Site Names and Affiliations

Borden Designation	Village Name	Affiliation	Reserve Name
DfSi-4	Ch'uumat'a	Toquaht	
DfSi-5	Ma'acoah	Toquaht	Macoah
DfSj-23	T'ukw'aa	Toquaht	Dookqua
DfSh-15	Uukwatis	Tseshaht	Equis
DfSh-16	Hiikwis	Tseshaht	Equis
DfSj-30	Ch'uch'aa	Toquaht	

Barkley Sound is the traditional territory of five First Nations within a larger linguistic group that has previously been referred to as West Coast, Nootka, or Aht (St. Claire 1991). Since 1978, however, the first nations of Vancouver Island's west coast have adopted the name Nuu-chah-nulth, or "all along the mountains and sea" (Keitlah 2012). The five Nuu-chah-nulth groups in Barkley Sound are: the Ucluelet at the western entrance to the Sound, the Toquaht of the northwestern sound, the Tseshaht in the central sound from the Broken Group islands to Alberni Inlet, the Uchucklesaht on the lower Alberni Inlet, and the Huu-ay-aht on the Deer Group and eastern shore. These territories have changed over the course of the historic period, however. Land negotiations have been a continual part of Nuu-chah-nulth politics, particularly in the nineteenth century, when disease and new political power led to territorial disputes among local groups (see St. Claire 1991; Mcmillan 1999), but also in negotiations with the provincial and Canadian governments regarding reserve allocation and resource extraction rights.

The Maa-nulth treaty (2007) represents a culmination of the British Columbia treaty process, between the Canadian government and some Nuu-chah-nulth nations. Through the coordinated efforts of the Toquaht, Ucluelet, Huu-ay-aht, Uchucklesaht, and Ka:'yu:'k't'h'/Che:k'tles7et'h' First Nations, it transferred a large portion of traditional territories in the Barkley Sound area to First Nations governance. However, it does not include the Tseshaht. Sites Hiikwis and Uukwatis, along with a number of others in the Broken Group and on the mainland, therefore, remain unsettled among Parks[3], the Canadian government, and the Tseshaht.

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[3] Pacific Rim National Park Reserve was established in the 1970s and now draws some 800,000 visitors per year to Barkley Sound (Parks Canada 2009:ii), but its status as a national park is yet "pending resolution of aboriginal land claims" (Parks Canada 2009).

Access to Barkley Sound is available through the centers of Bamfield, Ucluelet, and Port Alberni. These communities channel park visitors, recreational boaters, and sport-fishers from Highway 4 into the relatively isolated islands of the Deer and Broken Groups. Year-round occupation is sparse but homes dot Bamfield and Grappler Inlets, the Deer Group, reserve lands on the Sarita, and new residential developments such as Salmon Beach, near Toquart Bay. Commercial interests also have a continuous, if sporadic, presence. Fish, timber, and mining, and tourism companies operate regularly across the Sound.

These myriad interest groups operate within and across the boundaries of Barkley Sound. Yet, the sound is a persistent, historical concept that has continues to define new forms of human activity (see Reich 2006) and centre people of seemingly disparate interests. For the purposes of this project, Barkley Sound offers a problematic, but nonetheless suitable frame of reference. In the fields of historical ecology (McMillan et al. 2008), linguistics (Huuʔaciyukʷap Ciqẏak & Towagh Behr 2002), ethnography (Drucker 1951, Arima and Hoover 2012, St. Claire 1991), and geographic history (Clayton 2000), Barkley Sound has consistently been presented as a bounded entity. However, the sites in this collection involve a number of Nuu-chah-nulth peoples with connections across the coast and well into the interior of Vancouver Island. The six villages are in close proximity, ranging from the George Fraser Islands off Ucluelet, at the westernmost edge of the Sound, to the mainland of the Island along Sechart Channel. Yet, this seemingly contained set of archaeological sites would have threaded into longstanding trade networks that stretched along Vancouver Island and well into the continental interior (McMillan 1999:152)

Indeed, Edward Sapir and Morris Swadesh (1955) and Gilbert Malcom Sproat (1868) documented relationships that span the west coast of the Island. The Toquaht, Huu-ay-aht, Ucluelet, Uchucklesaht, and Tseshaht groups frequently made trips across Barkley Sound to distant familial groups for the purposes of social and economic exchange, most famously for potlatching events. In addition to intersite fluidity, settlement at any one location is quite complicated. For example, both Hiikwis and T'ukwa'a, Tseshaht and Toquaht sites respectively, were occupied temporarily by the Ucluelet in the mid-nineteenth century (St. Claire 1991). By the early nineteenth century, populations shifted and these village locations were incorporated into complex seasonal rounds, as political and demographic instability led to amalgamations of smaller local groups (St. Claire 1991).

The Nuu-chah-nulth groups inhabiting the villages of Barkley Sound certainly shifted across and between reserves, villages, traditional territories, and natural resources with some regularity, but Cape Beal and the Ucluth peninsula enclose a sheltered Sound that is immediately recognizable as a place unto itself. *Hahuulhi,* the Nuu-chah-nulth system of chiefly property rights, carefully accounted for such variability in shifting alliances and resource allocations, but all remain roughly associated with this sheltered notch on the West Coast. In spite of the inherent flaws, the concept of "Barkley Sound" offers a reasonable convergence of geographic, ecological, and ethnic specificity from which to describe social change in the historic period.

2.1.1.   Archaeology in Barkley Sound: An Overview

Archaeology in Barkley Sound began in earnest with the development of Pacific Rim National Park. The "Pacific Rim Project", led by Haggarty and Inglis (1985; 1986), accompanied the shift of much of Barkley Sound into the Canadian National Parks system. In this massive survey project, Parks Canada compiled not only sites within the park, but archaeological resources across Barkley Sound. Data collection included archaeological and ethnographic survey, part of which involved surface collections of historic materials and place name identifications. This work formed the basis for subsequent archaeological investigation and has contributed one surface collection of historic materials to this project.[4] However, the primary data for my own historic analysis comes from the notes and excavated collections made by Alan McMillan and Denis St. Claire during the successive Barkley Sound Archaeological Projects.

During thirty years of ethnographic and archaeological research with the Tseshaht, Toquaht, and Huu-ay-aht First Nations, McMillan and St. Claire developed a synthetic culture history of Barkley Sound, building upon and clarifying Mitchell's (1990) description of a Nuu-chah-nulth material culture. Their work began in 1973 with excavations at Shoemaker Bay and survey along the Alberni Inlet and into the Broken Group. In the following decades, McMillan and St. Claire branched out across the Sound to include household archaeology at Huu<u>7</u>ii; village excavations at T'ukw'aa, Ma'acoah, and Ch'uumat'a, Ts'ishaa, Hiikwis, and Uukwatis; broad archaeological survey across Toquaht territory; and ethnohistoric research with Tseshaht,

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[4] Cleho (*Tl'i<u>h</u>uuwa*, DfSh-5) a Tseshaht reserve on Nettle Island.This collection is held by the Royal British Columbia Museum for the Tseshaht First Nation, but the provenience is limited to beach collection only. It is only used here for a comparative ceramics sample.

Toquaht, and Huu-ay-aht elders (see McMillan 1999 and McMillan and St. Claire 1991; 1992;1994; 2005; 2012). As a part of their comprehensive program, McMillan and St. Claire collected thousands of historic-period artifacts, since many of the primary village sites were occupied in some form well into the twentieth century. While the material culture of the historic period is not the centerpiece for the culture-historical question that drives this research, it has been an important facet from the outset.

A research program that centres on the village is essential for framing broad changes in resource procurement and settlement in the Sound. This uniquely archaeological perspective allows for an understanding of social change through a number of related lenses. Faunal analysis (e.g. McKechnie 2012), geologic/environmental shifts (Hutchinson and McMillan 1997, Dallimore et al. 2008), site survey, burial analysis, and 'direct historical' ethnographic investigation (McMillan and St. Claire 1991) all map neatly onto a foundation of village-site analysis. This midrange, human focal point can bridge a number of disciplines with a deep history of material change. In this vein, I present a brief introduction to the two main contributing projects and major Barkley Sound villages with historic components.

2.1.2. Methods

Excavation and survey in the Toquaht and Tseshaht archaeological projects employed a consistent strategy. Recovery techniques involved 10 cm arbitrary levels within natural strata. 2 x 2m and 1 x 2m units were placed on a grid pinned to a permanent site datum at all sites except Uukwatis, where units were placed along a general North-South axis and mapped in with a total station.

Historic surface features were mapped and partially collected. Artifacts of Indigenous manufacture and European manufactures that were diagnostic or dateable were recorded with three-dimensional provenience, described, and catalogued. However, many less-diagnostic historic artifacts were collected by layer and level. These were subsequently added to my sample. In total there are 2,985 artifacts of European manufacture[5] from Barkley Sound (Figure 2.2 European Manufacture Frequency by Site). I have described Indigenous manufactures in contexts containing European manufactures in Chapter 4.

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[5] This comprises the entirety of the non-Indigenous assemblage and includes objects of Euro-Canadian and Euro-American manufacture.

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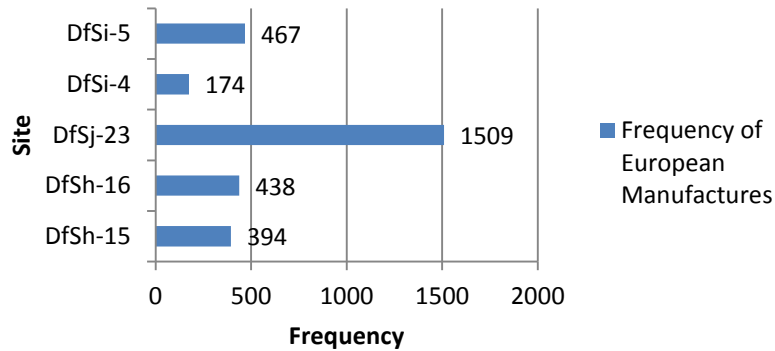
Figure 2.2   European Manufacture Frequency by Site

Note: This does not include the three artifacts from site Ch'uuch'aa, DfSj-30.

2.1.3.   Toquaht Project

Fieldwork for the project began in the summer of 1991 in interviews with Toquaht elders, whose pre-contact territory comprised most of western Barkley Sound. With ethnographically known locations as starting points, the team surveyed Toquaht traditional territory from their eastern boundary with the Tseshaht at Lyall Point to their western boundary with the Ucluelet at the George Fraser Islands (McMillan and St. Claire 1991). In four summer research seasons, they recorded villages; temporary camps; and a variety of rock art, defensive, and intertidal sites (1991;1992). Excavation proceeded at five of these sites: three ethnographic villages and two outer coast island lookouts. In order to distill a broad culture-history, interviews and excavation focused primarily on three sites identified as major ethnographic villages: T'ukwa'a, Ma'acoah, Ch'uumat'a.   These sites revealed long-term occupation with evidence of European manufactures. Lookout site Ch'uuch'aa was also the site of a smaller excavation that revealed a small assemblage of artifacts of European origin.

Excavations at T'ukw'aa removed 106 m³ of matrix, 115.7 m³ at Ch'uumat'a (McMillan 1999:71), 18.2 m³ at Ma'acoah, and 13.9 m³ at Ch'uch'aa on the George Fraser Islands (McMillan and St. Claire 1996:5).

Toquaht Sites

T'ukwa'a (DfSh-23A and B)

T'ukwa'a (Figure 2.3) is located on the western edge of Barkley Sound near the entrance to Ucluelet inlet. The gravel beach in front of the village gives the site its name, "Narrow Beach"

(St. Claire 1991:155). From the shoreline, the site rises up onto a brush-covered midden slope, extending south to a 22 metre high bluff overlooking the George Fraser Islands and the entrance to Ucluelet Inlet. Since shell midden extends across both the lower beach and an elevated outlook, this site is divided into two main portions: the main village area DfSj-23A and a rocky defensive promontory,[6] DfSj-23B (McMillan and St. Claire 1991:32, 86).

Figure 2.3   T'ukwa'a Aerial Photograph

(Photo by Terry Spurgeon, courtesy Alan McMillan)

The main village area is divided by a small creek that washes into the intertidal. West of this creek, the midden forms two terraces parallel to the beach with a number of house platforms on the higher back terrace. East of the creek, the front, low terrace spreads across the majority of the site. Intertidal features include one distinct canoe run at the western edge of the main village site.

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[6] 'Quantifying defensiveness' for coastal village sites is a difficult task. Andrew Martindale and Kisha Supernant's recent paper by this name (2009) measures a number of sites categorized as "defensive" on the Northwest Coast by visibility, accessibility, and area. This has not yet been applied to DfSj-23B, but we have oral historical evidence that this site, named Wa:yi by the Tseshaht, was indeed a defensive outlook (St. Claire 1991:155).

The site is known ethnographically as the primary Toquaht summer village (McMillan and St. Claire 1992:36). By the fall, the Toquaht followed the salmon runs to Toquart River, Ma'acoah, and the top of the sound. However, some Toquaht stayed at this site throughout the year (McMillan and St. Claire 1991). Yet, T'ukw'aa's considerable size and its position as the 'name village' for the Toquaht suggest that it may have served as a semi-permanent residence for the Toquaht local group in previous eras (McMillan, personal communication 2013).
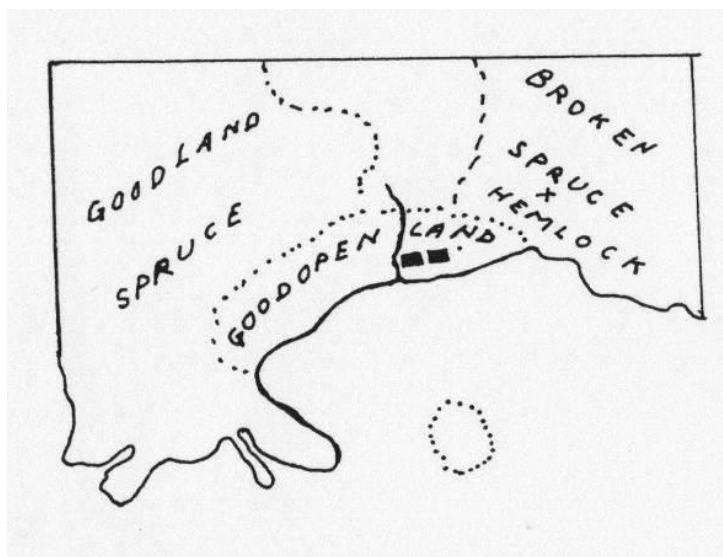
Figure 2.4   T'ukwa'a Reserve Map

(Reserve Surveyors' Map 1893, Courtesy Alan McMillan)

Reserve survey maps mark two houses toward the eastern end of the village site (Figure 2.4). After this, no further structures are recorded. None were standing at the time of excavation. However, initial clearing at the site did reveal historic material at Feature 11, a collapsed structure with a stove feature and a variety of historic materials. This feature represents a fishing station, concurrent with the last semi-permanent occupation of T'ukw'aa during the late-nineteenth, early-twentieth century.

In 1991, two 2 by 2 metre units were opened in large upper terraces of the village at the west end. One of these was located within surface outline of a traditional house, indicated by a slight depression with side and back ridges. One 1 by 2 metre unit was opened below these on lower terrace. In 1992, seven additional 2 by 2 metre excavation units were dug on the main village site (McMillan and St. Claire 1994:28) (Figure 2.5). Sterile clay was reached at 2.45-

2.75m at the upper terrace and 2.35m at the lower terrace. The front terrace contained the historic component of the site and has been dated to 1200BP at its base.

In the defensive portion of the site, DfSj-23B, the field crew excavated 26 m³ from thirteen units (Figure 2.5). All units were excavated to bedrock. The midden on this bluff was significantly shallower than the lower terraces, however, ranging from .85 m to 1.4 m in depth (McMillan and St. Claire 1994:32). Basal dates for this defensive portion put its earliest occupation at 780 BP, far later than the main village (McMillan and St. Claire 1992:36). However, the historic period assemblage appears to date to a period before the main village, as I discuss in Chapter 4.
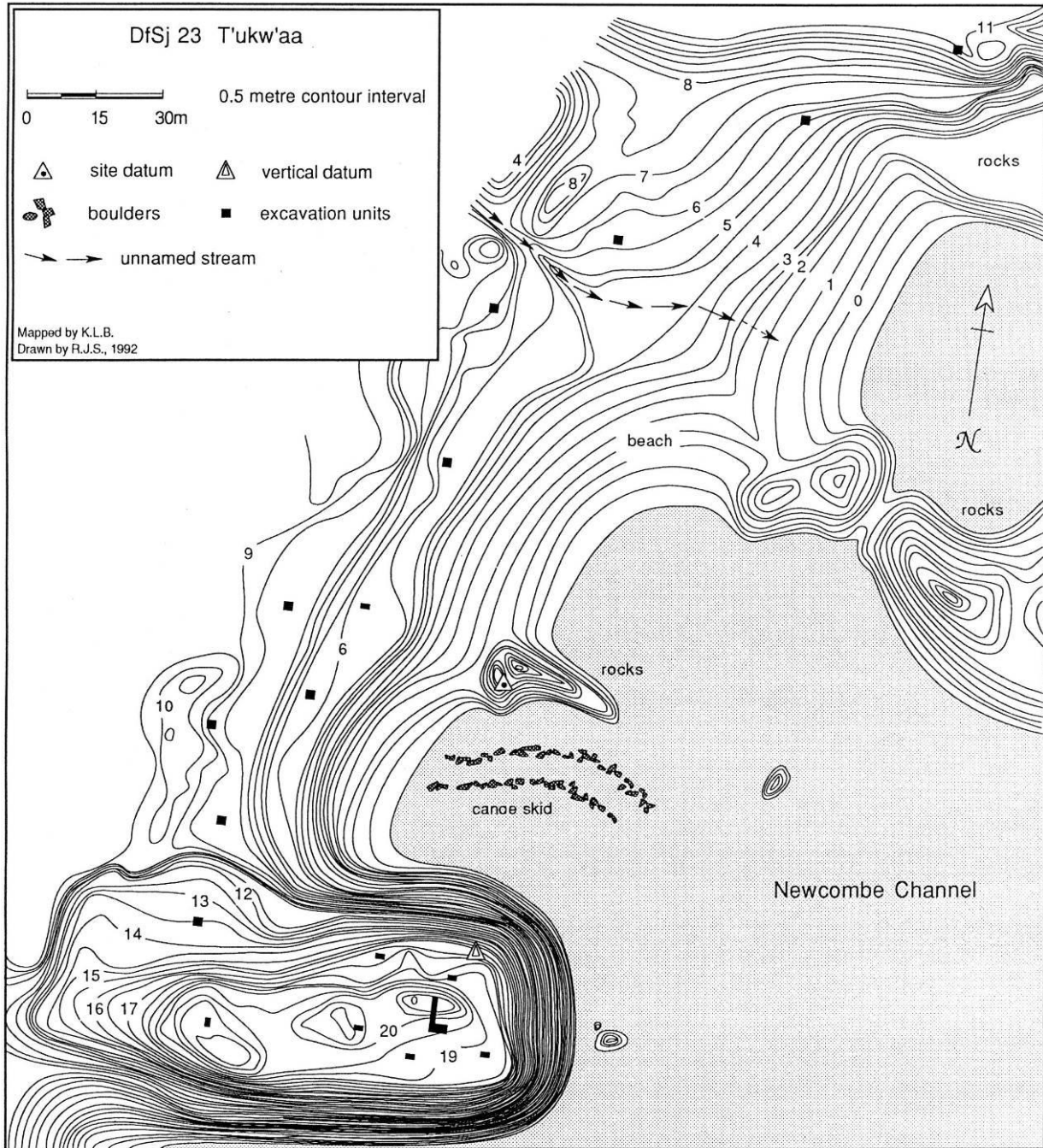
Figure 2.5   T'ukwa'a Plan Map

(Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Ma'acoah (DfSi-5)

The village site of Ma'acoah is located on what is now the main Toquaht reserve, on a passage between the western edge of Barkley Sound and the Stopper Islands, north of

T'ukw'aa and Ch'uumat'a along the mainland shoreline. It is an active residential community with road access to the highway between Ucluelet and Port Alberni. A small, unnamed stream runs south to the gravel beach, under an unpaved road that runs parallel to the shore. The shell midden at this site extends around 100 m northwest of the stream channel and several hundred metres the opposite direction towards a rocky outcrop. Off the beach, the midden rises to a wide, level platform that extends to the road line. A number of residential structures are spread out across this recently-levelled midden terrace.

Figure 2.6   Ma'acoah Aerial

(Terry Spurgeon 1991, Photo Courtesy Alan McMillan)

The site was certainly occupied in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Five houses in the same area appear in an 1893 surveyor's map (BC Ministry of Crown Lands 1894). By 1914 there were nine houses, with only 18 residents (McKenna-McBride Royal Commission on Indian Affairs 1914). In the 1920s, however, the Toquaht moved closer to Ucluelet (McMillan and St. Claire 1991:73) and the reserve was sporadically frequented for decades until logging began in the 1950s. As of 1984, the reserve has become a focus of settlement once again. By 1991 (McMillan 1991), there were six houses and a generator shed, and there is now a general store that receives some traffic from the Toquaht Forest Service Road off Highway 4, on the way to Toquart Bay campground and marina.

Excavation at Ma'acoah proceeded in the same manner as at T'ukwa'a. Pedestrian survey and surface evaluation preceded judgmental placement of units. In total, there were five

two by one metre units across the extent of the primary midden platform (Figure 2.7). Three central units, all within 40 m, reached basal deposits at 1.6 m. Two units were placed on the far northwest and northeast sides of the site as well. The deepest was 2.4 m at north end of site, but much of the upper levels had been redeposited from nearby house construction. Overall, 18.2 m³ have been excavated from the site (McMillan and St. Claire 1991:79).

Since the site has been significantly disturbed by logging operations of the 1950s and subsequent construction projects, several units are thought to have redeposited material overlying intact site remains. There were some small, scattered surface ceramics and glass, but no major features of note. As was the practice during the rest of the project, only a representative sample of historic objects was given artifact designation. Other historic items were recorded and collected with a level/layer provenience.
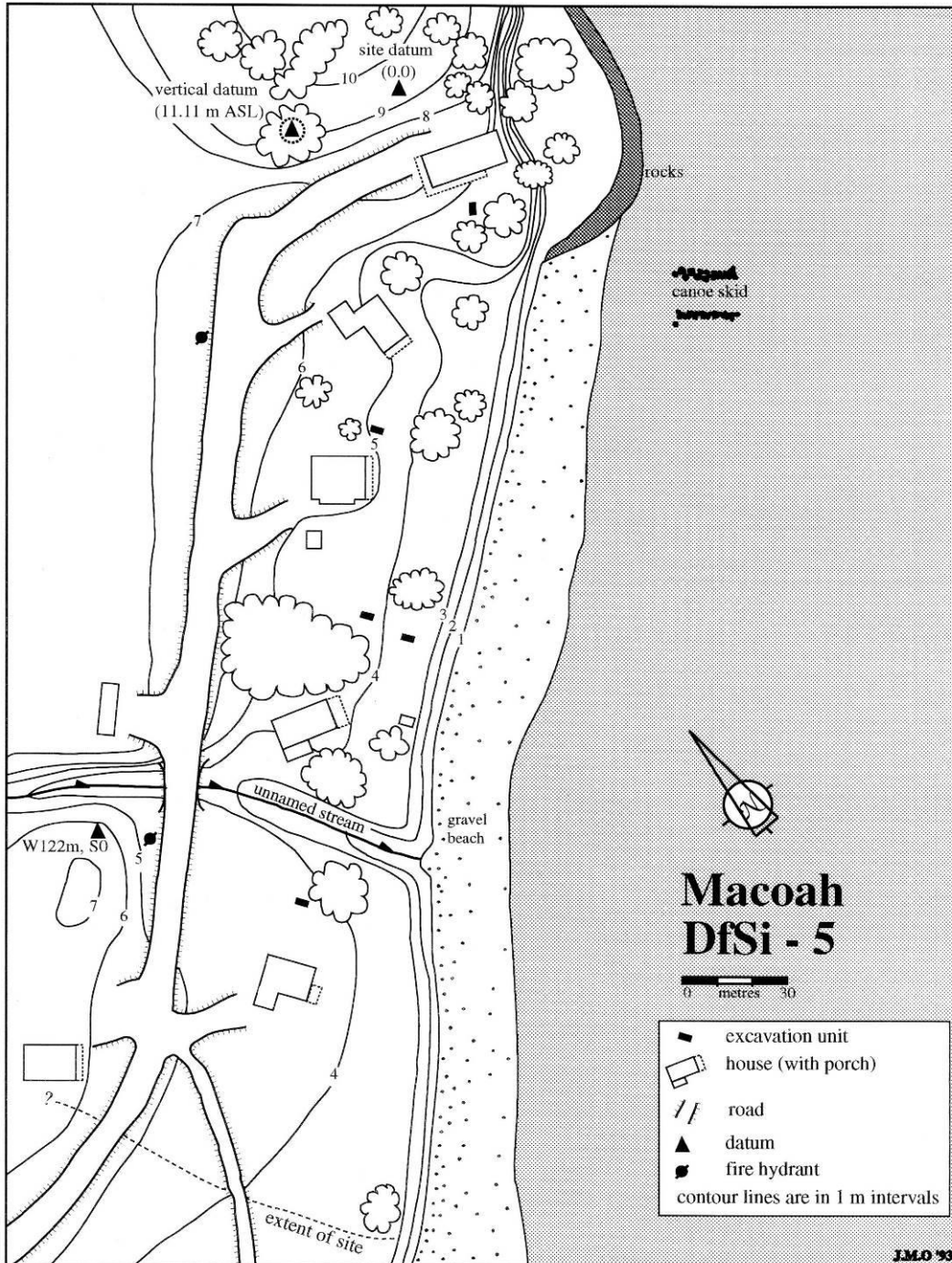
Figure 2.7 **Ma'acoah Plan Map**

(Courtesy Alan McMillan)

Ch'umaat'a (DfSi-4)

Ch'uumat'a lies just east of T'ukwa'a, in a small embayment at the southwestern corner of Barkley Sound, at the base of a mountain for which the site is named. It is a smaller site than

T'ukwa'a, with slightly more shelter from the Sound (Figure 2.8   Ch'umaat'a   Aerial).   The entrance is restricted by parallel juts of rock, and the midden platform rises up over 6 m from the beach.   The site itself stretches 120 m across the beach and 140 m into the salmonberry bushes and dense forest (McMillan and St. Claire 1996:8).   A small creek washes through the midden, exposing the site along its four and a half metre banks.

Figure 2.8   Ch'umaat'a Aerial

(Photo by Terry Spurgeon 1992, courtesy Alan McMillan)

The site was home to the Ch'uumat'a7ath, one lineage within the Toquaht. It was not part of reserve allocations in the 1870's, so little historic information exists regarding its layout and post-contact occupation. However, its absence in the reserve system gives some indication that the site was not a permanent residence during the late-nineteenth century.   The archaeological assemblage corroborates this, showing a far different set of artifacts than Ma'acoah and T'ukw'aa (see Chapter 4.3).

The excavation units were placed on either side of the creek, along the beachfront and the forest edge. In 1992, 1994, and 1996, excavations removed a total of 115.7 m³ in an 8 by 2 metre trench at what proved to be an older, elevated deposit into the forest edge (McMillan 1999:71), and in four two by two metre units at a more recent occupation nearer the modern beach (Figure 2.9).   The 2 metre deep front terrace of the site contained the only historic materials found in excavation.   The basal dates for this deposit are 2000BP (McMillan 1999:71).

Recovery techniques were again standardized with excavations at T'ukwa'a and Ma'acoah, and treatment of historic artifactual remains was consistent with previous projects (McMillan and St. Claire 1991). Only three historic artifacts were recorded in full for this site, but as with the other sites, I have enlarged this sample with material from the level/layer collections, for a total of 174 artifacts.
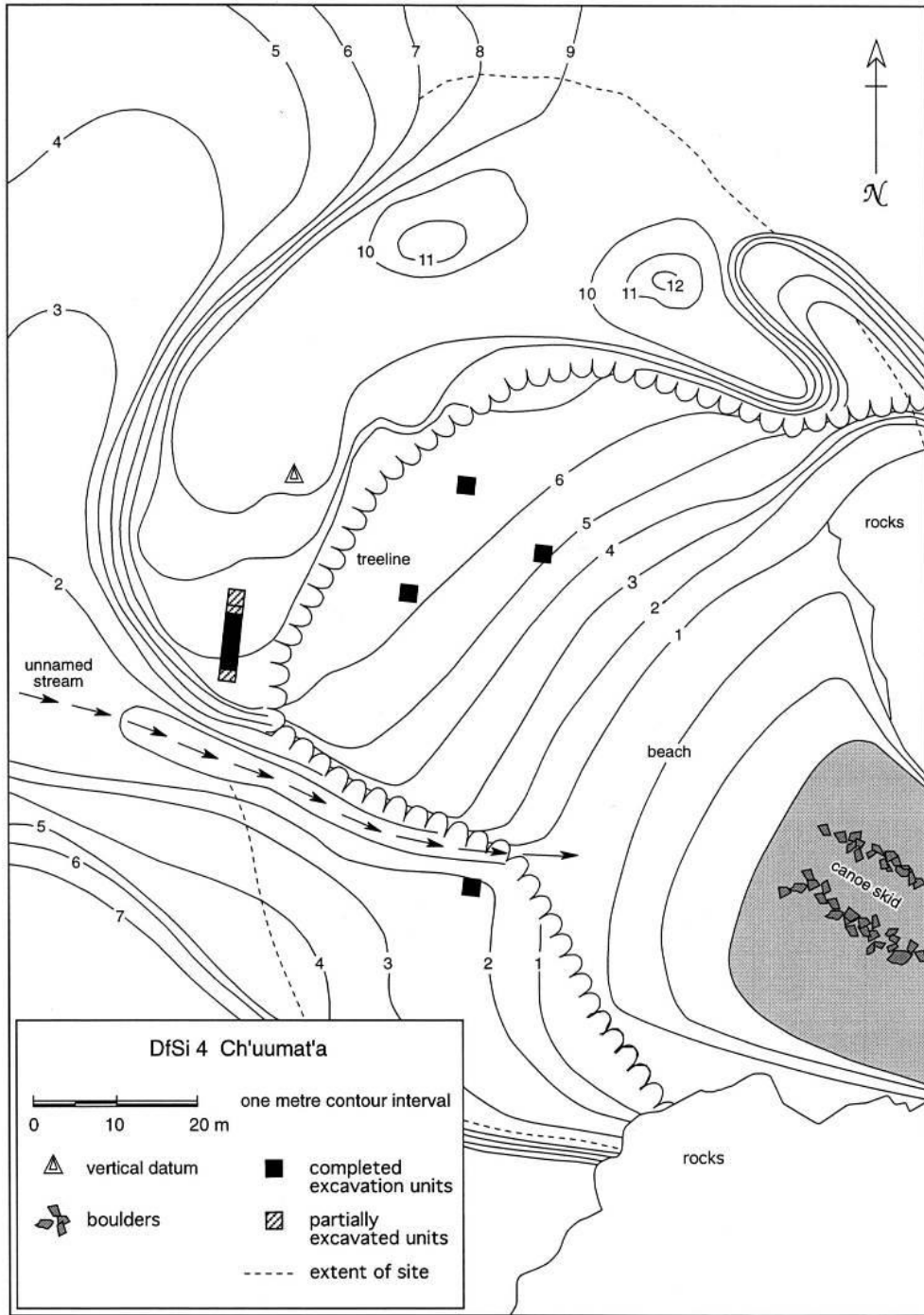
Figure 2.9   Map of Ch'uumat'a

(Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Ch'uch'aa (DfSj-30)

The name Ch'uch'aa refers the George Fraser Island complex, on which two sites were excavated. DfSj-30 is a lookout site on one of the small exposed islands in this group, just off T'ukw'aa and Ucluelet inlet. Vegetation on the island is sparse; spruce and juniper trees root in clumps on the mostly rocky outcrop, but midden stretches across the waist of the island.

Figure 2.10   Looking Northwest to the George Fraser Islands

(Terry Spurgeon 1994, courtesy Alan McMillan)

The site was likely used by the residents of T'ukw'aa for the purposes of whaling, possibly as a lookout given its elevation and aspect (McMillan 1999:72). It affords a view of Ucluelet Inlet to the George Fraser Islands and lies near T'ukw'aa and Ucluelet. This shared space would have been a contested space during times of conflict between the two groups, such as in the Long War in the mid-nineteenth century (see Chapter 5.2.2).

Excavations here in 1994 consisted of a single 10 by 2 metre trench, removing 13.9m^3, recovering three non-Indigenous historic artifacts: a copper tinkler and two pieces of worked California abalone amongst an otherwise entirely Indigenous assemblage of 239 artifacts (McMillan 1999:72). These artifacts are definitively foreign in manufacture, but the context lacks the associated suite of materials we find for late-nineteenth century sites like T'ukw'aa and Ma'acoah. This indicates site disuse by the mid-nineteenth century at the latest. With basal

radiocarbon dates at 400 BP (McMillan 1999:74), the window of occupation at this site was relatively brief.
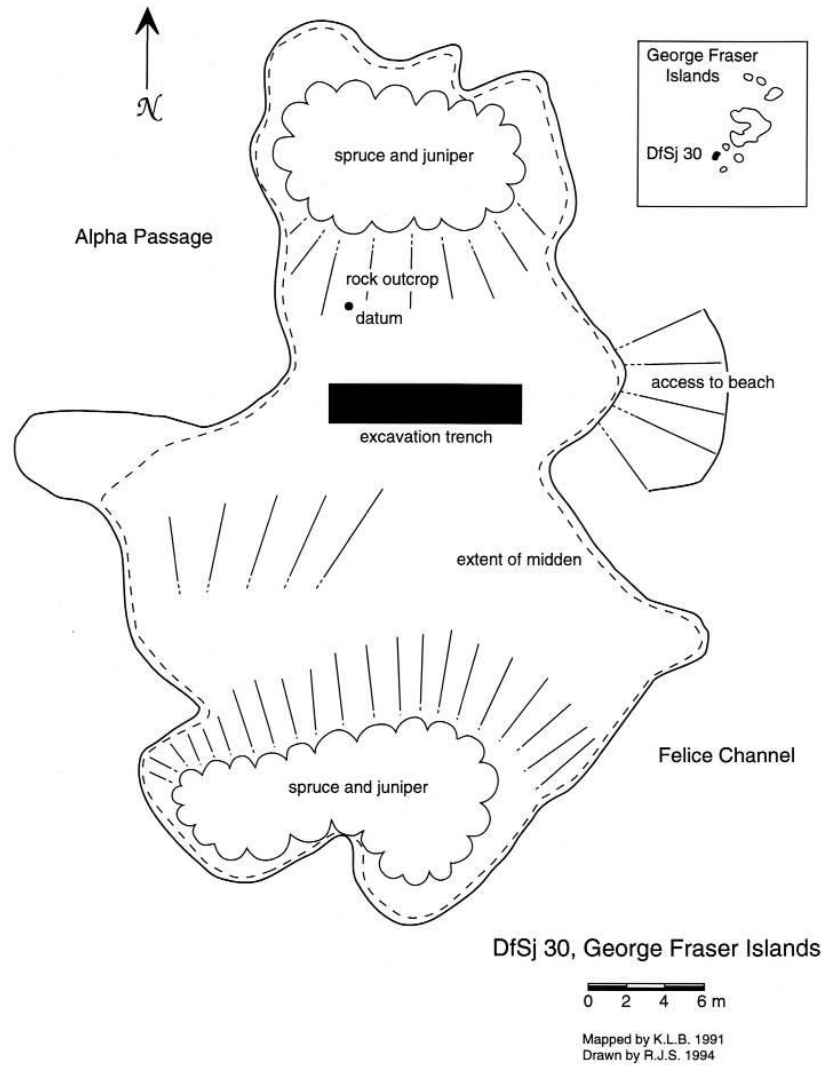
Figure 2.11   Map of Ch'uch'aa

(Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

2.1.4.   Tseshaht Project

The Tseshaht project continued from excavations during the Toquaht project, as a means of expanding the work into central Barkley Sound. As with the Toquaht project, this was a collaborative venture with the Tseshaht First Nation. Denis St. Claire (1991) again undertook a comprehensive ethnohistory of place names, site use, and a detailed history of settlement

shifts in the historic period. Excavation began in 1999 at the legendary Tseshaht origin site of Ts'ishaa on Benson Island in the outer Broken Group. Between 1999 and 2001, the team uncovered over seven hundred Indigenous manufactured artifacts and recovered dates in midden context reaching back to 5000 BP (McMillan and St Claire 2005). There was a known Euro-Canadian homestead on this site and a record of occupation by Tseshaht well into the twentieth century. However, only a few historic artifacts were recovered during excavations (2005).

Between 2008 and 2010, the team returned to Tseshaht territory, at the neighboring ethnographic villages of Hiikwis and Uukwatis, along Sechart Channel on the mainland of Vancouver Island. These recovered significant surface architectural features and excavated remains.[7]

[7] In the following years, work was carried out on Diana Island at the Huu-ay-aht village site of Huu7ii.
However, no historical materials were found due to village abandonment by about 400 BP. As a result, this project is not included here. Work with the Huu-ay-aht has continued, however, in the form of an archaeological field school at Bamfield Marine Science Centre. In 2012, this project worked on three sites in Huu-ay-aht territory, all of which revealed historic components (McKechnie, Smith, and Sellers et al. 2013). Research on these sites will continue in 2013.

Tseshaht Sites

Hiikwis (DfSh 16)

Figure 2.12   Hiikwis Facing Uukwatis

Hiikwis is located on Tseshaht Reserve 8, between Lyall Point to the west and the Pinkerton Islands to the southeast. This designation is troublesome, since the entirety of the reserve is termed "Equis".   However, the name Hiikwis refers to this site and not the contemporaneous occupation named Uukwatis near the mouth of the creek, over 500m to the east (St. Claire 1991:134).

The site would have looked out at one time onto Hand Island in the Broken Group, but the view is now obscured by a thin line of trees along the beach. The beach, designated as T'iwin7a during St. Claire's place name survey (1991:135), is full of cobbles, fading into sedge grasses towards the water—a great silted embayment which is nearly inaccessible by boat at low tide. Transport of excavation gear across it and manoeuvring of deep-draft boats proved a considerable logistical problem during fieldwork. Not coincidentally, the site was initially chosen as a place for canoes for houses nearer Uukwatis (St. Claire 1991). The beach here remains accessible at low tide, unlike the muddy flats off Uukwatis.

Walking along the beaches towards the site, it is immediately apparent that the area had been picked over by small logging operations with large caterpillar earth movers. Boulders on

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the beach are aligned into jetties and tacked with iron eyebolts. Beyond the treeline, the site rises up on an open midden platform, covered by thimbleberry and ferns and studded with large spruce and hemlock. The back ridge falls sharply into skunk cabbage covered drainage.

Hiikwis was occupied by several different groups during the post-contact period. In the early nineteenth century, the Tseshaht subsumed the previous inhabitants, the *Nash7as7ath* during their ongoing political incorporations (St. Claire 1991:43). After this shift, it served as the winter residence for the amalgamated Tseshaht. It changed hands again during the Long War of the mid-nineteenth century, when the Ucluelet wrested control for a short time (Sapir and Swadesh 1955).

After the Tseshaht resettled the site in the mid-nineteenth century, their winter residence was shifted to the Somass River, a newly acquired and valuable territory at the top of Alberni Inlet (St. Claire 1991:134-135). At this point, Hiikwis became a spring encampment, with records by Tseshaht elder Tom Sayachapis and reserve commissioner O'Reilly noting its importance for bracken root, geese, herring, shellfish, seals, salmon and dogfish (Sapir and Swadesh 1955; O'Reilly 1883). By 1913, Hiikwis was the second largest reserve by area for the Tseshaht (McKenna-McBride 1914: 904-905).

The posts and beams of the plank houses from this final occupation are still visible on the surface of the site, and a number of nurse trees have sprouted on the stumps of large posts. Les Sam, former Tseshaht Chief Counsellor attests that the large houses there were standing into the 1930s.

In 2008 and 2009, a total of 22.8 m³ was excavated from the site in five 2m by 2m units spread across the two midden platforms (Figure 2.13). Basal radiocarbon dates from Hiikwis confirm occupation from at least 800 BP (Alan McMillan, personal communication 2013). The excavations revealed a historic period deposition overlaying this prehistoric context, from mid-nineteenth century to twentieth century European manufactures.
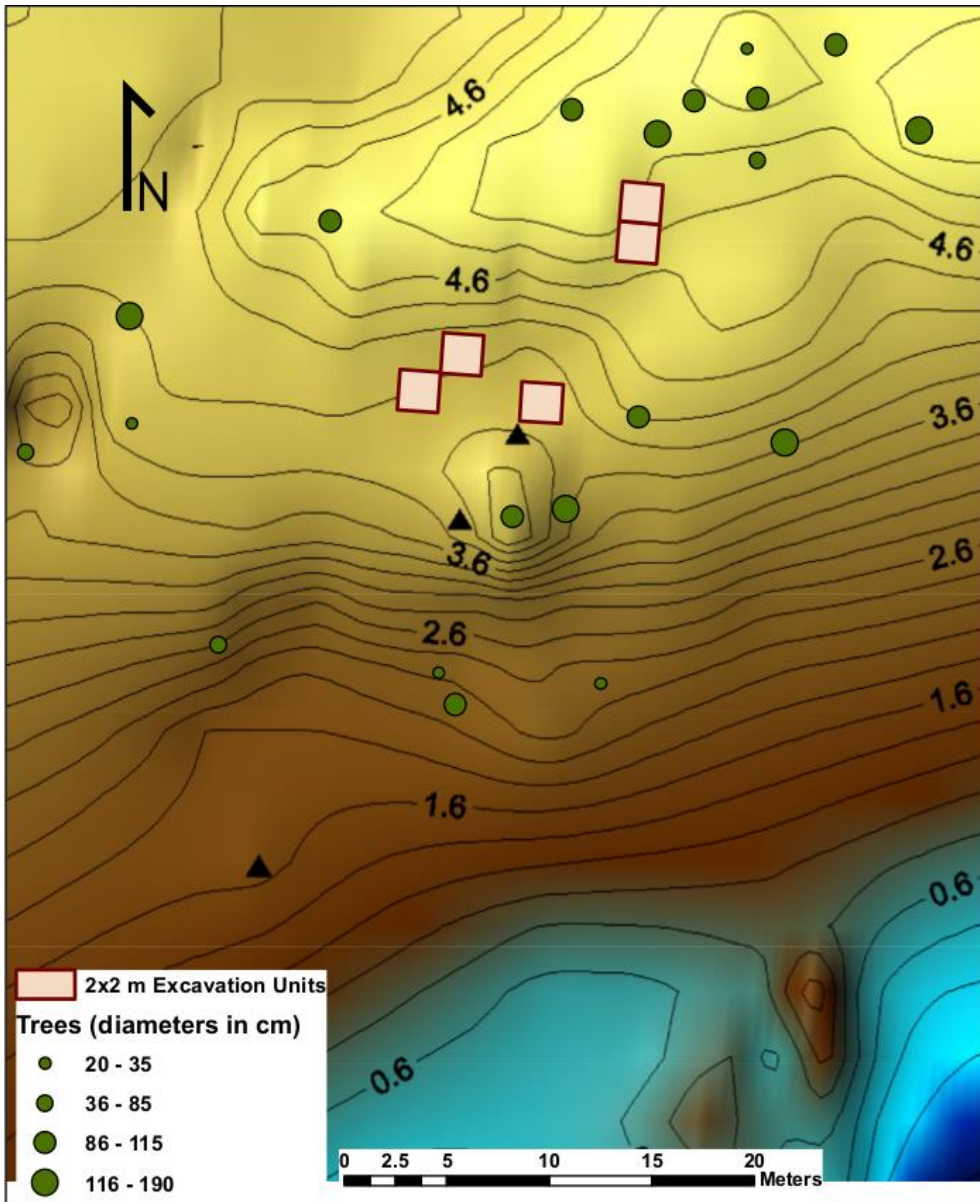
Figure 2.13   Hiikwis Plan Map

Note: Map courtesy Iain McKechnie. Elevation contours given in metres. Elevation has been coloured
     according to reflect the land and water boundary at high tide. Triangle symbols represent fixed
     data points.

Uukwatis (DfSh-15)

Uukwatis lies immediately east of Hiikwis, on the point where a small creek washes into
the mudflats that reach across to the Pinkerton Islands (Figure 2.14). Uukwatis, meaning "very
pretty beach" or "pleasant beach", was the home of the *Uukwatisath*, the highest ranking lineage
group of the *Nash7as7ath* (St. Claire 1991:133-134). The beach here is far siltier than at

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Hiikwis, and access is limited at low tide. The lowest tides expose a number of wooden weir stakes in the outwash of the creek. In addition, there are several stone traps around the bay, including a ring of stones that may have been used to build up sediment in the bay to create a clam garden.
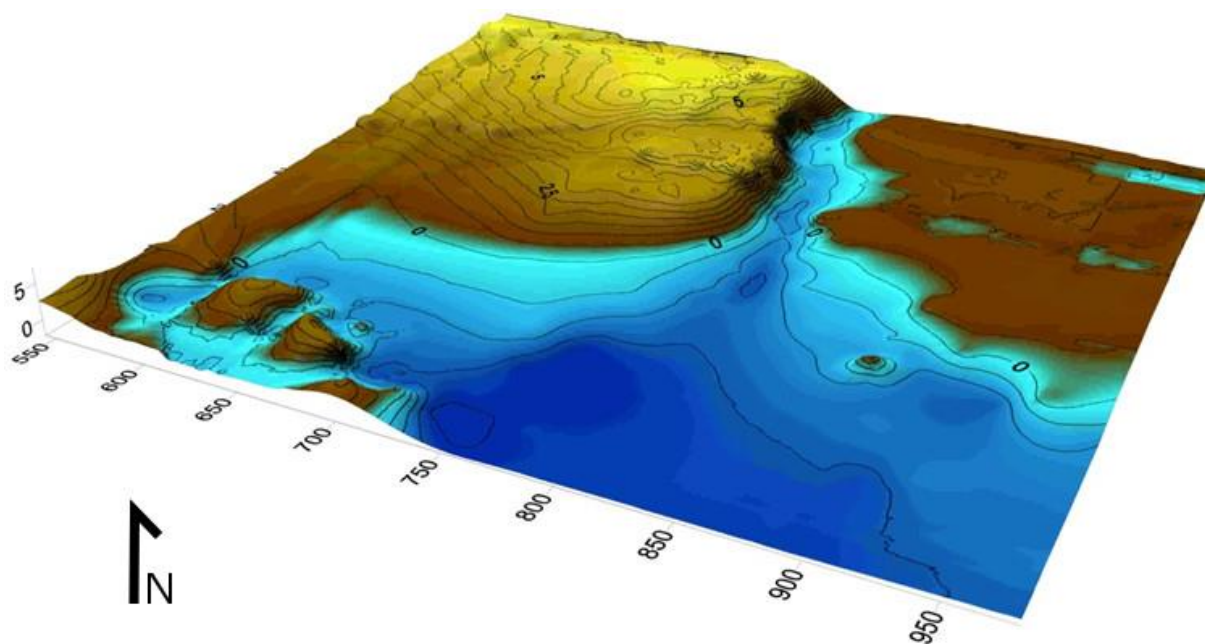
Figure 2.14   Uukwatis Digital Elevation Model

Note: The contour lines are in five meter intervals. The axes describe distance and elevation in meters.
      Colouring has been adjusted to reflect land and water at the high tide line. Map courtesy of Iain
      McKechnie.

The site extends across from the creek, west towards a recently constructed logging road. The front midden ridge cuts perpendicular to the creek, across the site. Some fifty metres north of this, a back terrace runs a parallel line. This back terrace represents a previous occupation. Basal dates range from 2710±40 along the back ridge of the front terrace, to 890±40 in Unit 1, near the beach. Such a separation between components is typical for Barkley Sound—a result of changing sea levels. The presence of an older, inland midden bench is consistent with other sites in the Sound, such as Huu7ii, Ts'ishaa, and Ch'uumat'a.

At some point before the Tseshaht amalgamations, the *Wanin7ath* lineage group of the *Nash7as7ath* at the eastern end of what is now Equis reserve relocated to Hiikwis for better canoe access. However, it seems that the two sites were both occupied simultaneously during the early twentieth century. Excavations at Uukwatis indicated twentieth century Euro-canadian

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style post houses used after Hiikwis was supplanted by the lower Somass River as the winter location for the amalgamated Tseshaht.

The front terrace also shows evidence of modern logging operations and mechanical excavators. The staging area for a small operation included a cut path directly through the site along the creek to the southern shoreline. A gravel road had also been put in along the western edge of the site, extending all the way to the beach. Erosion from these activities is recognizable in some of the units through a lack of humus and the effective scraping away of the historic component from the area.

Excavations removed 40.4m³ of matrix, in four 2m by 2m units on the front terrace and one 2m by 2m unit with two 1m by 2m extensions on the back terrace of this site. Historic materials were found only in the front terrace, however. Unlike the Toquaht sites, a broader sample of historic materials was given three-dimensional provenience at this site. Additional historic artifacts were collected by level and layer.

3.   Assemblage by Type

Now that I have discussed the sites in Barkley Sound, I can introduce the classes of European-manufactured artifacts found therein. After a brief explanation of my typology, this chapter outlines the assemblage by period, material type, manufacture type, and function. For each class of artifacts, I have also given a brief sketch of manufacture techniques and trade patterns to better represent Barkley Sound's placement within a new, global market in the nineteenth century.

The assemblage is of three general types: glass, metal, and ceramic. Within these major taxa, metal nails (32.2% of total assemblage), ceramic tableware (28.2%) and flat glass (14.9%) make up three quarters of the 2985 artifacts. However, there are some unique pieces among the masses of ceramic and glass shards. Pocket watches, cutlery, leather shoes, spark plugs, and beads bring specificity beyond the mere quantification of the major types. These artifacts, mundane and conspicuous, represent both unique trading events and broader social change. Their presence in the villages of Barkley Sound exposes the intricate dovetailing of regional and global exchange in this period.

Representing these overlapping scales of interaction in an archaeological analysis is quite difficult. Variety in nineteenth century manufacturing processes and flexibility in artifact function make artifact typologies for Barkley Sound problematic at best. Even when one manages to divide an assemblage into meaningful, discrete units, the difficulty of prioritizing those categories remains. Here, this question is articulated between functional classes and material types. Functional categories in historical archaeology prioritize patterns of use over patterns of substance. For example, a system emphasizing function would associate wooden and ceramic bowls in order to highlight the form of the bowl. This format is preferred by many historical archaeologists[8] (see Sprague 1981) in order to better connect artifacts with the people they represent. Its usefulness is limited, however. Determining categories of use in unfamiliar

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[8] S.H.A.R.D. (Sonoma Historic Artifact Research Database) is a standardized cataloguing system advertised by the Society for Historical Archaeology, allowing for both function and material based sorting, but prioritizing function.

sites requires broad assumptions (see Brown and Cooper 1990). Functional categories cannot easily account for bowl sherds reused as decorative inlay on bentwood boxes, for instance. With examples of creative reuse of Euro-canadian forms by the Nuu-chah-nulth in this collection (see Chapter 3.4) and in ethnographic collections, where thimbles become tinklers and ceramic sherds become inlays, we cannot begin with an analysis that prioritizes an assumed function.[9]

At this point, we do not have a broad enough context to permit an understanding of the most important category, that of local use. Instead, we must develop taxonomies of material type and function that will not obscure indications of alteration or reuse in the villages of Barkley Sound. To this end, I first distinguish by material type: metal, ceramic, glass and other. After material type, I have sorted the artifacts based on distinct forms or manufacturing processes (Figure 3.1). At this level, each material class will have different subdivisions. For example, metal is divided into copper, iron, brass etc. Glass is separated into forms such as bottle, plate, and tableware. This category overlaps with specific manufacturing processes and functions for each material class. The final and narrowest category relates to decoration.

Yet, this system leaves out important categories. There are important functional classes that do not fall within material classes. It also neglects implied composites such as cutlery without original handles or brass lamps with glass mantles. I discuss these instances with a separate discussion for particular functional classes such as "Timepieces", "Lighting Devices", and "Repurposed Material".

These three tiers: material, manufacture/ form, and decoration cannot replicate local trade taxonomies, even with superimposed categories for composite and functional classes. Some local meaning is accessible through ethnographic texts, but much of it is yet unknown. Categories of material type, manufacture process, and decoration do, however, provide a meaningful basis from which to pull apart spatial and chronological trends, while preserving the possibility of creative reuse and unpredictable functionality I discussed in my introduction.

In addition to this classification by material, the project also requires a broad chronological analysis. In order to bring out the distinct trading periods that hold a prominent place in Drucker (1951) and elsewhere, I have divided the assemblage into two distinct

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[9] The difficulties of assuming function from contemporary excavated contexts has been directly tested by Bonnichsen (1973), in her blind archaeological analysis of a recent campsite and subsequent interviews with residents.

chronological categories: Early and Late. This designation reflects a real divide between early maritime trade goods and subsequent trade store material, before 1820 and after 1860. During this time, the region had been depleted of otter, and European and American interest shifted to more profitable posts at Fort Rupert, Fort McLoughlin and Fort Simpson (Drucker 1951:12). The periods before and after this caesura reflect entirely different modes of trade. The early period relied on Indigenous trade networks and ship-based fur-trade traffic, differing from the wage-labour, trade store system of the post-1860 period. Even with depositional lag and the movement of European goods through internal trade networks, they have generally separable signatures in the archaeological record.

The division between periods may appear to be circular, at once testing the position that there is a separation between early and late periods while dividing the assemblage at the outset. However, the distinction has been made with consideration to the excavated context of these artifacts (see Chapter 4). For now, I limit the discussion to the nature of material culture in Barkley Sound en masse.
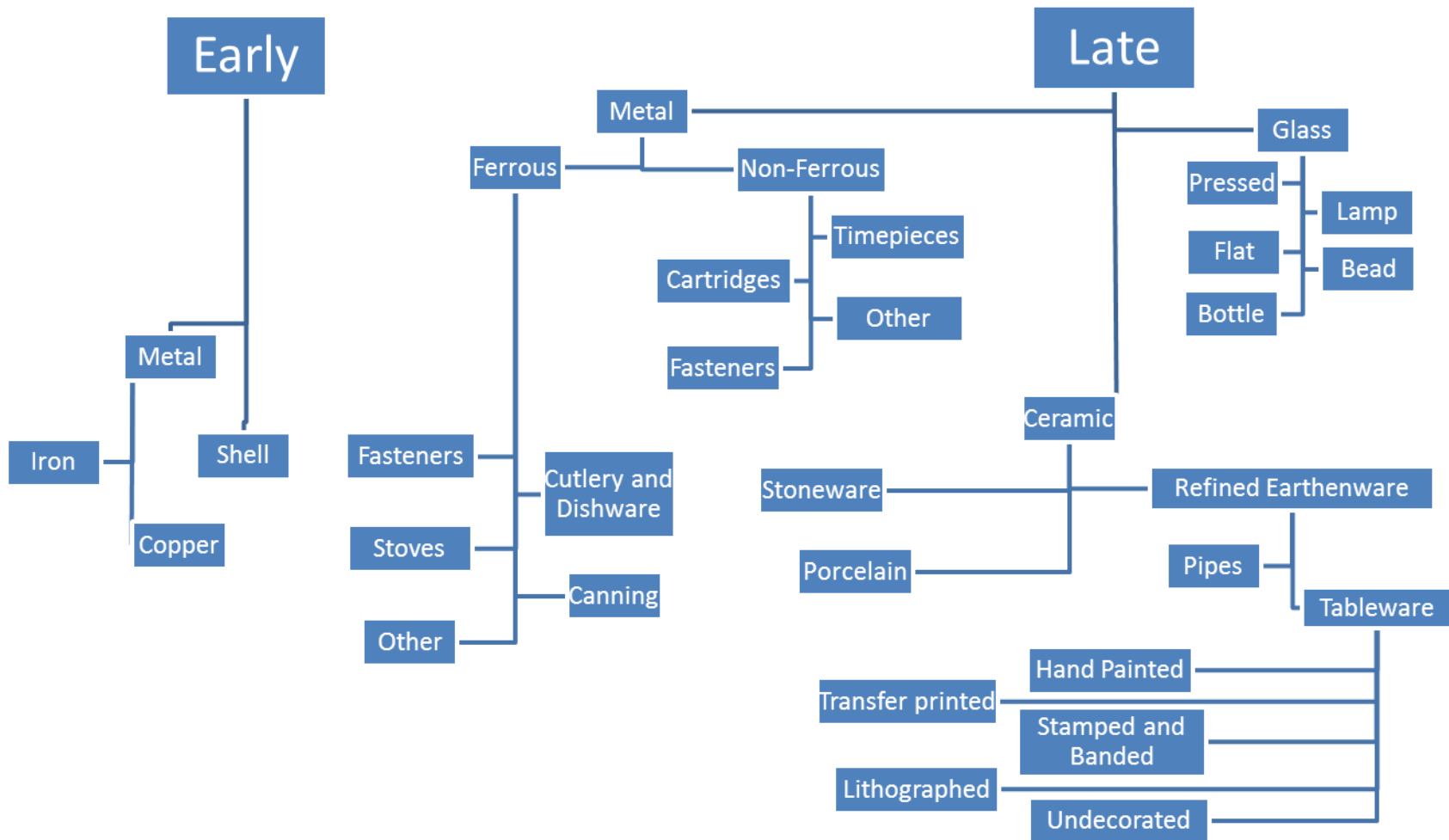
Figure 3.1 General Typological Hierarchy for Assemblage

3.1. "Early" Period Manufacture Types

Here, the "Early" period is defined by the first hypothetical availability of European manufactures through the fur trade. Roughly speaking, this corresponds with the late eighteenth century, when the first Russian, Spanish and English vessels arrived in the Maritime Fur Trade (see Gibson 1992), until the mid-nineteenth century, after the settlement of Fort Victoria and the establishment of small trade stores in the Sound. With new sources of foreign manufactures during this secondary European settlement, modes of trade changed considerably (Drucker 1951). This historic-period shift defines the early/late distinction, which I will discuss in more detail in the conclusion, since my analysis comments directly on the validity of Drucker (1951) and Fisher's (1977) historical schema. For now, a brief overview of the modes of trade in the Maritime Fur Trade period, with specific focus on copper, iron, and abalone will suffice.

Abalone artifacts DfSj-30:30,31; copper artifact DfSj-30:66 and a small ferrous square from T'ukw'aa are the clearest representatives of this early period in the assemblage. The defensive portion of T'ukw'aa has several ornamental copper artifacts that may also date to this early period. Similarly, site Hiikwis may have ornamental copper associated only with indigenous manufactures. However, the context in these instances is less certain, so I have discussed them with the remainder of the assemblage in Chapters 3.3 and 4.

Figure 3.2   Early Period Artifacts

Note: From left to right: two abalone artifacts from DfSj-30, a copper tinkler from DfSj-30, and a ferrous square from DfSj-23.

The items traded in this era were varied and historically well-documented (see Gibson 1992), but they are limited to four artifacts (Figure 3.2) in the Barkley Sound archaeological assemblage. Blankets, fabric, and foodstuffs and other perishable items were all central to Maritime Fur trade, but for reasons of taphonomy or otherwise, they are missing from the Barkley Sound collection. However, there are some general trends which are visible in both historical and archaeological datasets, namely the importance of copper, iron, and abalone. At first, metal was the driving material type of the early Maritime trade. When Peter Puget visited the "Classet" (ancestral Makah) in the early 1790s, they wished to trade fishing implements, tools, and clothing for copper, iron, and brass including "yellow buttons" (Anderson 1939:189). Meares, a British fur trader who visited Barkley Sound in 1788, described his experience in the Northwest Coast trade to the Lords of the Committee of Council during questioning,

> "What are the articles of commerce it may be proper to carry out for the purpose of obtaining these various objects of barter? A. All sorts of Iron Tools, Unwrought Iron, Copper and Woolens- The Copper was more particularly in request at the beginning of the trade. Trinkets the indians took at first, but they grew at last to neglect them and took to more useful articles. 2. Did it appear probable from the number of people who came to the trade, that there would be an increased demand for these articles? A. Certainly. 2. Do you conceive that the number of inhabitants on this coast is so great as to be likely to make the

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demands for these articles in itself considerable? A. The demand will be as is sufficient for the use of 60,000 inhabitants which I estimate to be the number upon those parts of the coast where I have traded. 2. What are the markets to which you would carry these various furs and other articles of commerce? A. To China, Japan, Persia, and to Bengal, from whence they might be despersed to the other Markets in the East Indies, and if they could not be sold to advantage in the east, some of them might be brought and sold to profit in Europe …” (Meares 1788:4)

While Meares' accounts of his time on the Northwest Coast are questionable (Dixon 1790, 1791) and his population estimates are likely inaccurate (McMillan 1999), his account of the fur trade potential exposes the complex economic estimations taking place across the globe, the testing of foreign markets with British wares and European ones with Nuu-chah-nulth furs.

Iron and copper figure heavily in these early descriptions. Cook described his experience with the Nuu-chah-nulth market similarly,

“any sort of metal-- knives (better than their own, for they had iron knives already), chisels, nails, buttons, unregarded bits of iron or tin, or brass, pewter plates; the ships had hardly a bit of brass left in them by the time they sailed says Cook, except what was in the necessary instruments.” (in Beaglehole 1974 [1778]:585)

Workable scraps of copper and iron were immediately recognized as useful by the Nuu-chah-nulth, not for their original form but for the potential forms they would take. The gradual shift from lithic and bone to copper, brass and iron was a distinct material-cultural turn in Nuu-chah-nulth sites. Yet, the ways in which this new material was worked were measured and in keeping with traditional form. Moreover, the classes of goods which became popular were those with precedent on the coast: copper, iron and abalone. The anthropology of contact has repeatedly shown this persistence of existing forms and material preferences through periods of colonial encounter (Thomas 1996; Lightfoot 1995), just as bone fishing implements continue through the introduction of metal, glass and ceramics. Early European material types were certainly prestigious for their workability and rarity, but their popularity and use was tempered through known forms and a pre-existing toolkit.

This is evident in the journal of John Jewitt (1996) the blacksmith survivor of the *Boston.* Jewitt was captured in 1803 and kept as a slave by Maquinna for two years. He describes his daily activities, noting frequent conscription to make fish “hooks and copper rings to sell” (1996:82). The use of these new material types and the cooption of a blacksmith to manipulate

them was an exercise in redistribution and prestige for Maquinna. In his time as a slave, Jewitt's work was directed towards improving previously existing tool types, but their use was for gift rather than local use (Zilberstein 2007:618). In this way, these 'unregarded bits', as Cook called them, were transformed into distinctively Nuu-chah-nulth artifacts with perhaps not new functions, but important new indications of prestige.

Before the end of the eighteenth century, it seems that the market for iron, at least, was saturated. By 1791, American traders on the *Columbia* noted that "iron they would scarcely take as a gift" (Howay 1941:187). In its place, textiles and guns rapidly became the most demanded goods among the Nuu-chah-nulth (Gibson 1992:219-221). Foodstuffs such as liquor, molasses and tobacco also became popular as trade and tastes shifted. However, tastes appeared to be quite local, shifting between the major material types of the early trade. Meares (1788:121) describes a "fickleness" in trade, "At one time copper was their favourite object; at another, iron was the only commodity in estimation among them; beads would also have their turn of preference. But this hesitation in choice was generally determined by a medley of them all". Copper and glass were traded consistently across the Maritime Fur Trade (Gibson 1992:228), if with fluctuating value. Beads, bracelets and ornaments are forms with traditions predating contact (Acheson 2003:218), and their popularity only increased with contact-era trade by way of faceted blue glass beads, thimbles, coins, and shell (Karklins 1992:167). All of the Early Period artifacts from Barkley Sound are of this ornamental category.

As I discuss more in the final chapter, distribution and trade in the early period would have been controlled, or at least heavily influenced by lineage heads in an economic system that predated contact.[10] While these household leaders would have continued to control redistribution at the village level, the interactions among local groups changed through contact. A hierarchy among Nuu-chah-nulth groups organized around differential access to these new sources of wealth. Daniel Clayton, in his *Islands of Truth* (2000)*,* outlines this trade structure, with Nootka Sound as the main anchorage for fur trade vessels plying the coast. Barkley Sound was at the periphery of this new trade, with access filtered through the powerful Tla-o-qui-aht to the north, in Clayoquot Sound.

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[10] Ken Ames (1996) has discussed chiefly power through the archaeology of the Northwest Coast, emphasizing that specialization and household-based economic organization existed through the Middle Pacific period. By the time of contact, however, Ames notes that while chiefs generally made an effort to control trade, other individuals were also trading directly with Europeans (Ames 1995:172)

The limited and generic character of the early period assemblage, along with the multinational nature of trade in the early nineteenth century makes it quite difficult to pinpoint the precise mechanisms of trade for these small ornaments. In any case, we can still trace broad life histories of these seemingly simple wares. From their origins to their eventual deposition in the villages of Barkley Sound, the artifacts of the Early Period traversed a number of hands, vehicles, professions, economies, and systems of classification. To this end, I would like to briefly explore some of the object biographies (see Hoskins 2005; Kopytoff 1986) for the earliest foreign manufactures that made their way to the Nuu-chah-nulth villages of Barkley Sound.

3.1.1.   Non-ferrous Metal

DfSj-30:66 (Figure 3.2) was found on the George Fraser Islands along with two pieces of worked abalone in an early period context. It is a tinkler, one of many examples of worked, ornamental copper in the assemblage (see also Chapter 3.3). However, this artifact differs in style from that found at T'ukw'aa and elsewhere. DfSj-30:66 was formed from a single sheet of thin copper into a tapered cone 4.4cm long and .5 to 1.3cm in width. Both the top and bottom of this cone are rolled outward to form banded edges. By contrast, rolled copper ornament from T'ukw'aa (see Chapters 3.3 and 4.1.1) only occurs the form of bracelets, rings, or straight cylinders. Perforated triangular sheets are also present at T'ukw'aa, but no other pieces quite match DfSj-30:66.

Similar tinklers have been found in other early Maritime Fur Trade sites farther up the coast. Mitchell's (1980) research at EeSo-1, a shell midden site on the Eastern Burdwood Islands in the Broughton Archipelago, found a conical copper tinkler along with Chinese coins, gunflints, and Indigenous manufactures. Yet, the EeSo-1 example is a full centimeter shorter than the George Fraser Islands artifact, and it does not exhibit rolling on the top and bottom openings of the cone.

Cooper (2006:157) records 16 copper cones among the 170 objects of native copper at the Gulkana site in Alaska. These are not categorized with the rings and perforated discs that make up the "non-utilitarian" component of the site, however. Cooper lists (2006:157) a number of proposals regarding the use of these rolled copper cones, such as toggling points for spear-fishing (Hanson 1999), partially worked projectile points (Workman 1976), and ornamental beads (de Laguna and McClellan 1981; Shinkwin 1979; Workman 1976,1977). The tinkler from the George Fraser Islands, with its rolled and blunted point, is most likely of this last category.

Difficulties distinguishing ornamental vs. utilitarian copper form are compounded by uncertainty regarding the origins of copper metallurgy on the Northwest Coast. The most famous of the historic period prestige copper goods, the nominal Northwest Coast "copper" shield, now appears to be a post-contact form using European sources. Joplin (1989) has studied this form in detail in an effort to determine whether or not it was present on the coast before contact. From her analysis, it appears that the examples in museum collections are made of non-native copper.

Steven Acheson (2003) and Grant Keddie (1991) have also reviewed the case for a precontact copper industry on the Northwest Coast. Their work argues that malleable copper was mined at several locations, particularly along the Copper River in southern Alaska and the Yukon (Acheson 2003, Keddie 1991). The unique type of ore found at these sites required little refining to make a workable material that was traded south to the Haida and along the coast (Acheson 2003)[11]. Cooper et al. (2008) has successfully distinguished native from European copper sources on the basis of trace element analysis and Pb isotopic ratios. Wayman et al. (1985) are able to separate smelted copper from cold-hammered copper using INAA analysis. Using both of these tests, Cooper (2012) has positively identified Native-mined, cold-hammered copper artifacts along the North Coast. It is very likely that DfSj-30:66, in association with Californian abalone, was part of post-contact Maritime Fur Trade with European copper, but analysis of this sort would provide a definitive source.

If copper metallurgy did not exist on the coast before contact, it was adopted very quickly. Journal entries from both Swan and Colnett noted Native interest in shipboard copper in the earliest years of the Maritime Fur Trade (Acheson 2003; Galois 2004:60). At Neah Bay, Quimper bought sixteen sea otter furs for the "king's copper," a term Erna Gunther (1972:64) traces to Spanish traders, a description for sheets of copper cut according to each transaction. Karklins (1982:173) states that copper "rolls" were sought after by those Nootka encountered by Cook. Rolled copper sheets, pans and kettles were traded by both Martinez and Colnett to Wickaninnish in Clayoquot Sound (Mathes 1979). Gunther (1972:64) states, "Copper seemed to be the only commodity they had, and sea otter skins were the only product for which it was spent."

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[11] Cooper et al. (2008:1744) cautions against claims that all native copper on the Northwest Coast came only from these sources, however.

This copper was transformed into a variety of forms once it entered Nuu-chah-nulth sites. James Cook, upon his arrival in nearby Nootka Sound in 1788 remarked upon the "copper ornaments hung from their ears or [...] pinched on to the nose" (Cook 1974: 585). Nose ornaments "were not general, nor had they many holes thro' the cartilage, but a small flat piece of copper shap'd like a crescent hanging by it, a few others had cylendrical peices [sic] of copper hanging by a string through the Nose" (Cook 1967: 1405-6). Moziño (1991 [1792]) remarks that, "[The Nuu-chah-nulth] cut copper into narrow strips, bend back the edges, and curve them to form bracelets and so forth; or without bending them they make the small cylinders which they hang from their ears and the ends of their hair." The rolled tinkler seen at DfSj-30, along with pieces found in later contexts (see Chapter 3.3 Copper Ornament) corresponds with these descriptions of cut and bent ornamental copper working.

Even though copper sheets and kettles were entirely reimagined on the coast, the new link between European manufacturers and Nuu-chah-nulth consumers is significant. A review of the breadth of Europe's manufacturers is beyond the scope of this project, but it is perhaps useful to explore the distant copper and brass manufacturers that produced the basic material for these reworked forms.

Canadian fur trade wares are often linked to British industrial centres, but Britain was certainly not the only source for many of the goods imported on the Northwest Coast. Trade was not limited to American and British vessels. Russian and Spanish traders also plied the coast in trade, meeting demand for copper, iron, and glass from their own varied sources. Therefore, the copper for the tinkler at DfSj-30 could have arrived on the coast from any number of European or Russian sources.

Much of the incoming copper was likely from British manufacturers, however. Copper mining and smelting in 18th century Britain occurred primarily between two competing centres: Cornwall and Anglesey. The fortunes of both regions fluctuated in the final decades of the century as smelting and mining operations merged and technological improvements in pump engines allowed access to previously inaccessible ore. Foreign competition from Hungary, Sweden and Holland encroached on English markets at home and abroad and extraction companies fell deep into debt (Allen 1923:79). The market evened considerably after a series of structural reorganizations, however.

One of the reasons for this newfound stability was the increase in demand for finished brass and copper products across Britain. Brass making in Britain during the eighteenth century comprised both a highly developed, large-scale export business and smaller tradesmen (Hamilton 1967: 244). By 1721, there were over 30,000 individuals working in the brass industry in Britain, mostly in Bristol. Initially, smelting, alloying, and finishing were all combined under singular companies, albeit with certain specialities in finished goods (1967:252). As the eighteenth century progressed, however, such integration became unfeasible, and separation between the mining and finishing ends of the copper industry became entrenched. Specialization in forms also developed at this time. Battered copper goods were made separately from stamped metal goods. The kettles prized along the coast for reuse into tinklers and other implements for example, were dominated by the Bristol Kettle Makers. However, versions were also manufactured elsewhere with a stamping method. Such equipment-based specialization would have been standard throughout Britain (Hamilton 1967:258).

By the time of the trade with the Northwest Coast of North America, the British copper and brass markets were gaining prominence worldwide (Hamilton 1967:291), even if some of the goods were considered to be of inferior quality (Hamilton 1967:292). This would have been a prime source for outfitters of early trading ships on the Northwest coast. Improvements in extraction, manufacture, and integration continued through the nineteenth century, allowing Northwest coast bound ships to stock cheap copper for use in the fur trade. These mined, finished, and stockpiled copper goods were entirely reworked and reimagined along the coast, however, and material types defined in industrial Britain for other markets were transformed into objects of purely local importance for Nuu-chah-nulth functions.

3.1.2. Ferrous Metal

Iron would have been another previously scarce and valuable metal for the Nuu-chah-nulth. In this collection, there is one piece of iron that likely represents trade during the early period. The 2mm thin, 1.5 cm by 2.2 cm square (Figure 3.2) was found in unit N44-46; E135-137 at the lower T'ukw'aa village site. There are no radiocarbon dates for this deeply buried context, but it is separated by several layers from any other European manufactures. Excepting this unique square, the context contains local manufactures only (see Chapter 4.1.1). It is poorly preserved, and its use is unknown. There are no specific historic or ethnographic examples of such a form.

Still, iron as a general material type featured prominently in early accounts of trade in Nuu-chah-nulth territory and along the coast. This interest in iron may not result from a sudden recognition of iron's use value, though. Instead, it is likely that coastal groups had been familiar with the material type well before the first direct encounters with Europeans. Acheson (2003), in his work on precontact metallurgy, explores a number of possible sources for precontact iron, including meteors, drift shipwrecks, and trade across the Bering Strait. Grant Keddie (1991) has similarly gathered references that relate to the presence of precontact iron on the Northwest Coast, implicating drift iron as the most likely source for early artifacts.

Iron, as Grant Keddie (1991) argues, moved into Northern B.C. along the Peace River in the last decade of the eighteenth century. This "proto-historic" period of indirect contact with European groups would be indistinguishable from the period of direct contact with European trade ships at our sites in Barkley Sound, however. At the time of Cook's arrival, he found crook-knives fashioned from what were most likely iron barrel hoops, in quantities that were unlikely to have come from the brief Spanish encounters in the preceding few years (Erna Gunther 1972:37). Again, there is a strong distinction between these fur trade interactions of the early nineteenth century, where the preferred iron was unfinished in form (Gunther 1972:37), and the next bout of intensive trading in the 1850s, where initially European forms such as stoves and files became popular.

As with copper, the forms in which iron was remade were consistent with local traditions. In 1785 Alexander Walker noted local estimations of both copper an iron tools,

> "These Americans showed great inconstancy in their desires after different commodities, an article of Trade being one Day in high estimation, and next Day totally despised. Sometimes unwrought Iron was in most request, at other times cutlery. Brass Buttons, and Bells, were generally of some value: but Copper alone continued a staple, and retained to the last a high price [...] A bit of Copper six inches long, and one broad, was preferred to the best Tool in our Possession, but large pieces of Iron, Hatchets, and Chisels, were nevertheless prized. Nails and Knives they had no great regard for. They were much dissatisfied with the shape of our tools, that they generally altered it after buying them. On this account they came to prefer unwrought Iron to our Steel Instruments: for not being able to give them a proper degree of heat, in attempting to alter their form they generally broke them. A Chisel, five Inches long, and very broad towards the end, they preferred to all other Tools, even to a Saw, Hatchet, or Sabre, although we had instructed them in the use of these Instruments." (Fisher and Bumstead 1982:40)

His description emphasizes a new, easily malleable iron that can be adapted to local use rather than European forms. The demonstrated effectiveness of saws and hatchets could not replace the key Nuu-chah-nulth tool types: the adze and wedge. These tools are linked closely with aboriginal forestry, canoe manufacture, and traditional architecture (Drucker 1951, Sproat 1868). Both were used in the production of canoes among the Huu-ay-aht through the twentieth century to the present day (McKechnie et al. 2013).

3.1.3. *Abalone*

California abalone (*Haliotis)* shell merited specific mention along with iron and copper in the earliest accounts of trade on the west coast of Vancouver Island. The iridescent shells, described as 'earshells' or 'Monterey shells', arrived by way of Spanish trading vessels from California (see also Galois 2004). Juan Perez and his crew "started their trading by an exchange of furs for shells which our men brought from Monterey" in their first visit to the coast of Vancouver Island (Perez 1989[1774]:89). Like copper and iron, abalone was a material that was known to the Nuu-chah-nulth prior to contact. A sub-genus of abalone called "Northern Abalone" exists on the British Columbia coast, but the local shell is too thin for use in inlays and ornaments (Drucker 1951:113). California abalone is recognizably larger and was specifically imported in the contact period for these uses (Heizer 1940:400). The larger Californian shells have not been found in definitively precontact contexts, but Drucker (1951:113) remarks that by the contact period they were certainly highly valued.

Abalone artifacts DfSj-30:30 and 31 (Figure 3.2) were found along with a worked copper tinkler at site DfSj-30 on the George Fraser Islands, in what appears to be an early contact period context. The abalone in both examples is 2-3 mm thick and does not appear to be of the local type. DfSj-30:30 has been ground into a rectangle and drilled with a conical hole at the midpoint of its perimeter. DfSj-30:31 has been ground into a half-circle, with two notches along the straight side. These notches may represent drilled holes that broke through, after which the object was reworked.

These forms appear to be ornamental. Artifact DfSj-30:30 is similar to nineteenth century examples of Haida bowls inlaid with the shell, and copper and ferrous bracelets featuring shell adornment (Karklins 1992:171). In 1774 Juan Perez noted, in what Heizer (1940:399) argues is Barkley Sound, "Our people bought several of these articles in exchange for old clothes, shells which they had brought from Monterey and some knives; for these and the

shells they manifested greater liking" (Peña 1969[1774]: 121-123). In 1790, the exchange value for one sea otter skin on the coast was ten 'Monterey shells' (Gibson 2001:228). James Colnett's imported trade goods in 1790 included "ear shells," referring to California abalone (Colnett 1940:202). Yet, as was the case for both copper and iron, abalone fluctuated considerably in price. In 1792, the *Sutil and Mexicana* deemed the abalone market at Neah Bay saturated (Dionisio Galiano 1991 [1792]).

This early period cannot be too rigidly defined by types such as abalone shell, however. Dentalia and olive snail shells were traded far along the precontact Northwest Coast, but Sloan (2003) has not found evidence of similar trade in California abalone. California and the Northern Coast were economically linked by 2500BP (Carlson 1994 in Sloan 2003:280), and traditional Tlingit knowledge (Emmons 1991 in Sloan 2003:282) attests to a trade reaching as far south that predated contact. Therefore, it is possible that this abalone was known before contact.

Abalone was not strictly an early period artifact class, either. The use of abalone earrings was recorded by Charles Gentile in an iconic 1864 photograph of Tait-tats-toe, a Tseshaht man, wearing a single, squared ornament in his left ear. It resembles the George Fraser Island artifacts in shape if not size. Indeed, potlatch records from Sapir and Swadesh indicate the trade of abalone shells in potlatch events up to the early 20th century (see Appendix A). This later period regalia may have come from a more established industry than in the early period. By 1850, an estimated 500 Chinese fishermen in California were running a specialized fishery on the San Miguel Islands, focused on large abalone species that became quite abundant after the reduction in sea otter stocks, their primary predator (Braje et al. 2007). The Barkley Sound abalone could be of the same type that would have been discarded and exported from these processing plants (Braje et al. 2007). By 1909, however, California passed a moratorium on abalone fishing of all types in the state.

Whether or not the shells on the George Fraser Islands came from early traders like Perez, Colnett, or Quadra; traders during the early nineteenth century; or the industrial fisheries of the mid-nineteenth century is not entirely certain. The abalone on the George Fraser Islands is likely of post-contact origin, since it is found in association with rolled copper and an otherwise Indigenous assemblage. It is quite likely that it dates to the late-eighteenth/early-nineteenth century, when European manufactures were scarce, but available at a small scale.

It seems, from T'ukw'aa and the George Fraser Islands, that the Nuu-chah-nulth were at least familiar with metalworking and abalone trade through Indigenous trade networks before the first European arrived to trade directly[12]. Archaeological evidence for this early proto-historic and historic trade is minimal, however. The five village sites in my sample, all with continuous occupation from pre-contact through the contact period, show very little evidence of the flurry of trade in the early eighteenth century. The historical importance laid on this trade does not reveal itself beyond the small assemblage at DfSj-30. This period of thirty or so years of the Maritime Fur Trade is the briefest of archaeological windows, though. This invisibility may also be due in part to the rapid dispersal of trade items. This is indicated in Meares' descriptions of the Nuu-chah-nulth of Nootka Sound, who had been engaged for several years in European commerce,

> "appeared, at least to our observation, totally destitute of European articles: for, all of the iron, copper, beads, &c. which they must have received in return for their furs, not a particle of them was now to be seen;—nor is it easy to conjecture in what manner they had contrived, in so short a time, to dissipate their treasures." (1778:120-121)

Moziño (1991 [1792]:65), aboard Quadra's ship, argued that the Nootka "tripled their small capital by means of the copper which, leaving the hands of the Nootkans, began to disperse itself throughout almost all the archipelago". Thus, the lasting impact of early colonialism in Barkley Sound was not, it seems, material. Disease along with political, settlement, and economic restructuring were the more immediate effects of contact, as I discuss in my final chapter. It was not until the Late Period that the material culture of the Sound changed dramatically.

3.2. "Late" Period Manufacture Types

Late period manufactures, i.e. those articles from the period roughly after 1860 and before 1930, comprise the bulk of material from the collection. This imbalance is due to a number of intersecting causes. Foremost among these were slow but steady improvements in industrial production and distribution over the course of the nineteenth century. Innovations in

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[12] McMillan (2000:243-244) sets these early period artifacts in a broader context of "proto-historic" ornament.

metal, glass, and ceramic manufacture allowed for mass-production in Britain and North America on a scale that was not possible before industrialisation (Usher 1960). Additionally, falling transport costs through the second half of the nineteenth century (O'Rourke and Williamson 1999) brought cheaper and more widely accessible goods to North America. It is the mass produced and marketed manufactures from this era that spread across Barkley Sound on village sites. They appear at once and in great number some eighty years after the first material was exchanged between the Nuu-chah-nulth and Europeans during the Maritime Fur Trade.

This general improvement in manufacturing techniques corresponds with the development of trade infrastructure on Vancouver Island. Around the mid-century, the construction of stores, the development of the town of Victoria, and an influx of steamers plying the coast all transformed how goods moved in and out of Barkley Sound. Through these sources, the Nuu-chah-nulth had new and stable forms of access to European material in addition to occasional traders and a consistent local trade system. By the 1860s, Victoria was receiving regular shipments from Honolulu, London and San Francisco (Figure 3.3), subsequently filtered through stores specifically for "the indian trade" (Figure 3.4).

RECEIVED BY LATE ARRIVALS.

TURKS ISLAND SALT IN SACKS.

Codfish in casks.
Prunes in cases of cartoons.
Candles in 25 lb. boxes, (English Sperm.)
Sheet Iron in bundles, Nos. 16, 17, 18, 25. 26, and 27.
Cocoa Matting ; bordered Cocoa mats.
Blankets in bales, Gentian, scarlet and grey colors.
Salmon & Herring Twine, Cod-fish hooks, assorted.
Salmon and Herring Nets, an assortment.
Regatta Shirts, Serge Drawers, Pantaloons in cases
Sherry Wine in quarter casks, Claret Wine in cases;
Quicksilver in flasks.
Superfine Flour, in quarter sacks, Pacific Mills,
        San Francisco.
Lime Juice in cases containing 1 doz.
Bookers Bitters, in cases.
Ale and Porter in cases, Marzett's brand.
Ale and Porter in cases, Hibbert's brand,
An assortment of English Pickles, Potted Meats,
        Jams, and Jellies, Anchovies, Calf-foot Jelly,
        Sauces, &c, put up by Batty & Co., London.
For sale by   SAMUEL PRICE & CO.
                Corner Wharf and Jonston streets.
Victoria, V. I. 14th June, 1859.   [je14–tf

Porter, Ale, Wines, Whiskey, &c.

RECEIVED BY LATE ARRIVALS

FROM LONDON, HONOLULU, AND
San Francisco.
    20 cases Booth's Old Tom ;
40,000 Cigars ;
Barrels XXX Bourbon Whisky, (Old Joe Bowers)
    do   Alcohol ;
Cases Isabella Grape Wines ;
Cases Bitters, (Morning Call and Royal Windsor ;
Burton's Gunpowder in 25 lb packages;
        HF, in 1 lb and hlf lb blue Jap'd Cannisters;
        C & F Blasting and Mining Gunpowder ;
Curtis & Harvey's Sporting Gunpowder in 25 lb cs
235 Mats Turk's Island Salt ;
586 bags California Barley ;
100 mats China No. 1 Sugar ;
400 qtr sacks Pacific Mills Extra Superfine Flour ;
Bags of Rio Coffee ;
Boxes Macy's Candles ;
Bales of Gunny Bags ;
Mats of China Rice.
            ——ALSO——
An assortment of Windows, and Sash, and Panel
Doors. Puget Sound Lumber, assorted, ½ inch & 1 inch
Boards, and small sized Scantling.
    For Sale by   SAMUEL PRICE & CO.,
                Corner of Wharf and Johnson streets.
Victoria, V. I., June 27, 1859.—je29

Figure 3.3   *Victoria Advertisement for goods shipped from London, Honolulu, and San Fransisco*

(British Colonist [BC], 22 August 1859:1)

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Figure 3.4   General Store Advertisement Catering to the "Indian Trade"

([BC], 14 February 1860:5)

This typological shift from Early to Late periods is not entirely borne out in the archaeological and ethnographic datasets, however. In 1868, within the Late Period, Gilbert Sproat remarked in Alberni that the Tseshaht

> "are fond of toys and ornaments for themselves and children, and are seldom seen without rings, anklets, and bracelets of beads or brass. Their blankets are often tastefully ornamented with beads [...] A brilliant ring or piece of cockleshell, or a bit of brass, shaped like a horse-shoe, often adorns." (Sproat 1868:26-27)

The persistence of copper and abalone ornaments through the nineteenth century resists any individual, form-based distinction between periods.

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However blurry the edges of the date range for early period artifacts based on individual forms, there is a distinguishable suite of material from which the Nuu-chah-nulth could choose and interpret in the late period. New forms of glass, metal, and ceramic are more abundant than ever and passed through new channels. Hudson's Bay Company development on the Central coast and new settlement across the region meant that goods that entered Barkley Sound would have had less value in inter-group trade and may have stayed within the area.

Despite this influx, the potlatch remained a powerful economic determinant in the Nuu-chah-nulth community, and many of these new manufactures flowed through this traditional redistribution process (see Sapir and Swadesh 1955 in Appendix A). As with the 'drastic' shifts of the early period, the large scale adoption of European goods in the late period belies the persistence of a traditional economy.

I sort the varied forms of late-period artifacts in three major material categories: Glass, Metal, and Ceramic. I have selected several functional categories for a separate, subsequent discussion under the headings "Composite", "Repurposed Material", and "Artifacts of Indigenous Origin".

3.2.1.   *Glass*

The glass assemblage comprises 876 fragments of flat, bottle, lantern, tableware, bead and melted or otherwise unidentifiable glass. Of these forms, fragmented bottle, lantern, and table glass are most common (Table 3.1). This is partly due to the fragile and disposable nature of container glass. Despite this taphonomic over-representation however, glass was certainly an important new material class for the Nuu-chah-nulth. With ceramics, it makes a sudden appearance as a part of an entire suite of late nineteenth century goods. As with ceramics, it also would have been familiar from the Maritime Fur Trade, nearly a century before the first trade stores in Barkley Sound. Yet, it is only visible archaeologically in the Late Period.

Table 3.1   **Glass Types By Site**

Site	Flat	Bottle	Lantern	Tableware	Other	Total
DfSh-15	51	45	0	14	13	123
DfSh-16	16	82	8	2	58	166
DfSi-4	0	0	0	1	2	3
DfSi-5	22	73	0	10	18	123
DfSj-23	343	53	49	3	13	461
Total	**432**	**253**	**57**	**30**	**104**	**876**

Note: These are fragment counts. "Other" in this table refers to ornament including beads and unidentifiable pieces. See Chapter 3.2.4 *Clothing and Ornament* for a more detailed discussion of the bead assemblage.

Glass in Canada was dominated by British exports from the early period well into the 19th century. It was not until the start of the 20th century that domestic manufacturers such as Dominion glass became more prevalent (Mcnally 1982:4). As would be expected, the identifiable bottles in the collection tend towards British manufacturers such as the Cannington and Shaw Company of Lancaster, England (see Table 3.2). However, there are several glass artifacts that date to the turn of the twentieth century that can be sourced to American manufacturers such as the W.F. Franzen Company of Milwaukee or the Cheseborough Manufacturing Company out of New York (see Table 3.2).

Whether bought in Victoria or by catalogue, glass was not likely procured at a manufacture-specific retailer. Instead, pressed and plate glass was sold alongside tin, iron, crockery, and bottles in trade stores or in Victoria. Figure 3.5 shows an advertisement for a Fort Victoria merchant that offers glass tableware alongside a diverse assortment of goods. Pressed glass dishes like these make up a small, but important class of the glass assemblage, but uses for glass included lamp mantles, bottles, and window glass in the context of Barkley Sound villages. These attributed functions were stretched at sites like Hiikwis and Uukwatis, however, where glass debitage and tools provide evidence for tool manufacture from recycled glass (see Chapter 3.3). For now, I will discuss the most common forms of glass in the assemblage.

Figure 3.5   Advertisement in Fort Victoria Directory

(Fort Victoria Directory 1860:71)

Bottle and Storage Glass

253 pieces of bottle glass are found across all late period contexts, although Ch'uuma'ta contributes a mere 3 artifacts. The collection is very fragmentary, however, and generally unidentifiable beyond coarse estimations of form and container shape. Indeed, some of what has been identified as flat glass may be from flat-sided cask or paneled bottles, although only one identifiable cask bottles was found at Ma'acoah.

I have organized the best identified and most complete artifacts in Table 3.2. These come almost entirely from a surface feature at T'ukw'aa, representing a domestic structure from the final occupation at the site (See Chapter 4.1.1 *Feature 11*). These whole bottles do not represent the fragmentary assemblage as a whole, given their limited provenience. However, they do give us an indication of the manufacture types available in the late-nineteenth century, when most of these sites were occupied.

Table 3.2   Complete or Identifiable Bottles

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Manufacture Type	Date	Reference	Description
DfSj-23A	421	Feature 11	Dip-Mould	Before 1865	Jones 1986:86	Dark green, cylinder bottle. Tooled lip. Uneven string lip. Distinct surface change and mould line 3/4 of the way up side. Neck bulges out over shoulder mould line. Deep, conical push-up.
DfSj-23A	463	Feature 11	Pressed	1900-1929	Toulouse 1971:536-537	Clear cylinder bottle. Crown top with attached crown seal. High, short neck with no defined shoulder. Two side seams opposite extending but fading approaching lip. Continues past base to inner ring on bottom of bottle. Relief lettering reads "WF 8<" "41" "MIL".
DfSj-23A	423	Feature 11	Mould-Blown	1850+	Hoolihan 2008:187	Light green medicine bottle. Mould line extending to just below lip, where it looks to have been wiped smooth. Inside of lip is uniform width. Bottle is rectangular in cross section with inset rectangle panels on every side. Panels read "DAVIS...VEGETABLE....PAIN KILLER". Small dimples on 4 corners of bottle bottom. Rounded lip with string lip beneath.
DfSj-23A	422	Feature 11	Three-Piece Mould	1866-1913	UK National Archives M/CA; Toulouse 1971:147-148	Translucent teal cylinder bottle with patination. Bulbed neck. Tooled, double flanged lip. Horizontal ring around neck. Large bubble inclusions. Uneven vertical axis and uneven wall width. Inner ring on bottom with a centre dimple. Lettering on base reads "126" "C.S. & Co Ld"
DfSj-23A	424	Feature 11	Dip Mould	Before 1865	Jones 1986:86	Transparent green cylinder bottle. Bulbed neck and double flanged lip. Uneven sides and lip, which is pinched. No mould lines. Some bubble inclusions. Rough patch on base.
DfSj-23A	425	Feature 11	Dip Mould	Before 1865	Jones 1986:86	Teal, clear cylinder bottle base. Straight sided cylinder. Uneven thickness- thicker as approach base. Thick uneven base. Large Bubble inclusion near surface on sides. Dimpled bottom center. "DW & Co" "46" stamp on base. Slight indent.
DfSj-23A	426	Feature 11	Dip Mould	Before 1865	Jones 1986:86	Cylinder bottle base. Straight sided cylinder. Slight punt indent. No mould lines or maker's marks.

DfSj-23A	427	Feature 11	Machine Made	1910+	Toulouse 1967	Transparent purple canning jar rim. Side seams opposite on both sides, extending to lip but not past it. Horizontal seam along neck. Small trace of vertical seam on inside lip. Single flat flange around the jar lip. Raised lettering on body. Kerr Economy Jar.
DfSj-23A	442	Surface	Unknown			Cylindrical champagne bottle base. Base and wall thickness varies considerably. Its base features a low punt with a small nub of glass in the centre, relief "N" and "O" marks.
DfSj-23A	1478	S84-86;E198-200	Machine Made	1858+	Lorraine 1968	Transparent canning jar base. Two side seams on body. One ring seam on bottle heel and one on base. Side seams extending to base seam through side base seam.
DfSi-5	69	W110-111;S46-48	Pressed, or Machined	1876-1920	Lindsey 2013	Light green medicine bottle. Oval base with slight flask curve on inside edge. No visible seams.
DfSi-5	72	W110-111;S46-48	Unknown			Transparent medicine bottle. Oval base. Base and side seam.
DfSi-5	106	W72-73;S23-25	Unknown			Transparent bottle neck and lip fragment. The inside of the neck is uneven, thin beneath rim. Lip is ground and of uneven thickness.
DfSh-15	470	1	Pressed, or Machined	1870+	Vaseline 2013	Transparent blue container fragment. Raised lettering on body reads "[V]aseline" "[Che]seborou[gh]" "[N]ew yor[k]"

The manufacture of bottles progressed incrementally throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The collection reflects this, and a number of different methods of manufacture are apparent. Identification of types and general dates for this project has been done through the Parks Canada guide (Jones and Sullivan 1989), Toulouse (1971), as well as the Society for Historical Archaeology's compendium on bottle dating (Lindsey 2013).

In the earliest period of European contact on Vancouver Island, bottle manufacture would have been non-mechanized, depending entirely on moulded and blown techniques (Lindsey 2009). Mouth-blown methods rely on the skill of individual glassworkers, and thus can be identified first by a lack of consistency in manufacture. Gobs, or individual molten glass blanks, were blown into wooden or metal moulds or shaped by hand. The earliest bottles in this collection are of this style. DfSj-23:424 at T'ukw'aa (Figure 3.6), for example, is a clear and even dip moulded bottle with a tooled lip. Dip moulds such as this were no longer commonly manufactured after 1865 (Jones 1986:86). Two bottle bases, DfSj-23:425 and DfSj-23:426 are also of this general type.

These methods were succeeded by the three-piece mould, often referred to by one of its proprietary forms, the "Rickett's" mould. Artifact DfSj-23:422 displays mould lines consistent with this style, and features a roughly tooled, beveled lip (Figure 3.6). The shape is generic, but the double lip implies a wire and cork closure. It was manufactured by Cannington Shaw and Co. Ltd., which operated from 1866 to 1913 in St. Helens, England (UK National Archives M/CA, St Helens Local History and Archives Library; Toulouse 1971:147-148). After 1913, the company began marking its new machine made bottles under the "United Glass" moniker.

Figure 3.6   Complete bottles

Note: Artifacts from left to right: DfSj-23:424, DfSj-23:463, DfSj-23:422; DfSj-23:421
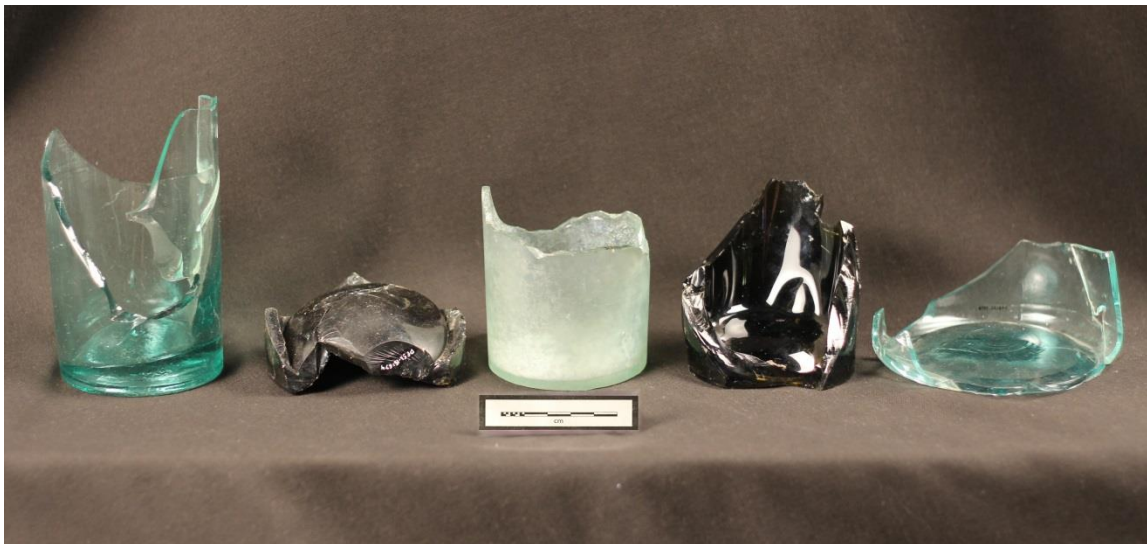
Figure 3.7   Bottle Bases

Note: Artifacts from left to right DfSj-23:425, DfSh-15:674, DfSj-23:442, DfSj23:1478

Two-piece bottle moulds overtook three-piece moulds in the 1840's (Lorraine 1968). DfSj-23:442 at T'ukw'aa (Figure 3.7) represents one of these partially automated techniques, although it is not complete enough for full identification. Its base features a low punt with a small nub of glass in the centre, flanked by as of yet unidentifiable "N" and "O" marks. Similar

bottle bases have been described for ale bottles in the Missouri steamboat *Bertrand* collection dating to 1865 (Switzer 1974:18-19).

Lettering and intricate relief designs proliferated with partial and full automation. Paneled lettered bottles appeared in 1867 (NH Moore 1924), and continued as a style through the twentieth century. Artifact DfSj-23:423 (see Table; Figure 3.8) is the only clear example of a panelled bottle in the collection. It is a small bottle of Perry Davis' Vegetable Pain-killer, an extremely popular patent medicine available from the early 1850s (Hoolihan 2008:187). Among its ingredients were "alcohol...opium, camphor, pepper, myrrh, guaiac, oil of spruce and red saunders". It claimed itself an effective treatment for "cuts, bruises, burns, sprains, pain resulting from neuralgia and rheumatism, colds and coughs, cholera morbus and other bowel complaints, as well as several veterinary disorders...[and] for the treatment of alcoholism."

Figure 3.8   Medicine Bottles

Note. First Vertical Row from top: DfSh-15:470, DfSi-5:69; DfSi-5:72; Whole Bottles from left to right: DfSj-23:423, DfSj-23:443

A widely popular medicinal bottle type seen in the assemblage is the "Cheseborough Vaseline" cream jar, DfSh-15:17. Medicinal and cosmetic bottles continued to be hand blown well into the twentieth century (Miller and Sullivan 1984:91). However, it is uncertain what process was used on this particular piece. The trademarked petroleum jelly would have been

available after 1870 at the earliest (Vaseline 2013). Operations in Canada did not start until after 1911. However, the base is missing, and so its origin is uncertain.

Another example of raised letter design is the canning jar. Canning jars with zinc caps appeared in 1858 (Lorraine 1968), but as with medicine bottles they continued as a design type through the twentieth century. Artifact DfSj-23:427 is a canning jar from Kerr Glass Manufacturing Co. in Portland, Oregon, dating from 1910 at the earliest, when machine made the jars became popular (Toulouse 1967). Artifact DfSj-23:1427 is of similar make.

One oval cross section flask was found at Ma'acoah (DfSi-5:69). This clear purple bottle with an embossed #10 is not lettered as many were. This corresponds with a style popularized as the "Philadelphia prescription oval" shape (Jones and Sullivan 1989:26-27). A number of variations on this form were developed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It has a flat, tooled lip called a "Patent Lip" (Griffenhagen and Bogard 1999:39) and has side and base seams that correspond with a three-piece mould, but lacks any trademarks or lettering. Druggist bottles of this shape were popular from 1876-1920 (Lindsey 2013).

As the nineteenth century progressed, bottle manufacture became increasingly mechanized. Unlike mouth blown moulds, new methods did not require skilled labour. Instead, automatic presses were operated with comparatively minimal input from supervisory and maintenance staff (Miller and Sullivan 1984:83). The automation of glass production over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had considerable effect on the perishable food markets (see Miller and Sullivan 1984), primarily in an increase in both the production and demand for bottles.

Owens' innovative bottling machine, which automated the process of gob-feeding, allowed for an industry takeover of bottle production by 1920 (Meigh 1960). The change from semi-automatic processes to the fully-automatic Owens machines was rapid. By 1917, Owens produced half of all bottles made in the U.S. The Canadian Glass Manufacturing Company received a license for the machines in 1906 (King 1965). Production in Canada lasted until 1945, but it had already been superseded by new, simplified gob-feeding technologies (Miller and Sullivan 1984:87). Dominion Glass was the most successful of the automated glass producers in Canada, however. It had a monopoly on production in Canada, and it comprised a range of manufacturing types through the early twentieth century (Miller and Sullivan 1984:92).

Machine-made bottles are not frequent in the assemblage, but the identifiable sample is small. DfSj-23:463 from T'ukw'aa is a crown-sealed bottle from William Franzen and Son, based in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, dating from 1900-1929 (Figure 3.6; Toulouse 1971:536-537). It is clear and retains an attached crown seal, but its contents are not identifiable. The basal mark reads "WF & S 41 MIL", but no further identification could be made from the mould number.

Regardless of the manufacturing technique, bottles would have differed significantly from previous liquid food storage methods such as bladders, boxes, and kelp bulbs (Drucker 1951) when they were introduced during the Maritime Fur Trade. These types were designed for oil and water, the primary liquid foodstuffs of the Northwest Coast immediately pre-contact (Howay 1942; Drucker 1955). If we can assume that bottles were mostly being used for their manufactured intention, they conveyed entirely new classes of liquid foodstuffs and medicine to Nuu-chah-nulth villages, in increasing quantities during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Condiments, perfumes, sodas, patent medicines, wine, beer, and liquor are all new additions that would have been transported and stored in glass bottles. The latter three were (Fitzgerald 1849:154-160) and remain (Howay 1942) controversial in discussions of colonialism on the Northwest Coast. Medicine, missionization, and alcohol were very much intertwined in the nineteenth century and they continue to act as central points in the negotiation of First Nations identity within Canada. Arguments surrounding the usefulness and potentially destructive aspects of these parallel the binaries of fluorescence and degradation, which I discussed in the introduction and to which I will return in my discussion.

As with all new material introduced in the historic period, alcohol was both rejected and used in various ways by groups across the Northwest Coast. Howay (1942) notes that Cook found no evidence of alcohol at the time of his visit, but Moziño (1991 [1792]), on Quadra's voyage in 1792, found tea, coffee, beer, wine, and whiskey had all become popular among the Nuu-chah-nulth. Their sale and trade during the Maritime Fur Trade was regular, if controversial. Wickaninnish was recorded by John Hoskins of the *Columbia* in 1791 as offering alcohol to greet visitors (Howay 1942). By the late period, attitudes towards the exchange of alcohol became explicitly tied to colonial authority. At Fort Hope in 1853, the sale of alcohol to First Nations was banned outright by Governor Douglas (Howay 1942). In Barkley Sound, Sproat made similar prohibitions for his employees, both Indigenous and Euro-Canadian,

"The use of intoxicating liquors was forbidden to everyone in my employment, and though it was impossible altogether to exclude ardent spirits, yet owing to the remoteness of the place and the peculiar approach to the harbour—as I was legally authorised and even bound to prevent the introduction of spirits—I was able to make the settlement as nearly a temperance settlement as any village of two hundred colonists of English descent could be made, under the best regulations and most favourable conditions for making the attempt." (1868:27)

As evinced by Sproat, the use of alcohol was condemned, popularized and moralized variably by missionaries, traders, employers, miners, fishermen, whalers, among a host of other people with whom alcohol was a likely conversation topic.

Father Brabant, in an account of his time at the Roman Catholic mission at Hesquiaht, talks of having port wine, or "medicine, as [Bishop Seghers] called it in the presence of the natives" (Moser et al. 1926:45). This was perhaps a joking aside, but the use of medicine and alcohol were closely related at this time. The Perry Davis medicine described earlier purports to alleviate ills caused by alcohol through a tonic comprised mostly of alcohol.

Medicine and faith were often administered hand in hand by government officials and missionaries such as Father Brabant, who operated a mission in Huu-ay-aht territory for several years during the 1870's (Moser et al. 1926:40,42), or through patent medicines like those continually advertised in the Times Colonist such as San Francisco based Langley Brothers, who operated a satellite store in Victoria for "drugs, chemicals, perfumery, and patent medicines" ([BC], 1 July 1859:3); sulfur baths that cured rheumatism; or Sarsaparilla that "cleanses the system of all morbid and impure matter- removes pimples, boils and eruptions from the skin- cures rheumatism and pains of all kinds" ([BC], 12 May 1860:4).

These new patent curatives are remarkably similar to traditional forms of medicine described by Drucker (1951) and Sproat (1868:251), who record the use of numerous herbal tonics and infusions. Father Brabant described his attempts to import western medicine in the face of continual epidemics as a "struggle between good and evil" (Moser et al. 1926:79), deeming practitioners of traditional medicine in Hesquiaht "an old dodge of that class of imposters…" (Moser et al. 1926:73). Yet, traditional practices were strictly observed in spite of Brabant's efforts. During times of sickness, "recourse was freely had to the medicine men and women" (Moser et al. 1926:79).

In Barkley Sound, we have wine, cask, and patent medicine bottles that attest to the trade in alcohol and medicine. These identifiable artifacts are mostly linked with a single feature

at T'ukw'aa, however. The architecture associated with this feature represents only one occupation of the site during the historic period. In addition, bottles were often used in a variety of ways, and even these identifiable bottles could have been used for purposes beyond their manufacturer's intent (see Berge 1980:37). Dark green 'wine' bottles such as DfSj-30:424 (see Table 3.2) were used as serving vessels in Eastern Canada (Jones 1986:25), and it is not unlikely that such reuse of bottles occurred in Barkley Sound. Indeed, the bottles found at Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa date from the mid nineteenth century (DfSj-23:424,425) to the early twentieth century (DfSj-23:463), in association with a surface scatter which includes a number of twentieth century artifacts (see Chapter 5, Chapter 4.1.1). The bottles are likely to have been several decades old at the time of their final deposition, many uses removed from their original purpose.

Tableware

The term "tableware" is meant to encompass a variety of serving vessels made with moulded, etched, and cut glass (McNally 1982). 30 pieces of identifiable glass tableware were found in the Barkley Sound collection, primarily in twentieth century contexts at Ma'acoah (10 elements) and Uukwatis (14 elements). Tumblers, platters, ashtrays, plates, vases and a number of other vessel types were commonly produced in this high-relief style. While at least one piece of pressed glass has been categorized within "lantern" glass, the remainder appears to be of the forms outlined by McNally (1982). The tableware in Barkley Sound is primarily press-moulded or pressed glass, rather than etched or cut glass, however.

Cut Glass

Cut glass is difficult to distinguish from pressed glass, since both methods utilized similar forms and decorative styles such as sunbursts and radiating lines. In contrast with pressing methods, which left cloudy imprints on tableware vessels, cut glass designs are sharper and clearer. Tableware of this manufacturing type is ground and polished from a pressed or roughly shaped blank (McNally 1982; Jones and Sullivan 1989). Ground or cut glass was manufactured well before pressed glass and is a more labour intensive process, but it continued to be important in forms such as glass bottle stoppers since it is difficult to create this type with an automated, gob-injected system. DfSh-16:274 is one such fragmented stopper for a pressed or cut glass container (Jones and Sullivan 1989). It is the only example of cut glass in the collection. It is broken on both ends, hexagonal in cross section, 1.75cm at its top to .6cm wide at its base and 1.5cm along its longest axis. Figure 3.9 illustrates a similar type sold individually by Illinois Glass in their 1920 catalogue.
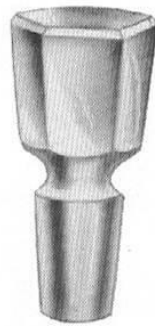
C II No. 253

Figure 3.9   Illinois Glass Company "Ground Glass Stoppers"

(Illinois Glass Company1920:171)

Pressed Glass

The pressing technique provided for cheap and durable containers with a wide range of possible decorations. This press mould style left smooth interior contours, mould lines, and sharp relief on outside surfaces, owing to the plunger mechanism (McNally 1982:15). Much like the automated bottle making mechanisms described previously, the device plunges a gob into a sharp-relief mould. The pressing machine made the production of cheap tableware feasible after 1827 (McKearin and McKearin 1948: 334; Jones et al. 1989:34). In the 1860s lime glass, a new type of soda glass, replaced lead glass at a fraction of the cost (McKearin and McKearin 1948:8,395; Jones 1989:11).The background stippling that helped mask cloudiness in the glass was eliminated by the 1850s, leaving sharp designs (Lorraine 1968:38-39). Pressed glass only achieved dominance of the lower end of the tableware market in the late nineteenth century, however (McNally 1982:16).

All of these improvements correspond with first appearance of pressed tableware in Barkley Sound. Of the 25 pressed glass artifacts in the assemblage, only one pressed glass artifact shows the dense stippling of early manufacturing techniques. The remainder typifies the sharp, clear designs of the late-nineteenth century. Of all the available forms possible with pressed glass, the Barkley Sound sites are again tightly constrained in style. The small dishes represented in Figure 3.10 are ubiquitous in the assemblage, while tumblers, cups, and other types are conspicuously absent.

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Figure 3.10   Pressed Glass

Carnival Glass

Six of the pressed glass artifacts are of a brightly coloured style often called carnival glass (lower left of Figure 3.10). This inexpensive style had designs similar to other pressed glass, but added an iridescent coating of tin, bismuth, antimony, or iron nitrate or chloride. It was sold under the names Carnival, Rainbow, Bronze, and Taffeta after around 1870 (Jones et al. 1989:55). However, it has more recently been defined as post-dating 1905 (Jones 2000:151). In the Barkley Sound assemblage, it is found only at Uukwatis, within an early twentieth century context.

Table 3.3   Carnival Glass

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Level	Layer	Quantity	Description
DfSh-15	467	1	2	A	1	Iridescent orange. Starburst relief.
DfSh-15	468	1	2	A	1	Iridescent orange. Cross-hatched relief.
DfSh-15	N/A	1	2	A	2	Iridescent orange.
DfSh-15	484	1	3	A	1	Iridescent orange.
DfSh-15	497	1	4	A	1	Iridescent orange.

Window Glass

The flat glass in this assemblage is assumed to be mostly window glass[13]. The relative frequencies of glass in these sites (Table 3.1) are somewhat misleading, however. For example, at T'ukw'aa, 74.7 percent of the total frequency of glass is flat glass. Yet, 293 of the 343 pieces of pane glass at the site are a 2mm thick, yellow, translucent, flat glass with a wavy relief on one side, found only in unit S44-46;E135-137. This could represent but one or two panes. Therefore, we cannot infer the wide use of pane windows on these sites from high frequency of flat glass alone. However, there is some ethnohistoric evidence for their incorporation into new frame-style houses during the late period.

In areas of North America where window glass is more frequent, there has been some discussion of dating by thickness. Yet, the techniques for doing so are not entirely agreed upon (Jones and Sullivan 1989:178, Roenke 1978, Weiland 2009, Pacey 1981). It is generally accepted that glass thickness increased over the course of the nineteenth century, as windows became larger and easier to transport (Roenke 1978). The best means of dating the introduction of pane glass in Barkley Sound is through ethnohistoric descriptions of village architecture.

Pre and post contact architecture among the Nuu-chah-nulth has been discussed at length (McMillan and St. Claire 2012; Smith et al. 2003; Mackie and Williamson 2003; Marshall 2000). However, there has been no research regarding the adoption of pane glass. Moziño (1991 [1792]) describes Maquinna's incorporation of small window panes in the plank sides of a traditional house in place of square-cut, curtained openings. Besides this description, however, there is little evidence that pane glass windows were popular in traditional houses.

As construction in the early twentieth century shifted from gable and shed roof plank houses to raised post houses at the beach edge, such as those seen at Cleho and in Huu-ay-aht territory[14], it is likely that windows became more popular. Figure 3.11 shows framed houses at Cleho on Nettle Island in 1930 with clearly visible pane windows. Sproat (1868) marks this

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[13] Since the collection is quite fragmentary, it is difficult to separate flat cask bottle fragments from pane glass or methods of pane glass manufacture.

[14] Mackie and Williamson (2003:107) acknowledge "Euro-Canadian style frame houses" at the traditional housing complex at Kiix7in, although they are not part of their study. The radiocarbon and dendrochronological dating for the traditional houses at this site could allow precise dating of this transition.

transition to European houses as early as the 1860s at Alberni. As I will discuss in the next chapter, Hiikwis and Uukwatis would have been occupied in traditional and framed housing simultaneously during the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.

Figure 3.11   Village at Cleho

(Courtesy Royal Museum of British Columbia Archives. Doris Galligos 1930, PN18512)

3.2.2.   Metal

Metal accounts for 52% (1592 elements) of the entire European-manufactured assemblage. 3.7% (59 elements) are non-ferrous, nearly all copper or one of its alloys. The remainder is ferrous. The most frequent form types include stove parts and nails, but the assemblage contains enamelled tableware, skeleton keys, nails, chain links, lamp parts, gun inlays, buckles, cutlery and other pieces. The scale at which these were adopted in the late period indicates a significant material shift for the Nuu-chah-nulth that is unmatched in ceramic or glass forms. As with the other material types, it would have long been a familiar part of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture, but it becomes ubiquitous in the late period.

Ferrous Metal

Pig iron formed the basic material for the stoves, hollow-ware, and other refined iron products that comprised such a basic part of domestic nineteenth century material culture. During the mid-nineteenth century, Britain dominated the global market in iron and steel (Heron 1988). Rolling mills in Toronto, Saint John, Montreal and Hamilton continued to use scrap iron

to produce steel and refined iron until 1880. Efforts were made to boost Canadian production of pig iron, but it remained difficult to compete with the efficient and large producers overseas (Heron 1988:15).

In concert with glass and ceramic production, iron and steel manufacture became increasingly mechanized in the late-nineteenth century. Heron (1988:48) ties this efficiency to more than the automation of individual processes, however. Instead, it was the integration of individual manufacturing steps that allowed for the vast increase in production. Labour-intensive, manual conveyance of iron from blast furnace through to finishing stations was quickly replaced by automated and integrated workflows.

While iron in the late-nineteenth century was dominated by British exports, there were several attempts to extract iron locally. Besides timber extraction and milling, the mining of iron would have been one of the few industries where extraction and consumption aligned in Barkley Sound. Industrial manufacture of pig iron began in Oregon by the 1860s, with later furnaces built in Washington in the 1880s, utilizing iron deposits from the Sarita River in Barkley Sound, as well as in Sechelt (Daniels 1926:179). The area that was to become the Sechart whaling station was initially developed as an iron mine, as marked on the 1861 map of Barkley Sound (Figure 1.1 in Chapter 1; see also Dewhirst 2009). These operations were not consistently run, however. Production in Washington State ceased entirely from 1889 to 1902 for lack of profit (Daniels 1926:178). One local foundry that produced items such as ranges and heating stoves, Albion Iron Works, was founded in Victoria in the 1860s. It went through several periods of reorganization through its history, but eventually dissolved in 1928 (Albion Iron Works 1882-1908). After 1913, the United States and Germany took over as the leading producers (Daniels 1926:915).

There were many small cast-iron manufacturers that would have worked pig-iron from these primary ironworks. Much of the identifiable cast iron from this site is hollow-ware and oven parts, however. These were created by a number of specialty manufacturers across Canada and the United States.

Stoves

Stoves represent one of the more common cast-iron specialties. Hundreds of stove casting companies were operating throughout Canada and the United States in the late nineteenth century (Betts and Rader 1885), and secondary warehouses in Vancouver and

Victoria would have supplied steamers and trade stores along the coast. The stoves themselves were manufactured in a complicated array of types and brands, from coal-fired, enamelled industrial kitchen ranges to small wood-fired ranges.

The collection has several stove pieces and features: DfSh-15:12, and Features 11 and 14 at T'ukw'aa. Artifact DfSh-15:12 is an unidentifiable decorative attachment for a stove. Feature 11 has several large plates from a degraded and unidentifiable stove. The stove at Feature 14 is more complete, however (see Figure 3.12). "Herald Stoves and Ranges" is imprinted across a large plate. The Northwestern Stove Repair Company in Chicago, Illinois listed nine manufacturers of "Herald" stoves in their 1887-1888 Catalogue of Stove, Range and Furnace Repairs. An 1885 New York index (Betts and Rader 1885: 66-67) lists 16 such manufacturers making a "Herald" model. This name was used for wood and coal fired cooking stoves, ranges, heaters, cottage ranges, and parlor ranges.
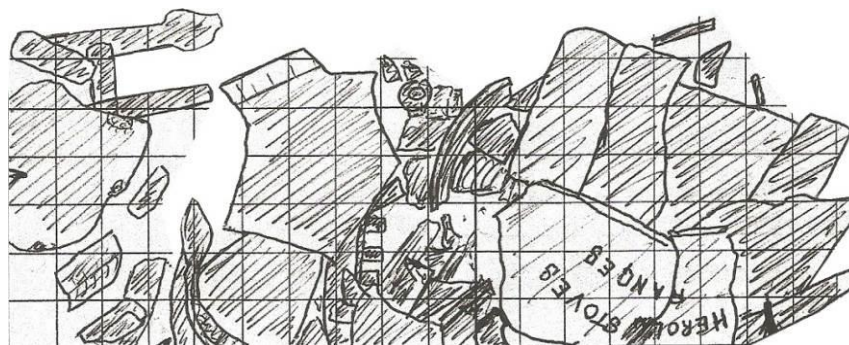
Figure 3.12   Feature 14 Sketch

Note: Feature 14 was located in the southern half of unit S44-46;E135-137

While it was a generic name, it is possible that the "Herald" stove at Feature 14 comes from McClary's catalogue. The McClary Manufacturing Company of London, Ontario offered one of the many wood-fired stoves of this name (Figure 3.13; 1914:101). A metal enamel plate from this distributor was found in association with the stove at Feature 11, so Barkley Sound villages would have had access to goods from this supplier. John McClary began the company manufacturing and selling stoves in London, Ontario in 1847, but they only expanded distribution outside of the province by the 1870s (Canadian Manufacturers Association 1967).
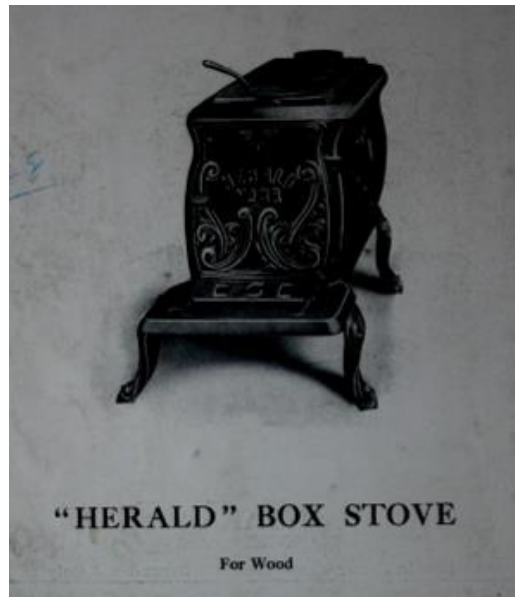
Figure 3.13   1914 Herald Box Stove

(McClary's Catalogue Eighty-Six: Cooking and Heating Appliances 1914:101)

Files

Artifact DfSh-16:257 from Hiikwis, artifact DfSi-5:97 from Ma'acoah (Figure 3.14), and artifact DfSj-23:460 from T'ukw'aa all represent single-cut mill files (Ross and Light 2000:26) with pointed triangular tangs, without wooden handles. The bottom artifact in Figure 3.14 appears to be a riffler file, for detailed wood carving or machine work. These metal-working files had precedent in the precontact Nuu-chah-nuth toolkit. Abrasive sandstones (see Chapter 3.4) are found in direct association with post-1880 historic materials at unit N14-16;E4-6 at Hiikwis. These were used to reduce bone into points for fishing gear well into the late period. However, they might also have been used for sharpening metal knives, adzes, or axes after initial reduction from single cut mill files. Future residue analysis from these abrasive stones could resolve this question.

Figure 3.14   Metal Files

Note: From top to bottom: DfSh-16:257, DfSi-5:97, and a "riffler file" from DfSh-16.

Fasteners

Fasteners in the assemblage include nails, spikes, screws, and bolts and comprise 32.2 percent (923 elements) of the entire European-manufactured assemblage. Along with plate glass, these are most easily identifiable remnants of architectural features on site. Although traditional houses would not have required the use of such fasteners, they may have been used in smaller, associated structures or Euro-Canadian style, framed houses. There is ethnographic evidence of nail reuse in herring rakes (Drucker 1951), and perhaps as fishing gear (see Chapter 3.4) but their ubiquity and frequency in the assemblage indicate architectural use of some sort.

Machine cut nails and wire nails are common in all sites. Screws, however, are not as common. Two galvanized steel flat-head wood screws are found at Hiikwis, one wood screw at T'ukw'aa, and one flat-head threaded bolt at Ma'acoah. The Robertson screw was not popularized until after 1908. The flathead screws along with cut and wire drawn nails restrict most construction to the period between 1860 and 1910. This is within the range we would expect from ethnographic records of frame house construction, which records some frame houses at Alberni in 1865 (see Sproat 1868).

Nails

The 923 complete and partial nails at sites in the Barkley Sound assemblage (Figure 3.16) were in an oxidized state at the time of analysis, and very few recognizable features could be recorded. They range in size from large spikes (Figure 3.15) to small tacks. However, the majority fall within the 3 to 8cm range. 416 nails and partial nails can be identified as wrought, cast or machine cut nails. 507 nails are definitively machine drawn, wire nails. I examined them in cross section and head type, but no other means of distinguishing wrought, cast, and cut nails were available. The best distinction that can be made is between non-wire and wire drawn nails. This transition took place within the last thirty years of permanent occupation at many of the sites, and all contexts excepting the George Fraser Islands have both wire and machine-cut nails. A mixed assemblage is expected for the period of 1870-1930.

Figure 3.15   Large Copper and Iron Nails

Note: The top two are square shafted copper or brass nails, under which is a wire-drawn steel nail and
    two square shafted iron spikes.

After the 17th century, wrought iron nails were made with a rolling and slitting mill process that eliminated the need to hammer shanks individually (Wells 1998). These nails are not common in the assemblage, with only one identifiable example from Ma'acoah.

Cast iron nails make up a very small portion of the assemblage in Barkley Sound. These nails were cast onto pre-made heads set in a bed of sand. They therefore exhibit a small sprue on the head. The heads are pyramidal and the shanks are tapered on all sides and square in cross section. These would have been more cost-effective than wrought iron nails, but were only known from British manufacturers (Lenik 1977:47). These could have been available through the 1800s, but are limited to two in the collection.

Machine cut nails are the next major development in nail manufacturing visible in Barkley Sound. They are readily identifiable and are important dating markers. Adams (2002) argues that as construction material, they are less prone to lag than more durable than glass and ceramics. Machine cut nails were popularized after 1830 (Adams 2002:68). Their presence at the sites in Barkley Sound therefore dates a context to after the Maritime Fur Trade, but does not differentiate the "caesura" period between the Maritime Fur Trade and 1860. British manufacturers did not adopt this technology as quickly as those in the United States, however. British sites in North America would have been supplied with wrought nails into the late 1800s, since the machinery required to produce cut nails was not widely adopted until the 1860s, when the drawn nail was taking precedence anyway (Adams 2002). Fort Vancouver, in Washington State, imported machine cut nails by 1840 (Ross 1976:891 in Adams 2002:80). Sites in Barkley Sound were similarly distant from production centres, and would have had access around the same period. In any case, machine-cut nails would have been used well into the 20th century, recycled and reused from new stock and old.

Wire drawn nails (Adams 2002:69) were patented in Britain as early as the 1850s, and may have been shipped from British manufacturers by the 1860s, some twenty years before American traders would have had access (Adams 2002:85). It did not entirely supplant the cut-nail, however. The recycling of old nails makes it difficult to accurately date mixed assemblages, as well. This transition from cut to wire nails paralleled the transition from iron to steel. I have not differentiated between steel and iron in the assemblage, so I cannot identify steel, machine-cut nails, an important transitional form. The process for this has been outlined in Wells (1998), contrasting the grain in iron nails against the smooth structure of steel nails. Cut nails, in any case, dropped sharply in production after 1890 (Adams 2002:72).

Galvanized fasteners were present only at Ch'uumat'a (16 elements) and Hiikwis (2 elements). Galvanized roofing nails date to after 1901 (Fontana et al. 1962:50). This pushes

construction at Ch'uumat'a to at least the turn of the twentieth century. Galvanized screws would date to roughly the same period.

T'ukw'aa contributes the largest portion of the nail assemblage (Figure 3.16), perhaps indicating more substantial use, but this also may be largely due to a larger sample size from this site. The distribution of nails in Barkley Sound is fairly evenly split between wire and machine-cut nails, the two broadest categories of nail manufacturing in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Ch'uuma'ta is an outlier, however. Its history of twentieth century construction skews this ratio towards wire nails.
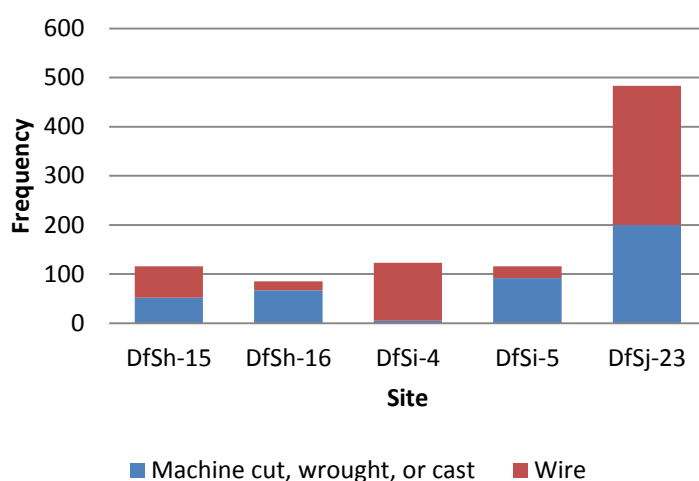
Figure 3.16   Nail Types by Site

The mixed assemblage at all sites except Ch'uumat'a aligns with dates from the glass and ceramic assemblage, from the mid to late nineteenth century. Ch'uuumat'a's overwhelmingly wire-drawn assemblage, and to a lesser degree T'ukw'aa's, indicates site construction in the twentieth century.

Canning

Canneries provided important, waged work for Nuu-chah-nulth (Lutz 2008), and metal cans were a popular means of storing food in the late nineteenth century (Rock 1984). Yet, cans have not been found at the village sites, besides a few isolated pieces. I have not yet found information regarding the use of canned salmon among the Nuu-chah-nulth of Barkley Sound outside of places of employment. Traditional methods of fish preservation such as drying or smoking (Drucker 1951) would have continued through this mechanization, and they persist to the present day.

One can fragment found at T'ukw'aa, in unit S44-46;E135-137, is sealed with a screw lid closure. This is not of the same type that would have been found at canneries such as Ecoole. It most closely resembles a cone-top beer can, used from 1935 to the mid-1950s (Busch 100-101). Field notes from various sites do record the presence of ferrous material too thin and too fragmentary to recover, however. These pieces may have been oxidized can remains.

The lack of can remains distinguishes these sites. Cans would have been available by the second half of the twentieth century, as evinced by the establishment of nearby canneries. Yet, they were not popular onsite. This discrepancy is as of yet unexplained but could be determined through archival research into their availability through Victoria or local merchants.

Cutlery and Tableware

The collection contains two knives, a fork, one electroplated nickel-silver spoon, one stamped steel spoon, a tin washbasin rim, and an enamelware metal plate and bowl.

The three-tined fork, artifact DfSj-23A:16 (Figure 3.17), retains only two tines and its tang. No manufacturing stamp is visible. It was treated with microcrystalline wax, and the original wooden handle was not saved. Since three-tined forks became popular around 1770 (Dunning 2000), and applied wooden handles were used until the 20th century (Dunning 2000), dating this piece is not feasible. It closely resembles an "American iron fork" in Hume (1969:182) dating from roughly 1850-1880. However, this similar piece had pewter mounts and a bone handle, neither of which are visible in the Barkley Sound example.

Figure 3.17   Cutlery

Note: From top to bottom: DfSh-15:465, DfSh-16:211, DfSj-23A:16

The knife, artifact DfSh-16:211, has well-preserved bone or antler handle but no visible manufacturing mark. It is 21 cm long, with a 3cm wide, 2mm thick blade with no appreciable bevelling from the spine to the edge. The shape of the blade does not conform to any of the tableware described in Dunning's treatment of historical cutlery (2000). Most tableware knives here display a rounded rather than pointed tip. The identification of the handle is difficult, owing to visual similarities between bone, ivory, antler, and bovine horn.   These types were manufactured by British companies well into the twentieth century (Dunning 2000:41).

Artifact DfSh-15:465, an electroplated nickel-silver spoon (Figure 3.17), is trademarked with a Nevada Nickel Silver stamp. The "Nevada" mark is used primarily by Daniel & Arter Silver works of Birmingham, who manufactured a number of types of cutlery from the 1880s through the 1930s (Woodhead 1991:59). Electroplating, as an alternative to silver is described by one contemporary advocate, "The substitution of electro-plate for real silver is now so common in households where the latter would be regarded as a superfluous luxury, that the sternest advocate of true principles in art-manufacture would scarcely require an apology for its use" (Charles Eastlake 1874).

DfSj-23A:446 and 466 are enamelware metal dishes, a plate and shallow bowl respectively. DfSj-23A:446 has a stamped "McClary's" trademark on the bottom of the plate

(Figure 3.18)[15]. The McClary's Manufacturing Company Catalogue (1903) advertises this type specifically (Figure 3.19). Metal tableware, "Good enamelware pans", are recorded in Sapir and Swadesh's potlatch records (see Appendix A).
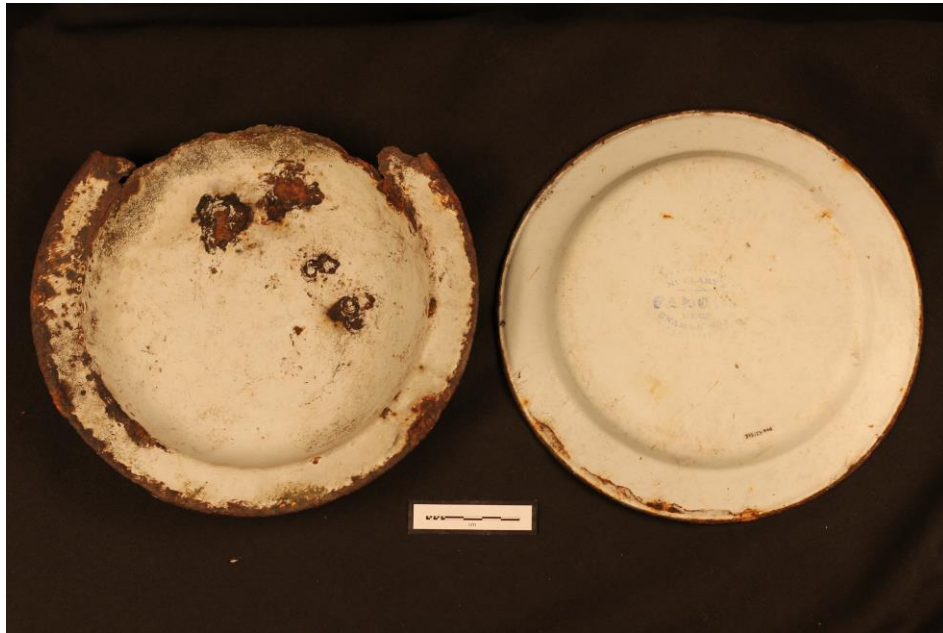
Figure 3.18   Enamelled Metal Plates

Note: From left to right: DfSj-23A:466 and DfSj-23A:446

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[15] This style of plate has also been catalogued in the Barkerville, BC collections (1986.1260.0001). Barkerville was occupied after 1861.
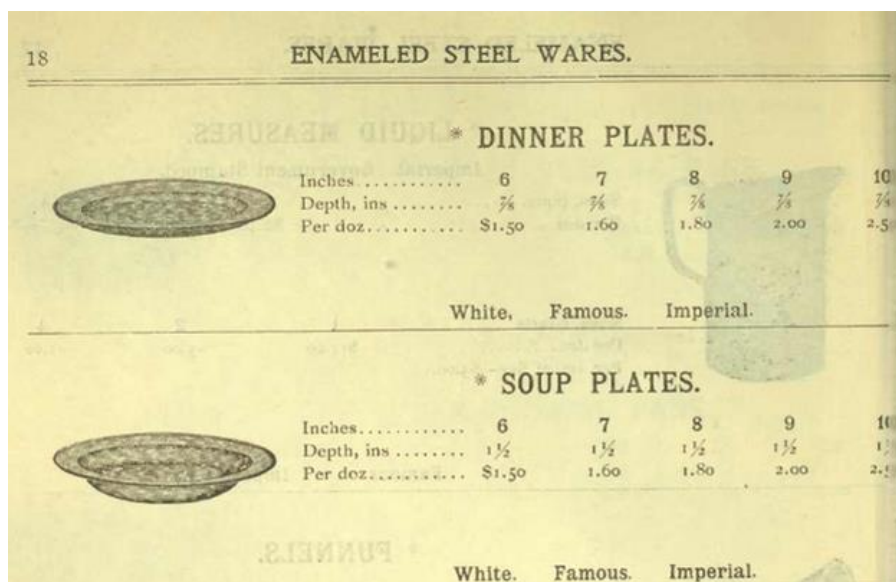
Figure 3.19   Enamelled Plate Advertisement

(McClary's Catalogue 1903:18)

Table 3.4   Cutlery and Tableware

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Level	Layer	Quantity	Description
DfSj-23A	1316	Feature 11			1	Ferrous metal fork. 3 long tines, tanged (no handle remains) with metal rivets. 16.5cm long.
DfSh-16	211	N 12-14; E 4-6	6	E	1	Ferrous metal knife with bone handle, tanged with three metal rivets. 21 cm long; 3cm wide blade
DfSh-16	189	N 12-14; E 4-6	4	C	1	Ferrous metal knife with rounded tip. Tanged and riveted handle. Possibly a straight razor. 1-2cm wide, 16 cm long.
DfSh-15	465	1	2	A	1	Nickel-silver, electroplated metal spoon. "Nevada Nickel Silver OSCO" stamped on underside of handle.
DfSh-16		N 12-14; E 4-6	2	A	1	Ferrous metal spoon. Long wire handle with flattened leaf-shaped tip.
DfSj-23A	446	Feature 11			1	Ferrous metal, enameled plate. Blue band around rim Complete Plate.

						23cm diameter. 2.5cm high. 3cm wide lip around base. Flat base. Maker's mark in dotted oval in blue ink "McClary's FAMOUS REGd ENAMEL WARE"
DfSj-23A	466	Feature 11			1	Ferrous metal, enameled plate/bowl 3.4cm high, 24cm diameter. 2.8 cm wide lip surrounding bowl.
DfSh-16		N 4-6; E 0-2	2	A	1	Tin washbasin rim.

Other

There are many pieces of ferrous metal of unique form or that could not be identified by form. Identifiable forms include one furniture caster, two skeleton keys found in association (Figure 3.20), and a short length of linked chain.

Figure 3.20   Ferrous Keys

Note: Artifacts from left to right: DfSi-5:11 and 112

Non-ferrous Metal

Brass and copper would have been available in sheets for local reworking or in manufactured form such as lamps or fasteners (see Chapter 3.2.4). Both are present in the assemblage, but a large portion is repurposed material. Rolled copper implements (see also Chapter 3.3 Copper Ornament) could have been reworked from kettles or other such items or from sheet copper available through catalogues such as McClary's (McClary Manufacturing Company 1903). It is interesting that the assemblage contains very little brass or copper besides rolled ornament or intricately manufactured pieces like lamp collars. I suspect that

much of the copper dishware, if it was being purchased, was being recycled into ornaments rather than thrown away. Otherwise, the material type seems to be reserved specifically for ornament, which is interesting in its own right.

The only identifiable non-ferrous metal manufacturers in the assemblage come from Waterbury, Connecticut. A clock plate from Waterbury Clock Company and at least one button from Scoville Brass, the latter of which I discuss in "Dress and Ornament" later in this chapter, were manufactured in what was then the major brass manufacturing centre in the United States.

Timepieces

The collection has two timepieces: a nickel-plated pocket watch: artifact DfSj-23:1223, and the brass mechanism plate of a table or wall clock, DfSi-5:105 (Figure 3.21). These indicate the introduction of standardized timekeeping in Barkley Sound, syncing settlements with steamer traffic and wage labour in the second half of the nineteenth century. These would not have been strictly functional, however. The pocket watch is a first a personal adornment of great effect, and the table clock would have been a visible reminder of one's purchasing power in these new markets.

Figure 3.21   Timepieces

Note: Table clock plate from Ma'acoah and nickel-plated pocket watch recovered from T'ukw'aa. The
       pocketwatch (DfSj-23:1223) has been opened to display the internal mechanism.

The nickel-plated steel pocket watch was found in S84-86; E198-200. The internal mechanism plate has a stamped patent date of 1888 by the Ansonia Clock Company of New York. However, it is likely that these mechanisms were resold and fitted into casings to be sold elsewhere. An 1890 advertisement for a similar nickel-plated watch from McFarlane Watches, a Toronto retailer, lists the basic model at $1.74 (Figure 3.22). This appears very similar to an Ansonia model at the Museum of Victoria (Figure 3.23) and DfSj-23:1223.
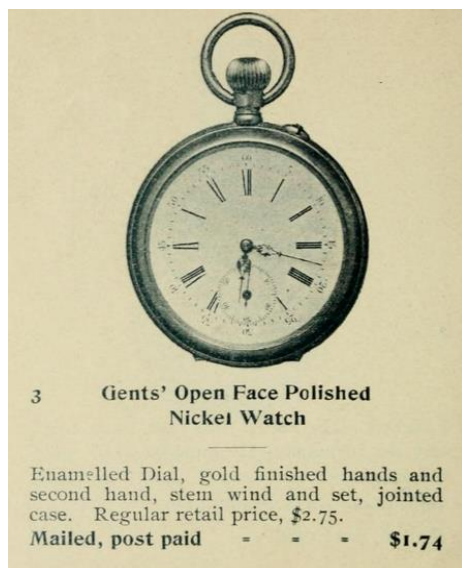
Figure 3.22   Advertisement for McFarlane Watches

(McFarlane 1890)
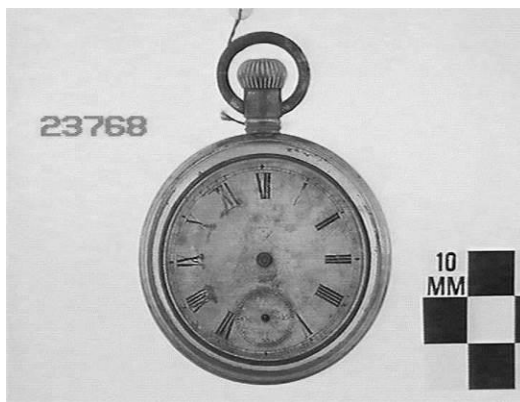
Figure 3.23   "Gents Pocket watch, nickel plated case, Ansonia Clock Co., New York, circa 1890"

Courtesy Museum of Victoria (Reg. No. ST 023768)

The brass clock-plate mechanism would have been part of a larger timepiece, likely a table clock. The brass clock movement is stamped "WATERBURY CLOCK CO." The exact movement model is unknown since the affixed gears are missing, and no further stamps are visible. The Woodwards department store catalogue lists similar clocks from two to ten dollars, for simple oak wall clocks to marble mantel clocks (1896:115). Sapir and Swadesh (1951; Appendix A) record at least one "clock" exchanged during a potlatch.

Table 3.5 Timepieces

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Quantity	Description
DfSi-5	105	W110-111;S46-48	1	Brass clock mechanism plate. Small gear affixed to corner. Stamp reads "WATERBURY CLOCK CO".
DfSj-23A	1223	S84-86;E198-200	1	Nickel-plated steel dollar pocket watch. Screwback assumed (no lever point). Crown style winder at top. Inside mechanism plate reads, "MFO: BY THE ANSONIA CLOCK CO NEW YORK U.S. OF AMERICA PAT. APRIL 17, 1888"

3.2.3. Ceramics

The collection includes 790 ceramic sherds. These are drawn from six survey sites discussed in Chapter 2, including DfSh-5, a Tseshaht village (Cleho) located on Nettle Island. A surface collection at this site made during the Pacific Rim Survey is stored at the Royal Museum British Columbia Museum in Victoria. No ceramics were found at Ch'uch'aa, DfSj-30.

The assemblage is tightly restricted in form, decoration, and date range. Tableware, as would be expected, composes all but a few pieces of the assemblage. Refined earthenware cups, saucers, and plates are the most common artifacts. Dates for all of these types fall in the mid to late nineteenth century, which corresponds with the dates for late-period assemblage as a whole. In addition to tableware, the ceramic collection includes several pipes, a porcelain doll leg at T'ukw'aa, and numerous high-fire Prosser buttons, which I discuss under ornament later in this chapter.

Identifying ceramic paste-types for late-nineteenth century ceramics is problematic. Distinctions between wares, from highly vitreous earthenwares to porcelains, are idiosyncratic and ill-defined. For the sake of simplicity and an easily comparable dataset, I have followed the advice of Majewski and O'Brien (1987) and focused my efforts on ceramic decoration as the most reliable indicator of manufacture. This system is comparable to Alexandra Maas' (1994) thesis on ceramics at Bella Bella, which also distinguishes primarily on decoration. After a coarse ware-based sort, I organized the collection by decorative elements. Where possible, I have identified specific makers' marks.

Miller (1991:5-11) has documented several common types of British ceramic wares that existed in North America in the period from 1790-1880. One of the most frequent designations is that of undecorated, cream coloured wares. This is a confusing term that encompasses a range of paste types[16]. Since the development of pearlware gradually faded into whiteware and other more refined earthenwares, it is simpler to classify these based on design and decoration rather than paste type. In that vein, Miller (1991) lists a number of prevalent design types: shell-edge, sponge decorated, dipped/mocha, enamelled, lined/underglaze, band-and-line wares, willow ware, printed ware, stone china, white granite, gold-banded earthenware, basalt ware, and English porcelain. Many of these types are represented in the Barkley Sound assemblage; although undecorated, transfer printed and sponge decorated designs predominate. These low-cost ceramics were manufactured by a number of potteries around Scotland and Staffordshire, and make up a majority of the identifiable assemblage.

Despite the problems with identification, I have sorted the assemblage into general paste types. My categories again follow Maas' (1994), from coarse earthenwares and stonewares to highly vitreous porcelains. Refined earthenwares comprise 67% of the assemblage and porcelain 27%. The remaining 6% is celadon, stoneware, and coarse earthenwares (see Table 3.4). Stoneware and coarse earthenwares are nearly absent at all sites.

Cleho and Ch'uumat'a are outliers in ware types, however. The prevalence of porcelain and presence of celadon are unique to Cleho. Celadon is a particularly expensive ware type and has been linked with economic stability at salmon canneries in British Columbia (Ross 2012:19). The blue-green glazed sherds at Cleho may originate from Chinese or Japanese potteries, but specific identification is uncertain. 79.5% of the porcelain also comes from the Cleho collection. The presence of both porcelain and celadon are associated with Cleho's recent and continuous occupation through the twentieth century. Ch'uumat'a, on the other hand, has a minimal ceramic component. This conspicuous absence likely relates to a period of abandonment in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 4.3) when ceramic dishware was most popular.

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[16] Majewski and O'Brien (1987) discuss the problems with the 'creamware' designation more thoroughly.

Table 3.6   ***Ceramics by Site and Paste Type***

Site	Coarse Earthenware	Celadon	Porcelain	Refined Earthenware	Stoneware	Unknown	Total
T'ukw'aa	0	0	13	61	0	1	**75**
Uukwatis	3	0	17	105	1	0	**126**
Ma'acoah	0	0	10	134	1	0	**145**
Hiikwis	0	0	3	66	7	1	**77**
Cleho	0	5	167	162	32	0	**366**
Ch'uumat'a	0	0	0	1	0	0	**1**
Total	**3**	**5**	**210**	**529**	**41**	**2**	**790**

Decorative elements include transfer-printing, lithography, sponge, banded, and hand painting (Table 3.6). Overall, there is negligible difference in the relative frequencies of design elements between sites. Several artifacts include more than one decorative element, and have been counted in each category. This affects the hand-painted, banded, and stamped categories most drastically, since these design elements are part of a single, common style of "spongeware" pottery. Moulded and gold-applique elements are also found on the same vessels. With minor exception, transfer-print designs do not occur with any other design element.

Figure 3.24   Ceramic Tableware

Note: Artifacts include gold-applique teacup in lower right, banded, hotelware middle-right, and
       Portneufware on lower-right; Ironstone plate bottom-centre, transfer ware top-centre; Ironstone
       platter left.

Table 3.7   Ceramics by Site and Design Element

Decoration Style	Cleho	T'ukw'aa	Ma'acoah	Ch'uumat'a	Hiikwis	Uukwatis	Total
Transfer-print	75	30	38	0	3	20	**166**
Lithographed	14	2	4	0	1	4	**25**
Gold Applique	2	1	12	0	0	0	**15**
Hand-Painted	66	7	14	0	22	15	**124**
Banded	52	7	23	1	10	14	**107**
Stamped	6	4	10	0	10	13	**43**
Moulded Relief	22	5	14	0	3	8	**52**

Most of the styles present in Barkley Sound are low-cost and mass-produced and have
not been the focus of much research. Transfer printed ceramics are an exception to this. Lynn
Sussman's work on Spode Copeland artifacts and Scott's (2002) work on printed ceramics, in

particular, document a variety of styles and thematic elements from chinoserie to Quebecois landscapes. The portions visible in the Barkley Sound assemblage are not identifiable, although they have elements common to many transfer designs such as diamond hashing and bucolic scenery.

The underglazed transfer style initially involved the transfer of a design from a brass plate onto bisque-fired ceramics. However, by 1781 (Scott 2002:20), improvements in paper manufacture allowed the cheaper use of paper intermediary transfers. This manufacturing style is most closely associated with the cobalt oxide blue designs of Spode-Copeland and other Staffordshire potteries. Dark blue underglazes predominated in the early years of this process, making way for more precise and polychromatic designs by the 1840s (Scott 2002:22).

Another major type in the Barkley Sound assemblage is spongeware pottery (Figure 3.24), which incorporates a number of design elements including banding, sponge, and hand painting. Stamps made from cut natural sponges allowed for quick decoration at minimal cost, in contrast with the relatively complicated process of transfer printing. Scott (2002) marks the end of this style in the 1920s, although it continued in smaller quantities into the 1950s. Sponged and painted designs may have originated in Scottish potteries, but similar wares were in production at Staffordshire potteries by 1845 (Cruickshanke 2008:41; Webster 1999:68). Still, Scottish potteries did export to Canadian markets in the nineteenth century. Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (2006) describe at least one Scottish spongeware manufacturer, Glasgow's Robert Cochrane & Co. specifically marketed wares to Canada, with dedicated shipping lines for spongeware, transfer printed and other ceramics.

Banding, which is apparent on Portneuf ware, is also seen on vitreous hotelwares. 107 refined earthenware sherds have banded design elements, spread across all sites (see Table 3.5). Gold applique decoration had an introduction date of 1870 (Miller 1991) and is visible on 15 sherds at Cleho, T'ukw'aa, and Ma'acoah.

The identifiable ceramic artifacts all date to the second half of the nineteenth century. The early period in Barkley Sound has no visible ceramic component. While some of the patterns and types would have existed and been available from 1790 to 1840, most come from later contexts. Ceramics as a whole seem to be an entirely late development, at least in quantities large enough to be visible from excavation. This correlates with ethnographic

evidence that records wooden cooking and serving vessel use into the 1880s, as described in the subsequent chapter on tableware.

The dates from identifiable makers' marks corroborate this estimate (Table 3.7). All are Staffordshire potteries and all date to the second half of the nineteenth century. Artifact 64 from DfSi-5 is a saucer base manufactured by John Edwards in North Staffordshire, England. The entire mark would read "Porcelaine de Terre. Trademark. John Edwards." This mark was used from 1880-1900 (Godden 1991:231; Gibson 2011:70). The sherd is vitreous ironstone, categorized more generally under "refined earthenware" in Table 3.6. The name played on associations with porcelain and France in an attempt to associate the lower-priced ware with more expensive wares (Majewski and O'Brien:122). Thomas Hughs and Josiah Wedgwood are two other Staffordshire potteries represented in the collection. These marks have TPQ dates of 1890 and 1860, respectively.

Table 3.8   Ceramic Artifacts With Makers' Marks

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Description	Manufacturer and Date Range	Reference
DfSi-5	87	W18-20;S24-25	Porcelain. Indeterminate form. "MAS HUGHES ENGLAND"	Thomas Hughs 1891-1895	Gibson 2011:90
DfSi-5	64	W110-111;S46-48	Porcelain saucer. "AINA" "[TRA]DE" "MARK" "JOHN EDWARDS"	John Edwards	
DfSi-5	102	W110-111;S46-48	Refined earthenware saucer base. "IMPERIAL" on banner over eagle	Thomas Hughs. 1856-1891	Gibson 2011:89
DfSh-15	13	1	Refined earthenware base fragment. ``Mondroit`` ``Pense`` ``223`` ``son`` Unidentified maker's mark.		
DfSh-15	512	1	Refined earthenware saucer base with ``1 07`` in rectangle stamp.		
DfSj-23	468	Feature 11	Ironstone. Large platter, mostly complete but broken. Maker's Mark: "[I]RONST[ON]E CHINA" "?LATE J	Josiah Wedgewood 1860+	Godden 1991, Gibson

			WEI" in oval banner.		2011:136
DfSj-23	431	Feature 11	Large refined earthenware plate base and rim. White- maker's mark includes lion and banner "?T MON DROIT… [THOM]AS HUGHES ENGLAND".	Thomas Hughs 1891+	Gibson 2011:90-91
DfSj-23	469	Feature 11	Highly vitrified earthenware base fragment. Maker's mark "BLAIRS CHINA. ENGLAND".	Blairs China 1900+	Godden 1991
DfSj-23	1521	S62-64;E158-160	Refined earthenware saucer base fragment. Makers mark banner "?ATE J".		

Tableware

Ceramics comprise, as would be expected, mostly tableware. The forms are varied, but several major categories stand out. Plates, saucers and teacups are the only forms mentioned in potlatch records of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (See Appendix A). This is borne out in the archaeological assemblage, where cups and saucers are the most common identifiable forms. Plates and bowls are less frequent, and platters are only represented by a few artifacts (Table 3.8).

As with classifications of ware type, categorizations of ceramic form are problematic (Beaudry et al. 1983). Here, I again follow Alexandra Maas' (1994) distinction between bowls, basins, saucers, plates, cups, crocks, and serving/ornamental forms. These distinctions are inferred in this collection based on rim diameter, thickness, and curvature. The majority of the collection is too fragmentary for this analysis, however. The results may be skewed towards cups and saucers, since their shape is more easily inferred from small sherds. Alternatively, their prevalence may stem from their packaging as part of sets, whereas tableware was more commonly sold individually (Miller et al. 1989).

Table 3.9   Ceramics by Form

Form	Cleho	T'ukw'aa	Ma'acoah	Hiikwis	Uukwatis	Total
Bowl	13	6	11	7	1	**38**
Plate	39	9	7	0	3	**58**
Platter	4	10	0	4	0	**18**
Saucer	59	3	25	2	6	**95**

Cup	74	13	21	7	3	**118**
Serving/Ornamental	15	6	0	2	0	**23**
Pipe	3	1	5	3	0	**12**
Other	7	1	3	3	0	**14**

Note: Ch'uumat'a is not listed here because no forms were identified.

A discussion of ceramic forms should also include a discussion of foodways. Yvonne Marshall and Alexandra Maas (2000) have tracked the shift in prominence of large serving platters to individualized plates and dishware at historic Yuquot in Nootka Sound. We do not see the same shifts here. Only 18 platter sherds are present in the assemblage. The only identifiable one, DfSj-23:468, is a thick Josiah Wedgwood ironstone platter found in surface Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa. It dates to the 1860s (Godden 1991), but is found in association with goods produced in the last decades of the nineteenth century. The inhabitants of Barkley Sound may have started using ceramics in individualized settings much later than at Yuquot.

By the early twentieth century, foodstuffs given at potlatches included apples, tea, biscuits, blackberry jam, sugar, potatoes, and rice (Appendix A). Sproat (1868) relates that by 1860, "they now use also for food flour, potatoes, rice, and molasses." These ethnographic examples are not necessarily indicative of daily meals, but they would have been staple items, easy to store and distribute. They generally correspond with the ceramic gifts repeated in Sapir and Swadesh (1955; Appendix A) several decades later: "teacups (many)", "plates", "crockery", and "soup plates". Certainly by the 1860s European foodstuffs comprised a portion of Nuu-chah-nulth meals; however they were not served in ceramics until at least a decade later.

It is also important to note that these new foods were only an addition to a pre-existing diet. Sproat (1868) records the trade and consumption of camas, bracken root, berries, dogfish, geese, duck, deer, whale, seal and fish among a host of other native foods. In the 1860s cooking was done in wooden vessels with boiling stones, a popular dish being "a kind of gravy soup […] also made from pieces of fish" (Sproat 1868:53-54). Indeed, his descriptions of potlatches from this time do not mention crockery, glass or other European manufactures, merely wooden dishes and utensils. While Sproat was inclined to exaggerate what he considered the most exotic aspects for his ethnography, the use of crockery likely became popular only after this time.

Changing foodways are not the only explanation for ceramic preferences in Barkley Sound. Restricted access, isolation from major market centres and local purchasing power have been used, with limited success, to explain the preference for low-cost wares in Eastern North America (see Klein 1991). It may also explain the prevalence of transfer printed, Portneuf, and ironstone on the Northwest Coast. Access to wider markets was certainly restricted, limited to steamers and trade stores by means of the Hudson's Bay Company, catalogues, or distributors in Victoria. Market isolation may not have been as prevalent a factor as could be initially assumed, however. The trends and needs of the North American market were closely watched by distributors in Britain, and Canadian wholesalers would have dealt directly with the major potters of Britain (Sussman 1979). Importers dealt with a range of goods including ceramics and continually adjusted their orders to meet the needs of far flung general stores (Miller 1984:4), such as those dotting Barkley Sound in the late period.

The restricted set of designs and forms may also be due in part to enforced conformity in potlatch ceremonies. "Crockery" is a recurring gift during these exchanges between near and distant relatives on the coast (see Appendix A). This form of inter-site exchange could provide a complementary explanation for the similarity of ceramics across First Nations village sites on the coast. Christopher Roth's 2008 work on the Tsimshian explores the importance of stylistic conformity in potlatch distributions. When gifts of ceramic dishes are frequent, as they are for Barkley Sound, uniformity in exchange is essential. Common forms and patterning would have been necessary for consistent evaluation and distribution of wealth.

Indeed, the pastes, decorations, and forms seen at Barkley Sound are consistent with Nuu-chah-nulth sites up the coast. Richard Lueger's (1981) analysis of the 461 ceramics for the Nuu-chah-nulth reoccupation of Yuquot revealed very similar distributions of pastes, decoration, and forms to Barkley Sound. 68% of the assemblage at Yuquot is primarily refined earthenware, compared with 67% in Barkley Sound. 18.2% of the Yuquot assemblage is porcelain, compared with 26.6% for Barkley Sound. Both collections show minimal coarse earthenware (2.4% for Yuquot and .4% for Barkley Sound); and stoneware (6.5% for Yuquot and 5.1% for Barkley Sound) (Figure 3.25). Decoration types are also similar between the regions, although relative frequencies of hand-painted and stamped elements are not consistent (Figure 3.26). These painted and stamped elements represent Portneuf ware, which was present at both sites. Small bowls (28%) and cups (20.4%) are the predominant forms at Yuquot (Leuger 1981:163), while cups (31.4%) saucers (25.2%), and bowls (10.0%) are the predominant forms in Barkley Sound. Forms are more variable in the Yuquot collection,

however. They include bottle, jar, washbasin, and large bowl forms that do not appear in Barkley Sound.
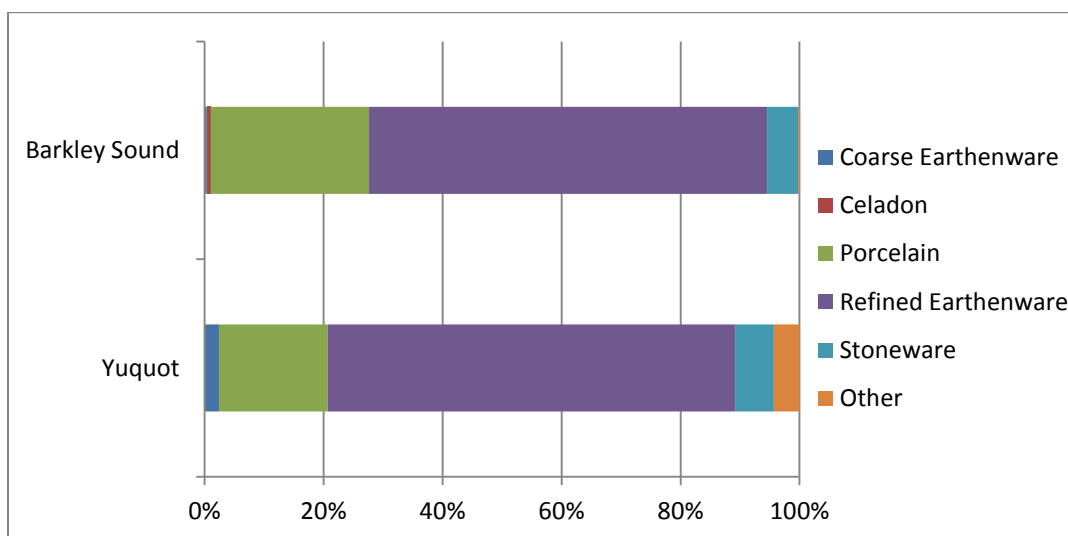
Figure 3.25   Relative Frequency of Paste Types at Yuquot and Barkley Sound
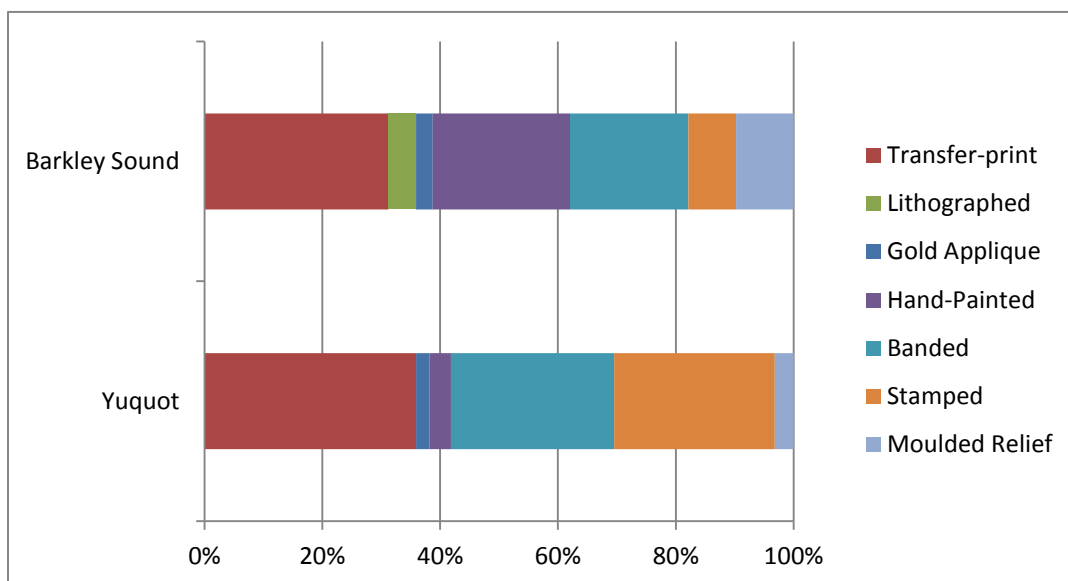
Figure 3.26   Relative Frequency of Design Elements at Yuquot and Barkley Sound

Dates and sources for the Yuquot ceramics are also comparable to Barkley Sound, ranging from 1845 to 1932, originating primarily from the Staffordshire potteries (Leuger 1981:161). Leuger interprets this lack of early period goods in similar ways, either sample size limitations from excavations and seasonal migration, the decline of the maritime fur trade, or the lack of appeal for bulky ceramics over local materials until the last two decades of the

nineteenth century. All of these explanations are plausible for explaining early paucity in both Barkley Sound and Nootka Sound.

Pipes

Ten kaolin clay pipe stem and bowl fragments were found at Ma'acoah Hiikwis, Cleho, and T'ukw'aa (Figure 3.27). One pipestem and one bowl fragment are glazed and were found in association at Ma'acoah, but the remainder are unglazed.   Stem fracture is a common occurrence through regular use of ceramic pipes (Walker 1981).   These segments likely represent accidental breakages, but DfSj-23A:1055 (on far right of Figure 3.27) shows evidence of grinding on both ends. This could be evidence of reworking, a topic I deal with in Chapter 3.4.

Figure 3.27   Pipes

Note: Three artifacts from Cleho (DfSh-5) are not pictured.

Two of these artifacts have maker's stamps indicating manufacture. DfSh-16:275 has a mark running in a band around the circumference of the pipestem, but it is eroded and illegible. DfSi-5:13 was manufactured sometime after 1862 and before 1891 by the Davidson Company in Glasgow, Scotland.   Murray employee Davidson bought out the company in 1862 and trademarks were switched to "GLASGOW DAVIDSON", running along opposite sides of the pipestem (Humphrey 1969:15). After 1891, U.S. restrictions on pipe imports required stamps of origin. The same pipestem mark was found at Yuquot village in Nootka Sound (Walker 1981).

The manufacture of these kaolin pipes is well documented for similar Glasgow manufacturers such as McDougall (Walker and Walker 1969).   McDougall continued to

manufacture pipes for export to Canada until the 1960s, in a process that remained relatively consistent through the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This involved hand rolling blanks to be pressed into two-piece moulds, boring, trimming and firing at high temperature.

There are no archaeological indications that smoking predates contact in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, by way of seed remains or pipe-bowl trace analysis (Lepofsky and Lertzman 2008:136). However, precontact tobacco use has been confirmed at sites in Northern California (Tushingham et al. 2013). Sproat provides a short description of late-period tobacco use,

> "They formerly had plain cedar pipes […] devoid of ornament, but there were also to be found in all the tribes the ornamental blue-stone […] pipes, which had been obtained in traffic with the Northern Indians. […] Tobacco has been so long known to the natives that they can hardly explain what material they smoked before they had it ; but they probably, in former times, made use solely of the leaves of the small shrub which is to this day mixed with the tobacco in their pipes, for the purpose of diminishing the intoxicating effect." (Sproat 1868:269)

This small shrub may be the N. quadrivalvis, which Nancy Turner and R.L. Taylor (1972) describe as being chewed with burnt clam shells and later smoked with European tobacco by Haida groups. Moziño (1991 [1792]) describes use of native plants in European pipes in Nootka Sound during the Maritime Fur Trade. Trace analysis such as Tushingham et al. (2013) could differentiate between these species and give us some indication of the use of these pipes. Certainly, all of the examples in Barkley Sound are ceramic and therefore date to the post-contact period. However, the post-contact practice may have continued from precontact use of local, tobacco-like cultivars.

Tobacco use is represented in the mid to late twentieth century by a plastic cigar tip at Unit 1 at Uukwatis. Evidence for the use of factory-made or hand-rolled cigarettes would not survive archaeologically. However the mouthpieces for these thin cigars attest to the shift in smoking habits away from ceramic pipes through the twentieth century.

Table 3.10   Pipes

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Description
DfSi-5	12	W109-110;S36-38	Refined earthenware pipestem and bowl. 2.5cm long .8cm wide.
DfSi-5	13	W109-110;S36-38	Refined earthenware Stem Fragment Pipe "DAVID S" and "?ASGO?" stamped along opposite sides. 2.5cm long .9cm wide

DfSi-5	14	W109-110;S36-38	Refined earthenware stem and bowl fragments. 5.6cm long. Tapered .9-.6cm width. (Bowl Fragments Not Pictured in Figure 3.27)
DfSh-16	166	N 12-14; E 4-6	Refined earthenware bowl and rim fragment. Burnt. Red paste.
DfSj-23A	1055	Surface	Refined earthenware stem fragment. White paste. Unglazed. Broken but worn (Very likely ground for bead) 2mm hole. 2.5cm long. .6cm diameter.
DfSh-16	275	N 14-16; E 4-6	Refined earthenware pipestem fragment. 3.2 cm. stamped name unknown "IHF?O?"
DfSh-16	34	N 4-6; E 0-2	Refined earthenware pipestem mouthpiece. 6.3cm long. Dipped brown glaze on mouthpiece.

Note: This table does not include the three artifacts from Cleho (DfSh-5).

Other

A moulded, painted porcelain doll leg (DfSj-23A:366) and foot (DfSh-16:10) and a ceramic doorknob (DfSj-23A:483) are also present in the collection (Figure 3.28). A similar doorknob was found at Yuquot (Leuger 1981:158). These provide further indication of changing architectural styles. The doll parts are the only evidence of children's activity on site. Drucker (1951:135) describes comparable cedar bark dolls made for children. However, we cannot be entirely certain that these new porcelain figures would have taken the same role.

Figure 3.28   Non-tableware Porcelain

Note: From left to right: porcelain doll boot broken at ankle, doll leg broken at ankle, door knob broken along centre.

3.2.4.   Composite

There are a number of artifacts that include materials from two or more of the major material categories. These are best described in separate discussions.

Electrical

Sparkplug

Artifact DfSj-23:587 from T'ukw'aa was identified as a Bethlehem One Point spark plug, indicated by stamped makers mark on the porcelain insulator. The broken threads where the firing pin was located indicate use on a small motor, where space was limited (Richard Percy personal communication in Stafford 1992). A number of spark plugs were available through the Silvex Company at this time, for tractors, cars, and other vehicles and appliances. These would have had up to five electrodes or "points", and come in a variety of sizes (Silvex 1913).

Batteries

Two carbon rods and two zinc-carbon, dry-cell battery insulators were found in the assemblage (Table 3.11, Figure 3.29). The appearance of dry-cell batteries in Barkley Sound marks a significant transition towards the electrification of the coast. Sapir and Swadesh (1955 in Appendix A) record "Torches (one-dollar lanterns)" as a gift in "Mourning Potlatch for Four Children" around the turn of the twentieth century. These may refer to flashlights, although it is possible they instead describe oil lamps, which I will discuss in the subsequent chapter.

Figure 3.29   Battery and Electrical Components

Note: Graphite rings on left and bottom centre formed the top insulator on a dry cell battery (see Figure
3.30). Top-centre is an electrical terminal connector of unknown date. Right is the cathode rod from a dry cell battery (see Figure 3.30).

Figure 3.30 shows a partial cutaway of a National Carbon Co. Dry Cell Battery (1918-1922), 1.5 volt sealed battery, revealing similar insulator rods and graphite insulator rings. This company produced the first commercially viable version of Carl Gassner's dry cell battery, the Columbia, in 1896 (American Chemical Society 2005).

Figure 3.30   Sectioned Dry Cell Battery

(Object 2007/B519, Powerhouse Museum 2007)

The cathodes in this ca. 1920 National Carbon Co. version are ridged in what may be a manufacturer-specific pattern. This differs from the smooth cathode rods found at T'ukw'aa and Ch'uumaat'a (Figure 3.29). This ridged type has recently been found in sites in Huu-ay-aht territory, however (McKechnie et al. 2013).

After the Leclanché wet-cell and its derivatives, the dry cell became the standard for several new technologies, namely telephones, electric flashlights (Mertens 2000) and small radios (Podber 2009). The switch from carbon to tungsten filaments in flashlights, along with improvements in dry-cell manufacturing contributed to a surge in sales of batteries in the first decade of the twentieth century (Mertens 2000). Electric flashlights bundled with new dry cell batteries were in large-scale production by 1918 (Mertens 2000:110).

The examples from the assemblage are likely from the first half of the twentieth century, before alkaline batteries first came on to the market. However, large dry cells of this type were made throughout the twentieth century. Dating the carbon rods more specifically than this is not yet feasible. I have encountered several smaller carbon cathodes from Zinc-carbon dry cells during beach surveys at Uukwatis. Sites in Huu-ay-aht territory have also revealed a number of

similar carbon battery cores of multiple types (McKechnie et al. 2013). These carbon cores are of varying lengths and diameters. The continual improvements, short use life, preservation, and ubiquity of these carbon cores could provide an effective means of dating early twentieth century materials. For the time being, however, we can only provide a rough estimate.

Table 3.11   Batteries

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Description
DfSh-15	509	5	Zinc-Carbon battery insulator. Unknown ring width. 1cm height.
DfSj-23A	1530	S62-64;E158-160	Carbon battery cathode cylinder 2.5 by 8 cm.
DfSj-23A	1483	S62-64;E158-160	Zinc-Carbon battery insulator. 6cm ring width. 1cm height.
DfSi-4		N67-69;W60-62	Carbon battery cathode cylinder 3cm diameter, broken.

Lighting Devices

Dry-cell batteries on site indicate that electric torches were likely used as portable lighting in the twentieth century. However, there are a number of lighting devices that predate this form. Precontact methods of lighting consisted of large household fires and cedar bundle torches. The continued use of traditional housing into the twentieth would have required hearth fires such as this. Hearths are certainly evident in the ubiquitous fire-cracked rock in Barkley Sound middens, and in historical housefloor features such as at Hiikwis (see Chapter 4.5). These likely were used until settlement shifted into primarily European-style framed housing. Drucker (1951:108) argues that these methods were augmented around 1850 by large clamshell lamps with dogfish oil fuel. The name for this briefly fashionable dogfish oil lamp was then transferred to introduced brass and glass oil lamps (Drucker 1951:108). Sapir and Swadesh recorded a "Mantle Lamp" as being distributed during a puberty potlach for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter (Appendix A). Lamps were also distributed during the Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter, recorded in the same volume.

Two brass trays and 1 glass font (Figure 3.31) and 56 mantle sherds from such kerosene lamps were found at T'ukw'aa and U'ukw'atis.

Figure 3.31   Oil Lamp Parts

According to Woodhead et al. (1984), the standard thin glass mantle and metal wick adjuster style came into being with the advent of kerosene in the 1860s (Woodhead 1984: 48), although they were initially designed for whale-oil (1984:41). These lamps were produced through die-stamping, with alterations to shape made by cutting and perforating, riveting and soldering. The wick stood upright in a tightly-fitted collar made of brass or another copper alloy. It could be adjusted up or down with a thumb screw to maximize fuel efficiency and light brightness within the fuel deflector shield. The thin glass chimney rests on top of this brass collar. By the 1820s, oil lamp collars were standardized in diameter, so mantles and bases could be exchanged as needed (Woodhead et al. 1984).

The two brass lamp deflectors found at T'ukw'aa are not of the same type displayed in Woodhead's Parks Canada collections. They more closely resemble large models offered in McClary's 1903 catalogue (Figure 3.32). Enamelware plates from the collection were procured from this merchant (see Chapter 3.2.2), so it is possible that the lamp parts were also sourced from this catalogue.
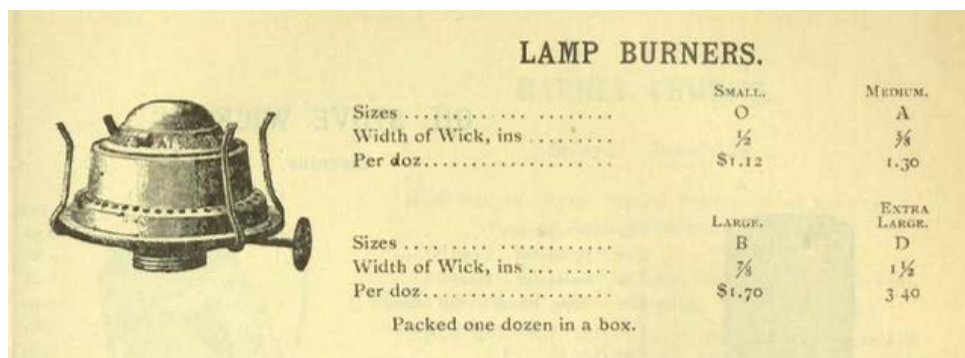
Figure 3.32   Lamp Burners from McClary's Enamelled Tin Ware Catalogue
(McClary's 1903:173)

DfSj-23:464, a glass lamp font, was found as a part of Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa. This thick, dimple-pattern glass is described by Woodhead et al. (1984) as being popular in Canada after 1885. Electric glass lamps with these glass fonts also exist. However, the stippled glass rim found matches more closely with an oil burning lamp, and the brass deflectors are certainly for flat-wick kerosene lamps. The lack of electric lights, wiring, and other signs of electrification would imply limited, if any, generator-based electrical light at these sites.

Table 3.12   Lighting Devices

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Material Type	Quantity	Description
DfSj-23A	520	2	Metal	1	Non-ferrous lamp wick deflector and wick spool
DfSj-23A	505	2	Metal	1	Non-ferrous lamp wick deflector and flame suppressant tray
DfSj-23A		S84-86;E198-200	Glass	48	Generally <2mm thick but variable, clear mantle glass shard
DfSj-23A	464	Feature 11	Glass	1	Stippled, pressed glass lamp collar. 7.2cm diameter
DfSh-16		N14-16;E4-6	Glass	5	.1mm thick, clear mantle glass body shards
DfSh-16		N4-6;W4-6	Glass	3	.1mm thick, clear mantle glass rim shard

Firearms

Weaponry in the collection is represented in two distinct artifact classes, the gunflint and the cartridge (Table 3.12). Both preserve well and represent two substantially different forms of rifle. Artifact DfSj-23:547, a chert gunflint, represents the continued use of flintlock rifles into the late period (Figure 3.33). The flint, found at T'ukw'aa, is a prismatic, chert, "English" form (Hume 1991[1969]:221). According to Hume, this type is distinguished by its broad, square backing. The French style, by contrast, has a rounded backing. Yet, recent research into North American and British gunflint manufacture has blurred these formal distinctions. Blonde coloured chert gunflints have been defined as French gunflints by Nancy Kenmotsu (1996:96), in contrast to the black, fine-grained cherts of Brandon. Yet, French gunflints with round backs found aboard the Machault (Bryce 1984) range from blonde to dark black. The visual distinction is still uncertain.

Figure 3.33   Ammunition and Firearms Components

Note: From top left down: DfSj-23:462, DfSh-16:155, DfSh-16:302; From top middle down: DfSi-4 .22
       casings; Right: DfSj-23:547.

110

Table 3.13 Firearms and Ammunition

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Level	Layer	Quantity	Description
DfSh-16	155	N 12-14; E 4-6 3	3		1	Brass .45-.70 centrefire cartridge. Stamp reads "W.R.A. CO [---] 45-70". 5.3cm by 1.3cm.
DfSh-16	302	N 6-8; W 2-4	1	1	1	Brass cartridge centerfire cartridge. Stamp reads "D.C. Co. [---] 12" 7 cm by 2cm.
DfSi-4		N67-69;W60-62	4	A	1	Non-ferrous .22 Long W.R.A rimfire cartridge. "H" impressed in back. Percussion mark on rim. 1.5 by.5cm.
DfSi-4		N67-69;W60-62	4	A	1	Non-ferrous cartridge .22 "D" impressed in back. Rimfire mark. 1 by.5cm
DfSj-23	462	W110-11;S46-48	6		1	Copper centrefire cartridge. Stamp reads "W.R.A. CO. [---] 45-70". Square hole punched in the side, near the base. 5.3cm by 1.3 cm.
DfSj-23	547	S44-46;E135-137	2	B	1	Chert gunflint. Squared, unifacially beveled on three sides. 2 by 2.3 cm.

Additionally, we now recognize both gunspall and gunflint reduction techniques. Kenmotsu (1996) explores the individual reduction techniques at length.   Blade reduction superseded gunspall flaking after around 1740 (Kenmotsu 1996:99).   The samples in the assemblage are of this blade reduction technique. They could therefore date anytime during the maritime fur trade through the nineteenth century. The British Navy switched to percussion cap firearms by 1840 (S. de Lotbiniere 1984:209), but the trade of flintlock rifles on the Northwest Coast continued well past that date.   In any case, Hume (1991[1969]) acknowledges that English mined flints were in common usage by British and American traders in the eighteenth century. The "English" style but "French" colour gunflint at T'ukw'aa is likely of British import. Another similar example was found at Yuquot alongside a darker grey gunflint (Leuger 1973).

One ornamental side-plate from a flintlock trade gun was found at Cleho, DfSh-5 (Figure 3.34). Side-plates were introduced by at least 1748 (Gooding 1982:7). This casting method was used through the 19th century. These cast brass plates are key symbolic features of the Northwest Trade Gun, and they were used through the nineteenth century (Hamilton 1982:89). During this time, the "Northwest Gun" and its associated ornamentation was recognized as standard type, manufactured by a number of companies (Gooding 1982:7). The dragon ornament did predate the Northwest trade gun; however it remained popular only on trade guns after 1740 (Russel 1980:129). Two examples from separate manufacturers, one from 1805 and another from 1886, both have dragon side-plates with little difference between them (Russel 1980:129-130). The steel gunlock and ramrod guides of at least one Northwest trade gun of this general type was found at Yuquot (Leuger 1983).

Figure 3.34   Firearm Side-plate

Note: This artifact was collected during an intertidal survey at site DfSh-5 on Nettle Island, near sites
        DfSh-15 and 16.

Robin Fisher (1976) has examined the popular notion forwarded by Wilson Duff and Howay that guns were roundly adopted on the Northwest Coast, and the corollary claim that this adoption escalated the scale and frequency of violent conflict among First Nations. Guns were certainly disseminated into the interior and along the coast from wherever they were first exchanged. Wickaninnish, Fisher notes, was rumoured to have had over 400 men and muskets at the ready (1976:7). Yet, traditional slings, bows, and clubs proved effective even against a well-equipped foe. Maquinna, having been given a quantity of muskets by Meares, was less

than impressed with their ability and preferred to distribute them in potlatches rather than use them personally (Fisher 1976:16). As we have seen with many of these seemingly useful adoptions, the value of these popular trade guns was largely symbolic, rather than utilitarian (Fisher 1976:18). This argument is echoed by Joan Townsend (1983), writing on Alaskan examples. In the case of the Tlingit and other coastal groups, she saw no advantage in smooth-bore muskets of the fur trade period over slings, bows, and other traditional weaponry.

In spite of the arguments against the efficacy of smooth-bore muskets, guns were very successfully traded throughout the fur-trade era. Guns were continually in demand across the coast. Gibson and others have noted British resentment over American trade in firearms and alcohol. Indeed, firearms are cited as a primary determinant in the Long War of the early to mid-nineteenth century, as recorded by Sapir and Swadesh (1955), and described by McMillan (1999) since access at that time was uneven, limited to groups allied with the Ucluelet and Tla-o-qui-aht.

By the 1860s, about the time trade stores were opening up in the Barkley Sound area, the rimfire cartridge had been invented (Barnes 2012), and percussion rifles such as the Austrian-made Garibaldi would have been available to merchants on the coast. Yet, flintlock muskets were singled out for the "Indian Trade" (Figure 3.35). Sproat in Alberni in 1864, remarks that

> "Perhaps about three-fourths of the grown men on this coast possess muskets, common smooth-bore flint-lock weapons, which are sold in Victoria at about forty shillings each. They prefer flintlock guns, being apt to lose or wet percussion-caps, or to run out of the supply. The muskets are kept in flannel cases, and great care is taken of them. The stocks are generally ornamented with brass-headed tacks. Neat powder-horns and seal-skin shot-pouches are made by the young hunters. The natives seldom shoot at game flying or running." (1868:81)

Figure 3.35   1861 British Colonist Advertisement for Muskets for Indian Trade, Among Other Items

([BC], 23 November 1861:2).

Sproat's account also mentions that firearms were used in several types of land mammal hunting, such as bear, elk, deer, and beaver. Ammunition would also have been scarce. As Sproat recounts, traps, bows, and other methods of ensnarement were used when supplies were low (Sproat 1868:65;238). Even when guns were used, they were used in concert with

traditional storage technology, "For keeping fish-hooks, gun-flints, and other small necessaries, a cedar-bark case is used, which fits into another similar case, like the common cigar-cases sold in England." (Sproat 1868:88).

In the late nineteenth century, cartridge rifles would have taken over flintlock in popularity. The presence of a number of centre-fire and rimfire cartridges of all gauges attests to this switch in hunting practices during this time. Two 45-70 Winchester cartridges, from Hiikwis and Ma'acoah (

Table 3.13   Firearms and Ammunition) are copper centrefire cartridges first developed in 1873 (Barnes 2012:13). The switch from copper to brass resulted in fewer instances of jamming (Fox 1993). The Ma'acoah example has a hole punched in the side, near the base. This may have been to pry a stuck cartridge from an 1873 Springfield rifle, which was a documented problem for copper cases of this type (Fox 1993). This type of cartridge was used in a number of rifles, however. The "government cartridges" were very popular for hunting rifles even after their disuse in military in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

The shotgun shell, artifact 302 at DfSh-16 (

Table 3.13), is from the Dominion Cartridge Company out of Quebec. That trademark came into use by 1886 and lasted until 1911. The company eventually manufactured specific ammunition for both Eatons and Woodwards department stores, but this cartridge predates these partnerships. The rimfire .32 long cartridge from DfSi-4 is also a Dominion cartridge. Rim fire cartridges were developed after 1866 (Logan 1959), but this likely dates well beyond this introductory date.

Fishing

Four instances of European-manufactured fishing gear are visible in the assemblage: barbed metal hooks at Ma'acoah and Uukwatis, and a piece of non-ferrous tackle at Uukwatis (Figure 3.36). The three barbed hooks are identical except for size. They appear to be eyeless hooks, but this portion may be susceptible to oxidation.

Figure 3.36   Metal Fishing Equipment

Their specific use is unknown, but they would have replaced traditional fishing gear to some degree, such as the cod and spring-salmon hooks made with bone barbs described by Drucker (1951:22).   Drucker's (1951:23) ethnography invokes a similar merging of the pre-contact fishing kit with steel hooks.   Halibut, formerly caught with a specific u-shaped wooden and bone hook, was now caught by Northern Nuu-chah-nulth with a cross-bar rig that incorporated kelp lines, steel hooks, and stone sinkers.   According to Sproat (1868), "The steel hook is now in general use, with an anchovy or small herring for bait ; formerly the salmon-hook was wooden, with two bone barbs, and was fastened to a maple bark line of native manufacture.   When the fish are numerous in deep water, a long stick, armed with several bone or iron upward spikes, as long as a little finger, and placed about two feet apart, is thrust down into the water, and quickly drawn up among the fish," (Sproat 1868:220) The latter description matches a herring rake, which Drucker's informants describe as fitted with nails at the turn of the twentieth century (1951:23).   While the Nuu-chah-nulth were incorporating steel into a traditional fishing kit, in famous steel head whaling lances (Jewitt 1996), and in less spectacular iron points on herring rakes, bone points persist well into the late period.

Clothing and Ornament

As I discussed at the beginning of this chapter, Nuu-chah-nulth demand for European manufactures in the early period consisted, in large part, of ornamental goods.   Many of the same types seen in the Early Period remain in demand through the late period, with some important additions.   Glass beads and copper continue in the late period assemblage.   Sapir and Swadesh (Appendix A) record rubber boots, sweater coats, high shoes, stiff hats, rain hats,

sewing machines, lengths of calico, cotton blankets alongside weaving straw and cedar blankets for "old-time people".

One text specifically mentions a "very warm fur overcoat" from Eaton's catalogue. It is interesting that fur coats would have been preferentially sourced from Eaton's catalogue, and that it was specifically recounted by name in Sapir and Swadesh's records (Appendix A). This marks an increasing association between brand and prestige. The 1901 catalogue lists both men's and women's fur garments. Prices for these garments ranged from 12 to 125 dollars for various goat, wolf, musk-ox, beaver, and raccoon coats, among others (Eatons 1901:44).

Burial sites can provide important context information for the main village sites in this study, especially for clothing and ornament. Howell Island is located in the outer Broken Group, immediately southeast of Wouwer Island and southwest of Dicebox Island. During a 1970 survey, representatives of the Royal British Columbia Museum found and documented an entire burial assemblage. This is one of many such burials in the area, but many of the locations have not been disclosed for their protection. The goods interred with this individual include a light wool twill-weave blanket with five parallel rows of mother of pearl buttons with 18 strands of "four flattened tubular transparent red colour [beads] with external white and yellow paintings" (Roberts 1973:3). Each strand also has brass thimbles with silver tips. Several scattered spherical blue beads and red beads were also present. In total there were 184 mother of pearl buttons, 11 "white glass" (Prosser) buttons, 37 drilled thimbles, 160 glass beads, and 142 brass ball beads. The categories of goods seen in this burial reflect the ornamental goods we see in the assemblage. Pearl buttons, and painted red beads are not found in the excavated village assemblage but brass buttons, glass beads, drilled thimbles and glass buttons are represented in both contexts.

Sewing

Two thimbles are present in the collection (Figure 3.37). One of these has been drilled through its top, so I have also included it in "Repurposed goods". One has been left unmodified, however. With mentions of bolts of cloth and sewing machines being traded by the early 20th century (Appendix A), it is clear that European cloth was being used and fashioned in village sites in Barkley Sound. While cedar robes were also present, the shift to trousers and overshirts was well underway at the turn of the twentieth century. Drucker (1955:99-100) noted that

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"In the time of informants' youth, as remarked, it was the older conservative persons only who wore cedar-bark robes. The middle aged and younger folk had given them up for trade blankets. Progressive young men found flannel shirts comfortable on cold days…. In the 80's and 90's, where both white men and other Indians were seen habitually wearing shirts and trousers, probably facilitated the adoption of the disliked apparel."

Figure 3.37   Thimbles

Note: The thimble on the left is drilled for use as a bead or tinkler. This example is also covered in
       Chapter 3.3.

European clothing and ornament was seen from the very beginning of the Maritime Fur Trade. Yet, there was still a contingent of Nuu-chah-nulth using traditional forms of dress well into the 20th century. At Alberni in the early 1860's, Gilbert Malcom Sproat remarked that the primary form of outerwear was the blanket with woven hats and capes of sedge or cedar for inclement weather (1868:25). Later, he states that "As a rule, the Indians did not abandon the blanket as an article of dress, though some of them took a pride in wearing, for a short time, the white men's cast-off clothing". (1868:278)

Table 3.14   Thimbles

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Quantity	Description
DfSh-16	156	N 12-14; E 4-6	1	Non-Ferrous thimble with 2mm wide hole drilled through top. Dimpled sides, hashed top, slight raised lip without pattern on bottom edge. 1.2cm wide at

				tip. Less than 1mm thick.
DfSj-23A	436	Feature 11	1	Non-ferrous copper. Complete thimble. Dimpled across flat top and sides. Rolled base with band of non-dimpled metal immediately above. Another layer of metal apparent on inside. 1.8cm wide by 2.2cm tall.

Footwear

The only clothing items that survive, besides beads and buttons, are footwear. The eight leather and rubber portions of boots were found only at T'ukw'aa. Seven of these were found in the same layer in unit S44-46;E135-137. Since no duplicate parts were found, all of these parts could have come from the same shoe, but the two leather uppers do not appear to match the style or shape of the child's shoe toe and heel. Instead, it is likely that these are from an ankle boot of a different style.

All of the footwear seen at T'ukw'aa was made with the "stitchdown process". According to Veres (2005:90), this method took the leather of the upper, and attached it directly to the sole. It was a less costly and more durable than higher-grade pieces that used the "welt process", a method which uses a thin leather strip between the sole and the upper, and resulted in a heavier boot. This preceded the cement process, which predominated in lighter and cheaper footwear in the twentieth century.

Figure 3.38   Footwear

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Quantity	Description
DfSj-23A	517	S44-46;E135-137	1	Toe and front upper pieces of a small or child's shoe. 12cm long. Rubber or leather sole attached with tacks.
DfSj-23A	518	S44-46;E135-137	1	Leather upper pieces and back heel insert of an ankle boot. 9 brass-grommet lace holes are visible on each side. Scalloped edging on top of upper. Attachment to sole visible.
DfSj-23A		S44-46;E135-137	1	1.5cm wide strip of leather. 1mm thick.
DfSj-23A		S44-46;E135-137	1	Tacked Shoe Leather.
DfSj-23A	1479	S44-46;E135-137	1	Small shoe heel. Tacked around edges. 3 cm high, 5cm across at widest.
DfSj-23A		S44-46;E135-137	2	Leather heel portion of shoe.
DfSj-23A		N1-3;W17-18	1	Brass. Lipped and folded circular shoe eyelet. 1 cm diameter.

Buttons

The 26 buttons in this collection are of several major types: ceramic, ferrous, and non-ferrous (Figure 3.39). 16 of these are small, white, ceramic Prosser buttons; the remainder is comprised of loop-shank, metal buttons, and one unique ferrous button from T'ukw'aa. To reiterate an important point, the functions of these buttons cannot be ascertained directly. Prosser buttons are associated with a number of garments (Sprague 2002), as are the larger metal buttons (Lindbergh 1999:52). Moreover, there is evidence that these artifacts were used in burial contexts as ornaments strung and sewn on blankets, along with mother of pearl buttons; glass and brass beads; and thimbles in Barkley Sound (see Chapter 3.2.4 Clothing and Ornament).

Figure 3.39   Buttons

The entirety of the button assemblage includes 18 artifacts from Hiikwis, 3 from T'ukw'aa, and 5 from Ma'acoah (Table 3.15). Excepting the unique relief decorated pin from T'ukw'aa, all of these types fall within Stanley South's button typology, which was derived from an excavation of a nineteenth century North Carolinian tailor's shop (in Hume 1969:91). The Barkley Sound examples all fall between 1837 and 1865, the latest period of South's study (Hume 1969:90). Moreover, both Hume (1969) and Lindbergh (1999) make an argument for general transitions in styles of shanked buttons in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, terminus post quem dates for Prosser ceramic buttons and two-piece metal 'trouser' buttons provide the clearest insight into the adoption of buttons on the coast.

Ceramic Prosser buttons were developed in 1840 as a means quickly manufacturing hard-paste, glass-like trouser buttons, although after their introduction there are few marked changes in their manufacture to assist in dating (Sprague 2002:113). The 16 Prosser buttons in Barkley Sound are likely the same type as the "milk glass" buttons found in the Howell Island burial context. Sprague's (2002) analysis of the ceramic buttons addresses this misnomer and illuminates the particular characteristics of these high-fire ceramic buttons. They are not glass per se, but are instead a fine clay dust, quartz and water or milk fired in cast-iron moulds. While several types existed, the assemblage is limited to the ubiquitous "four-hole dish" (Figure 3.41). These are common across most sites in North America (Sprague 2002:120). Sizes for these buttons in Barkley Sound range from 1 to 1.2 cm in diameter, and several examples include ridges along the outer button face, so called "pie-crust" design (Sprague 2002).

The ten metal buttons comprise 2 metal 4-hole buttons, 5 domed buttons, 1 flat disc button, and 1 flat disc, relief decorated button.

Artifacts DfSh-16:312 and DfSh-16:8 are metal 4-hole, dish buttons, similar in form to the Prosser dish buttons. Artifact DfSh-16:8, a four-holed non-ferrous button, corresponds with type 32. Artifact DfSh-16:312 has an inner fabric core and an iron face, type 21 in South's scheme (Hume 1969:91). This provides the second important TPQ date for the button assemblage. While South has dated this style in contexts from 1837 to 1865, Olsen (1963) dates two-piece flat metal buttons like this to after 1870. These buttons are commonly referred to as 'trouser buttons'. The trouser designation is perhaps a misnomer, however. The four-holed metal buttons were called both trouser and suspender buttons in the United States and Britain, and had a number of uses including fasteners for work shirts (Lindbergh 1999:52).

For shanked metal buttons, Lindbergh (1999) argues that there was a general transition from the flat, one piece buttons such as artifact DfSh-16:114 to the rounded, two-piece metal buttons such as artifact DfSh-16:4 and 20. The only identifiable manufacturer in this group is for a Scoville brass military button from Hiikwis. Scoville was incorporated in 1850 (Marburg 1942). The company manufactured a number of items including pepper shaker tops and door hinges, but the (Marburg 1942, 1943) military contract for buttons remained of importance. Brass buttons such as DfSh-16:131 (Figure 3.39), according to Karklins (1982:187) were highly regarded during the early contact period, but this popularity may have kept with the continued popularity of all brass ornaments.

One unique landscape button (DfSj-23:6) does not fall under Lindbergh's (1999) or South's (1964) typologies. The button consists of a cardboard core with metal casing. The cardboard is exposed on the front face, depicting a multi-coloured relief of classical architecture.
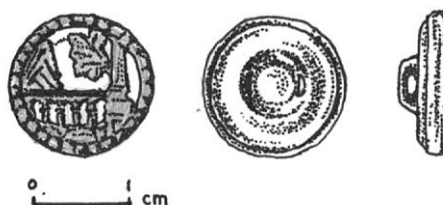
Figure 3.40   Flat Relief Button

Note: Drawing showing front, back, and profile view of DfSj-23:6 (Courtesy Gillian McMillan)

As described earlier, the Nuu-chah-nulth incorporated some forms of European dress by the 1860s. Buttons such as these could have been used on blankets or European-style shirts, as seen in photographs of Nuu-chah-nulth from the 1880s, albeit without buttons. Dates for both trouser buttons and Prosser buttons fit roughly with these ethnographic descriptions of Nuu-chah-nulth dress. Buttons were certainly traded during the early period, but they become visible in the assemblage during the second half of the nineteenth century, with the rest of the late-period assemblage. Their arrival in the villages of Barkley Sound does not necessarily imply the use of European dress, however. The functions of Prosser and metal buttons are extremely difficult to differentiate, even on colonial European sites (Jennie Lindbergh 1999:52). Besides the Scoville military button, the types found in Barkley Sound were quite common and could have been used on any number of garments, or sold individually to Nuu-chah-nulth for the purposes of ornamentation on local garments.

Table 3.15   Buttons

Site	Artifact No.	Quantity	Material Type	Description
DfSh-16	124, 121, 283	3	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.1.2cm diameter
DfSh-16	286	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button. 1cm diameter
DfSh-16	272	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button. .8cm diameter
DfSh-	47	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button. 1.2cm diameter

16				
DfSh-16	109	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button. 1.1cm diameter
DfSh-16	132,140	2	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Pie Plate" button. 1.1 cm diameter
DfSh-16	303	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button. .8cm diameter
DfSh-16	16	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button, domed with loop on flat back 1 cm diameter
DfSh-16	20	1	Metal	Ferrous button. small, acorn shaped
DfSh-16	8	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button, Thin 4 holed. 1.3cm diameter
DfSh-16	4	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button Large, acorn shaped with loop shank.
DfSh-16	100	1	Metal	Ferrous button with fabric cover. Flat, disc-shaped
DfSh-16	131	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button. Domed with brass gilding. Raised crown design on face. Raised writing around fastener, "SCOVILLS & Co WATERBURY". Loop shank. 2.2 cm diameter
DfSh-16	312	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button. 4 hole, Three piece, outer metal case and inner fabric.. Impressed writing along outside but unreadable. 1.3 cm diameter
DfSh-16	114	1	Metal	Non-ferrous button. Very thin, Flat, Round- 2cm diameter Button
DfSi-5	117	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSi-5	113	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSi-5		1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSi-5	118	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSi-5	73	1	Ceramic	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSj-23	1484	1	Metal	2cm diameter, knob backed round button.
DfSj-23	1527	1	Glass	Prosser 4 hole "Dish" button.
DfSj-23	6	1	Metal	Flat faced button with painted columnar architecture tree and red sky background in relief. (paper background?) 1.2cm diameter

Beads

In the excavated assemblage, there are 59 beads, 57 of which are glass, one ceramic, and one metal. The simple wound and drawn glass beads came in a number of shapes and colours and frequently erode out of the sandy beaches fronting midden sites across the coast. They were available from the very earliest proto-historic trade (Karklins 1982) through the twentieth century, making the excavated artifacts difficult to date. Indeed, they are kept and collected by some Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth today as historical mementos.

The beads are distributed across all 5 village sites, although they are rare at Ch'uumat'a and Uukwatis (Table 3.16). The lack of beads in these contexts corresponds with the later occupation dates at these sites. Both Ch'uumat'a and Uukwatis had primary occupations during the turn of the twentieth century. Therefore, it is possible that beads were no longer being imported at the same frequency during this time, as compared with sites such as Ma'acoah, Hiikwis, and T'ukw'aa , which were occupied in the mid to late-nineteenth century.

Figure 3.41   Beads

Note: From Top Right to Top Left: DfSi-5:49, DfSh-16:5, DfSh-16:319; From Bottom Left to Right: DfSh-16:154, DfSh-16:137, DfSh 16:23.

There has been much discussion over the past fifty years on beads in North America, due to their near ubiquity in archaeological sites (See Karklins and Sprague 1972). However, Keddie (1991) and Darby (2004) have produced the only specific publications for analyses of beads in British Columbian contexts.

Beads are divided into two general categories of manufacture: wound and drawn. Beads in the nineteenth century were produced primarily by the drawn, or 'tube' method. These are formed by stretching a hollow bulb of glass across a distance of several hundred yards and chaptered by chisel into small beads. According to Lorraine,

> "the gaffer blows a small bubble in the gather to which the pontil rod is quickly attached by his assistant. The two men walk rapidly in opposite directions pulling the glass bubble into a long thin tube. The hollow is extended throughout the length of the tube. The tube is then sliced into appropriate lengths for beads." (1968)

These pieces were either left as-is or faceted by grinding, or rounded in a heated tumbling drum (Karklins 1992:87).

Wound beads, by contrast, are made by winding a thin glass rod around a spool (Karklins 1982). These two types of beads are difficult to discern, especially among the polished spherical beads which can be made with either process. I have not been able to definitely distinguish between these, but it is likely that the spherical beads in the collection are drawn, which is a more common and efficient means of manufacture.

Beyond these two manufacturing techniques, Keddie (1991) and Karklins (1982) each separate beads based on form and colour. I have not adhered specifically to either criterion. Instead, I have roughly followed Keddie's (1991:3) system, which includes Method, Construction, Diaphaneity, Shape, and Colour.

Table 3.16   Beads

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Material	Description	Diameter
DfSh-15	31	1	Glass	Translucent, dark blue spherical tube bead fragment.	.8cm
DfSh-16	1	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead fragment.	N/A

DfSh-16	2	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical tube bead.	.7cm
DfSh-16	5	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical wound bead with copper loop attachment.	1.1cm
DfSh-16	6	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque red over white centre cylindrical tube bead.	.7cm
DfSh-16	7	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque blue faceted tube bead.	.7cm
DfSh-16	11	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque red and white striped cylindrical tube bead.	.6cm
DfSh-16	12	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical wound bead	1.3cm
DfSh-16	13	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical tube bead.	.7cm
DfSh-16	15	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical tube bead.	.5cm
DfSh-16	18	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent blue spherical tube bead.	.6cm
DfSh-16	19	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent teal cylindrical tube bead.	.3cm
DfSh-16	22	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Tube Dark Blue Transluscent Faceted, Uneven, Light Blue Opaque Center Complete Dark Blue on Light Blue	.5cm
DfSh-16	23	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Tube Squat, Patinated, Opaque Red over White center Complete Red on White	.6cm
DfSh-16	24	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Translucent Teal, faceted tube bead	.6cm
DfSh-16	25	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque black spherical tube bead.	.6cm
DfSh-16	26	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque light blue, spherical tube bead	.4cm
DfSh-16	30	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Transluscent, dark blue, faceted tube bead fragment.	1.0cm
DfSh-16	31	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque, light blue spherical tube bead.	.9cm
DfSh-16	33	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Opaque, light blue, spherical tube bead	.5cm
DfSh-16	35	N 4-6; E 0-2	Glass	Transluscent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	116	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	117	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, brown, cylindrical tube bead	.3cm

DfSh-16	122	N 12-14; E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, spherical tube bead.	1.2cm
DfSh-16	127	N 12-14;E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark purple, faceted tube bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	133	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Light blue, faceted tube bead	.6cm
DfSh-16	134	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.3cm
DfSh-16	136	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Opaque, black, spherical tube bead.	.6cm
DfSh-16	137	N 4-6; W 4-6	Ceramic	Hand-painted blue floral design on white earthenware, spherical bead.	.9cm
DfSh-16	138	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.9cm
DfSh-16	141	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Red on white, opaque spherical tube bead.	.5cm
DfSh-16	143	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, spherical tube bead.	.7cm
DfSh-16	148	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, spherical tube bead.	1.1cm
DfSh-16	154	N 12-14; E 4-6	Metal	Copper, spherical bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	171	N 4-6; W 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	276	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Opaque, teal, faceted tube bead fragment.	N/A
DfSh-16	277	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, teal, faceted tube bead	.4cm
DfSh-16	280	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Opaque, light blue, spherical tube bead	.9cm
DfSh-16	281	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead with light blue center.	.6
DfSh-16	282	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, light blue, spherical tube bead.	.3cm
DfSh-16	296	N 14-16; E 4-6	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.8cm
DfSh-16	304	N 6-8; W 2-4	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, faceted tube bead.	.3cm
DfSh-16	313	N 6-8; W 2-4	Glass	Translucent, dark blue, spherical tube bead.	1.1cm
DfSh-16	319	Beach	Glass	Opaque, light blue, spherical tube bead.	.9cm

DfSi-5	3	W110-111;S46-48	Glass	Spherical, transparent dark blue tube bead.	1.2cm
DfSi-5	4	W110-111;S46-48	Glass	Faceted, transparent, dark blue tube bead.	.8cm
DfSi-5	6	W110-111;S46-48	Glass	Transparent, dark blue, spherical tube bead	1.1cm
DfSi-5	7	W110-111;S46-48	Glass	Blue, faceted tube bead.	.6cm
DfSi-5	8	W110-111;S46-48	Glass	Transparent yellow, faceted tube bead	.9 cm
DfSi-5	25	W18-20;S24-25	Glass	Opaque light blue spherical bead	.7cm
DfSi-5	28	W171-172;S46-48	Glass	Translucent blue, spherical tube bead.	1.15cm
DfSi-5	49	W18-20;S24-25	Glass	Translucent blue, faceted tube bead.	1.3cm
DfSj-23A	1053	Surface	Glass	Translucent blue spherical tube bead	11.5 cm
DfSj-23A	1161	S46-48;E104-106	Glass	Translucent blue cylindrical tube bead.	.3cm
DfSj-23A	1520	S32-34;E20-22 4	Glass	Opaque dark yellow ovoid tube bead.	.4cm
DfSj-23A	1245	Surface	Glass	Spherical, Wound Red Bead with White Centre.	1.2cm
DfSj-23B	161	N0-2;W14-16	Glass	Opaque black cylindrical tube bead.	.4cm
DfSi-4	476	Beach	Glass	Translucent dark blue spherical tube bead.	1.1cm

Note: Bead diameter taken perpendicular to hole axis.

3.3. Repurposed Material

There are several artifacts that belie my functional typology. These deserve specific attention. Items such as pierced thimbles, reshaped iron files, copper strips reworked into tinklers, ceramic sherds shaped as decorative inlays, and flaked glass all indicate a segment of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture that is defined not by its European origins but by its local adaptation. This localized meaning is evident in ornamental artifacts like copper tinklers and metal thimbles, where new European materials were altered to display local prestige. Unique and creative material use in the village sites of Barkley Sound opens up our material and

functional typology to a number of types that exist between binaries of Nuu-chah-nulth and European, traditional and modern.

This visible alteration implicates invisible, but equally altered functionality across the assemblage. All European materials would have been reimagined to some degree in Barkley Sound, even if they were physically unmodified. Many late-period artifacts were certainly being used in part according to manufacturers' intentions, but even so, the potlatch system would have transformed their social meanings entirely. A metal file would have had additional importance as part of a potlatch distribution. These layered and sometimes conflicting social and functional meanings are a main theme in Alexandra Maas' (1994) work at Bella Bella, Martindale (2006) and Prince's (1998,2002) work on the Tsimshian, and in "entanglement" research by Nicholas Thomas (1996) in the South Pacific.

On the West Coast of Vancouver Island, there is little published information on repurposed European manufactures. Richard Lueger's analysis of metal artifacts at Yuquot in Nootka Sound did not find significant alteration of artifacts for re-use (Lueger 1981). A "nose ring, two fishhooks, a small rod of unknown purpose" were the only elements seen to have been repurposed. The material at Barkley Sound has a clear assemblage of reworked metal, glass, and ceramics, providing evidence for the persistence of local material culture through the rapid material shifts of colonialism.

3.3.1.   Copper Ornament

The only definitively early period copper artifact, DfSj-30:66, is a "tinkler", a form of copper ornament popular in during the maritime fur trade along the coast. Although, as noted in Chapter 3.1.1, there are several pieces at Hiikwis and T'ukw'aa that could also represent early material. However, the tradition certainly continues well into late-period contexts. Late-period copper artifacts show a different set of forms, however. Fourteen of the 15 came from T'ukw'aa and Hiikwis, with the remaining example from Ch'uumat'a. These pieces are characterized by the same cutting and rolling techniques as seen on DfSj-30:66, but forms include bands, plates, and rings rather than tinklers per se. Their function still appears to be ornamental, however. The thin, malleable nature of these copper artifacts would make them ill-suited for fishing gear or other non-ornamental usage. Considering the simultaneous availability of iron, it is likely that copper was maintained as an ornamental good in Barkley Sound rather than a utilitarian one.

There are several copper spikes and nails, but the lack of other utilitarian copper in the assemblage supports the association between copper and prestige goods.

The forms comprise copper cylinders or tapered cones; cut, triangular sheets; a cut, square sheet, and hammered rings (Figure 3.42; Table 3.17). The rolled, tapered cones are much longer, and lack the cavity of a tinkler. At Hiikwis, we find a copper ring (DfSh-16:102), much like those described by Cook (1971) in the early period and Sproat (1868) and Drucker (1955) in the late period. Rings like these would have been cold-hammered out of whatever copper sheets, kettles or otherwise, were available on site.

These forms are also recorded in precontact contexts. Copper earrings, tubular beads, and bracelets are found in burial contexts at the Boardwalk site in Prince Rupert Harbour, dating to 500 B.C. (Macdonald 1983:105). Therefore, we can't make a distinction between early and late period forms.

Figure 3.42   Copper Ornaments

Note: Artifact designations are given in Table 3.15.

Table 3.17   Copper Ornament

Site	Artifact No.	Description
DfSj:23	814	Straight, cylindrical, rolled copper band

DfSj:23	472	Straight, cylindrical, rolled copper band
DfSj:23	1466	Straight, cylindrical, rolled copper band
DfSh-16	340	Straight, cylindrical, rolled copper band
DfSi-16	339	Bent, cylindrical, rolled copper band
DfSi-4	38	Tapered, conical rolled copper segment
DfSh-16	227	Perforated and notched, triangular copper plate
DfSj:23	1481	Perforated triangular, copper plate
DfSj:23	600	Triangular copper plate
DfSj:23	1480	Triangular copper plate
DfSh-16	56	Bent, cylindrical, rolled copper band
DfSh-16	102	Open copper ring
DfSh-16	142	Closed copper ring
DfSh-16	284	Square copper plate
DfSj-23	660	Tapered, bent copper segment

Note. This table is ordered from left to right, top to bottom of the artifacts shown in Figure 3.42.

3.3.2.   Thimble

I have described thimbles in the collection under *Sewing and Ornament,* but there is one thimble (DfSh-16:156) that should be included in this chapter. This piece is degraded, split along one side, but it is clearly perforated or drilled at the tip to allow for threading (Figure 3.37). It is a non-ferrous thimble with a 2mm wide hole in the center of the top. It has dimpled sides, and a hashed top. The flat tip of the thimble is 1.2cm in diameter, and the walls are less than 1mm thick. It does not have the rolled base of the unmodified thimble, and the patterning is substantially different.

This type of alteration is identical to artifacts found in the burial on Howell Island detailed in chapter 3.3.4. In this mortuary assemblage, drilled thimbles were threaded along strings with brass and glass buttons. The interred grave goods at this site provide a broad understanding of prestige ornament in the historic period. A crewman onboard the Columbia in 1791 remarked upon "european cloth and clothing, on which they have sewed in various directions as fancy or fashion suggests buttons, thimbles..." (Howay 1969:205). Copper tinklers would have been used in much the same way (McMillan 2000). This early practice seems to have continued well into the historic period, or at least the items crafted in these early years were curated into the late nineteenth century. Thimbles are not recorded by Karklins (1982:191) as being worn

ceremonially or on clothing by Nuu-chah-nulth groups. However, the Howell Island burial and DfSh-16:156 indicate that this style existed in Barkley Sound.

3.3.3. Ceramic Inlay

Two ceramic sherds from Ma'acoah both from the same unit (Figure 3.43 Ground Ceramics) exhibit ground edges. The blue and white transfer printed design on the outer surface of artifact DfSi:5-31 and the cream glaze of DfSi-5: do not show significant wear. The lack of wear on the glazed surfaces does not necessarily indicate specific grinding, however. Wave action could have produced similar wear on the broken, unglazed edges of the sherds, possibly without damaging the glazed surface. Yet, their presence in unit W18-20; S24-25 would indicate use after this grinding occurred, whether it was natural or cultural.

Figure 3.43   Ground Ceramics

Use of opercula, the bright white, dense "doors" of Turban snails, as inlays is a common feature of Nuu-chah-nulth woodworking. Although I have not found any collections with ceramic inlays, these two artifacts may have been used for similar purposes.

3.3.4. Pipestem Bead

One of the ten pipestem fragments found in the assemblage, DfSj-23:10, appears to be a repurposed for a bead. It is 2.1cm in length, which is consistent with other pipestem fragments. However, it is the only instance exhibiting ground edges. Like the ceramic inlays,

this grinding could be the result of wave action. Since it was a surface collection from T'ukw'aa, it is possible that this wear is the result of natural rather than cultural processes. Yet, the reuse of pipestems following breakage is common throughout North America. Iain Walker (1976) has documented a number of alternative uses, if not beads in particular. His analysis of the Yuquot pipes (1981) did not record any grinding for beads in this way.

3.3.5.   Metal Lance

Artifact DfSh-16:180 (Figure 3.44) from Hiikwis is unique within the assemblage. It is a ferrous side and base-notched lance head measuring 24.5cm long and 3cm across at its widest, just forward of the side notch. It tapers slowly forward to a rounded point and back to a 2.5 cm wide, flat, centre-notched base. The thickness ranges from 2 to 3 millimeters, without including corrosion.

Figure 3.44   Ferrous Lance Head

Note: The protrusion on the top edge is oxidized iron that could not be removed during conservation
        treatment. The colouring has also been affected by a microcrystalline wax treatment.

A lance of this type would not have been available in the trade stores or inventories of Victoria merchants. Rather, this is a Nuu-chah-nulth form worked from an unknown European source material, perhaps sheet metal or a barrel hoop. Ground bone lances of very similar size and shape were found at the same site in earlier contexts, and DfSh-16:180 seems to be an extension of this tradition.

Gibson (1992:218) describes long, reworked metal lances as "their most lethal weapons." Yet, the lance's function was primarily for hunting. Sproat (1868:235) describes it as such, "Three or four hunters—one carrying a lance, and the others armed with guns—enter the woods with half-

a-dozen dogs, and separate in search of game." He (1868:26) also remarks that in addition to these hunting implements most Nuu-chah-nulth men carried a metal knife. In all of these accounts, the differentiation between dagger, lance, and knife is unclear, and there may have been some overlap among these categories.

Zilberstein (2007) has described two daggers (Figure 3.45) attributed to blacksmith John Jewitt during his captivity in Nootka Sound.
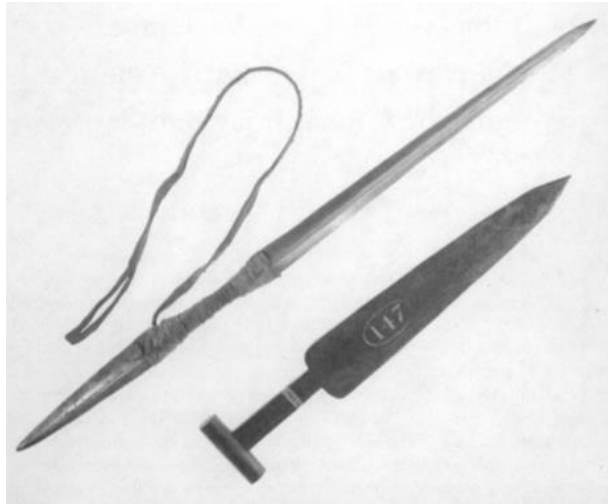
Figure 3.45   Two Daggers Attributed to John Jewitt ca. 1803-1805.

(Courtesy, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, acc. Nos. E3559, E3561.)

Zilberstein (2007) notes that daggers such as these were commonly made during the Early Period,

> "In the summer of 1792, Spanish mariner Jacinto Caamano noted that iron daggers were ubiquitous on the coast. 'Everyone carries a sheath knife slung around the neck…These knives were so well fashioned and finished, that at first I felt sure they were not of native manufacture, but later I found that the Indians make them themselves quite easily from the iron that they obtain by barter, heating it in the fire and forging it by beating it with stones in the water." (Fisher and Bumstead 1982:108-109)

While the dagger described in Zilberstein (2007) does not seem to be the same as the lance found at Hiikwis, its manufacture would have been very similar.

3.3.6.   Game Piece

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, games such as lahal and blackjack were consistently popular across Nuu-chah-nulth groups (Drucker 1951). As evident across the material culture of historic Barkley Sound, European forms did not entirely replace local ones. Instead, the Nuu-chah-nulth appropriated and recontextualized these new forms into existing traditions. This adoption was not only between European and Nuu-chah-nulth groups, either. Drucker (1951) argues that lahal was imported from Coast Salish groups and Blackjack from Europeans during the nineteenth century[17].

Figure 3.46   Copper Game Piece

The material culture of local games was similarly altered through the increased availability of metal, glass, ceramics. Tokens previously made from local materials such as beaver teeth were now crafted out of metal. Artifact DfSh-16:3 (Figure 3.46) from Hiikwis is a crescent shaped gamepiece from the lesser known game "Tultuya" (1951:445). The token is a unifacially drilled copper crescent, 5cm long, .8cm wide at the centre, tapering to rounded corners, and 2mm thick.

In a publication on the Makah, George Dorsey describes a very similar game of *Ehis* among the Makah,

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[17] Drucker claims Blackjack was played according to Hoyle's rules, but no other information is available regarding unique interpretations of the game or its importance within Nuu-chah-nulth culture. Slahal sets are mentioned in Sapir and Swadesh as potlatch gifts (see appendix A), with terms such as "slahal bones" "sticks, two drums and floor mats for slahal".

"This is the well-known game of the beaver-teeth dice, and is played by women throughout the extent of the Northwest Territory [...] There are four teeth in each full set, two of which, usually the lower, are decorated with incised lines, chihlichicotl, which refer merely to the markings. The other pair are variously decorated with a single row of circles or circles arranged in groups. These are known as culkotlith, dotted teeth. In two of the sets, one of the dotted dice is further distinguished by means of a band of black yard about the center. This is known as quisquis, or snow. The teeth are thrown from the hand upon the ground or upon a blanket [...]" (Dorsey 1901 in Culin 1975:198)

This description of dotted game pieces matches DfSh-16:3. The full set would likely have included three other pieces. Nuu-chah-nulth ethnographic collections held at the Museum of Anthropology at the University of British Columbia contain several examples of bone and split beaver teeth tokens of this sort. A documentary on the Nuu-chah-nulth by Harlan Smith for the Department of Mines (1928) shows a group of women playing with similar pieces, casting and recasting these pieces on a blanket (Figure 3.47).
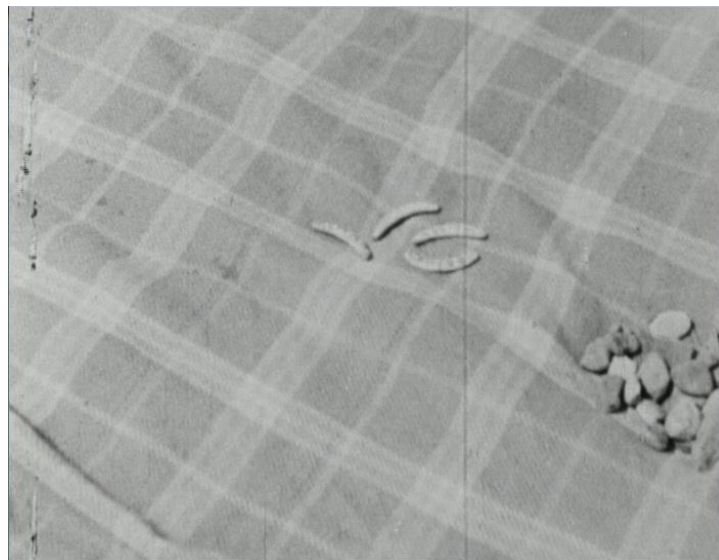
Figure 3.47   Still Image from Harlan Smith's "The Nootka"

(Harlan Smith 1928)

Gambling was decried alongside alcohol by Indian agents such as Guillod in 1882, who remarked that,

"Most of the quarrels amongst these Indians [Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth] are caused by gambling or about women. With regard to gambling, I have tried to limit it to small sums, as it is one of their amusements, but find that I shall have to prohibit the use of cards altogether, as $100 or more is occasionally lost at one

sitting, though the best disposed generally return the greater part, when large winners." (Guillod 1883:56)

It is apparent that serious losses in these games were adjusted, but as with liquor, gambling was foremost in the mind of government agents and missionaries ever wary of 'vice' and moral decay.

3.3.7.   Worked nail

This cylindrical nail or flathead screwdriver section from unit N67-69;W60-62 at Ch'uumat'a (Figure 3.48   Possible Worked Nail) appears to have been worked. One end is bilaterally worked into a flat edge, while the other is shaped on all sides into a point. It is possible that corrosion contributed to the shaping of this fragment, but its appearance is similar to the bone points spread across all sites in the proto-historic period, used as fishing gear in a number of applications (see Chapter 3.4).
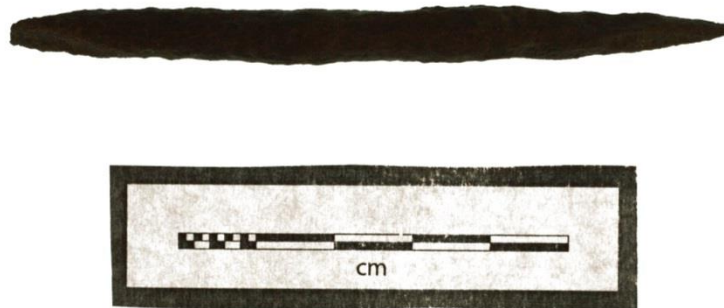
Figure 3.48   Possible Worked Nail

3.3.8.   Flaked Glass

Flaked glass tool manufacture is indicated by two possible expedient tools and nine possible flakes at Hiikwis and Uukwatis, two adjacent sites in Barkley Sound (

Table 3.18). Yet, identification of these artifacts is problematic. As demonstrated by Andrew Martindale and Irene Jurakic (2006), a number of natural or accidental processes can replicate the features most commonly associated with expedient glass tools. The sheer frequency of broken glass and relative rarity of tools or debitage in the Barkley Sound assemblage makes incidental, non-purposeful shatter a significant source of identification error.

Despite these possible hinderances, Maclean (2012) has positively identified eight worked glass artifacts. This identification is corroborated by context. Six of these came from a debitage scatter in Unit 1 at Uukwatis, consisting of two pieces of shatter and four glass flakes consistent with tool reduction. The flakes (Figure 3.49) are spread across one context in the single two by two metre unit on the front midden bench. They are all 1-2.5cm by .3cm, transparent, and retain very little of their cortex.

Figure 3.49   Glass Flakes from Uukwatis

Maclean (2012:79) identified one utilized flake in the DfSh-15 scatter based on usewear and one curved alternate flake (top-left of Figure 3.49). These identifications, along with their close association, make it likely, albeit not certain, that the scatter in Unit 1 represents tool manufacture rather than unproductive shatter.

In addition to the scatter at DfSh-15, two possible tools were found at Uukwatis and Hiikwis, DfSh-15:7 and DfSh-16:9 (Figure 3.50). These are no less difficult to positively identify.

Expedient glass tools of this type on the Northwest Coast were the primary focus of Martindale and Jurakic's experimental research (2006). They concluded that a suite of usewear traits correlate with purposeful, human use of glass tools at post-contact sites in Tsimshian territory on the Skeena River. However, they found microchipping, conchoidal fracture, and multi-dimensional edge striation on crushed and shattered mason jars, consistent with artifacts they had previously recorded as tools based on these morphological characteristics. It is therefore possible that unifacial microchipping on both artifacts could have been due to shatter or trampling. Microscopic use-wear analysis did, however, separate tools from shatter or trampling.

Figure 3.50   Possible Expedient Glass Tools

These glass artifacts appear late in the assemblage. The scatter context contains twentieth century material, including carnival glass, dating the scatter to 1905 at the earliest and most likely not until the 1920s when the pressed glass became popular (see Chapter 3.3.1). Martindale and Jurakic (2006) record a similarly late appearance in Tsimshian sites, and attribute it to low frequencies of glass artifacts in general for early periods. The precontact West Coast culture type is typified by an absence of flaked lithics, but Maclean's (2012) research has shown flaked lithic tool manufacture and use at Hiikwis and Uukwatis until the historic period. Indeed, chert flakes are found in association with unutilized glass fragments at Hiikwis, but in a context that predates the debitage at Uukwatis. This overlap provides further evidence that flaked tool reduction continued through contact with local and foreign materials.

Table 3.18   ***Possible Expedient Glass Tools and Debitage***

Site	Artifact No.	Unit	Level	Layer	Quantity	Description
DfSh-16	341	N 4-6; W 4-6	5		1	Glass flake
DfSh-16		N 14-16; E 4-6	2	A	1	Glass flake. Platform, possibly cultural
DfSh-16		N 4-6; W 4-6	5	C	1	Glass flake
DfSh-16	9	N 4-6; E 0-2	3	A	1	Black flaked wine bottle base. Possible tool.
DfSh-15	7	3	2	A	1	Amber flaked glass. Possible tool.
DfSh-15	16	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake
DfSh-15	17	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake
DfSh-15	18	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake
DfSh-15	19	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake
DfSh-15	20	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake
DfSh-15	21	1	4	A	1	Clear glass flake

3.4. Artifacts of Indigenous Origin

The types outlined in this chapter are all departures from the material culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth before contact (Drucker 1951). Yet, as the repurposed lance, thimbles, and other objects attest, these new materials did not immediately transform the way that the Nuu-chah-nulth envisaged the material world. These new types were conservatively slotted into existing traditions over the course of a century. The traditional toolkit continued well into historic levels (see chapters 4.5 and 4.6). Bone points, harpoon arming points, valves, awls, abrasive stones all continued through the late period.

These manufacture types are described at length in Alan McMillan and Denis St. Claire's publications on Nuu-chah-nulth archaeology (1991; 1999; 2005; 2012). The most commonly found artifact type in historic contexts is the bone point or bipoint. This type is ubiquitous across precontact and postcontact assemblages, and has been described at length (King 2007). In addition to abrupt-tip, unilaterally barbed, bipointed, and other point types, several pieces of worked whalebone, bird bone awls, sandstone abraders, unilaterally barbed points, toggling harpoon valves, quartz manuports, and ochre fragments are visible in historic levels at Hiikwis and Uukwatis.

Abrasive stones are found infrequently in historic contexts, but their presence attests to the continued necessity of local sharpening and grinding methods. Metal files are present in the collection, but these may have been unsuitable for the reduction of bone. Meares' account of trade in Nootka Sound relates the theft of a grindstone, and similar instances in other, previous voyages to the coast (1967[1788]:123). As of yet, there have been no studies regarding the use of local abrasive sandstones on European metal tools.

Indigenous tool-types maintained use-value despite the introduction of late-period European manufactures. However, the use of local materials decreased relative to European manufactures at village sites through the twentieth century. 22% the historic assemblage at Hiikwis is of Indigenous manufacture, while it represents only 5.1% of the assemblage at Uukwatis. Uukwatis was occupied in European-style, framed houses during the early twentieth century, while Hiikwis was occupied in traditional housing through the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. While traditional manufactures continued to form an important part of Nuu-chah-nulth material culture, the raw materials were being increasingly obtained from Euro-

canadian sources. This does not represent a shift from Nuu-chah-nulth to European culture, but it does implicate the outsourcing of economic control over the basic components of village life.

4.   Assemblage by Context

In this chapter, I shift the discussion from the assemblage as a whole into individual sites and contexts. The five village sites and one lookout site[18] discussed here were occupied by a number of separate lineage groups, and each site hosted a number of types of historic structures and activity areas. Discerning among these is essential for dating material deposition across the sound, especially at the George Fraser Islands and T'ukw'aa, with their unique, early period contexts.

The sites are dispersed across the western and northwestern shores of Barkley Sound. Excavations at these sites followed broadly similar strategies. As I described in Chapter Two, data collection occurred at village locations in a research program designed around cultural historical aims. Excavation units were placed on large shell middens in order to access the entire chronology of occupation. Within units that reached several metres in depth, historic occupation is visible only in the uppermost layers and generally lacks distinguishable stratigraphy. Any historic stratigraphic layers are obscured within soil horizons at the surface of middens. However, there are some units that exhibit multiple layers of historic occupation. Both of these types of deposit, stratified and non-stratified, are helpful in developing an understanding of historical material culture in Barkley Sound. Ch'uch'aa is an outlier in this set, representing an early-period lookout site rather than late-period village site like the others.

The assemblage comprises 2,985 artifacts. Excavation units bearing historic materials covered 107 m² in total. There were a number of units in these six sites that did not contain historic material, but these were not included in this project. Within the sites, the distribution of artifacts is quite uneven. Artifact density among the sites is similarly uneven. For example, the excavations at T'ukw'aa accounted for a majority of the historic assemblage, whereas Ch'uumat'a accounts for a small minority. Although the sample sizes at these sites are simply not fine-grained enough to compare from archaeological data alone, we can make some

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[18] I have not included Cleho (DfSh-5), as it was only used as a comparison for the ceramic assemblage in Chapter 3.2.3.

statements about occupation timing and intensity with the addition of historical and ethnographic information.

Comparing excavated contexts between sites is also difficult due to the ephemeral boundaries of the historic period. The breakdown of artifact densities in grams per litre or another volumetric assessment is not possible, since the precontact-contact divide is stratigraphically uncertain in each unit. All units were placed directly on midden benches at ethnographically known village sites, so all are generally comparable in terms of site type. Intensity and style of occupation at all sites changed as the twentieth century progressed. We must take this into account when comparing surficial and late-period remains.

Within the guidelines of the basic and flexible typology I described in Chapter 3, however, we can explore a number of interesting relationships. First, there are key similarities across sites that allow us to present colonial material culture as it affected the whole of Barkley Sound. For example, I highlight glass styles, stove elements, nail types, styles of ceramics and prestige goods in order to expose commonalities in material availability among sites. Beyond these commonalities, however, there are some differences distinguishing each site, representing unique taphonomies, site uses, and occupation dates. Manufacture dates and stratigraphy are included where possible in order to specify change through time.

4.1. T'ukw'aa (DfSj-23A and B)

Historic-bearing units at T'ukw'aa covered an area of 50 m², divided among 13 units and one surface feature at both a main village site (DfSj-23A) and defensive outlook (DfSj-23 B). A total of 1509 European manufactures were recovered across both sections. Two of these units, S62-64;E158-160 and S44-46;E135-137, make up 87 percent of the T'ukw'aa historic assemblage, indicating that the most recent occupation was primarily concentrated in the eastern portion of the site. This very uneven, pocketed distribution of historic materials is common for all sites in the survey. Yet, the stratigraphy in all units seems to be intact, and the disparities in artifact frequency represent unique depositional events in each unit.

Stratigraphy was roughly consistent within each site portion (DfSj-23:A and B). The terraced village portion of the site comprised:

Table 4.1   *Stratigraphic Components at DfSj-23A*

Context	Description	Munsell Code
A	Black silt with crushed and whole shell	7.5 YR 2/0
B	Black silt with concentrated crushed shell	7.5 YR 2/0
C	Compact burnt shell, dark yellowish brown silt	10YR 4/4
D	Black silty clay with pebbles	7.5 YR 2/0
Sterile	Dark green clay	5Y 5/2

The defensive section comprised:

Table 4.2   *Stratigraphic Components at DfSj-23B*

Context	Description	Munsell Code
A	Black silt with trace shell	7.5 YR 2/0
B	Black silt with considerable shell fragments	7.5 YR2/0
C	Dark reddish brown silty clay overlaying bedrock	5YR 3/3

T'ukw'aa revealed the widest area of historic occupation of all the study sites, due the sheer area of excavation. It also revealed the broadest range of artifacts. Mantle glass, lamp deflectors, gun flints, and complete bottles are present only at this site. However, as with the other sites, metal and glass predominate (Figure 4.1). Within the ceramic assemblage, refined earthenware was the most frequent ware type. Porcelain is present in smaller quantities. Wire nails present in most units indicate a broad TPQ date of 1880 (Wells 1998:86) for the majority of contexts, although the village would certainly have had limited access to European manufactures well before that time.

By frequency, 99.5% of the artifact assemblage relates to the main village occupation, which continued into the early twentieth century (McMillan pers. comm. 2012). By contrast, the material at DfSj-23B shows a smaller and restricted set of artifact types. This defensive area, located on a separate promontory above the main site, was clearly used in a different manner and perhaps for an earlier, limited period of time. The early period is also represented by a small ferrous artifact at the main site, at unit N44-46; E135-137. Surface Feature 11 represents the final full-time occupation of the site. It contains materials from a fishing camp on the main village site from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. These three contexts represent two primary historic occupations: the defensive site occupation at DfSj-23B, the

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primary village terrace at DfSj-23A. Feature 11 would have been an extension of occupation on the primary village terrace.
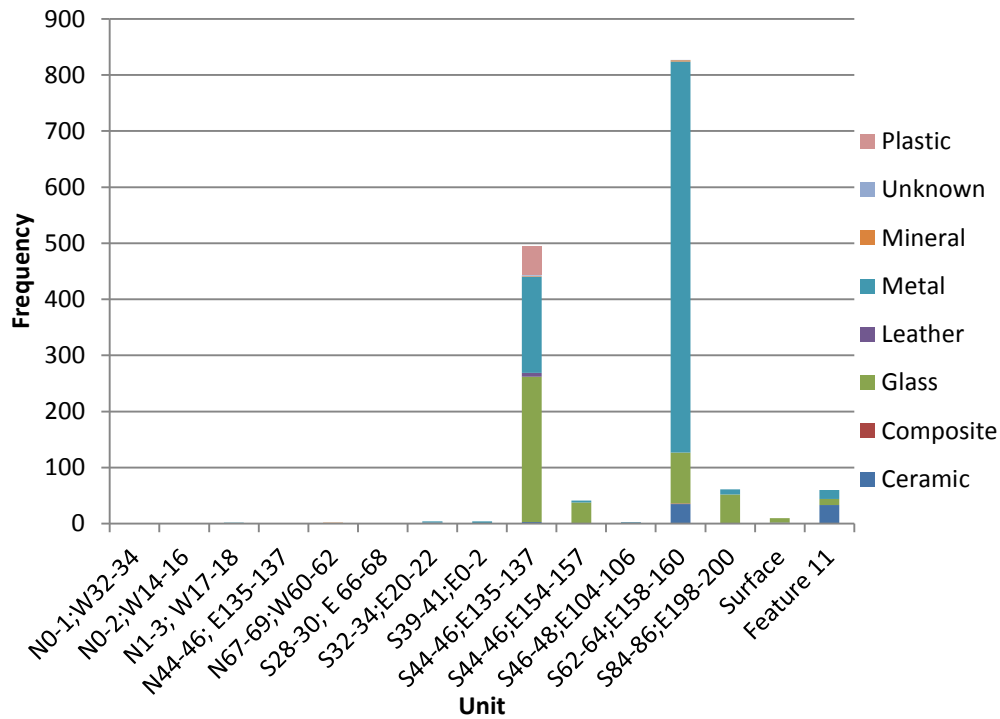
Figure 4.1   T'ukw'aa Units by Material Type

Ethnohistorically, this site was associated with several occupations during the nineteenth century. The Toquaht had tenuous but continual connections with the Ucluelet and Tla-o-qui-aht through the nineteenth century. These northerly groups had better access to European goods, stemming from their position in the Maritime Fur Trade (St. Claire 1991; McMillan 1999). This connection could account for the presence of early material, when contrasted with an absence at Tseshaht sites such as Hiikwis and Uukwatis. Unlike the Tseshaht sites, however, there is very little twentieth century material.   This absence corresponds with an ethnographically recorded Toquaht demographic depression (Sproat 1868) and shift to Ma'acoah as the main village in the late nineteenth century.

Table 4.3   *T'ukw'aa by Material Type*

Units/Levels	Ceramic	Composite	Glass	Leather	Metal	Mineral	Unknown	Plastic	Total
N0-1;W32-34	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
N0-2;W14-16	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
N1-3; W17-18	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2
N44-46; E135-137	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
N67-69;W60-62	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2
S28-30; E 66-68	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
S32-34;E20-22	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	4
S39-41;E0-2	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	4
S44-46;E135-137	3	0	259	7	171	1	2	51	494
S44-46;E154-157	0	0	38	0	3	0	0	0	41
S46-48;E104-106	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	3
S62-64;E158-160	35	1	91	0	697	2	1	0	827
S84-86;E198-200	0	0	52	0	9	0	0	0	61
Surface	2	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	7
Feature 11	33	0	11	0	16	0	0	0	60
Total	75	2	461	8	907	5	3	51	1509

4.1.1.   T'ukw'aa Notable Contexts

Defensive Site DfSj-23B

The defensive portion of T'ukw'aa has a compressed stratigraphic sequence when compared to the primary village site. Only scattered historic materials were found in the uppermost levels of shell midden here, possibly dating to the Early Period. 22 m² of historic midden deposits were excavated from this promontory, but only 8 historic artifacts were recovered.   These included 4 pieces of rolled copper (DfSj-B:427,600,814,660; see Chapter 3.3), 1 brass grommet perhaps from a shoe or boot (see Chapter 3.2.4 "Footwear"), one black glass bead, and one wood screw (see Chapter 3.2.2 "Fasteners").

This collection of artifacts fits with the early period assemblage. However, these were all recorded as part of the same context. The screw seen in S39-41; E0-2 in association with a rolled copper ornament is identifiable as a machined wood screw, either a modern wood screw or a gimlet wood screw dating to after 1837 (Greene 1886:264). This places the context to no earlier than this period. Yet, besides the George Fraser Islands and unit N44-46; E135-137 at the main village site, it is our closest context to what may be considered early contact period in Barkley Sound. It may indeed represent the period after 1840 and before the advent of late-period goods in the late nineteenth century.

This limited and early assemblage is interesting, as noted before, in comparison with the main village site. The defensive site could have been used more frequently during the early historic period, during a series of conflicts at the site between the Toquaht, Tseshaht, and Ucluelet known as the Long War (see McMillan 1999). After the resolution of these conflicts in the mid-nineteenth century, the strategic necessity of such a promontory would have lessened, although it could have been used to sight marine mammals during the late period. At this time, direct commerce with Europeans was returning and the amalgamations of the Tseshaht had stabilized the political struggles of the previous decades. Here, we see the appearance of historic materials across T'ukw'aa main village site, with ceramics and bottles that date from the 1860s until 1900. I have briefly described several important contexts in this defensive site, in order to show

the limited nature of the data and my association of some of the materials from this area with the early period.

Unit N1-3;W17-8

One brass socket, possibly an eyelet for a shoe or clothing fastener was found in the littermat. Immediately beneath this was a concentration of FCR. The second and third levels brought up a shelly, loose matrix and several bone artifacts. Faunal remains and FCR continued through level 4. A rolled copper ornament was found in the fourth level, Layer A.

Unit S39-41;E0-2

The historic assemblage from this unit consisted entirely of metal artifacts. Here, a rolled copper crescent, .4 cm thick and 6cm length was found in Level 1 Layer A. This level also had one square head, square shank nail, 6.7cm in length and one wood screw. Bone points and harpoon arming points were also found in association with this historic material, in a midden matrix of FCR, shell and fauna. This wood screw pushes the earliest date possible for this context to 1837 (Greene 1886:264).

Primary Village Site DfSj-23

In contrast with the defensive site, the primary village contains a larger quantity and broader range of artifacts, with a later date-range. One unit, N44-46;E135-137, has a thin ferrous square which could represent the early period at the main village site. Several units show European manufactures in context with local manufactures. Small postholes are also recorded at S32-34;E0-2*,* solidifying the notion that these units represent active living spaces and perhaps house floors.

Unit N44-46;E135-137

One small, ferrous metal fragment was found in level 17, Layer A. This piece was recorded within the level, and does not appear to be from a wall scraping. The levels above this piece were not distinguished by context during excavation, but the depth of this piece, the associated artifacts of traditional manufacture, and the lack of other historic material in the rest of the unit would point to its representing a very early period of contact.

Unit S44-46;E135-137

This unit is the second most productive, by frequency. 494 artifacts are spread across two layers in the first three levels. Stove parts in Feature 14 date Layer A to after 1890 (See Chapter 3.2.2 *Stoves*). Here, shoe parts, oil lamp parts, electrical wire insulation, and ceramics are all found in association. Layer B, a dense shell matrix, appears to be of similar age. It starts in Level 2, and comprised several bone points and three nails, both flat shank oval head and wire round head types. In Level 3, Layer B included a 2.6cm by .3cm by .1 cm piece of black plastic, 1 square shank nail fragment and two round shank nail fragments, and twenty pieces of yellow, translucent, moulded plate glass. This glass is found across two units, including S44-46;E154-157. This layer transitions immediately after this level to a slightly less dense shell midden with large whale bone fragments, Layer C. Interestingly, it shows a gun flint in Level 3, Layer B (see Chapter 3.2.4 *Firearms*). This is in association with both wire nails and bone points. If the stratigraphic context is indeed intact, the presence of wire nails would push Layer B to at least 1880 (Adams 2002). This would place the use of gunflints to after 1880 at this site, alongside a traditional bone-point dominated toolkit.

Figure 4.2 ***Unit S44-46;E135-137***

(Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Unit S62-64;E158-160

This unit had the highest artifact density of all units at DfSj-23. Across 4 levels and 4 layers there were a total of 827 artifacts. The unit appears to be undisturbed. Layer A dates to a period after 1917, and shows a wide diversity of artifact types. The dry-cell battery core and insulator ring that appear in the first and second levels are likely from a six inch, 1.5 volt model. Dry-cell batteries such as this were developed on a commercial scale only after 1896. The spark-plug in Level 2, Layer A is dateable to 1917 (see Chapter 3.2.4 *Electrical*).

Figure 4.3   *S62-64;E158-160*

(Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Feature 11

This feature represents a small fishing cabin, the last known major occupation of the site (Alan McMillan pers. comm. 2013). It is a surface scatter feature in the main village portion of T'ukw'aa. Several maps were made of the material, indicating the relative positions of major items. The first shows the feature in broad scale (Figure 4.4). The second shows the concentration surrounding the cast iron stove (Figure 4.5). Some remains were too fragmentary or heavy to collect, so a representative sample was taken. Feature 11 consisted mainly of ferrous stove parts, along with a variety of metal, glass and ceramic artifacts. The collected material totalled 60 artifacts, although the stove pieces were left in situ.

The artifacts are concentrated around a large concentration of cobbles, perhaps from a chimney, and the remains of a cast iron stove. Immediately adjacent to the stove is a concentration of ceramics.

The collected ceramics consisted of 33 sherds of refined earthenware. Decoration style included lithograph, painted and banded, gold appliqué, and transfer print. Forms included plate, platter, cup and teapot. Seven complete bottles were collected from across the feature, with manufacture types ranging from dip-moulding to fully machine made. These date variably across the nineteenth century. Three pressed glass bowls were also collected from the feature.

One machine cut and one wire ferrous nails, one ferrous spike shank, along with four machine cut copper nails were found. Other ferrous metal included a chisel, chain links, an electrical clip, a punctured centre-fire cartridge, an enamelled plate, and a fork.

The distribution of artifacts in this feature is consistent with an open midden. Several clusters of ceramics, stove parts, and nails are grouped tightly. Within 10-20 m, artifacts are more diffuse. The stove may have been in disuse, and material dumped around it, or material may have dumped there from elsewhere on site. In all, the stove, firearms, enamel tableware, and metal hardware are all consistent with a small fishing/hunting cabin.

Both the enamelware plates and stove parts are likely from McClary's Manufacturing Company in London, Ontario. A 1903 catalogue lists the enamelware plates, and a herald model stove, similar to that found at Feature 14. It is possible that this surface stove was procured from the same catalogue. McClary's produced both plates and stoves of these types from the mid-nineteenth century. The presence of the enamelware plate dates the context to after 1860, when McClary's started becoming popular beyond Ontario (Canadian Manufacturers' Association 1967). This date is also consistent with the presence of pressed glass. The wire nails, however, push this TPQ back to at least the turn of the century, however. This would fit with the 1903 McClary catalogue. Yet, as described in Chapter 3.2.1, the complete bottles from this context date to the mid-nineteenth century. The presence of wire nails would indicate that these bottles were reused and deposited well after their manufacture date. Alternatively, the

length of occupation for this fishing cabin could have stretched from the mid-nineteenth century to the turn of the century, allowing for the accumulation of material that would eventually compose Feature 11.
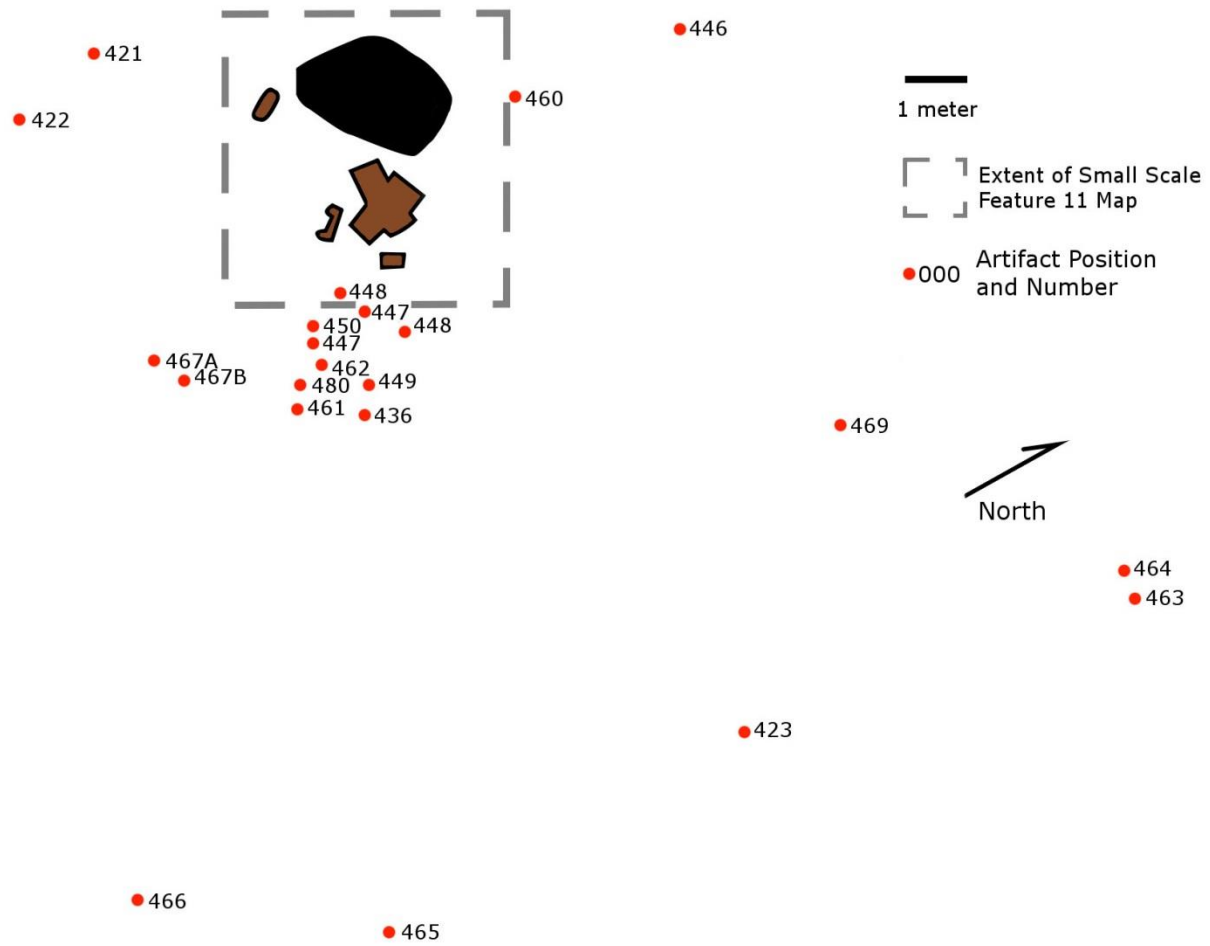
Figure 4.4 Feature 11
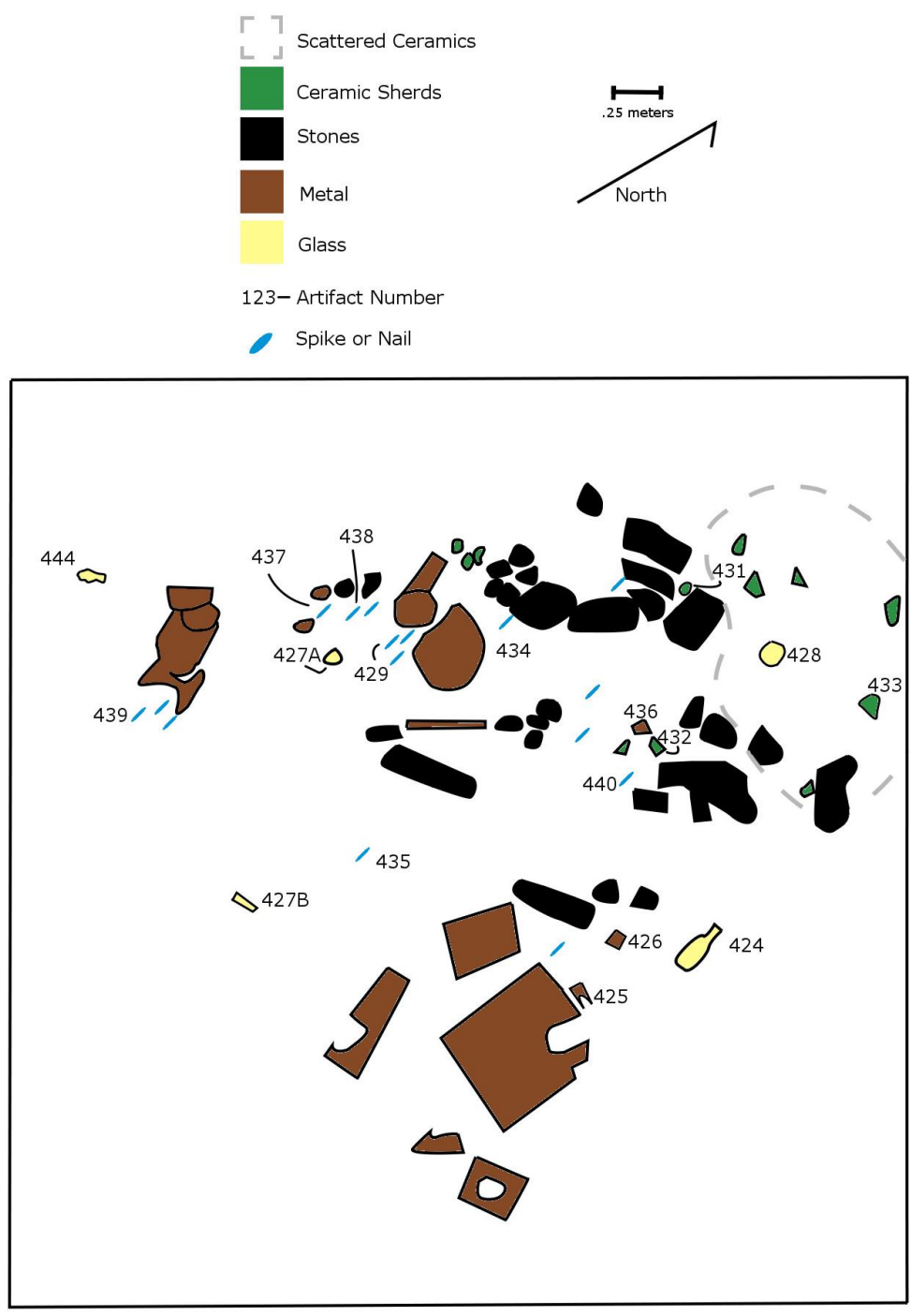
Figure 4.5   Feature 11 Inset

Figure 4.6   Feature 11 with Cobble Feature in Foreground

(Photo Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Figure 4.7   Feature 11 Looking South

(Photo Courtesy of Alan McMillan)

Table 4.4   Artifacts from Feature 11

Artifact Number	Material Type	Description	Date Range	Place of Manufacture	Reference
421	Glass	Dip-mould bottle. Full bottle, cylinder body.	1730-1850		Jones and Sullivan 1989:26
422	Glass	Three-piece mould. Full bottle.	1866-1913.	Cannington Saw and Company. Lancashire, England	Jones and Sullivan 1989:30. Toulouse 1971:147; UK Archives
423	Glass	Mould-blown medicine bottle. Davis Vegetable Pain Killer.	1840-1873	Portland, ME	Jones and Sullivan 1989:24. Pullin 1986:100. Klamkin 1971:111
424	Glass	Turn or paste mould Full bottle.	1870-1920		Jones and Sullivan 1989:30-31
425	Glass	Turn or paste mould base. "DW & Co."	1850-1920.		
426	Glass	Turn or paste mould Bottle base.	1870-1920		Jones and Sullivan 1989:31

427	Glass	Machine-made Kerr mason jar.	1903-1909	Kerr Glass Manufacturing Co. Portland Oregon	Toulouse 1969:105
428	Glass	Pressed tableware	1860-Present		Jones and Sullivan 1989:33
429	Metal	Machine-cut, ferrous nail.	1840-Present		Adams 2002
430	Ceramic	Refined earthenware. Large bowl or platter, Blue on white transfer.			
431	Ceramic	Refined earthenware. Large white Ironstone plate base and rim.		Thomas Hughs	Gibson 2012
432	Ceramic	Refined earthenware Transfer platter. Dark blue on white.			
433	Ceramic	Refined earthenware. Transfer blue on white plate			
434	Metal	Copper nail. Machine cut.			
435	Metal	Copper nail. Machine cut.			
436	Metal	Silver and copper thimble.			
437	Metal	Copper nail. Machine cut.			
438	Metal	Copper nail. Machine cut.			
439	Metal	Ferrous chisel. Shows hammering on head.			
440	Metal	Ferrous spike			
441	Metal	Ferrous chain links.			
442	Glass	Bottle base. Mould blown.	1870-1920		Jones and Sullivan 1989:30
443	Glass	3 piece mould. Prescription oval medicine bottle.	1850-1920		Jones and Sullivan 1989:26-27. Klamkin 1971:111

444	Glass	Mould blown bottle base.	1820-1920	William Franzen & Sons Milwaukee, Wisconsin	Toulouse 1971:536
446	Metal	Enamelled metal soup plate. "McClary's FAMOUS REGd ENAMEL WARE"	1870-Present	London, Ontario	Canadian Manufacturers Association 1967
447	Ceramic	Highly vitrified earthenware saucer.			
448	Ceramic	Highly vitrified Earthenware cup.			
449	Glass	Pressed tableware dish.	1860-Present		Jones and Sullivan 1989:33
450	Metal	Non-ferrous electrical clip.			
460	Metal	Ferrous worked metal file.			
461	Ceramic	Refined earthenware. Transfer printed cup, green on white.			
462	Metal	Brass cartridge with punctured base.			
463	Glass	Machine-made soda bottle with crown cap.	1900-1929	William Frenzen and Son Company. Milwaukee, Wisconsin	
464	Glass	Pressed lamp mantle font.	1840-Present		Jones and Sullivan 1989:33
465	Ceramic	Highly vitrified earthenware. Lithographed teapot.			
466	Metal	Ferrous enamelled bowl.			
467	Ceramic	Refined earthenware or porcelain. Gold applique cup.			
468	Ceramic	Refined earthenware white Ironstone platter.	1841-1860	J. Wedgwood. England	Godden 1964
469	Ceramic	Highly vitrified earthenware small plate.	1900-Present		Godden 1964

4.2. Ma'acoah (DfSi-5)

Excavations at Ma'acoah revealed 466 European-manufactured artifacts and 19 associated Indigenous manufactured artifacts across 6 units, covering 11 m². Thirteen historic objects were initially recorded in situ: eight glass beads, three fragments of clay pipe, and 2 possible ground ceramic inlays. The remainder of the historic materials was recorded by level and layer. Two of these units, W110-111;S46-48 and W18-20;S24-25 contributed the bulk of the assemblage. All the units were roughly comparable in material types and forms, however (see Table 4.6, Figure 4.8). This may be due in part to construction disturbance in the uppermost layers of the site. As described in Chapter 3, Ma'acoah is the only excavated site within the sample with road access. The roughly graded logging road from Ucluelet to Alberni opened in 1959, and the present roadway was developed in the early 1970s. Until this time, the site was boat-access only, as were the other sites in the sample. The active on-site construction has altered the deposits significantly. However, it is unlikely that the construction of nearby houses imported fill from off-site. Therefore, we can at least assume this assemblage represents the ethnographic Ma'acoah village site. Still, reaching much beyond a site-wide analysis into intra-site comparisons would not be reliable at Ma'acoah.

Stratigraphy for this site consisted of:

Table 4.5 Stratigraphic Components at Ma'acoah

Context	Description	Munsell Code
A	Black, greasy silt with fine crushed shell.	7.5 YR 2/0
B	Black stained silt and gravel with beach pebbles.	10YR 2/1
C	Sand matrix with abundant pebbles, trace shell and few artifactual and faunal remains	5Y 2.5/1 to 7.5 YR 2/0)

This disturbance best explains the mixed contexts of late nineteenth century artifacts and late twentieth century artifacts. The nail ratio does not reflect this recent phase of construction, however. The portions of the site that were excavated were around existing structures, but the excavated architectural debris may be from the

previous occupation. There were 92 machine cut, cast, or wrought nails compared with 24 wire drawn nails. One piece of slate was found, which is likely to be imported architectural material. Only 22 pieces of flat glass were found, however. Along with the relative paucity of wire drawn nails, the lack of pane glass can be attributed to the fact that the majority of twentieth century construction at the site was quite recent at the time of excavations. While pane glass is used in these houses, they may be the first structures on site to do so.

Overall, the assemblage is skewed to a later time period than T'ukw'aa. The aluminum heat shielding, .22 casings, and other mid-twentieth century artifacts are all consistent with late-twentieth century occupation. Yet, the same contexts have ceramic patterns and forms, metal fasteners, and glass bottle types that are consistent with the nineteenth century assemblage at T'ukw'aa. The post-1891 porcelain sherd found in the lower, undisturbed layers of Unit W18-20;S24-25, for example, does not conform to what we know ethnographically about the site. It was certainly used during the Long War, which McMillan (1999) estimates ended in the 1840s, and the assemblage indicates that it was being used into the late-nineteenth century.
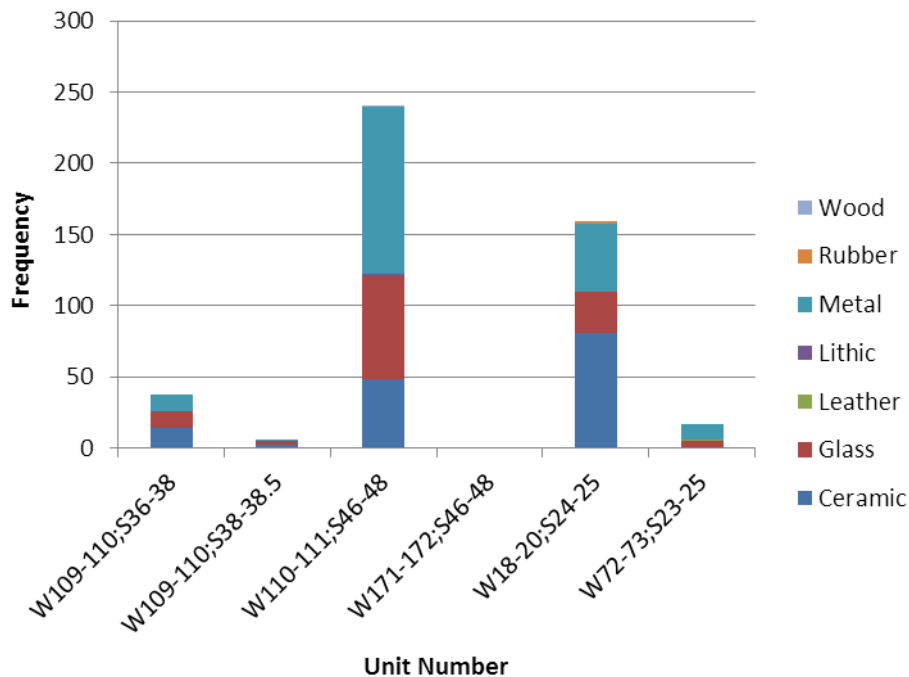
Figure 4.8   Ma'acoah European Manufactures by Material Type

Table 4.6   Ma'acoah by Material Type

Unit	Antler	Bone	Ceramic	Glass	Leather	Lithic	Metal	Rubber	Wood	Total
W109-110;S36-38	0	2	14	12	0	0	12	0	0	40
W109-110;S38-38.5	0	0	2	3	0	0	1	0	0	6
W110-111;S46-48	1	4	53	70	0	1	118	0	1	248
W171-172;S46-48	0	6	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	7
W18-20;S24-25	0	1	84	27	0	0	48	1	0	161
W72-73;S23-25	0	3	1	5	1	1	12	0	0	23
Total	1	16	154	118	1	2	191	1	1	485

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4.2.1.   Ma'acoah Notable Contexts

Although artifact densities in each unit differ, the fasteners, ceramics, and bottles in each unit at Ma'acoah are generally consistent (see Table 4.6). Therefore, I present only a description of a representative unit.

Figure 4.9   Ma'acoah looking West

Note: Photo showing structures at the time of excavation (Photo courtesy Alan McMillan)

Unit W18-20;S24-25

This unit is representative of the disturbance in the upper layers of the site. The extent of this disturbance is uncertain. The stratigraphy does appear to be intact in the lower levels.   The porcelain ceramic sherd (DfSi-5:102) found in Level 12 has a manufacturing date of after 1891 (See chapter 3.2.3 *Tableware*). This was found at considerable depth and appears to have been from an undisturbed context.

Table 4.7   Unit W18-20; S24-25 Artifacts by Level and Layer

Level	Context	Artifacts
Surface	N/A	3 fragments of refined earthenware: transfer printed and banded; cup, saucer, bowl. 1 shard of bottle glass. 1 rubber piece with "Ichle" stamp.

Level 1	N/A	1 fragment of refined earthenware: transfer print. 1 bottle glass. 4 L-shape ferrous brackets. 1 wire nail.
Level 2	N/A	1 glass bead. 4 fragments of refined earthenware: banded; plate and saucer. 1 bottle glass. 1 wire nail. 1 aluminum bracket.
Level 3	Layer C	11 fragments of refined earthenware: lithograph, transfer, moulded, painted. 1 fragment of porcelain: saucer, cup small dish, bowl. 3 fragments of flat glass. 3 bottle glass fragments. 1 square nail.
Level 4	N/A	5 porcelain cup fragments. 1 stoneware fragment. 17 refined earthenware fragment: transfer, moulded, banded. lithograph, painted, gold appliqué; cup and plate. 7 flat glass. 1 milk glass button. 5 bottle glass. 2 etched vase glass. 3 ferrous bands. 7 machine-cut nails. 4 wire nails. 2 square shank nails. 1 spike. 1 flathead, threaded bolt.
Level 5	N/A	35 refined earthenware: cup, plate, saucer; transfer, painted, banded, moulded, gold applique. 1 four-hole Prosser button. 1 bead. 14 metal. 3 ferrous band pieces. 4 nails, 1 square. 2 pot fragments, 1 cm thick. 1 enamelled shard.
Level 6	N/A	1 piece refined earthenware.
Level 7	N/A	1 refined earthenware sherd, ground on all sides. 2 bottle glass, etched. 1 ferrous fish hook.
Level 12	N/A	1 porcelain sherd with post-1891 Thomas Hughes makers mark.

4.3.   Ch'uumat'a (DfSi-4)

Excavations at Ch'uumat'a revealed 174 artifacts of European manufacture and 63 associated artifacts of Indigenous manufacture. The site is an ethnographically known village (St. Claire 1991:159), but it has a very different assemblage than the other four sites in the study. Here, there is a distinct lack of glass and ceramics (see Table 4.8, Figure 4.10   Ch'uumat'a by Indigenous and European Material Type), and the date range skews towards the early twentieth century rather than late nineteenth. It is possible that the site was not used during the introduction and use of much of the "late period". This corresponds with notes taken by reserve allocation surveys that made no mention of the village in 1871, suggesting that it was not occupied at that time (McMillan 1999:70). This absence does not necessarily imply total abandonment, however. The

Toquaht may have still incorporated it into their seasonal movements. Certainly, the units at Ch'uumat'a expose a different style of occupation than T'ukw'aa, Hiikwis, Uukwatis, and Ma'acoah.
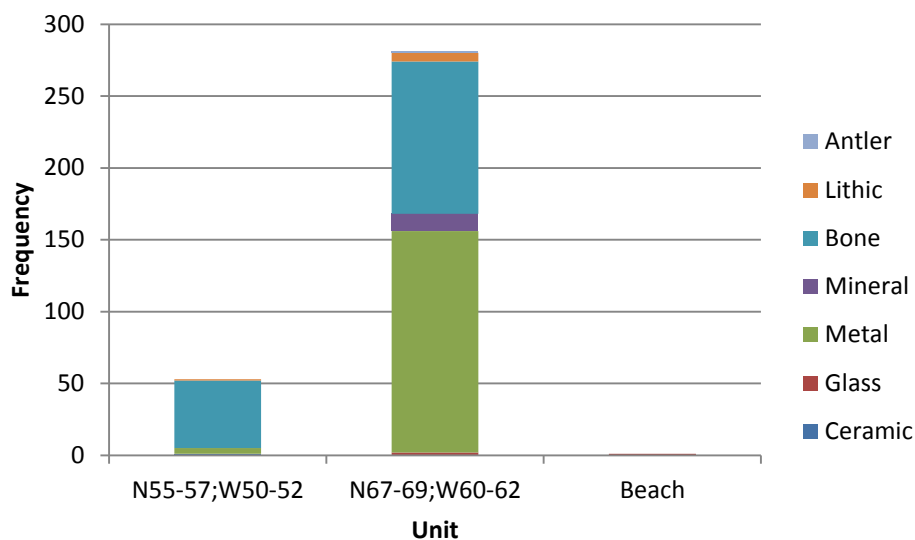
Figure 4.10   Ch'uumat'a by Indigenous and European Material Type

Table 4.8.   Ch'uumat'a Artifacts by Indigenous and European Material Type

Unit	Antler	Bone	Ceramic	Glass	Lithic	Metal	Mineral	Total
N55-57;W50-52	0	47	1	0	1	4	0	53
N67-69;W60-62	1	106	0	2	6	154	12	281
Beach	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Total	1	106	1	3	7	158	12	335

84% of the assemblage was recovered from N67-69; W60-62. The upper layers of this unit possibly represent a small structure, with shallow concrete footings and wire nails. A small cabin or fishing station, such as Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa, seems likely. However, there are a number of important differences distinguishing this unit from the small, late-nineteenth to early twentieth century fishing camp at T'ukw'aa.

In addition to the discrepancy in glass and ceramics, the structure at Ch'uumat'a differs from Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa in nail types. The nail assemblage, as represented in Chapter 3.2 *Fasteners*, is overwhelmingly wire drawn, accounting for 118 of the 123 from the site. 10 galvanized roofing nails were found the uppermost levels of N67-

69;W60-62, not associated with Indigenous manufactures in earlier contexts. These date the uppermost layer at this unit to 1901 (Fontana et al. 1962:50). Along with these wire nails, twentieth century .22 rim fire cartridges, a can lid, and concrete slabs (categorized as "mineral" in Table 4.8 and Figure 4.10) are all indicative of a turn-of-the twentieth century occupation at Ch'uumat'a. Yet, rolled copper is found in association with early period types such as a rolled copper ornament in Layer A, N67-69; W60-62. This provides clear evidence of early period repurposed goods maintaining popularity right into the twentieth century. Along with the continued use of Indigenous manufactures and early period types in all contexts, Ch'uumat'a characterizes a unique Nuu-chah-nulth material culture well into the twentieth century.

4.3.1. Ch'uumat'a Notable Contexts

N67-69;W60-62

This unit has a large stratigraphic gap between evidence of historic manufactures, between Level 5, Layer A and Level 12, Layer C; and again from here until Level 19. Among these isolated historic artifacts, there are considerable Indigenous manufactures, 113 across the whole of the unit (Table 4.8). I have not listed the bone form types in the table below, but they include primarily bone points and bipoints, with smaller numbers of barbed points, harpoon valves, gorges, needles, and awls. These contexts could represent an earlier component of some sort, but dating here is uncertain since the oldest European manufacture is an unidentifiable nail.

The copper ornament associated with wire nails and concrete may represent the use of copper ornament in the late-nineteenth/early twentieth century. Another possibility is that the ornament was part of a disturbed matrix from construction. The profiles from this unit do not indicate a recessed foundation, however.

Table 4.9   Unit N67-69; W60-62 Artifacts by Level and Layer

Level	Context	Artifacts
Level 1	Layer A	3 round shank nails. 6 unknown. 3 galvanized wire nails. 8 round head, round shank spikes.
Level 2	Layer A	1 piece of pressed glass. 2 .2cm thick metal banding. 13 galvanized wire nails. 48 other wire nails. 2 machine-cut. 13

		unknown nails. 2 pieces oxidized ferrous metal. 8 pieces concrete. 7 round head, round shank spikes, one embedded in wood knot. 1 possible worked nail. Sharpened to point on one side, flat on other.
Level 3	Layer A	1 piece of melted glass. 1 piece .2cm thick ferrous metal banding. 14 wire nails, 1 galvanized. 2 unknown nails.
Level 4	Layer A	1 bent wire buckle or loop. 2 brass .22 rimfire cartridges marked "D" and "H" 1 aluminum can press lid. 11 wire nails. 1 chain from chain link- 3mm thick. 1 chalk or stone ring. 1.5 cm diameter. 2mm thick. 1 carbon battery core from dry cell battery. 3cm thick. 9 bone artifacts.
Level 5	Layer A	4 wire nails. 1 rolled copper ornament. 2 pieces of concrete. 13 bone artifacts.
Level 6	Layer A	2 abrasive stones. 16 bone artifacts.
Level 7	Layer A	6 bone artifacts.
Level 9	Layer B	3 bone artifacts.
Level 10	Layer B	3 bone artifacts.
Level 11	Layer B	1 antler artifact.
	Layer C	6 bone artifacts.
Level 12	Layer C	1 wire nail. 6 bone artifacts.
Level 13	Layer C	4 bone artifacts. 1 lithic adze blade.
Level 14	Layer C	3 bone artifacts.
Level 15	Layer C	4 bone artifacts. 1 lithic abrader.
	Layer D	2 bone artifacts.
Level 16	Layer D	8 bone artifacts. 1 lithic adze blade.
Level 17	Layer D	4 bone artifacts.
Level 18	Layer D	3 bone artifacts. 1 lithic adze blade.
Level 19	Layer D	1 oval head, unknown shank nail. 16 bone artifacts.

4.4. Ch'uch'aa (DfSj-30)

The assemblage at the George Fraser Islands indicates an occupation that ended just after contact. The rolled copper tinkler and ornamental abalone found on the largest of the small group of islands (see Chapter 3.1) were not associated with the suite of late-period glass, metal, and ceramic artifacts we see at T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumat'a,

Ma'acoah, Hiikwis, and Uukwatis. This context most closely resemble the defensive portion of T'ukw'aa, DfSj-23B.

The absence of late-period artifacts correlates with the Long War, which involved both the Ucluelet and the Toquaht immediately following the Maritime Fur Trade (McMillan 1999). This ongoing dispute left the Toquaht with a reduced population, most of whom relocated to Ma'acoah and the Toquart River. While T'ukw'aa was certainly used after this point, the George Fraser Islands do not indicate occupation past the late 18th century.

The site stratigraphy showed little duff accumulation, transitioning into A: black silt 7.5YR 2/0, B: firm black silt with white shell and FCR, over the island bedrock.

4.4.1.   George Fraser Islands Notable Contexts

Only two units at DfSj-30 contributed historic period materials: Units S4-6;E3-4 and unit S4-6; E6-7. The contexts are comparable, coming from the same depth and context in units separated by only 2 m. The metal tinkler was found in Layer B, Level four of unit S4-6;E3-4. Layer B comprised a silty black matrix with trace clam and whelk shell beneath the humic layer. The abalone artifacts were found in Level 4, Layer B of Unit S4-6;E6-7. Layer B here is characterized by the same deposit, black silt with trace shell underneath a 10-15 cm humic layer. This context revealed moderate FCR, ash, whalebone, a number of bone points.

4.5. Hiikwis (DfSh-16)

Of all of the sites in the survey area, Hiikwis best conveys the blurred edges between "pre-contact" and "post-contact" Nuu-chah-nulth material culture.   The excavated sample contains a total of 440 artifacts of European manufacture and 126 artifacts of Indigenous manufacture, across five two by two metre units. In addition to the excavated sample, there are a number of important surficial features on site. The bases of three house-posts lie under hemlock nurse trees at either end of the site and a large post remnant and a fallen beam frame the midden northeast of the excavation

units. Unit N4-6; E0-2 uncovered a plank immediately under the littermat that is likely associated with the structure in the northeast section of the site.

These wooden architectural elements represent the traditional house used by the Tseshaht as a winter and spring residence during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century (see Chapter 2.2.2 *Hiikwis*), by which time ceramics, metal, and glass had been fully incorporated into the community. It was not an immediate and complete transition to European manufactures, though. Units N4-6; E0-4 and N 12-14; E 4-6 reveal the simultaneous and continued use of bone, antler and lithic material alongside metal, ceramic and glass at the site, within a traditional residence.

While no maker's marks are identifiable for Hiikwis, the ceramic designs, forms, glass bottles, and metal artifacts are all roughly comparable to T'ukw'aa and Ma'acoah in form and dates (see Chapter 3.2). However, the nail ratio of 67 machine cut to 18 wire nails implies an early date of abandonment for Hiikwis, similar to that of Ma'acoah (see Chapter 3.2.2 *Fasteners*). The site was not subject to construction after the abandonment of these houses, in the first decades of the twentieth century. It is likely that the final occupation at this site overlapped with framed European style houses at nearby Uukwatis (Chapter 4.6). This occupation continued after the abandonment of the traditional houses at Hiikwis. Small scale logging continued at Hiikwis post-abandonment, however. Evidence of a cat-cleared jetty in front of the site and a large steam boiler inside the treeline on the midden platform attest to coastal, machine-based logging.

Stratigraphy on the front midden bench was fairly consistent at this site, since the units were placed fairly close together. The humus was considerably deeper here than in nearby Uukwatis.

Table 4.10 Stratigraphic Components at Hiikwis

Context	Description	Munsell Code
A	Black silty, sandy loam	7.5 YR 2/0
B	Black sandy silt with FCR	7.5YR 2/0
C	Black silt with sand and shell	2.5 YR 2/0

No historic materials were found beneath these contexts. The basal deposit from this site has a radiocarbon date of 880±40BP.
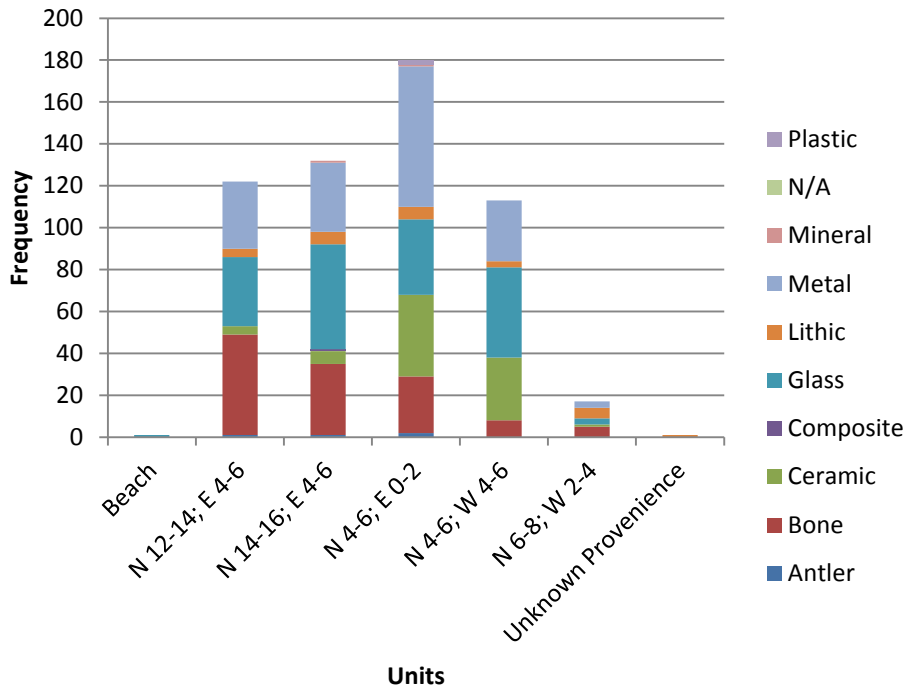
Figure 4.11   DfSh-16 Units by Material Type

4.5.1.   *Hiikwis Notable Contexts*

The excavated units all lie on the front midden platform, within a set of surface architectural features from the last occupation of the site. Across this bench, there are several sheared but still visible house posts and several fallen, adzed beams. The units themselves represent the entirety of the historic period, from the earliest contact, through the amalgamations of the Tseshaht, the Ucluelet takeover during the Long War, and as the winter village of the combined Tseshaht (see Chapter 2.1.3). Two of these units represent the co-existence of European and Indigenous manufactures clearly: N4-6;E0-2 and N 12-14; E 4-6.

N4-6; E0-2

This unit is of particular interest due to the wooden plank found in the uppermost layers and the clear transition from a mostly Indigenous-manufactured assemblage to a mostly European-manufactured assemblage. In order to highlight this transition, I have included Indigenous manufactures in the level table. The game piece (see Chapter 3.3 *Game Piece*) is present in Level 2, Layer A of this unit. It blurs even these distinctions, where European materials are manufactured into something entirely Nuu-chah-nulth on site.

In marked similarity with the defensive site at T'ukw'aa, another ornamental copper band found in Level 7 may represent early period material. From the East Wall profile (Figure 4.12 Unit E0-2; N4-6 East Wall Profile), it appears that a number of contexts were mistakenly described as a homogenous Layer A. Level 7 material was found in the greasy, compact silt (Table 4.11 Unit N4-6; E0-2) and appears to be from a separate context from the uppermost levels. The distribution of ceramics, glass, and Prosser buttons is similar to both T'ukw'aa and Ma'acoah. However, the nail ratio implies that this context was late nineteenth century, when wire nails were introduced but not common.

Table 4.11   Unit N4-6; E0-2 Artifacts by Layer and Level

Level	Context	Artifacts
Level 1	Littermat	Wooden plank along north half of unit.
Level 2	Layer A	Several glass beads, 20 ceramic shards including 1 porcelain and 2 stoneware, 5 glass beads. 8 bottle glass. 3 flat glass. 1 brass button and 1 ferrous/fabric button. 10 machine cut nails, 1 ferrous spike, and 4 wire nails. 1 large washer attached to knot in wooden board. One flat brass ring. 1 steel mill file. 1 game piece. 1 tin washbasin rim.
Level 3	Layer A	1 antler preform. 1 bone bipoint. 1 bone point. 2 abrasive stones. 1 lithic flake. 2 brass domed buttons and one ferrous dish button. 15 refined earthenware sherds.1 stoneware sherd and 1 porcelain doll leg. 1 Prosser button. 15 glass beads. 1 Flaked wine bottle base. 19 machine-cut, 3 wire-drawn nails. Considerable metal fragments. Small wire loop. 1 quartz crystal manuport.

Level 4	Layer A	1 antler harpoon valve blank. 1 abrupt point. 1 bone bipoint. 1 worked bone. 4 bone points. 1 split sea-lion canine. 2 abrasive stones. 2 Machine cut nails.
Level 5	Layer A	3 bone points. 1 worked bone. 1 Prosser 4-hole button.
Level 6	Layer A	2 bone points. 1 abrasive stone.
Level 7	Layer A	2 abrupt bone points. 2 bone bipoints. 7 bone points. 1 ornamental copper band.
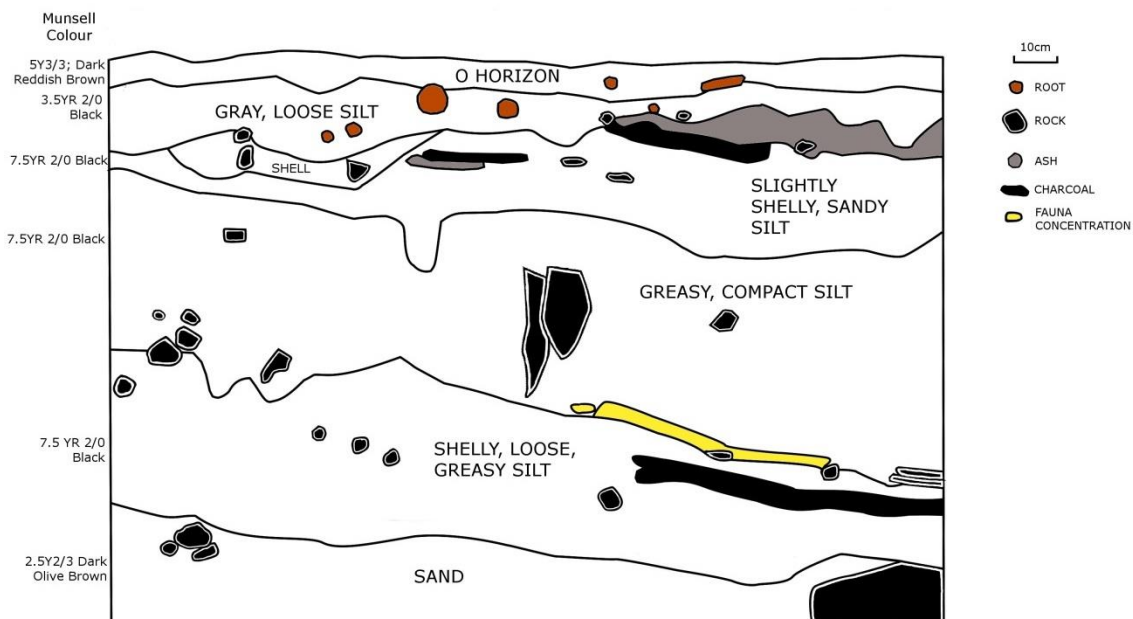
Figure 4.12   Unit E0-2; N4-6 East Wall Profile

N12-14; E4-6

Unlike unit N4-6; E0-2, this unit has clear distinctions between stratigraphic contexts, which allow us to better track the changing use of Indigenous and European manufactures through time. The association between copper and the earliest materials turns up again here, with a perforated copper strip found in Level 7, Layer F (see Table 4.8), with slotted harpoon valves, bone points and whalebone fragments. This association links the continued bone-based material culture of whaling and fishing with the introduction of European materials such as copper and iron. The perforated strip in the lowest layer of this unit may indicate the early period.

Table 4.12   N12-14; E4-6 Artifacts by Level and Layer

Level	Context	Artifacts
Level 1	Layer A	1 Prosser button. 1 blue glass bead.
Level 2	Layer B	2 bone points, 1 bone bipoint, 1 copper bead.
Level 3	Layer B	Several European manufactures found above shell layer. 20 artifacts found with bone bipoints most abundant.
Level 4	Layer C	Eight bone points, one bone bipoint, three sandstone abraders, 1 square-shank nail, rounded knife with handle and button (DfSh-16:189), 1 fixed barbed bone point fragment, 1 cut antler tine, 1 bird bone awl.
Level 5	Layer C	3 worked bone fragments. 1 Harpoon valve. 1 piece of worked slate. 1 fixed barbed point. 1 bone awl, 1 bone bipoint.
Level 5	Layer D	2 pieces of rolled copper. 1 ferrous metal fragment.
Level 6	Layer E	1 bone harpoon points. 2 bone bipoints, 2 bone points, 1 fixed barbed point, 1 bone-handled ferrous knife.
Level 7	Layer F	1 perforated, tapered copper strip found in association with whalebone and a slotted harpoon valve. 1 worked schist fragment. 4 bone points.

Table 4.13 Hiikwis Indigenous and European Manufactures by Material Type

Units	Antler	Bone	Ceramic	Composite	Glass	Lithic	Metal	Mineral	Plastic	Quartz	Total
Beach	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
N 12-14; E 4-6	1	48	4	0	33	4	32	0	0	0	122
N 14-16; E 4-6	1	34	6	1	50	6	33	1	0	0	132
N 4-6; E 0-2	2	27	39	0	36	6	67	0	2	1	180
N 4-6; W 4-6	0	8	30	0	43	3	29	0	0	0	113
N 6-8; W 2-4	0	5	1	0	3	5	3	0	0	0	17
Unknown Provenience	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Total	4	122	80	1	166	25	164	1	2	1	566

4.6. Uukwatis (DfSh-15)

The site Uukwatis is located around 600 m east of Hiikwis along the beach. Indeed, the two sites are part of the same reserve allocation, but the historic occupations are quite distinct.   Unlike the units within the traditional house features at Hiikwis, Uukwatis is comprised mostly of European manufactures, associated with a framed European style house that may have been similar those pictured at nearby Cleho (Figure 4.13   Hiikwis and Uukwatis Reserve Map).   394 artifacts of European manufacture were found at site Uukwatis, along with only 21 associated Indigenous manufactures.

This relative lack of Indigenous manufactures relates to both the timing and style of occupation near Unit 1 at the turn of the twentieth century. This unit exposed several post holes in Layer A, and likely represents a small residence like Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa or the cabin at Ch'uumat'a, rather than a traditional house within a larger village like at Hiikwis.   A small structure is recorded at Unit 1, Uukwatis in an 1874 reserve allocation map (see Figure 4.13   Hiikwis and Uukwatis Reserve Map), contemporaneous with the occupation of the village west along the beach at Hiikwis.
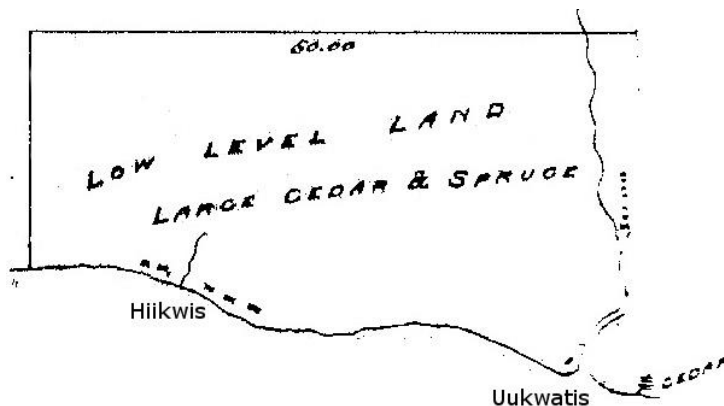
Figure 4.13   Hiikwis and Uukwatis Reserve Map

Note: Adapted from 1893 reserve surveyors' map (Courtesy Alan McMillan).

Table 4.14 *Uukwatis by Material Type*

Unit	Bone	Ceramic	Glass	Lithic	Metal	Mineral	Plastic	Wood	Total
1	14	106	78	1	120	1	1	0	321
2	0	14	5	1	3	0	0	0	23
3	0	0	4	2	0	0	0	0	6
5	2	6	35	4	11	2	0	1	61
Beach	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	2
Creek Bank	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Total	16	126	123	8	135	3	1	2	414

4.6.1. *Uukwatis Notable Contexts*

Although this site was certainly used during the occupation of Hiikwis through the nineteenth century, there is no evidence of post and beam architecture at Uukwatis during the historic period. Unit 1 therefore likely represents the small residence shown in Figure 4.13. This scale and form of occupation most closely resembles the fishing stations and cabins at both Ch'uumat'a and T'ukw'aa. Unlike Ch'uumat'a, however, its artifact assemblage is distributed across metal, ceramic, and glass types and retains a small fraction of Indigenous manufactures (

Table 4.14). The unit contains 78 percent of the site's total historic assemblage.

There several important intertidal features, such as a line of wooden stakes extending from the creek bank and several stone fish traps link this site with continued local fisheries management.

Unit 1

This two by two metre unit located by the beach near the outflow of a small creek is representative of a period of the mixed Indigenous and European assemblage in use during the turn of the twentieth century (Table 4.15). Artifacts such as the 6 pieces of flaked glass (see Chapter 3.3) in Level 4, Layer A indicate creative reworking of foreign materials. A cigar mouthpiece, Turban snail opercula (used as a decorative inlay on

boxes and other things), ceramics, glass and bone points, are all found in direct association with wire nails. These wire nails are associated with the deepest historic levels in Unit 1, but definitely post-date 1850 (Nelson 1968:7) and very likely post-date 1880 (Adams 2002).   Therefore, we can date the continued use of traditional technologies into the last decades of the nineteenth century. It is likely, judging from the cigar tip and other surficial artifacts, that Uukwatis was used much later than Hiikwis.
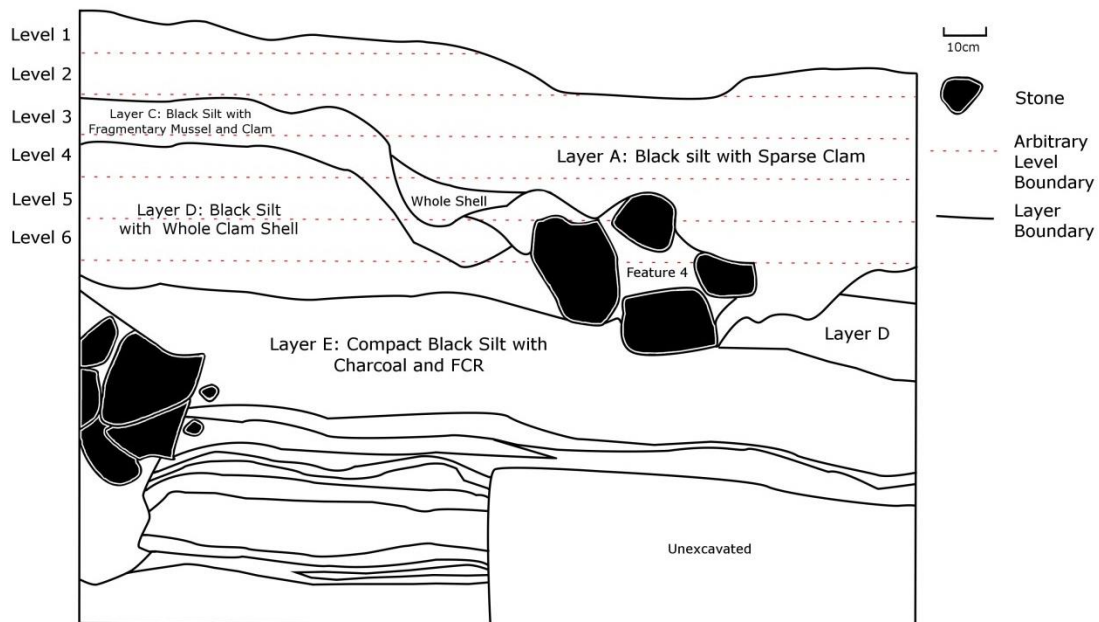
Figure 4.14   Unit 1 East Wall Profile with Levels and Layers

Table 4.15   Unit 1 Artifacts by Level and Layer

Level	Context	Artifacts
Level 1	Layer A.	1 porcelain transfer printed sherd.
Level 2	Layer A	1 Turban snail operculum. 2 bone points. 1 worked bone fragment. 2 porcelain saucer fragments. 56 refined earthenware, 1 coarse earthenware sherds. 13 bottle glass, including Vaseline jar. 21 flat glass. 3 irregular glass shards. 7 pressed glass, 6 of which are carnival. 2 very thin ferrous bands. 42 round head, wire nails. 42 oval head, square shank. 2 unknown metal tacks. 1 non-ferrous grommet. 1 nickel plated spoon. 1 piece fishing tackle. 1 tin fragment.
Level 3	Layer A	1 plastic cigar mouthpiece. 24 pieces of refined earthenware. 3 pieces bottle glass. 7 flat glass. 2 pieces tableware (one carnival). 1 clothespin spring. 1 stove piece. 4 wire nails, one square, one tack. 1 plastic cigar tip.

Level 3	Layer B	1 bone bipoint. 2 bone points and 1 worked sea mammal bone.
Level 4	Layer A	1 bone point. 3 pieces porcelain. 12 pieces refined earthenware. 4 pieces bottle glass. 6 pieces flaked glass. 5 flat glass. 2 unknown glass. 1 piece carnival glass tableware. 1 lithic abrader. 6 wire nails. 5 machine cut nails.
Level 5	Layer B	1 bead fragment.
	Layer C	1 worked whalebone fragment. 1 split and ground tooth.
Level 6	Layer B	1 bone point. 1 piece of porcelain. 2 pieces of flat glass.
	Layer C	2 wire nails. 1 Ground bone chisel fragment, 1 bone point, 1 cut sea mammal bone fragment, 1 ground, incised antler fragment, 1 ochre fragment.

4.7. Summary

The George Fraser Islands, Ma'acoah, T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumaat'a, Hiikwis, and Uukwatis are all roughly the same site type: an ethnographically known, historic-period Nuu-chah-nulth village. However, occupation at each site is unique. During the post-contact period, large, traditional post and beam structures would have been the primary residences on the midden platforms at T'ukw'aa, Hiikwis, and Ma'acoah. Smaller cabins and frame-houses are evident at Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumat'a, and Uukwatis. Within these small residences, there is variation. Ch'uumat'a has primarily twentieth century material, with no ceramic component. This indicates a style of occupation far different from the house at Uukwatis and Feature 11 at T'ukw'aa, which also date to the early twentieth century, but have the full range of ceramics, metal, and glass. The architecture of the George Fraser Islands site is unknown, but it is certainly distinguished from the other sites based on its strictly early period assemblage. Similarly, the defensive site at T'ukw'aa revealed a historic midden deposit, but no definitive structures.

Contemporary construction must also be taken into account when determining this variability between sites. Uukwatis and Ma'acoah have both had significant site alteration since the early twentieth century, with logging roads and ongoing residential construction respectively. To a lesser degree, all of the sites would have been subject to

hand logging through the twentieth century, as seen in the steam boiler and cat-altered beach at Hiikwis.

There are unique aspects to each site assemblage, especially with regard to metal artifact types. However, some material types outlined in Chapter 3 are found across all sites in the assemblage. Late period artifacts such as glassware, beads, buttons, worked copper, ceramics, and locally procured artifacts such as bone fishing gear are, with some exception, visible in all of the study contexts. This could correlate with several causes, including a fairly limited, conservative incorporation of European manufactures in the late nineteenth century, the potlatch distribution system, or restrictions in supply through Victoria or the Hudson's Bay Company. In order to explore these structural constraints, we must consider the historical and ethnographic record, which is discussed in the following chapter.

Yuquot, is the only other major historic Nuu-chah-nulth village studied and published. Richard Lueger, who studied the metal goods from Yuquot, surmised that "Nootkans seem to have begun adopting Euro-canadian material culture fairly suddenly. Virtually all of the artifacts included in this study are products of an industrialized society. They originated in Canada, the U.S.A., Britain, continental Europe and probably the industrialized Orient as well. Most of the datable artifacts were produced in the late 19th or early 20th centuries, with a significant scattering extending into the mid-20th century (Lueger 1983). The excavations at Yuquot were much more extensive, but the general conclusions are the same as for Barkley Sound. Minimal wrought iron nails, and an even split of cut and wire nails, stove parts, buttons, cartridges are all very similar in frequency. There is more variety here, though. This is probably due to broader excavations, and longer settlement into the twentieth century, rather than differential access. The hierarchy that centered upon Nootka Sound did not extend into this period. Yet, this is an interesting avenue for future research.

5.   Discussion and Conclusions

5.1. Chronologies of Contact

The excavated materials from Barkley Sound allow us a unique insight into the processes by which European, Euro-Canadian, and American manufactures were integrated into Nuu-chah-nulth villages. The most important results from this study are fourfold:

1. The early maritime fur trade left few European manufactures in the archaeological record of Barkley Sound village sites. Those that are present are ornamental.
2. The mid-nineteenth century saw a large influx of ceramic, glass, and metal artifacts deposited across the Sound. This deposition correlates with settlement at Alberni and Fort Victoria and the associated establishment of permanent trading routes and posts from 1840-1860.
3. European manufactures were used in creative ways to suit entirely local purposes in all periods and contexts.
4. Artifact types vary slightly across the five major village sites and one outlook site in this study, but there are broad similarities in ceramics and glass among these sites. These artifact types, forms, and designs were broadly adopted, not only in Barkley Sound but across the Northwest Coast.

I will discuss these findings within the broader narrative of social and economic change along the west coast of Vancouver Island, starting with contact and the Early Maritime Period. Beginning a study on the historic period in this way is certainly flawed. As Silliman (2005) has discussed in reference to his work with the Pequot, social change is something that should be considered through, rather than from, the time of contact. However, the long record of Nuu-chah-nulth occupation in Barkley Sound is well documented in several volumes, notably those by Alan McMillan (1999) and Denis St. Claire (1991) and Arima and Hoover (2011) from an archaeological and ethnological viewpoint and Atleo (2012) from an oral historical perspective.   This thesis only addresses one aspect of one period within this longer and multi-faceted history.

In my introduction, I discussed ideas of cultural fluorescence and degradation, the classificatory binary that has influenced most academic understandings of social change on the Northwest Coast. Barkley Sound has not escaped this regional theorizing. I take, as a basis for comparison, one of the more influential Nuu-chah-nulth ethnologists, Philip Drucker. His oft-cited regional monograph *The Northern and Central Nootkan Tribes* (1951) draws from interviews conducted in the 1930's across the west coast of Vancouver Island and describes the character and features of the precontact Nuu-chah-nulth. In doing so, it tracks what Drucker assumes to be the end of a traditional culture by epoch, following closely with a Boasian style of ethnology (Gruber 1969) that considered European material culture as pollution amidst the ideal Nuu-chah-nulth type. This form of salvage anthropology has been critiqued widely in subsequent decades (see Clifford 1989). However, Drucker's periodic outline is useful both as a comparative measure for the archaeological data and as a clearly stated example of acculturative research. My interpretation of this data does not stray much from his general chronology, but I hope to provide detail and nuance to his and other similar notions of cultural fluorescence and degradation. His account of nearly 150 years of cultural change on the West Coast of Vancouver Island is as follows:

1774:

"The very first-known contact, with the timid Juan Perez in 1774, caused little pain or strain…The evil star of European civilization dawned for the Nootkans and their neighbors on the Northwest Coast 4 years later, when Cook stood in to King George's, or Nootka, Sound in the Resolution during his third voyage of exploration[…]They purveyed the native's great stores of wealth in the form of metal tools, firearms, and ornaments. They alternately cajoled, robbed, and murdered them…It is difficult to appraise the net result of the maritime-fur-trade period on native culture. Firearms and wealth goods in abundance must have had social repercussions. Data on the introduction of venereal diseases and smallpox are sparse, but these gifts of the higher civilization must have played their part in the rapid decline of population that followed."

1820-1875:

"From about 1820 till 1875 the west coast of Vancouver Island was spared intensive white contact. Hudson's Bay Company had won the bitter struggle on the lower Columbia, and established its rule along the mainland shore[…]Thus for a good part of the nineteenth century the Nootkan's white contacts were limited to occasional free-lance traders who beat up and down the coast in small sailing vessels, and at times made valiant but usually ill-fated attempts to establish independent trading posts."

1850's:

"There are scarcely any records of events from the dwindling away of the maritime trade in sea otter pelts until the 1850's. White influence continued with trade goods, but pressure was slight. In the 1850's the tempo of the casual trade increased. A brisk trade in dogfish oil had developed in connection with the sawmill industry of the Northwest. The traders bought the oil cheap, and sold goods dear, but nonetheless poured a flood of manufactured goods into the native culture—"Two-and-a-half point" blankets, metal tools, guns, and the like. As this trade grew in importance, there developed a tendency for people to winter at the old summer villages to be near the trading posts, or the ports of call of the schooners laden with goods. Before many years had passed, the old winter sites were rarely used. The year 1852 is a landmark of another sort: it is the date of an epidemic of smallpox […]"

1860:

"The first intimate contact with a white group of size came with the establishment of the settlement at Alberni in 1860. The only tribes seriously affected were those of that immediate locality, however, which was off the main line of communication up and down the coast. Among the rest of the tribes life went on pretty much as before […]"

1875-1899:

"The period of relatively casual contact and slight pressure came to an end, or at least its end was fated, in 1875, the year Father Brabant established his mission at Hesquiat. The influence of this remarkable man came to be very great […]

In the 1880's fur seal hunting seems to have come to be an important occupation. Indian hunters were placed under contract by white schoonermen…it was not long before the Indians began to ship aboard schooners bound for the Bering Sea… They also had the custom of establishing credit for their better hunters at the trading posts…Hunters came back from Bering Sea Voyages with several hundred dollars, with any sort of luck.

During this same time, people began to travel more freely up and down the coast…Now people went to Victoria, to work in the Fraser River canneries, and in the Puget Sound hopfields. Income from all these ventures made potlatches frequent and more spectacular than ever. Some of their wages were spent on sawed lumber, windows, and the white man's furniture, and encouraged by the missionaries, the fad of building individual houses spread…

The policy of the Canadian Government in establishing the "Reserves" scarcely affected native life. All the important sites—the winter and summer villages, the salmon-fishing stations—were set aside as Indian Reserves, so that there was no dislocation of the groups."

1913:

"The final step in the transition to modern acculturation consisted of several parts: the establishment of the Christie School at Clayoquot in 1899; the increased white contact resulting from the establishment of canneries and other enterprises at Clayoquot, Nootka, and other localities; the white community at Tofino; and regular steamship service up and down the coast.

The final blow to native custom was the law passed in 1913 prohibiting potlatching. It was not strictly enforced, I gather, in Nootkan territory for the first few years […] " (Drucker 1951: 10-14, headings mine)

The preceding outline was meant as a sketch, historical context for an attempt to reach into the untouched shadows of the "evil star" to the pure Nuu-chah-nulth of the pre-contact period.[1] Yet, in spite of his attempts to the contrary, Drucker's work offers some of the closest insights into the material culture of the nineteenth century post-contact period we have. His understanding of periods is particularly important. It is echoed in regional works on the Northwest Coast such as Robin Fisher's (1977) influential *Contact and Conflict,* Arima and Hoover's (2011) *The Whaling People of the West Coast of Vancouver Island and Cape Flattery*, as well as local studies such as Cairn Crockford's (1996) analysis of late nineteenth century Nuu-chah-nulth fur-sealing. The periodization that lies at the center of these works is a necessary part of historical scholarship (see Bentley 1996), but to what degree are the broad periods outlined by Fisher, Drucker and Crockford represented in the archaeological record? Beyond that, to what degree do the amount or types of European manufactures in the assemblage speak to what has been understood as acculturation? To Drucker's initial outline, we can add a number of other important factors that structured opportunities for Nuu-chah-nulth in the nineteenth century, drawn from the archaeological data from Barkley Sound village sites, as well as other ethnographic, historical, and oral historical records.

The Maritime Fur Trade, as Drucker stated, is difficult to characterize. The extent to which these first goods impacted the structure of village life was likely muted.

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[1] This was not the only major ethnography of the period. McMillan (2009) has compared Drucker's monographic, idealized, and sharply organized style with the other major ethnographer of Barkley Sound, Edward Sapir, who allowed recorded accounts to be transcribed directly into print (Sapir and Swadesh 1955), without overt interpretations of cultural destruction. This stylistic difference paralleled a theoretical difference in accounting for acculturation. Sapir reached back for similar abstractions of ideal Nuu-chah-nulth types, but he did not censor the presence of new practices and European manufactures.

Although demographic data for the Nuu-chah-nulth is limited, European-introduced disease would have had a serious and immediate impact (See Boyd 1999), perhaps before European goods and settlers appeared in the region. For Drucker, the first major material cultural change following the fur trade did not occur until the 1850s, with the introduction of trade stores and then a subsequent shift to wage labour during the 1880s. Yet, these dramatic shifts would have been of scale and access rather than familiarity. Perhaps ceramics and glass became more prevalent, but the Nuu-chah-nulth in Barkley Sound would have been familiar with these goods from the time of the Maritime Fur Trade, some seventy years previous.

The archaeological data from the six sites in Barkley Sound reflect Drucker's chronology. Yet, it is important to contextualize this addition of metal, glass, ceramic, and new architectural styles with a persistent, and strictly Nuu-chah-nulth, economy. The potlatch, for example, remained an important means of distribution, incorporating new forms and interpreting them in ways quite inconceivable to local officials and distant manufacturers. Even after reserve allocation and movement of some groups to Alberni, the Nuu-chah-nulth continued to use both the resources and structures that dominated life before contact, albeit flexing them according to new sources of wealth and power.

Individual artifacts, from the earliest ferrous square at T'ukw'aa to the plastic cigar tip at Uukwatis, present brief but powerful insights into the individual moments of negotiated colonialism in Barkley Sound. The pieces are set within a material culture that was remarkably conservative well into the Late period, where trade goods are set within villages dating back millennia in an otherwise continuous tradition of bone, antler and lithic technology. Although European influence certainly brought drastic changes in demography and political organization through disease and a refocusing of wealth, the Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth developed a unique material culture, and made important contributions to what is too often seen as a homogenous, centralized global market during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

5.2. Material Change through the Early and Late Periods

5.2.1.   The Early Period

Ma'acoah, Hiikwis, T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumat'a, and the George Fraser Islands were among the first witnesses to European trade and exploration on the Northwest Coast. Beginning in 1774 with Juan Perez; James Cook, James Hanna, George Vancouver, Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra and a number of others sailed past Barkley Sound in their commerce with Clayoquot and Nootka Sounds and charting of the coast. The first anchorages at Nootka Sound defined the centre of the global trade in furs for forty years.   Barkley Sound, meanwhile, received far less attention from fur trade vessels.   Namesake Charles Barkley visited Barkley Sound itself in 1787, on the Imperial Eagle.   As famously recounted by his wife Frances Barkley, they anchored near the Tseshaht village of Huumuuwa on what now is called Effingham Island and immediately set to trading.

> "The anchorage was near a large village, and therefore, we named the Island Village Island. From here my husband sent the boats out to trade under the charge of Mr. Miller, second mate, and Mr. Mackey, and they were again very successful." (Frances Barkley in Walburn 1902)

The details of this particular exchange are unknown, but the brief episode in the outer Broken Group Islands marks the first recorded trade between the Nuu-chah-nulth of Barkley Sound and Europeans, more than a decade after Juan Perez sailed by the entrance on his way south from Nootka Sound.

In the years after Barkley, a number of British, American, and Spanish ships passed through the Sound, trading, improving charts, and strengthening claims of sovereignty in the area. British trader John Meares, acting on information gleaned from Barkley's voyage (Figure 5.1), anchored on Effingham Island in 1788. His notes on the peoples of the Sound are sparse, but he does mention that Effingham Island had a suitable anchorage and that "On the main land there are large and populous villages" (1967[1790]:173).
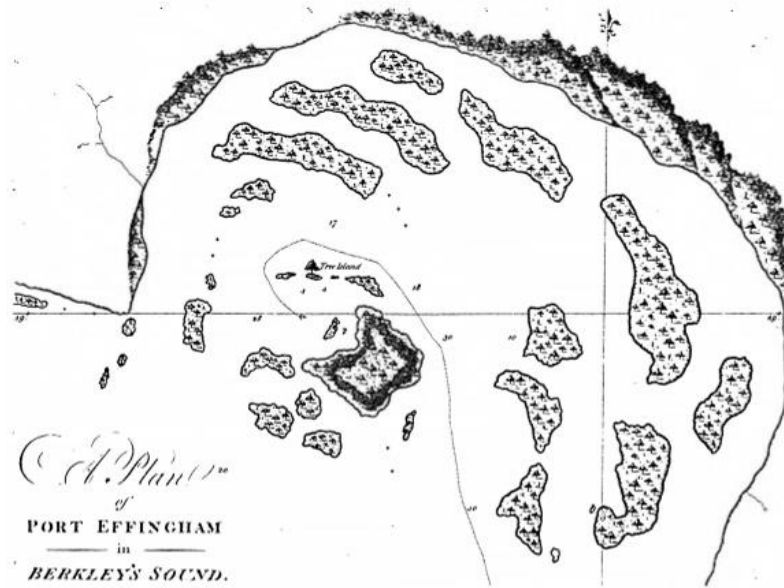
Figure 5.1   ***John Meares' 1790 Map of Barkley Sound***

(Meares 1967 [1790]:172)

Meares undertook trade with visiting canoes, but did not meet with any formal leadership, as he had in Nootka and Clayoquot Sounds. Instead, the crew

> "procured a considerable quantity of very fine sea-otter skins, with abundance of fish, consisting of salmon, halibut, herrings, sardonies, cod, trout, and rock-fish.[…]The sound is, by no means, so extensive as that of Nootka. It affords however, several places of shelter, but none of them are so commodious as Port Effingham, which is entirely secure from all winds." (1967[1790]:180)

Upon Meares' return to Britain he (1967[1790]), among others, promoted the fur trade on the Northwest Coast, spurring further speculation and establishing the Northwest Coast as a profitable intermediary between Chinese and European markets (see Gibson 1992). This new economic interest generated tension between the two primary stakeholders in the area: Britain and Spain. This rivalry soon intensified into an international dispute at Nootka Sound, the so-called "Nootka Sound Controversy" (see Howay 1969). By the time of James Colnett's arrival on the *Princess Royal* in 1791, the

Spanish maintained a sizeable fort in Nootka Sound[2]. Colnett and his ships were detained here, along with one of Meares' vessels.

While the particular details of the case were relayed to respective governments, the charting of the coast continued. José María Narváez took the *Princess Royal* while James Colnett was embroiled at Nootka Sound and charted Barkley Sound before heading to the Strait of Juan de Fuca (Tovell 2008:156; Galois 2004:277). Narvaez returned to Barkley Sound in 1791 (Tovell 2008:157-159). The maps from this last expedition are among the first comprehensive maps of the west coast of Vancouver Island and provided the most accurate depiction of Barkley Sound, recorded as Bahia de Carrasco, thus far (Figure 5.21791 Map of Vancouver Island "Carta que comprehende los interiores y veril de la costa desde los 48 de latitude N. hasta los 50"). This map, according to McMillan (1999:189) records the major island groups and five native villages in the sound.
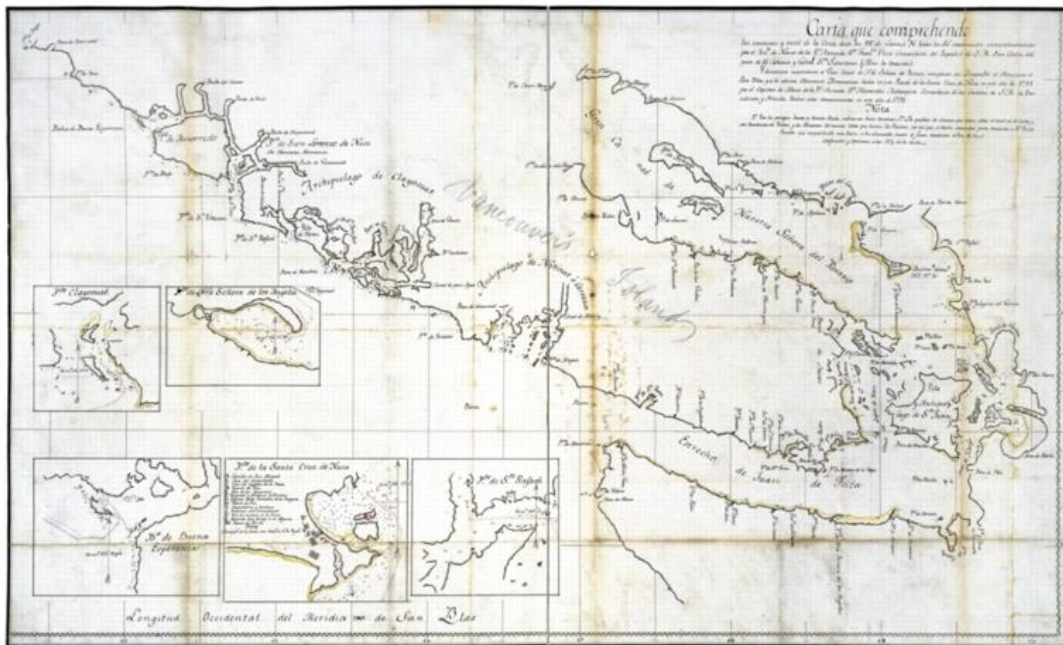
Figure 5.2   ***1791 Map of Vancouver Island "Carta que comprehende los interiores y veril de la costa desde los 48 de latitude N. hasta los 50"***

(Don Fransisco Eliza 1873 [1791], Courtesy University of Washington Libraries)

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[2] The Yuquot Project excavated the remains of the fort and nearby village site.

Cartographic survey contributed directly to wider national interests at stake at the edges of empire.[3] These activities are linked directly with claims of sovereignty and assertions of economic control. No less than three Nootka Sound Conventions were negotiated during this flurry of mapping, in order to preserve the fur trade for both Spanish and British interests.

These early forays set off a wave of global interest in the peoples and products of the Northwest Coast. For the traders that followed in the wake of these first Europeans, the Nuu-chah-nulth were not mere obstacles to coveted furs and but the only means to obtain them. European traders were certainly oppressive and underhanded at times[4], but the Maritime Fur Trade required the careful enlistment of local resources and labour (see Robin Fisher 1977)[5]. Indeed, Meares was so intent on maintaining good relationships with the Nuu-chah-nulth traders that he assented to all of their offers, remarking that he and his crew were often "dupes for their cunning" (Meares 1967[1791]:148).

For thirty years, until the 1820s in Drucker's (1951) estimations, Nuu-chah-nulth territory was a nexus of prestige goods bound for foreign markets[6]. European manufactures entered Indigenous trade networks, exchanged for furs bound for the Chinese domestic market. While there was direct trade in metals, tea, and other more functional goods between China and Great Britain, the furs of the Northwest Coast functioned as a key intermediary (Gibson 1992) over which the Nuu-chah-nulth, if not Barkley Sound groups specifically, had considerable power. Trade on the coast was not limited to furs, however. There were significant ethnographic collections of Nuu-chah-

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3 Daniel Clayton (1999), in his historical geography of these events, outlines the cartographic overlay of colonialism, the remoulding of the coast in the narratives of empire. Jeff Oliver (2011) uses a similar tack when describing the geographies of the Northwest Coast.

4 Keeping in mind that there were certainly false aspersions cast between rival traders on the coast, an American trading excursion in Clayoquot Sound recorded that British traders in 1788 had "forcibly taken all the sea otter skins the Indians possessed and had given them only small pieces of copper in return. They had also had taken their dried fish, leaving them without their prepared winter food." (Gunther 1972:60)

5 See Harris 1997 for a similar discussion of the theater of trade at Hudson's Bay Company posts in Northeastern British Columbia.

6 Although, after the initial rush and a violent encounter between Maquinna and the trade ship Boston in 1803, trade waned considerably (McMillan personal communication 2013).

nulth material culture (see Gunther 1972). European ships also required basic provisions of food, timber, and water from First Nations. Meares for example traded for salmon, halibut, and rockfish in Barkley Sound (1967[1790]:180). What he exchanged is unknown. Walker, however, wrote that they could obtain all the fresh fish they wanted in trade for as little as two brass buttons (1982[1786]:128), although other groups demanded "a nail, nay sometimes a chisel for a single Cod" (1982 [1786]:42). Colnett in 1787 noted the trade of "little trinkets & Buttons" for foodstuffs (Galois 2004:106).

As described in Chapter 3.1, the Early Period assemblage in Barkley Sound is characterized by non-utilitarian, ornamental goods. The focus on prestige trade is corroborated in descriptions of Maquinna's trading imperatives at Nootka Sound. The seemingly utilitarian trade musket, for example, was valued not for its accuracy or usefulness in hunting or warfare but rather its prestige value as a potlatch gift (see Fisher 1976 in Chapter 3.2.4 *Firearms*). Its value as a gift certainly implies a baseline, functional use for these goods, but it is clear that the focus for Nuu-chah-nulth leadership was on a display of power through trade rather than local use. As a slave of Maquinna in Nootka Sound, John Jewitt crafted copper rings from nails "for trade" (1988:41) along with iron "chissels" (1988:115), and harpoons (1988:107). Jewitt (1988) was clearly producing goods with specific advantages over shell and bone material types in many applications, but his position as a personal slave of Maquinna prioritizes the symbolic value of his work over his functional output. However, some of this prestige material certainly stayed on site. Meares describes a man in Nootka Sound as,

> "decorated with such quantities of brass buttons and copper additions of one kind or other, as could not fail of procuring him the most profound respect from his countrymen […] At least half a sheet of copper formed his breast-plate; from his ear copper ornaments were suspended" (1967[1791]:110).

The copper tinkler found along with worked abalone at the George Fraser Islands does not conflict with the historically recorded ornamental focus of the Maritime Fur Trade. Archibald Menzies (in Galois 2004: 60) identified the major categories of trade items popular at some level across the coast such as beads, cloth, brass and copper, iron, tin, pewter. Colnett (1940:202) in 1790 was trading sheet copper, blankets, muskets and "ear shells". There is no evidence of tin, pewter or cloth in the excavated

assemblage, but abalone, beads, brass, and copper are certainly present in the villages of Barkley Sound.

Yet, for all of the historical discussion around these early encounters and the first goods exchanged, this incipient global trade is frustratingly ephemeral in Nuu-chah-nulth archaeological sites. Ethnographic collections from Cook and others (see Gunther 1972) have preserved some of the material exchanged in the early period, but the trade is not similarly represented archaeologically. In their excavations at Yuquot in Nootka Sound, very little ceramic (Lueger 1981) or glass (Jones 1981) was recovered from the early period. Instead, the majority of artifacts dated to the late nineteenth century, much like the Barkley Sound assemblage. It seems that the flurry of vessels arriving on western Vancouver Island between 1787 and 1820 produced far more historical records than archaeological residue in the sites occupied during this time.

There are several possible explanations for this invisibility. First, the time period is quite short, just over three decades. This window is quite small with respect to the longer history at these sites, reaching back to 4,000 BP at Ch'uumat'a (McMillan 1999) and 5,000 BP at Ts'ishaa (McMillan and St. Claire 2005). Secondly, much of this material would have been traded into the interior, along internal trade routes initially defined by dentalia and other locally produced prestige items. As I have described in Chapter 3.1, Meares was surprised in 1788 at the lack of trade goods in Nootka Sound after considerable exchange with European traders (Meares 1967[1791])[7].

Coastal trade hierarchies might also contribute to the ephemeral nature European manufactures in the early period. Wickaninnish in Clayoquot Sound exerted direct control over trade in Barkley Sound during the fur trade (Clayton 1999; McMillan 1999). This hierarchy may have prevented groups here from trading directly with Europeans. In 1788, when Meares (1967[1791]:151) reached Barkley Sound, he noted "there were several villages in the Sound, but all under the jurisdiction of Wicaninish—As we had reason to believe that the chief had drawn all the furs from this place". Indeed,

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[7] An interesting parallel exists between post-contact European trade goods and precontact dentalia. Both classes of goods were known to have originated in Nuu-chah-nulth territory, but very little remains there. Instead, they are spread through extensive trade networks into the interior.

Meares encountered another group under the "jurisdiction" of Wickaninnish as far as Port Renfrew, with buttons that appeared to have been obtained from Nootka Sound (1967[1791]:153-155). These goods were still being traded internally, but at perhaps a restricted level.

Records of late-nineteenth and early twentieth century potlatches (Sapir 1955; Drucker 1951) attest to the mobility and breadth of Nuu-chah-nulth kinship and exchange networks. Ornamental and other trade goods, whether obtained directly or indirectly, enhanced the prestige of specific Nuu-chah-nulth family groups and their heads. With new opportunities for wealth, some of these lineage heads were able to levy pre-existing power in order to influence the flow of material goods across the region. The best documented of these individuals include Legaix on the North Coast (Martindale 2009), Maquinna in Nootka Sound (Clayton 2000), and Wickaninnish in Clayoquot Sound (noted in Meares 1967[1791]; see also McMillan 1999:181; Clayton 2000). While Ken Ames (1995), in his analysis of social inequity on the Northwest Coast, states that local leaders would not have had authoritarian control over trade, accounts of trade in the mid-nineteenth century record lineage heads as strong economic middlemen, at the very least. As Martindale (2009) has argued, these charismatic organizers may be a product of the contact period, but they effected control over the distribution of new wealth during the Maritime Fur Trade. Yet, Barkley Sound in these early decades may diverge from these descriptions. Meares (1967 [1791]:119-120) only describes 'common barter', or ceremonial exchange indistinguishable from trade, "according to the distinct value of the articles exchanged, the whole of our mercantile dealings was carried on by making reciprocal presents". He later notes that in Barkley Sound, no chiefly presence accompanied traders, unlike at Nootka or Clayoquot Sounds (1967[1791]). This discrepancy could be due to Barkley Sound's position as a subsidiary of Clayoquot Sound at this time.

Whether through common barter or chiefly gift exchange, Nuu-chah-nulth and European groups followed specific trading procedures, in order to ensure fair dealings and economic stability. Local 'chiefs', as the traders interpreted lineage heads, were stable points of access for Europeans to tap into local trade. Isolating and developing relationships with these figures was part of a colonial ritual of exchange that allowed a platform for communication with First Nations during trading and exploratory voyages,

imbuing each instance of contact with a sense of regularity and procedure. Similarly, the establishment of permanent forts at Nootka Sound by both the Spanish and British defined centre-points for new exchange routes that overlapped and merged with local networks[8].

This constructed narrative of exchange was not without its confusion, however (see Thomas 1996:37-38). Conflict was frequent as systems of property were negotiated, between local notions of hereditary rights wherein 'every blade of grass was accounted for' (Cook 1992:585) and foreign ones of ledgers, ship stores and common law. This conflict was most apparent in Jewitt's narrative of the taking of the ship *Boston* in 1803, Maquinna's violent response to foreign traders, and a demonstration of sovereign and economic power over the burgeoning trade.

The irregularity of the trade extended to the products desired by the Nuu-chah-nulth, described by those engaged as "fickle" and variable among groups (Archibald Menzies in Galois 2004:60). In spite of this uncertainty, though, traders made predictions and estimations of economic trends with a mind for future profit. Whatever differences and miscommunications erupted over the course of exchange, trade continued unabated. Furs acquired from the Nuu-chah-nulth were transferred into Chinese silk, porcelain, and tea for distribution among the ports of United States and Europe, generating considerable wealth and establishing a foreign presence on the Northwest Coast. This presence set the stage for the Hudson's Bay Company and eventually colonial authority.

With only a ferrous square from T'ukw'aa and the abalone ornaments, a copper tinkler from the George Fraser Islands, and possibly several ornamental copper items from the lowest historic levels at Hiikwis and the T'ukw'aa defensive site, we can't really explore the idiosyncrasies of early period exchange in Barkley Sound, but these pieces do allow us to merge historical and archaeological data in broad terms. From the historical records, it is easy to characterize these goods as strictly prestige items. Even seemingly functional goods like iron blanks and firearms can be viewed as objects

[8] See Harris 1997 for a description of this re-centering phenomenon around Hudson's Bay Company posts in the interior of British Columbia.

symbolic of new trading connections, superfluous to daily material culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth. Yet, we should not understate the importance of these goods, trinket or otherwise. Small and decorative as they may have been, they represented more than decorative trifles or bric-a-brac. Entirely new classes of goods were integrated into local systems of trade and manufacture in these years, and although the scale of trade was relatively small and usage restricted, the Maritime Fur Trade engendered a familiarity with foreign goods that would set the stage for incorporation at a larger scale several generations later.

5.2.2.   Disease, Amalgamation, and Warfare

The introduction of European material culture was only one aspect of broader social change in post-contact Nuu-chah-nulth communities. An economic transition from local to foreign manufactures predicated a turn towards new distribution centres such as Alberni, Ucluelet, and Victoria, but was preceded by distinct episodes of disease, political amalgamation, and warfare. The villages of Barkley Sound experienced these long before the "late-period" influx of glass, metal, and ceramics that figure heavily in a strictly archaeological interpretation.

Although data for Barkley Sound is sparse, measles, dysentery, and smallpox swept through communities several times throughout the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[9] At the time of contact, population estimates for the west coast of Vancouver Island range from Meares' initial (1791) estimate of 30,000 to Boyd's (1991) more conservative revision of 10,000. This would have been a population already devastated by disease, however. Smallpox was present by at least 1791 in Diditaht territory (Howay 1941). Measles affected northern Nuu-chah-nulth as well as Makah groups on the Olympic peninsula in the 1840's. A major smallpox epidemic in 1875 reduced the Nuu-chah-nulth by an estimated 33%, from 4,850 to 3,256 in 1882 (Boyd 1999:304). Venereal diseases such as syphilis also took a significant toll through death and infertility (McMillan 1999:192). By the time reserve allocation and census data were available, groups such as the Toquaht were reduced to mere dozens of individuals.

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[9] This discussion follows McMillan (1999), which offers a comprehensive description of disease in Nuu-chah-nulth territory.

The drastic reductions spurred movement across territories. Arima recorded the following account of disease from Huu-ay-aht Chief Louis Nookmis[10] longer narrative of the Kiix7in attacks and the Long War (1991:212),

> "Then came a ship which entered harbour at N'aqowis, right across from Bamfield. […] They looked down the hatch, the Ohiahts [Huu-ay-aht], and they saw that there was something wrong with many of the Whitemen, the sailors, for they were all groaning […] The Whitemen had smallpox sickness. I think the ship came from San Francisco.

> […] From two thousand persons, just 80 families survived […]

> Many died over the next six months. My grandfather moved to a mountain at Sarita Lake. By doing so he did not catch the smallpox sickness there. He quickly moved far away, taking along his family, his children, and by doing that he remained alive."

However, beyond escaping the immediate effects of contagion, this continual demographic depression, according to St. Claire (1991), spurred large-scale amalgamations of local groups.[11] This is a process that occurred across the coast, along with a general transition of outside groups towards inside territories (St. Claire 1991:81; McMillan 1999:202). The current groups in Barkley Sound are the result of this contraction of local groups and their resources, although the Toquaht do not appear to have undergone amalgamations as did the Tseshaht and Ucluelet (McMillan 1999).

The villages that were once semi-permanent local group residences, like Hiikwis for the *Nash7as7ath*, were now part of a seasonal round that developed by the historic period in order to utilize new, broad territories (St. Claire 1991). This system accommodated the combined near and off-shore resources such as herring, seal, mussel, clam, and salmon of previously autonomous local groups. The Tseshaht, for example, incorporated villages from the outer fringe of the Broken Group, to herring at Hiikwis, and the salmon run of the Somass, one of three major runs in Barkley Sound. This new round would have accommodated European resources in much the same manner. As Inglis and Haggarty argue for Nootka Sound (2000), traditional resource

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[10] This was initially recorded as Louis Clamhouse's narrative, but it is more likely Louis Nookmis' (McMillan personal communication 2013).

[11] See also Richard Inglis and James Haggarty (2000) for a description of amalgamation and political restructuring for Nootka Sound during the Maritime Fur Trade

extraction shifted to accommodate new European sources of wealth, and villages near European settlements such as Alberni would have increased in importance after the end of the fur trade.

By the 1820s, the west coast sea otter stocks that sustained the Maritime Fur Trade had been depleted, and traders shifted their focus to the relatively more plentiful mainland (Drucker 1951). By this time the amalgamated groups had roughly taken their ethnographic form (McMillan 1999, 2009; McMillan and St. Claire 2005) large groups such as the Tseshaht absorbed smaller local groups and their traditional territories (St. Claire 1991:84). After the relatively peaceful Tseshaht amalgamations, a major conflict occurred among the groups of Barkley Sound, recorded in interviews by Sapir and Swadesh (1955). McMillan (1999) estimates that this conflict occurred in the 1840s, after trade had shifted north to Forts Rupert and McGloughlin and around the time Fort Victoria was founded.

The details of the Long War are complex, involving negotiations of property among the Tseshaht, Toquaht, Ucluelet, Huu-ay-aht, and Tla-o-qui-aht [12]. In short, the Toquaht contested land in Effingham Inlet. After a time, the Toquaht were reduced to a fraction of their former power. However, their allies the Tla-o-qui-aht and Ucluelet entered the dispute and took Effingham Inlet entirely. Soon after, property dispute drove a rift between the Tla-o-qui-aht and Toquaht, pushing the Toquaht to ally with the amalgamated Tseshaht of the Broken Group and the Huu-ay-aht of the far side of the sound. After a period of intermittent conflict between the Ucluelet and Toquaht, the Toquaht fled, but eventually returned to Ma'acoah and merged with the Ucluelet. It was not the last disjuncture with the Ucluelet, though. A proposed assassination of a Toquaht chief split the much reduced Toquaht from the Ucluelet yet again, forcing them to move farther up the sound to Ma'acoah (McMillan and St. Claire 1991).

The case of the Toquaht in the Long War is not unique. The ethnographic literature documents brief occupations of several sites. During the Long War, the Ucluelet occupied Hiikwis, before it was retaken by the amalgamated Tseshaht. (Sapir and Swadesh 1955). The Huuy-ay-aht were forced to retreat up the Sarita River after a

12 See McMillan's Since the Time of the Transformers for a summary (1999:194).

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Klallam attack on their village at Kii7xin around the time of the Long War (Sapir and Swadesh 1955). Their village at the mouth of the Sarita River was occupied by the Tseshaht and Toquaht during their 30 year absence (Arima 1991).

5.2.3.   The Late Period

The decline of the Vancouver Island sea otter population and the shift of the fur trade to Hudson's Bay Posts at Forts Rupert, Simpson and McGloughlin meant fewer passing European vessels in Barkley Sound (Drucker 1951). The bulk of the late period assemblage dates to after 1880, by which time Alberni, Victoria, and a number of trade stores were long established. The gap in contact between the end of the fur trade and European settlement and the late-period assemblage is one that has perhaps been missed in this analysis, though. Differentiating between this and the Early Period is difficult, as the deposition of European manufactures in Nuu-chah-nulth sites may not have differed greatly between these two periods.

Even if it is archaeologically ephemeral, this caesura is the crux of Drucker's (1951) and my own chronology, between early and late periods. Cairn Crockford's analysis of Nuu-chah-nulth fur sealing (1996) divides the economic history of the Nuu-chah-nulth in much the same manner (Figure 5.3). Her research specifically distinguishes the Nuu-chah-nulth economy of the Maritime Fur Trade from that of late-nineteenth century markets. As European goods and wage labour became reliable forms of income for local groups in the late nineteenth century, a locally controlled economy shifted into one oriented towards regional markets in new European settlement. This redirection, along with wage labour, marks an important shift in how European goods entered Nuu-chah-nulth material culture.

Vancouver Island Commodities Markets 1790's

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┌─────────────────────────┐
│        Producer         │
└─────────────────────────┘
             │
             ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│      Local Market       │
│    (trading vessels)    │
└─────────────────────────┘
             │
             ▼
┌─────────────────────────┐
│   International Market   │
│        (Canton)         │
└─────────────────────────┘
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Vancouver Island Commodities Markets 1860's

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        ┌─────────────────────────┐
        │        Producer         │
        └─────────────────────────┘
          ╱                    ╲
         ▼                      ▼
┌────────────────────┐   ┌─────────────────────────┐
│    Local Market    │   │     Regional Market     │
│  (trading vessels) │   │   (Victoria, Neah Bay)  │
└────────────────────┘   └─────────────────────────┘
                                      │
                                      ▼
                         ┌─────────────────────────┐
                         │   International Market   │
                         └─────────────────────────┘
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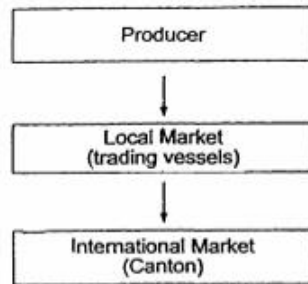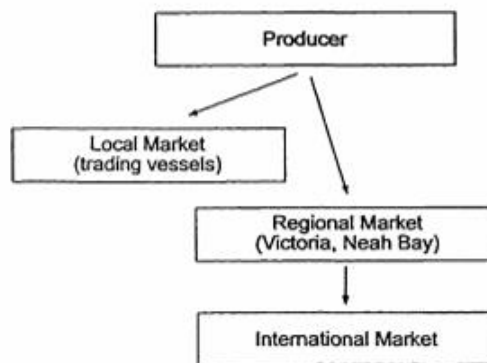
***Figure 5.3   Trading Patterns through the Nineteenth Century on Vancouver
Island***

(Courtesy of Cairn Crockford 1991:39)

By the 1850s, interaction with nearby Fort Victoria was becoming more frequent, if still sporadic. Concurrently, structures of colonial power were beginning to crystallize, and Britain was asserting a formal authority over the peoples of Vancouver Island. As reported by James Douglas, then with the Hudson's Bay Company,

> "The first intelligence concerning the visits of American vessels to Vancouver's Island, was received through the Natives, of "Barclay's sound," who mentioned that an American vessel had been trading with them, and fishing on that part of the coast.
>
> This occurred in the summer of 1851, before my appointment, as Governor. The following year 1852, we had intelligence through the same means, of encroachments, on a more extensive scale, which I reported in my letter of the 9th December 1852. One of the vessels engaged in that traffic was wrecked on the north west coast of Vancouver's Island, in the course of the same year, and the natives

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took possession of the wreck and cargo, consisting, as reported of fire arms, manufactured Goods and Spirits. The crew escaped in the ships boats, and were not molested by the natives." (James Douglas Despatch to London, 4063, CO 305/5, Colonial Despatches, University of Victoria, Victoria)

Incidents such as this had precedent in the Maritime Fur Trade. The taking of the Boston by Maquinna in 1803 (Jewitt 1996) was one of many violent retaliations against theft by early traders[13], but these reactions were now formalized through the bureaucracy of the Colony of Vancouver Island[14]. In 1859, the U.S. Merchant Brig *Swiss Boy* wrecked in Barkley Sound, and was "plundered" by a local group. Governor James Douglas reported,

> "It will be seen that the cargo of the "Swiss Boy"; Timber, remained untouched on board the vessel at the time of the "Satellite's" visit, and that the property stolen by the natives consisting mainly of the personal effects of the Master and crew, was recovered by Captain Prevost, and there being no person authorized to take possession of it, was placed in a hut, under the charge of one of the Chiefs where, I have no doubt it will remain undisturbed for any length of time." (Despatch to London, 4812, CO 305/10, Colonial Despatches, University of Victoria, Victoria.)

The Huu-ay-aht who boarded the ship initially claimed the wreck as their own (Gough 1984). This claim was appropriate considering float rights for whales and other desirable drift materials were well recognized territorial rights of Nuu-chah-nulth chiefs (Drucker 1951). Another incident, several years later, did not end so peaceably. "In 1864, the armed steam sloop Devastation was sent to Barkley Sound to investigate the murder of the white and Indian crew of the trading schooner Kingfisher." (Knight 1996:51)[15]

Nuu-chah-nulth near the new settlement of Alberni were also subject to new forms of European encroachment. By the 1860's, the Tseshaht had moved their primary winter residence to the Somass River, at the upper end of Alberni Inlet. This area was

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[13] See Inglis and Haggarty (2000) for a description of retaliatory traders in Nootka Sound during the early Maritime Fur Trade.

[14] See Gough 1984 for a discussion of the British Navy and the enforcement of British Law on Vancouver Island.

15 The Cape Beale lighthouse was erected in 1874, along with a Lifesaving trail in 1906 along a telegraph line originally built in 1891, now the West Coast Trail, in order to minimize the danger of wrecking in Barkley Sound, "The Graveyard of the Pacific". (Scott 1972)

selected by Gilbert Malcom Sproat as the location for a new sawmill. Upon arriving in what would become Alberni, Sproat met with the "Chief of the sheshahts" (1868:2) on what was then the primary Tseshaht village. The Tseshaht were unwilling to cede village land to Sproat at first. However, Sproat records that after a demonstration of military force, their village was relocated nearby and their labour was enlisted to build and staff his new sawmill (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4   Stamp Mill at Port Alberni

(Courtesy Royal Museum of British Columbia, RBCM A-04513 1861)

The new settlement attracted Nuu-chah-nulth from across the coast, particularly the Tseshaht and Hupacasath (Sproat 1868:26). A visitor to the Alberni mill remarked that "two hundred workmen representing a dozen nationalities, and, including among the number, Kanakas from the Sandwich Islands, and Indians and half-breeds of many tribes — were busily engaged in the mill and neighborhood" (Whymper in Lutz 2008:40) According to Lutz, the mill employed over 100 aboriginal workers, over half of its workforce (Lutz 2008:181).

The wage labour available at Alberni was at odds with an economic system that was previously controlled by the heads of local groups. Crockford (1991: 33) writes that

Ditidaht chiefs organized the exchange of goods between 500 Ditidaht and the local trader, physically mediating the trade in all cases. Sproat, in his limited view of the state of Barkley Sound, remarked that the Nuu-chah-nulth "worked occasionally as labourers, and with their wages bought new blankets and planks for their houses..." (1868:277-278) The mill manager remarked on the wages offered Nuu-chah-nulth, "When I first employed Indians at Alberni, the price of their labour was two blankets and rations of bisquits and molasses for a month's work for each man, if he worked the whole time." (in Lutz 2008:181) From these brief descriptions, it is uncertain to what extent chiefly power mediated wage labour. However, the ways in which goods were entering the community seems to have shifted considerably from the locally controlled trade networks of the Maritime Fur Trade.

Sproat's close interaction with the Barkley Sound Nuu-chah-nulth through the saw mill inspired him to write an ethnography of sorts on the peoples at Alberni, whom he called "the Aht". *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life* (Sproat 1868) is a conflicted expression of curiosity and racial prejudice, remarking upon Nuu-chah-nulth "Vindictiveness—Coldbloodedness—[…]Habitual Suspicion…" and even going so far as to outline the best way to disable a Nuu-chah-nulth man, but these racist descriptions sit aside more critical passages, questions of whether Indigenous proximity to Europeans degraded Nuu-chah-nulth culture (1868:278).[16]

His observations on trade and material culture are particularly interesting. In the early 1860s, he states, "Few of these natives have visited Victoria; and their condition, in fact, as already stated, is comparatively unknown to Americans as well as to Europeans. The Aht district lies quite out of the ordinary route of travellers, and can be reached conveniently only by engaging a vessel at Victoria" (Sproat 1868:18). This statement exaggerates the isolation of Barkley Sound and the Nuu-chah-nulth, as they were certainly familiar with negotiating with British and American traders by 1860, but it is possible that Victoria was not yet a major presence in Barkley Sound, as it would be later.

16 His conflicted discussions on the nature of cultural change foreshadow his later work allocating reserves across British Columbia. Douglas Harris, in *Landing Native Fisheries* (2008), explores this portion of his career in more detail.

His work specifically mentions the skill and means by which many Nuu-chah-nulth engaged in the trade of local and foreign manufactures,

> "Commodities are obtained among the Ahts from one another by bartering slaves, canoes, and articles of food, clothing, or ornament; and from the colonists by ex-changing oil, fish, skins, and furs. All the natives are acute, and rather too sharp at bargaining. The Aht are fond of a long conversation in selling, but seldom reduce their price; living at no expense, they can afford to keep their stock of goods a long time on hand. I have known an Indian keep a sea-otter's skin more than three years, though offered repeatedly a fair price for it. News about prices, and indeed about anything in which the natives take an interest, travels quickly to distant places from one tribe to another. If a trading schooner appeared at one point on the shore, and offered higher prices than are usually given, the Indians would know the fact immediately along the whole coast. An active trade existed formerly among the tribes of this nation, as also between them and the tribes at the south of the island and on the American shore. The root called gammass [camas], for instance, and swamp rushes for making mats, neither of which could be plentifully produced on the west coast, were sent from the south of the island in exchange for cedar-bark baskets, dried halibut, and herrings. The coasting intertribal trade is not free, but is arbitrarily controlled by the stronger tribes, who will not allow weaker tribes to go past them in search of customers." (Sproat 1868:79)

This is certainly a time of transition and experimentation in new forms of wealth for the Tseshaht and other local Nuu-chah-nulth, at Alberni and in the villages in Barkley Sound. Occupation of village sites during this time was seasonal. As Henry Guillod notes in 1870 (1870:33), "Alberni is the winter residence for the Seshahts [Tseshaht] and Opetchesahts [Hupacasath] who are away 8 months of a year at Barclay Sound where they are employed making dogfish oil for various traders. Ascot, on a distant sawmill co. Farm, is the only civilized neighbor." Later (1870:50), he states that "Barclay Sound Indians are spread out during the year, except 2 or 4 months in the winter time. In the spring- they are at every creek or inlet catching dog fish for oil, and herrings for food. In the summer they move to coastal villages to hunt seals for trade." This brief seasonal residence at each site is countered by the new availability of goods at trade stores and in Alberni. Sites such as Hiikwis, which were only seasonally occupied in the 1870s, show a large deposition of European manufactures in the late nineteenth century.

By the 1860s, non-Nuu-chah-nulth settlement in Barkley Sound itself began with the construction of several trade stores at Ecoole, Ucluelet, Spring Cove, Dodger Cove, Copper Island, and Gilbert Island (Scott 1972). Reports from Indian Agent Guillod report "many new trading posts have opened up in Barclay Sound, offering material advantages which Indians could not find in Alberni" (1870:25). In an interview with Bruce Scott, James McKay recalled the store his family ran on Hand Island in 1901 catering to Sechart, Village Island, Dodger Cove, Nettle Island, and Turret Island (Haggarty and Inglis 1986:77) Hand Island is across a small channel from Hiikwis (marked as "Sechart Village" in Figure 5.5), and would have been a direct source of goods for that village at the beginning of the twentieth century. A test excavation at an earlier trade store on Gilbert Island during the summer of 2011 revealed no historic materials at the location indicated by the reserve allocation map. However, the location is now a popular campground within the Pacific Rim National Park, and the uppermost materials have possibly been scavenged or swept clean by visitors.

Figure 5.5   Hand Island and "Sechart Village"

Note: This map is adapted from Captain Richards 1861 Hydrographic Survey of the region
        (Figure 1.1).

The bulk of the glass, metal, and ceramic artifacts we find at T'ukw'aa, Ch'uumaat'a, Hiikwis, and Uukwatis, and Ma'acoah would have come from these trade stores, Alberni, or Victoria. The appearance of these new stores coincided with wage labour and other new fisheries industries, bringing a suite of goods to the Sound that was previously inaccessible. In 1874 (16), George Blenkinsop noted "20,000 dollars

worth of property at invoice prices having been paid out to the natives of barkley sound" in the sealing trade. From the archaeological assemblage, it is clear that this property included refined-earthenware cups, saucers, bowls and plates (see Chapter 3.2.3); bottle glass (see Chapter 3.2.1); stove parts, wire and machined nails (see Chapter 3.2.2); and lamps, clocks, and ammunition (see Chapter 3.2.4).

The creative reuse that characterized the Early Period assemblage did not stop with this influx, however. The late period assemblage contains a reworked lance, pierced thimbles, ground ceramic sherds, a gamepiece, and flaked glass (see Chapter 3.3). Chapter 4 outlines the continued use of Aboriginal manufactures such as bone points and abrasive stones through this influx. These modified European materials and late-ninteenth century Indigenous manufactures attest to continued, entirely Nuu-chah-nulth material culture in spite of the addition of new material types and forms. This continuity of Indigenous material culture is attested in Eastern North America (Hammel 1983), and the acceptance of foreign material culture as the following of cosmological predispositions for certain artifact classes.

Until the nineteenth century, it appears that European manufactures were used in limited and specific ways, primarily for ornament. This restricted use changed during the 1860s. With European settlement in Fort Victoria, and the establishment of a number of trading posts on the coast, European manufactures were more widely available than in previous decades. The "Late-Period Assemblage" is firmly dated to the last two decades of the nineteenth century, and it comes en masse to the villages of Barkley Sound, some seventy years after the first European goods were used in Nuu-chah-nulth villages. Glass, ceramics, and metal in a number of forms filtered through Nuu-chah-nulth communities through wage labour and trade stores. While this material shift was considerable, nothing was replaced immediately or entirely, though. As I argued earlier, new muskets did not replace the bow and arrow or lance, and new percussion caps did not replace flintlock designs. These were merely incorporations into an existing toolkit.

European resource extraction picked up dramatically in the 1870s, extending well beyond the sawmill at Alberni. Fisheries during this period were dominated by Aboriginal workers, followed closely by Chinese workers (Lutz 2008:186). Cannery work would have employed entire Nuu-chah-nulth families (Lutz 2008:186), unlike other

fisheries occupations. Cannery workers in 1881, such as those working at Ecoole in Barkley Sound, averaged 50-60 dollars a month according to Lutz (2008:187). In three months of work, canning rivaled the annual wages of a tradesman, while allowing workers to shift to other subsistence or wage work in the off-season (Lutz 2008:187).

Dogfish oil was another primary resource extraction industry for the Nuu-chah-nulth. James Douglas, writing to the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in August of 1855, estimated that some ten thousand gallons of dogfish oil and some whale oil had been acquired from Nuu-chah-nulth groups the previous year, through a small number of non-indigenous intermediaries living in the area (Pethick 1968:124). Knight (1996) describes,

> "While not exactly a cottage industry, an early enterprise was the production of dog fish oil. This seems to have been fairly important to groups on the West Coast of Vancouver Island from the 1850s until their incorporation in the sealing trade in the late 1870s and on. After catching the dogfish, their carcasses were rendered by simple boiling in large open kettles."

Knight (1996:99-100) estimates that Nuu-chah-nulth workers each made four to six dollars a day when collecting dogfish oil during this period. How or if individual wages such as this were disbursed is uncertain, however. Crockford (1991:37) believes the organizational scheme of the dogfish oil industry was set long before contact, where large scale labour organization and mass processing of seasonal salmon and herring runs were necessary. This shifted, she argues, with the advent of wage labour such as pelagic fur-sealing, outside the traditional territories and control of lineage heads.

The dogfish oil industry was eventually supplemented by fur-sealing for the Nuu-chah-nulth. Shore-based fur-sealing had been common on Nuu-chah-nulth sites after the return of seals to Barkley Sound, after a generation "lay-off" in the 1850's (Crockford 1991:44) Traditional sealing locations, such as T'ukw'aa and Ch'uuma'ta would have been important in the resumed trade. Rates and returns on this hunting were inconsistent, however. Crockford (1991:68-69) notes that extremely high rates for skins were bringing Barkley Sound hunters into the regional economy in the 1870s. Yet by 1875, shore-based hunting disappeared again, pushing workers into the off-shore, pelagic seal hunt dominated by white-owned schooners.

Large-scale fur sealing began in 1866, when Hugh McKay began taking canoes and aboriginal hunters offshore (see Lutz 2008; Knight 1996:136). His fleet expanded from a single trading schooner to seven vessels by the 1880s. As Crockford (1991:70) notes, while shore-based sealers had a choice of selling either to trade stores or regional markets, schooner-based hunters could only sell directly to the owner, McKay for example. Importantly, the wages paid during this pelagic fur sealing were disbursed in trade goods. Blenkinsop records that

> "Three thousand skins were purchased from Barkley Sound hunters for over $520,000 of trade goods at invoice prices, an average of over six dollars per skin. As Victoria prices in the 1870s averaged between $3.00 and $4.00 per skin ($4.50 for a large skin), I interpret this to mean that the prices paid on the coast were considerably higher than those paid in Victoria and thus local traders took a substantial loss." (Blenkinsop 16 in Crockford 1991)

This is a very important distinction. It implies that much of the material found in the village sites of Barkley Sound would have come from local traders, rather than direct trade with Victoria.

The fur-sealing industry was a crucial turning point in the economic history of Barkley Sound, marking a transition between resources controlled by Nuu-chah-nulth household heads and European style wage labour. The Nuu-chah-nulth were uniquely wealthy among the First Nations of Vancouver Island, making upwards of 1,000 dollars a years in the 1870s (Lutz 2008:189). Fur sealing, logging, canning, and other local industries were supplemented by new opportunities for wage labour further afield. The hop-fields of Snoqualmie and western Washington employed many Nuu-chah-nulth people (Raibmon 2005), drawing Nuu-chah-nulth for long periods of seasonal labour and bringing in new wealth in new ways. Yet, traditional resources still loomed large in the Nuu-chah-nulth calendar. Henry Guillod, Indian Agent for the Nuu-chah-nulth in 1881, described the seasonal round during this period,

> "In the month of June, or as soon as sealing is over, they begin to travel, some to potlatches, some to Victoria, New Westminster or the American side for goods or work; others are scattered along the coast fishing until it is time to get their winter supply of dry salmon up the rivers; this secured, they settle at their villages in November." (Guillod in Lutz 2008:188-189)

The incorporation of wage labour in the Nuu-chah-nulth seasonal round parallels the introduction of European goods into a local material culture. New opportunities of wealth are tempered by the continued value of traditional forms such as the seasonal harvesting of salmon for preservation over the winter months.

Missions represented another impetus of material change in Barkley Sound in the late-nineteenth century, although perhaps less than one might gather from the correspondence of the missionaries themselves. Father Brabant, having established a successful Roman Catholic mission at Hesquiaht, oversaw the construction of St. Leo's mission at Numukamis, in Huu-ay-aht territory in 1877. In his *Reminiscences of the West Coast*, he describes his attempt, "One of them got up and made a speech. My guides told me that he was insulting us and objected to our landing; that they wanted no priest and could take care of themselves without the help of the white men." The Huu-ay-aht eventually acquiesced, but it was not a longstanding arrangement. References to the mission after this are scant, and an interview with John McKay reveals that it folded soon after its construction (Haggarty and Inglis 1986). Excavations at this site are ongoing, as a part of a Bamfield Marine Science Centre archaeological field school. No evidence of the small structure built there has yet been found.

As Sproat (1868) described in the 1860s, missions in Alberni encouraged the "fad" of European-style housing, and mill-workers were sometimes paid in lumber to augment their village housing. Drucker similarly marks architectural change around this period. The village of Cleho (*Tl'iḫuuwa*), located on the Southeast tip of Nettle Island, on Tseshaht Reserve 6, is the best example of this shift for Barkley Sound[17]. The houses at Cleho were constructed on pilings over the high-tide line (Figure 3.11) and would have only had room for small-family units, unlike the large traditional residences seen at Hiikwis. Uukwatis appears to have had similar structures in this late period (see Chapter 4.6).

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[17] Cleho today has two maintained cabins that the Tseshaht use through the year. Their use was kindly offered to us for the duration of our field seasons on the Tseshaht Archaeological Project, from 2008-2011. The midden (DfSh-5) is of an unknown depth, but is fairly considerable, with quite a number of historic materials scattered across the surface. The Pacific Rim Project collected some of this material during their survey of the Broken Group. This collection, which is housed at the RBCM, has only been included as a basis for comparison for ceramics.

Figure 5.6   Cabins at Cleho in 2008

As the twentieth century arrived, and the market economy had taken hold at a sub-community level, a much broader array of goods from shops in Victoria and elsewhere became accessible through increased steamer traffic. Bamfield, Ucluelet, and Tofino all attracted new settlement in the first decades of the twentieth century. Yet, internal trade networks persisted. At the turn of the century, Sapir and Swadesh record beads being traded directly for oil (possibly eulachon) from northern groups (Appendix A). This internal trade is an important indicator of the continued Indigenous trade networks that overlaid and intertwined with Euro-Canadian routes.

The first decade of the twentieth century also brought another industry to Barkley Sound: whaling, the famous traditional occupation of Nuu-chah-nulth groups. In 1999, an archaeological inventory was done by John Dewhirst for the Sechart Lodge, along Sechart Channel on the mainland shore immediately north of Nettle Island and east of Hiikwis. Site DfSh-13, Mussel-Edge-Beach, was reported to have been a camp for Tseshaht whalers (Sapir and Swadesh 1955). By 1904, the site had failed as an iron claim, and was transferred to the Pacific Whaling Company. This company operated a large processing facility on the property (Figure 5.7). Dewhirst's (1999) discussions with Tseshaht elders have confirmed that Tseshaht men stayed in the "aboriginal housing"

nearby. Following the collapse of the whale populations in the area by 1917, the plant was converted into a pilchard reduction station, which operated until the start of World War Two (Dewhirst 1999:10). Industrial whaling opportunities were short lived for Nuu-chah-nulth workers, however. The base did hire local Nuu-chah-nulth in flensing jobs, but only until 1914. It was perhaps only a minor part of the broader Nuu-chah-nulth economy, marking the increasing presence of industry in Barkley Sound that did not involve Nuu-chah-nulth labour. As Richard Webb describes,

> "No Indian crewman ever seems to have worked aboard these vessels, although some Indian labour was initially employed at some of the shore bases. The Victoria Whaling Co. employed some Nootka shoreworkers around its base at Sechart, on Barkley Sound. Such whaling bases were where the flensing took place, the blubber converted into oil and the meat and bone processed into bone meal in the attached reduction plant. Local Indians comprised a proportion of the shoreworkers at Sechart in 1908 but apparently had been replaced by1914." (1988: 204-206)

Figure 5.7   Sechart Whaling Station

(Courtesy Royal Museum of British Columbia RMBC A-06130 1900-1910)

Increased steamer traffic followed new settlement in Barkley Sound and across the west coast of the Island. Indeed, demand was so great that a railway stretching from Victoria to Bamfield was proposed and seriously considered. A 1909 advertisement for

development of Vancouver Island marks this potential railway, along with the short-lived iron mine at Sechart. The Nuu-chah-nulth are conspicuously absent from this representation. All the while, however, pre-existing Indigenous trade networks stretched from Barkley Sound well along the coast and into the interior of the mainland (see Appendix A). New items would have been acquired through all of these means, and contributed to a new economic system, which although initially controlled by the sale of their own resources and labour, eventually drew in the entirety of the global economy, marginalizing First Nations as it provided new material opportunities. Fur sealing, whale flensing, canning, hop-picking and dogfish rendering were all very profitable enterprises, but all were subject to sharp and unpredictable declines. Fur Sealing was disallowed by the Pelagic Sealing Treaty of 1911, but according to Inspector of Indian Agencies W.E. Ditchburn,

"During the summer months these Indians [the Nuu-chah-nulth] earn considerable money by fishing and working at the canneries at Rivers Inlet, Clayoquot, Howchucklesit and the Fraser River where they remain until the middle of August, and, then proceed to the hop fields at Chilliwack, Agassiz, and in the neighboring state of Washington." (1913:322)

The villages of Barkley Sound required a range of income streams, to protect against such resource failures. Community stability and traditional territories and resources remained important, even as populations shifted to Ucluelet and Alberni.
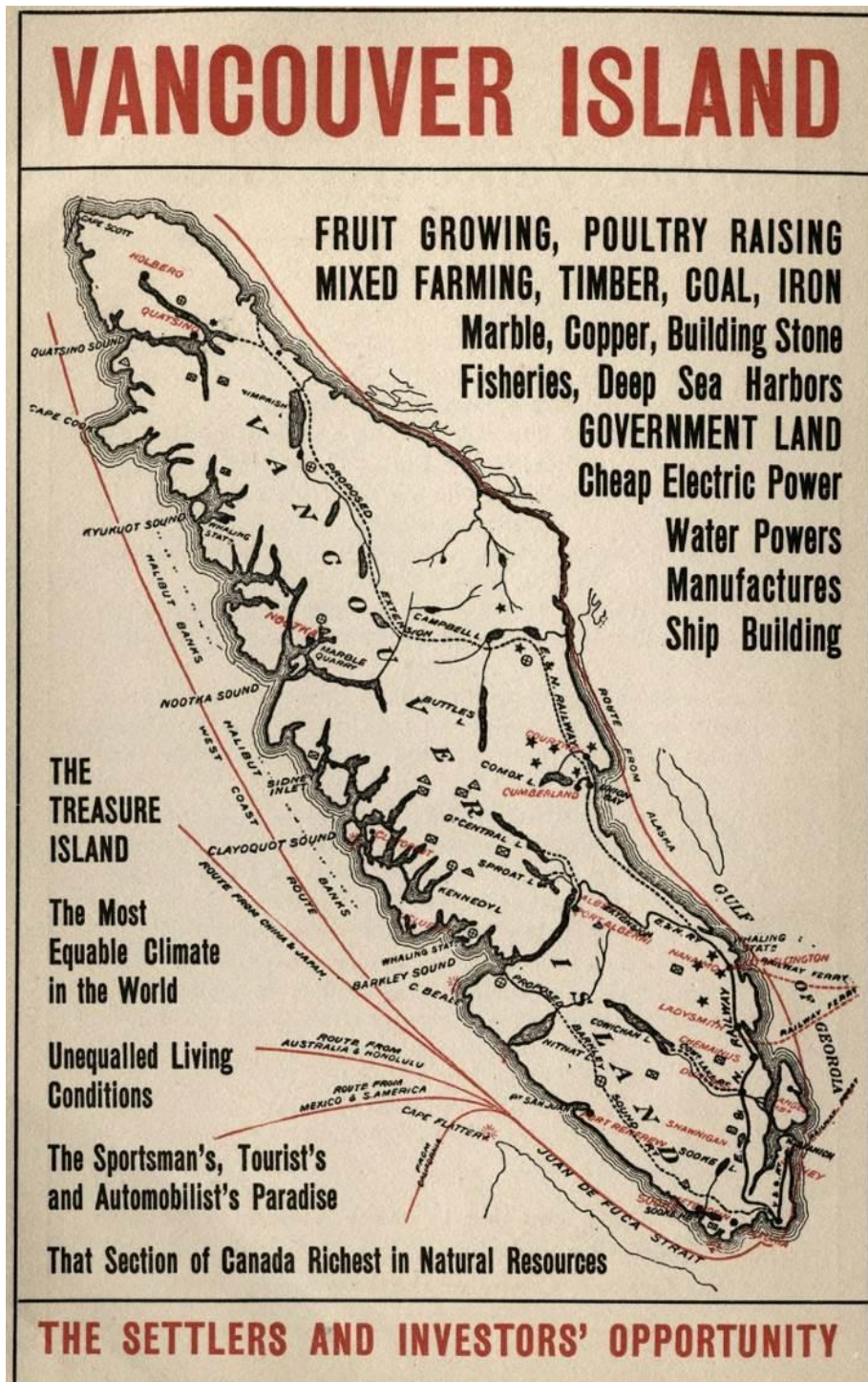
Figure 5.8   ***"Vancouver Island: the Settlers and Investor's Opportunity"***

(Vancouver Island Development League. Victoria Branch 1909)

Many Nuu-chah-nulth continue to incorporate the annual salmon runs into a routine controlled by wage labour. The Nuu-chah-nulth in Barkley Sound continue negotiation for their lands and resources, their authenticity questioned in schemes of fluorescence and degradation. In 1868, Sproat prophesied the disappearance of Nuu-chah-nulth culture,

> "Now, as no authority nor law could prevent the peaceful, though determined, progress of these intruding settlers, after having gained a footing, they must, in all cases, be permitted to spread and cover the surface of the country, according to their increase and characteristics. Roads, fields, villages, towns will appear. And the savage—who all the time may have been kindly treated—will disappear." (281)

But yet, the Nuu-chah-nulth continue in the Barkley Sound area, despite Sproat's and others' predictions of cultural destruction by way of natural progress and colonial authority. The recent Maa-nulth treaty, which includes the Toquaht, was one direct means of challenging the rights of Canadian government on traditional Nuu-chah-nulth land. A 2009 BC Supreme Court decision acknowledged Nuu-chah-nulth rights to commercial fisheries, based on evidence for pre-existing aboriginal fishing and contemporary necessity.[18] Additionally, the Idle-No-More movement across Canada is another means of countering centuries of confused and misguided colonial policy. The lands and resources of the Nuu-chah-nulth are still contested, and as ever, groups such as the Tseshaht and Toquaht are carefully controlling their legacy in Barkley Sound.

These contemporary struggles to define Nuu-chah-nulth rights on their traditional land and for their traditional resources exemplify a continued Nuu-chah-nulth culture, unique by way of its history on the west coast of Vancouver Island. Colonialism effected major shifts in societal organization through new industry, wage labour, potlatch bans, fisheries regulations, disease, political restructuring, and mass-produced manufactures. These shifts came in waves, contributing to the episodic understanding of acculturation I discussed in my introductory chapter.

[18] This is especially important when regarding Drucker's outline at the beginning of this chapter, regarding the effects of reserve allocation on the Nuu-chah-nulth. Drucker considered reserves on the Coast to be fishing stations. Douglas Harris (2008) explores how fishing rights once associated with reserve land in British Columbia have eroded over the course of the twentieth century.

These major periods, early and late as I have deemed them for Barkley Sound, reflect a real division in Nuu-chah-nulth material culture. The early period is quite ephemeral, with only a handful of likely artifacts found on sites with known occupations during this period. Artifacts from this period may have been quickly exported across the coast and interior, but their absence may also reflect the small quantity of goods exchanged during this period. What was found is ornamental in form. Ornaments continue to be a major class through the late period, but with the addition of a suite of ceramic, glass, and metal artifact types in the late nineteenth century. This corresponds with European settlement, wage labour, improved manufacturing techniques, and more efficient transportation.

The late period shift may seem dramatic. It does indeed match Drucker and Fisher's (1977) predictions for increased 'acculturation' in the late nineteenth-century. However, it comes only after several generations of contact with Europeans and does not obscure the long and residual Nuu-chah-nulth material history that informs its use. This is most evident in reused and repurposed materials, where artifacts are discursively and non-discursively reworked into useful, local items. The notions of acculturation, fluorescence, and degradation cannot appropriately describe the whole of material culture change for the Nuu-chah-nulth. Opportunities for new wealth and material expressions of Nuu-chah-nulth culture certainly arose from increased reliance on wage labour. Buttons, blankets, ceramic tableware form a material culture that could be described as the fluorescence of Nuu-chah-nulth culture through materials manufactured in Europe. However, it came at the cost of time spent managing traditional resources, and alongside the intense external forces of disease, restrictive government policy, and political instability that accompanied colonialism. We must only say Nuu-chah-nulth material culture changed as all material cultures do in the face of what we have called colonialism, in an inertial, unique process of reinvention that occurred prior to contact and continues on these same sites in Barkley Sound, some 240 years after Juan Perez first skirted Cape Beal.

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Appendices

Appendix A.

Potlatch Gifts in Sapir and Swadesh *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* (1955)

Note: This table quotes all material mentioned in written accounts of potlatch exchanges from 1914 to 1922 in Sapir and Swadesh's *Native Accounts of Nootka Ethnography* (1955)*.* This work compiles a number of key Nuu-chah-nulth stories relating to warfare, resource use, property rights, and importantly for this work, potlatch records. The specific tallying of goods given and received during potlatch events was an essential feature of these records, and they allow us specific detail on the method and extent of trade in European manufactures and local goods during the early twentieth century.

Item	Account Name	Date	Page Number
twelve boxes of apples	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
4 Pans given for puberty potlatch	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	243
very warm fur overcoat (Eaton's)	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
fishing pole with line spoon hook and sinkers	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
high rubber boots	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
spoon hook	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
mantle lamp	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
sweater coat	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
one-man saw (cross-cut saw)	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
work basket with box for splitting straw for weaving	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
high shoes	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
hat with a split in the crown	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
a cap	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
rain hat (Sou'wester)	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
stiff hat	Puberty Potlatch for Dick	1920	244, 246

	Thlaamahuus' Daughter		
washing soap	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
feather mattress for boat	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244, 246
four hairseals	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	244
teacups (many)	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
tea	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
biscuits	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
plates	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
crockery	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
basket grass	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
calico	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
half dollars	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	245
bearskin	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	246
sewing machine	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	246
good table crockery	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	247
guns	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	248
crockery	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1920	249
clock	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	261
slahal bones	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	262
sticks, two drums and floor mats for slahal	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	262
six boxes of biscuits and blackberry jam	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	262
two saws for firewood	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	263
rifle	Puberty Potlatch for William	1921	263

	Tutuutsh's Daughter		
calico	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	264
crockery	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	264
good oak bureau	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265, 266
fine, costly launch	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265, 266
oak dining table	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265, 266
good trolling canoe	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265, 266
set of harness	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265
lamps	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265
wood saws	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	265
one-saw horses	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	266
couch	Puberty Potlatch for William Tutuutsh's Daughter	1921	266
teacups	Gift Visit to the Nitinats	1922	272
biscuits	Gift Visit to the Nitinats	1922	272
four boxes of biscuits	Gift Visit to the Ucluelets	1921	278
sack of sugar	Gift Visit to the Ucluelets	1921	278
three sacks of rice	Gift Visit to the Ucluelets	1921	278
rifle	Gift Visit to the Ucluelets	1921	279
twenty-five sacks of potatoes	A Potlatch Trip	1921	283
five boxes of biscuits	A Potlatch Trip	1921	283
good teacups	A Potlatch Trip	1921	283
five teacups	A Potlatch Trip	1921	284
two biscuit boxes full of crockery and teacups	A Potlatch Trip	1921	284
two soup plates	A Potlatch Trip	1921	284
two lengths of calico	A Potlatch Trip	1921	284
plates	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	293
calico	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	293
teacups	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	293
torches (one-dollar lanterns)	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295

good enamelware pans	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
washtubs	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
plates	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
teacups	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
calico	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
pots	Mourning Potlatch for Four Children	1922	295
beads to buy oil	Kwiistuh's Big Potlatch	1916	299
blankets	Kwiistuh's Big Potlatch	1916	299
oil in sealion bladders	Kwiistuh's Big Potlatch	1916	299
blankets	Becomes-Ten Gives a Potlatch	1916	304
one hundred yellow cedar blankets for "old time people"	Becomes-Ten Gives a Potlatch	1916	304
box of cotton blankets	Becomes-Ten Gives a Potlatch	1916	305
sea otter skin	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
slave	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
mountain goat blanket	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
abalone shell	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
otter skin	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
dentalia	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
ten sea otter skins	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
goatskin blankets	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
abalone shell	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
copper	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
dentalia	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311
brass	Highabove's Potlatch Games	1914	311

Amount	Account Name	Date	Page #
three hundred dollars changed	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	244
a dollar for torches	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	243
two dollar prize for game	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	247
ten dollar prize for game	Puberty Potlatch for Dick	1922	247

	Thlaamahuus' Daughter		
three dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	247
two dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	247
one dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	247
one dollar and a half gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	247
dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	248
half-dollar gifts	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	248
half dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	249
dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	249
half dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	250
dollar and a half gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	251
dollar gift	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	251
"piled up money" at door	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	253
ninety-five dollar dispersal	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	253
six hundred dollars left-over from potlatching	Puberty Potlatch for Dick Thlaamahuus' Daughter	1922	253